



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



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E-ISSN 2531-7288
ISSN 0394/9001



Giorgio Valla as a Translator of Aristotle. Philological Remarks on his Latin Translations of *Poetics*, *Magna Moralia*, and *De Caelo*

Ciro Giacomelli

University of Padova, Italy

MEDICINA NEI SECOLI

Journal of History of Medicine
and Medical Humanities

36/2 (2024) 139-156

Received: Febbraio 2024

Accepted: Aprile 2024

DOI: 10.13133/2531-7288/2987

Corresponding Author:
ciro.giacomelli@unipd.it

ABSTRACT

In 1498, Giorgio Valla published a collection of translations from Greek into Latin. The selection of texts included in this edition is unprecedented, and it reflects Valla's interests in ancient medicine, science, and philosophy. These new translations were not successful and were almost completely set aside as soon as other translations became available. In this paper, I will offer a first assessment of the three Aristotelian translations published by Valla and included in the 1498 incunabulum. Out of the three texts translated by Valla, only the *Magna Moralia* were not already available in a renaissance translation. This explains why only this translation enjoyed a rather wide success, being reprinted several times in the 16th century, while the other two suffered the competition of rival renderings. Valla is the author of the first printed translation of the *Poetics*. This translation was initially well received and was reprinted twice; it was later abandoned in favour of Alexander Pacius' version, published in 1536. Valla's third translation of Aristotle was that of the *De Caelo*. Despite its merits, Valla's translation of the *De Caelo* was unsuccessful: John Argyropulus' rendering had appeared in print only a few years earlier, and it became the standard reference in the following centuries. This article extends the analysis of Valla's translations to the Greek sources used by the humanist.

Keywords: Aristotle - Giorgio Valla - Humanism - Translations from Greek into Latin

Introduction

In 1498, Giorgio Valla (1447-1500) sent to the press a collection of Latin translations of various Greek texts (ancient and Byzantine), almost all of them with technical and philosophical content. It seems safe to speculate that he wanted to consign the legacy of his career as a teacher and philologist to that volume, perhaps also as partial redemption for the eight months of imprisonment he suffered - unjustly - in 1496¹. The 1498 collection contains three Latin versions of as many Aristotelian texts: *Poetics*, *Magna Moralia*, and *De Caelo*.

Whenever a philologist is presented with a Latin translation of a Greek, medieval or humanistic text, their curiosity invariably tends to focus on the original source used by the translator and, by corollary, on the value the Latin version might have for the practical purposes of the *constitutio textus*. In the case of humanistic versions, it is often possible to identify the translator's model, thus making the contribution of the Latin text almost irrelevant. This was certainly the case with the Vallian translations, which did not receive much philological attention because scholars of Aristotle's Greek text considered them useless².

My analysis is structured as follows. First, I will try, as far as possible, to account for the influence of Valla's translations, which remained largely a dead letter, particularly that of the *De Caelo*. I believe this did not happen because of any intrinsic flaws in them, but only by virtue of the wider circulation enjoyed by other competing translations. Finally, I will focus on the Greek models employed by Valla, preserved and lost, and thus on the materiality of his Greek library.

1. The fate of Valla's translations

None of Valla's translations of Aristotle's works have survived in manuscript form. Therefore, their history can only be traced through the form fixed in the printed editions of each text. This paper studies three Aristotelian translations that have had different destinies. The translations will be presented in descending order of popularity, starting with the most widely known and studied.

A) *Magna Moralia*.

The 1498 incunabulum has a unique feature: it presents the individual translations as separate pamphlets, each with a different dedication. Ludwig Heiberg was the first to observe, confirming a hypothesis of Cristoforo Poggiali, that some of the translations actually enjoyed an autonomous circulation, prior to the preparation of the Vallian collection³. In particular, as far as Aristotle is concerned, the version of the *Magna Moralia* had already appeared in print in an incunabulum published in Venice in July 1496, while Valla was in prison, accused of treason⁴. The translation was dedicated to Giusto Leliano Giusti, a little-known Veronese humanist. Valla had anticipated it in an epistle in which he explained that he had glossed over the more difficult terms for the benefit of his dedicatee, making Aristotle's thought more accessible⁵.

In the *editio princeps*, the text of the translation - which is identical to the one reprinted in 1498, minus some paratextual elements taken from Euclid, evidently added later - is included at the end of a Latin edition of Aristotle's works, based on mostly humanist translations. The decorative apparatus of the volume, reused from earlier Venetian printings, betrays a certain typographical carelessness and is perhaps an indication of a hasty undertaking⁶.

From that edition, the text found its way into other reprints of Aristotle's Latin corpus, most notably in a successful Parisian volume of 1497, edited by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1450-1536)⁷. Hence the translation was included in several subsequent reprints in the sixteenth century that merely elaborated on text of the previous editions (the repertories count at least thirty-six reprints, but this figure is certainly calculated by default). Valla's translation was reprinted, albeit with substantial modifications and revisions, even in the volume of Latin versions that completes Immanuel Bekker's *editio Academica*, published in Berlin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and its considerable circulation is due to the substantial absence of precedents, at least in print⁸.

In the Middle Ages, excerpts of the *Magna Moralia* were included in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de bona fortuna* and the text was translated in its entirety by Bartholomew of Messina (thirteenth century), but Bartholomew's version and the two later fifteenth-century translation by Gregorio Tifernate (1414-1464) and Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) remain unpublished to this day⁹. Valla seems to refer to the medieval precedent in the prefatory epistle, noting its barbaric style and poor adherence to the original; characteristics that, in his opinion, would lead anyone to shy away from reading Aristotle's writing¹⁰.

B) *Poetics*.

The *editio princeps* is included in the 1498 incunabulum, with a dedicatory epistle to the powerful patrician Polidoro Tiberti, from Cesena, assassinated in Rome in 1501¹¹. The text, which is the first sign of a revived Western interest in Aristotle's influential work, was reprinted twice more, without dedicatory epistle, in two rhetorical-philosophical miscellanies, in 1504 and 1515, again in Venice, but overall, it did not enjoy great fortune. Valla's translation was in fact supplanted, in 1536, by that of Alessandro de' Pazzi (Pacius), published posthumously by his son and which fed the fervour of studies on *Poetics* that marked almost all Italian Academies in the later sixteenth century¹². Valla had the undoubted merit of offering for the first time a translation directly from the Greek original, which was useful in overcoming the misleading Arabic-Latin *Poetria*. The only medieval Greco-Latin version, attributed to William of Moerbeke (thirteenth century), remained almost completely unknown until the twentieth century, when two manuscript witnesses were found (one in Eton, the other in Toledo), which nonetheless remained without descendants¹³.

C) *De Caelo*.

The translation of the *De Caelo*, certainly the most extensive and challenging, is also the least successful among those produced by Valla. In 1496, two years before the

Vallian incunabulum was printed, a humanist translation of the same treatise by John Argyropulus (ca. 1393-1487) was published in the same collection of Latin translations where the first edition of Valla's version of the *Magna Moralia* was also included. Argyropulus' translation had an enormous circulation and it enjoyed at least fifty-two reprints during the sixteenth century¹⁴. Valla's translation, on the other hand, was printed uniquely in the 1498 incunabulum. The text of the translation is dedicated to the Venetian patrician Paolo Trevisan (most probably to be identified with the son of Andrea, who was born in 1452 and died, after completing a remarkable *cursus honorum*, in 1505)¹⁵.

II. The Greek Models

In this second part of my paper, I will focus on the Greek sources used by Valla. The access to Valla's personal library and papers, which arrived *en bloc* in Modena at the beginning of the sixteenth century, facilitates the philologist's work in no small measure¹⁶. Despite the excellent premises, research into Vallian models has so far been limited exclusively to the *Poetics*, while *Magna Moralia* and *De Caelo* have not been investigated in this respect¹⁷.

Let us begin, then, with the known. As early as 1933, Edgar Lobel was able to identify the Greek model that Valla used to prepare his Latin translation of the *Poetics*. This is Mutinensis α .T.8.3 (gr. 100) *post correctionem*¹⁸. The manuscript was copied by Girardos of Patras (RGK I 80; II 107; III 144), a scribe active in the circles of the Italian humanist Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) in the first half of the fifteenth century¹⁹. The Modena codex, which transmits in this section only the treatise *On Elocution* attributed to Demetrius Phaleraeus and the *Poetics*, is part of the humanistic lineage of Par. gr. 1741. This famous tenth-century rhetorical miscellany arrived in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and ended up in the hands of the Byzantine exile Theodorus Gaza around the middle of the century²⁰. According to Lobel's research, the Mutinensis descended from another codex copied by Girardos, Vat. gr. 1388, modelled in turn on the now fragmentary Vat. gr. 1904, also penned by Girardos and ultimately derived from Par. gr. 1741²¹.

How this manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century - specifically the part with the *On Elocution* and the *Poetics* - came to be in Valla's library is evidenced by a single annotation on f. 46r, already attributed by Lobel to the same copyist to whom we owe the transcription of Par. gr. 2038, a contaminated descendant of the Mutinensis and model for the 1508 Aldine editio princeps²². The individual who penned the annotation and copied the Parisian manuscript is the Byzantine teacher Andronikos Kallistos (RGK I 18; II 25; III 31). As it is well known, a significant part of Kallistos' collection came into Valla's library and it can be established with certainty that at least some, but probably all, of the codices once in Kallistos' collection came into Valla's possession before 1485²³.

Mutinensis α .T.8.3 presents numerous corrections made by two individuals. One of them is Giorgio Valla, while the other is John Plusiadenus (RGK I 176; II 234; III 294), a Cretan priest who arrived in Italy under the patronage of Cardinal Bessarion in the third quarter of the fifteenth century²⁴. Lobel's reconstruction suggests that Plusiadenus had access to Dresdensis Dd 4, a manuscript copied by Theodorus Gaza in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, directly on Par. gr. 1741. The Dresdensis was owned by the Venetian-Cretan humanist Lauro Quirini, who died in 1478²⁵. After Quirini's death, the Dresden codex arrived in Venice. It is believed to have passed through Crete, where Michael Apostolis used it as a model for copying other manuscripts. Later, and most likely in the late eighties or early nineties of the fifteenth century, the manuscript came into possession of Alessandro Bondino (RGK III 12), an associate of Aldus Manutius in Venice and a member of the so-called Aldine Academy, who most probably brought it to Italy²⁶. Based on the joint work of Plusiadenus and Valla on the Mutinensis, it appears that the two scholars collaborated at the beginning of Valla's Venetian conduct. This occurred after 1484, the year in which Valla got a position in Venice, and before 1498, when the translation of the *Poetics* was first published.

Let us turn to the *Magna Moralia*. Although Valla's translation has never been investigated in its relationship to the humanist's Greek codices, it can immediately be connected to Mutinensis α .P.6.10 (gr. 88), which transmits only the *Magna Moralia* and is entirely in the hand of Valla himself (RGK III 91)²⁷.

Before moving on to the text, it is worth looking at the manuscript from a codicological point of view: according to Dieter Harlfinger, Mutinensis α .P.6.10 (**Mut.**) shows watermarks of almost certain Lombard origin, specifically Milanese or Pavese, from the late 1470s or early 1480s. The manuscript therefore dates, if not from Valla's formative years, then from the beginning of his teaching career in Lombardy²⁸.

Despite being a comparatively recent manuscript, the Mutinensis is of great interest from a textual point of view: according to the investigation carried out by Christian Brockmann, Valla's manuscript is the only direct copy of Laurentianus 81.11 (**K^b**), a late ninth-early tenth century codex brought to the West by Francesco Filelfo in the first half of the fifteenth century²⁹. Until now, the link between Valla and Filelfo was documented by a single letter of little consequence, penned by Filelfo in 1473³⁰; instead, we can state that Valla had at least three manuscripts in his hands that belonged to Filelfo's library: the Plutarchean section of Mutinensis α .T.8.3 (ff. 64-76), Laurentianus 81.11, reproduced by Valla, and the *Suidas* manuscript, Par. gr. 2623, with an annotation by Valla. Two of these three manuscripts remained in Filelfo's possession until his library was incorporated into the Medici private collection. It must therefore be concluded that Valla had access to the codices while Filelfo was still able to dispose of them, and thus with his full assent³¹. The link between Valla and Filelfo's library can almost certainly be located in Valla's formative years, when he was studying under the guidance of the Byzantine humanist Constantine Lascaris. It

is no coincidence that quotations from the *Suidas*, most likely coming from Filelfo's manuscript, have been identified in the Vallian treatise *De ratione scribendi*, written between 1465 - when Valla moved to Pavia - and 1477, the date of the oldest incunabulum of the text³².

Only one apograph of Valla's copy of the *Magna Moralia* exists, the New York manuscript Plimpton 16, belonging to the monastery of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, transcribed by an anonymous copyist from the circles of Damiano Guidotto (RGK I 89; II 119), a humanist whose biography is little known and who was probably linked to Valla's teaching at some point in his life³³.

It remains to be verified whether Valla's version was conducted on the Greek codex in the humanist's possession. A collation of the first chapters leaves no room for doubt: wherever verifiable, the Latin reflects the isolated readings of Laurentianus 81.11 (**K**^b) and of Valla's faithful transcription of it (**Mut.**). Compare the following examples³⁴:

1183a39 ἐπεὶ Susemihl : ἐρῶ codd. pler.: ἐν ᾧ **K**^b**Mut.** (*in quo*)

1183b11 ὅτι om **K**^b**Mut.** (*quod ita? in scientiis etc.*)

1184b29 εὖ¹: om **K**^b**Mut.** (*et foelicitas in vivendo est*)

1185a11 εὐδαίμονα] τὸν τοιοῦτον praem. **K**^b**Mut.** (*nolim talem dicere esse foelicem*)

Valla even translates the marginal titles he copied from Laurentianus 81.11, where they are due to the hand of Filelfo (yet another stringent element to further corroborate the filiation reconstructed by Brockmann). As if this were not enough, even the peculiar and refined handwriting used by Valla in transcribing the titles imitates the majuscule letters of the ancient Florentine manuscript, the austere decorative apparatus of which must have impressed Valla³⁵.

Based on a limited number of isolated readings in which Valla's Latin does not follow the Mutinensis and agrees with other manuscripts, Hugh Maxwell Johnstone has argued that Valla must have "occasionally checked readings in other manuscripts". Given the unpredictable agreement (always in superior reading) with all branches of the *stemma codicum*, I believe that these corrections to the text of the Mutinensis should be regarded as more or less conscious conjectures by Valla himself rather than as proof of systematic contamination³⁶.

Let us come to the last Aristotelian version: that of the *De Caelo*. While for the previous two the identification of the Greek model among Valla's books was immediate, this is not the case for the last treatise. In fact, there is not a single manuscript of the *De Caelo* in Modena, nor is there one that certainly belonged to Valla or can otherwise be traced back to him.

The manuscript tradition of the *De Caelo* is extensive, contaminated, and only partially investigated. Although there are three relatively recent critical editions of this treatise, only about ten of the more than seventy known witnesses of the text have been collated so far. A not inconsiderable help to my investigation, however, has come

from the study of the manuscript tradition of other treatises that are often transmitted in the same corpus of Aristotle's physical works, particularly the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, to which Marwan Rashed has devoted an exemplary study, and the *Parva Naturalia*, investigated by Ángel Escobar and, more recently, by Paraskevi Gatsioufa³⁷.

The general outlines of the transmission of the *De Caelo* are quite clear: despite the contamination detectable even in the highest branches of the *stemma*, it is possible to distinguish two larger families of manuscripts, called by philologists **a** and **b**, which bear witness to as many *recensiones*, true late-antique editions of Aristotle's physical works. Branch **a** is represented by Par. gr. 1853 (**E**), dating from the end of the ninth century and almost isolated in this part of the *stemma*. Branch **b**, on the other hand, is witnessed in a more or less pure way by the great majority of codices, in particular by Vindob. Phil. gr. 100 (**J**), traced to a group of manuscripts from the ninth century called the Philosophical Collection³⁸.

Valla draws from branch **b**, and precisely from one of the codices in **J**'s lineage, as it is evident from a collation of the text. Here I limit myself to a few unequivocal examples, from which one can easily gather the stemmatic placement of the Latin translation. I should add, for the sake of completeness, that in these cases Argyropulus' version (see above p. 138) instead regularly follows the consensus of the rest of the tradition (in correct readings), proving Valla's independence from it.

282b22 τοῦ Δ: τοῦ Δ φθαρτοῦ **J** (*et in D moribundo*)

283b22 φθείρεται: φέρεται **J** (*aufferuntur*)

287b17 ἡμῖν: παρ' ἡμῖν **J** (*oculis subiciatur nostris*)

287b19 τοῦ: τοῦ πρώτου **J** (*ut primi circum*)

287b31 δίκαιόν γε: δι' ὄν καὶ **J** (*nec utique decet aequae omnes*)

298a25 φερομένων: φαινομένων **J** (*in ipso apparentibus*)

After identifying the major traditional strand, it is possible to provide more detail. Valla's model, the identity of which can be further narrowed down thanks to Christina Prapa's investigation in the lower branches of the *stemma codicum*, presented readings unique to the codices descended from the hyparchetype named **κ**. This can be inferred from the following two omissions.

282a31 ἄθαρτον ... ἀγένητον **J**: om. **κ** (*nec non quod etiam ingenitum: ac sempiternum esse necesse est*)

283b15 ἔξει ... οὐκ ἔστιν **J**: om. **κ** (*sed eius quod est vel futurum est itidem porro etsi quod prius fuit sempiternum posterius non sit: proinde si ponamus etc.*)

The **κ** family conceals an interesting chapter of fifteenth-century Aristotelianism and goes back to the philological interests of Cardinal Bessarion's entourage. At the top of this constellation of the *stemma codicum*, we find Vindob. Phil. gr. 64 (**V**). This Vindobonensis is a famous manuscript, copied by several scribes (including John

Rhosus, RGK I 178; II 237; III 298, who subscribed the section he copied in 1457) on behalf of the Uniate priest Isaiah of Cyprus, who was a scribe in his own right. The manuscript is a proper ‘critical edition’ of the Aristotelian writings it transmits, and contains *marginalia* by Theodorus Gaza, who seems to have used it in Rome, in the 1460s, for his lectures on *Physics*³⁹. After the death of Isaiah (1475), the manuscript seems to have passed to Crete, where it was copied several times during the second half of the century⁴⁰. The numerous descendants of the Vindobonensis are all attributable to the Cretan environment and to scribes mostly active on the island. In particular, among the manuscripts that transmit the *De Caelo*, it is worth mentioning Escorialensis Σ.III.2 (**S**, copied by Manuel Gregoropulus: RGK I 249; II 342; III 411), Laurentianus 87.11 (**L^a**, copied by George Gregoropulus: RGK I 58; II 78; III 98), Monacensis gr. 200 (**M**), Riccardianus 14 (**R**, both copied by George Gregoropulus), and Par. gr. 2033 (**P**, copied by Michael Apostolis: RGK I 278; II 379; III 454)⁴¹.

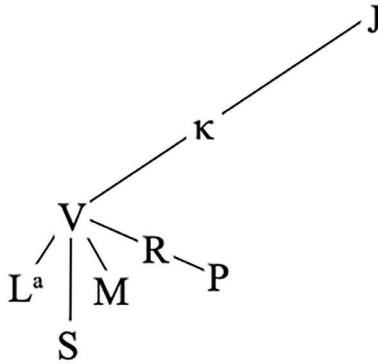


Fig. 1. Stemma codicum (*De Caelo*), published by Prapa C, ref. 41, p. 40.

According to the stemmatic reconstruction by Rashed and Prapa, now also confirmed by Gatsioufa in a study on the treatise *De sensu*, the two Parisini graeci 2033 (*Phys.*, *Cael.*) and 2035 (*Parva Naturalia* and *Color.*) were directly copied on Riccardianus 14 (transmitting *Phys.*, *Cael.*, *Gener. Corr.*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Mot. An.*, *Color.*, and *Meteor.*). The two Parisian manuscripts should be considered together since they constituted a single edition of the body of texts they transmit, copied by Michael Apostolis in close cooperation with his student Emmanuel Adramyttenus (RGK I 112; II 144; III 187)⁴². As Apostolis died in 1478, it is commonly assumed that the Riccardianus was completed before this date. However, his collaboration with Adramyttenus seems to have deteriorated at the beginning of the decade, and it is therefore necessary to move that date back to at least 1475, if not earlier⁴³.

I focused on the genealogy of Riccardianus 14 due to errors in Valla's translation that are specific to manuscript **P** (Par. gr. 2033) within this subgroup of codices.

282b25 Η ἀφθαρτον ... ᾗ **L^aRMS**: om. **P** (*sit nimirum in quo E non genitum, at in quo F genitum, in quo autem H moribundum*)

283b7 οὐδὲ πέρυσιν **L^aRMS**: om. **P** (*verum enim vero ne quidem vere dixeris nec quod pridem fuit nec esse*)

298b17 καὶ τᾶλλα **L^aRMS**: κατ' ἄλλα **P** (*tametsi alia recte aiunt*)

The relationship between Valla's translation and **P** can also be demonstrated through certain paratextual elements studied by Christina Prapa. In book II of *De Caelo*, Aristotle attempts to prove that the sky must be spherical, and that water tends to collect in the lowest point (κοιλότερος τόπος). The rather elaborate description requires a demonstrative schema (287b7-14), and it is not surprising that, already in Vindob. Phil. gr. 100, the ancestor of the branch of the manuscript tradition also used by Valla, the demonstration is accompanied by a diagram - inserted within the writing space - which allows the reader to better follow the reasoning detailed in the text⁴⁴.

In the progeny of Vindob. Phil. gr. 64, which includes the diagram integrated into the text, a progressive change in the layout can be observed. The direct descendants of the Vindobonensis (Laur. 87.11 and Riccardianus 14), which faithfully reproduce their archetype, share a peculiarity with their model: the shape of the diagram is traced with a double outline (the choice is dictated by aesthetic reasons and is not required by the text). In Par. gr. 2033, the diagram is once again traced with a simple line. Here, however, the Parisinus shows a significant conjunctive error with Valla's translation, as point A is incorrectly moved from the centre of the circle to the southern pole of the sphere⁴⁵.

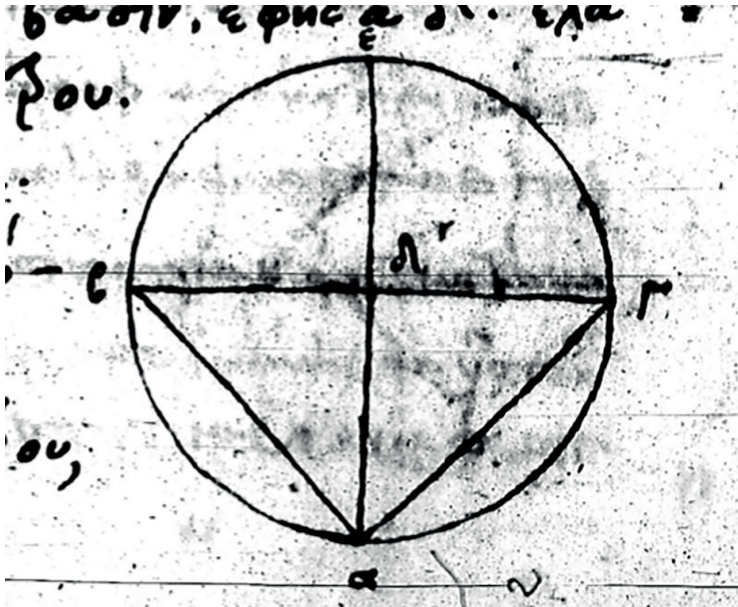


Fig. 2. Par. gr. 2033, f. 240r (detail). Scribe: Michael Apostolis



Fig. 3. The diagram in Valla's translation (from the 1498 incunable)

The cross-study of the transmission of Aristotle's physical corpus allows for a more precise identification hypothesis. From the now separated Par. gr. 2033+2035, we know that a partial copy was made and actually arrived in Valla's library: this is Mutinensis α .T.9.21 (gr. 76), copied and subscribed by Michael Suliardus (RGK I 286, II 393; III 468), with watermarks pointing to the last decade of the fifteenth century⁴⁶. It seems most likely that the Cretan scribe produced the manuscript on Valla's bequest⁴⁷.

In its current state, Mutinensis α .T.9.21 contains *Parva Naturalia*, *De Coloribus*, and the *De Generatione et Corruptione* (derived from Par. gr. 2035); the two paraphrases of the *De Lineis Insecabilibus* and the *Mechanica* by George Pachymeres are added to these texts on separate and independent quires. It is not surprising that the order of the texts included in the copy of Suliardus does not exactly match the one in the two Parisian models. In fact, in the manuscripts currently in France, the texts are grouped into independent series of quires, each with its own numbering. This indicates that in Apostolis' workshop the texts were likely unbound and available simultaneously for intensive transcription. The textual situation described so far unequivocally suggests that Valla used a now-lost copy of the Par. gr. 2033 as a model for his Latin translation. This lost manuscript is likely to be identifiable as the copy of this manuscript prepared by Suliardus, which is now only partially preserved.

Bibliography and notes

Abbreviations

ISTC = Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) The international database of 15th-century European printing. Online resource: <https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search>.

RGK = Repertorium der griechischen Kopisen 888-1600. I-III. Wien; Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 1981-1997.

1. ISTC in00044000. A general overview of Valla's work as a translator from Greek is offered by Raschieri AA, Giorgio Valla, Editor and Translator of Ancient Scientific Texts. In: Olmos P (ed.), *Greek Science in the Long Run. Essays on the Greek Scientific Tradition* (4th c. BCE-17th c. CE). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; 2012. pp. 127-49; and by Raschieri AA, Valla, Giorgio. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 98. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 2020. pp. 70-73. Both contributions should be approached with caution.
2. See the methodological remarks by Berti E, *La traduzione umanistica*. In: Cortesi M (ed.), *Tradurre dal greco in età umanistica. Metodi e strumenti*. Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo; 2007. pp. 3-16 (part. 10).
3. Heiberg JL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz; 1896. p. 38.
4. ISTC ia00966000. The real *editio princeps* is not included in: Cortesi M, Fiaschi S, *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa. Secoli XV-XVI. I*. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo; 2008. p. 272, where the later Parisian reprint is listed as such.
5. Letter nr. 28 in Heiberg JL, ref. 3, p. 83 (f. 172r of Vat. lat. 3537): *Georgius Valla Iusto ex Iustis equiti Iurato patritio Veronensi D.S. Ae. Iuste optime, salve! Ad te Aristotelem, quando id nobis facere non licuit, visendum destinavimus; nostri loco tua fruatur consuetudine; qui ut plane sit tibi familiaris, quasdam tesquas scrupulosaque itinera, quibus ad ipsum minus obvius erat accessus, levigato stravimus pavimento. Secretiorem nempe linguam glossemaque adhibuimus, quo sensus paulo obscuriores tibi elucescerent auctoris eminentissimi. Vale aeternum*. Valla seems to allude to his imprisonment when he says that he is not able to visit his friend Giusto (*quando id nobis facere non licuit*). Giusti is the author of an *Oratio pro militiae collatae munere ad Johannem Mocenicum*, published in Venice in 1485 (ISTC ij00625300).
6. The woodcut employed for the illuminated initial of the second book of the *Magna Moralia* was taken from an earlier edition of the *Legenda Aurea* by Iacopo da Voragine in the Italian translation by Niccolò Malermi (ISTC ij00178000: cfr. Pagnotta L, *Le edizioni italiane della Legenda aurea*. Florence: Apax; 2005. pp. 90-92). For other instances of reuse of this woodcut, – attributed to the “Maestro di Pico” – in other editions published by the de Gregori, see Armstrong L, *Gli incunaboli illustrati con xilografie nella Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile*. In: Gios P, Toniolo F (eds), *Gli incunaboli della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova*. Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana; 2008. pp. 171-228, here 197-98 (where the Aristotelian incunable is however not listed).
7. ISTC ia00991000.
8. On the success of Valla's translation – “very influential, but not for the right reasons” – see Johnstone HM, *Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Aristotelian Magna Moralia [dissertation]*. Oxford: Oxford University; 1997. pp. 89-90.

9. On these translations, see Brockmann C, Zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Magna Moralia, In: Berger F, Brockmann C, Ghisu MI, De Gregorio G, Kotzabassi S, Noack B (eds), *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger*. Amsterdam: Hakkert; 1993. pp. 43-80: 44-45 and Johnstone HM, Ref. 8. pp. 66-88. On the *Liber de bona fortuna* and its sources see Cordonier V, Steel C, Guillaume de Moerbeke traducteur du Liber de bona fortuna et de l'Éthique à Éudème. In: Oppenraay AMI (ed.), *The Letter before the Spirit. The Importance of Text Editions for the Study of the Reception of Aristotle*. Leiden: Brill; 2012. pp. 401-46.
10. I quote from the 1496 edition (f. OOar): *Hesitavimus parum modo quod compertum haberemus tentasse nescio quem ipsa iampridem Latina facere, eum cum exploratum habuissemus nec Graeca nec nostra novisse, mali interpretis more, verbum verbo reddere studuisse, et sensus Aristotelicos quod fieri necesse fuit multa obruisse caligine: cumque nostra peregrinis respondentia verba ignorasse Graecis abutendo aliam adhuc legendibus nubem non exiguam effundisse. Denique barbaris rusticisque dictionibus opus totum confudisse, ut non tam tradidisse nobis Aristotelem quam plane iugulasse videatur; adeo ut omnes ab eius averterit lectione.*
11. The edition is not listed in: Cortesi M, Fiaschi S, Ref. 4. p. 248. On Tiberti see Fabbri PG, Cesare Borgia a Cesena. Istituzioni, vita politica e società nella cronaca di Giuliano Fontaguzzi dal 1486 al 1500. *Archivio Storico Italiano* 1990;148:69-102 (*passim*).
12. On Valla's translation and its context see Magnani N, Giorgio Valla e gli albori della poetica neoaristotelica. *Rinascimento* 2022;NS62:31-58. The various prints of de Pazzi's translations are listed in: Cortesi M, Fiaschi S, Ref. 4. pp. 245-48. The *editio princeps* is opened by a letter addressed to the Venetian humanist Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (who died in 1531), dated 1526. On Pacius see Cosentino P, Alessandro Pazzi de' Medici. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 82. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; 2015. pp. 21-23.
13. See Minio-Paluello L, Aristoteles Latinus XXXIII, De arte poetica, translatio Guilelmi de Moerbeka. Leiden: Brill; 1968. pp. XIV-XVII; Brams J, La riscoperta di Aristotele in Occidente. Milan: Jaca Book; 2003. p. 124; Tarán L, Gutas D, Aristotle, Poetics. *Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2012. pp. 135-40; and Beullens P, The Friar and the Philosopher. William of Moerbeke and the Rise of Aristotle's Science in Medieval Europe. London and New York: Routledge; 2023. pp. 120 and 132.
14. ISTC ia00966000. The presence of Argyropulus' translation in this incunable was first recorded by Legrand É, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*. III. Paris: J, Maisonneuve; 1903. pp. 70-71 nr. 49 (Legrand considered the edition "extremely rare", but ISTC lists over 100 copies of it, including fragmentary ones). The Venetian incunabulum is not recorded in: Cortesi M, Fiaschi S, Ref 4. p. 127, where a 1505 Venetian reprint is listed as *editio princeps* (CNCE 2872). Oddly, Valla's translation of the *De Caelo* is not included the checklist published by Cortesi and Fiaschi, even if its title is mentioned in passing (p. 272) while describing the 1498 edition.
15. On Trevisan see Dibello D, Trevisan, Paolo. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 96. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italian; 2019. pp. 742-44.
16. On the fate of Valla's personal library see Rollo A, Il perduto Archimede di Giorgio Valla. In: Fera V, Gionta D, Rollo A (eds), *Archimede e le sue fortune*. Atti del Convegno di Siracusa-Messina; 24-26 giugno 2008. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici; 2012. pp. 99-147.

17. The translation was duly considered in the unpublished dissertation by Johnstone HM, Ref. 8, a work that I was able to read thanks to Christian Brockmann and José Maksimczuk. Johnstone and I come to similar conclusions, even if he postulates unnecessary steps (see below).
18. Lobel E, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1933. pp. 8 and 24-26.
19. The Modena manuscript is completed, at the beginning, with some fragments from the pseudo-Heron (see Vitrac B, *Les éléments d'Euclide dans le De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus (1501) de Giorgio Valla*: <https://www.academia.edu/96455480/Les_Éléments_d_Euclide_dans_le_De_expetendis_et_fugiendis_rebus_opus_1501_de_Giorgio_Valla>), in the hand of Valla, and is concluded by an autonomous codicological unit - two quaternions -, with the *Life of Artaxerxes* by Plutarch, copied by the Byzantine Demetrios Xanthopulus and annotated by Filelfo. A short description of the manuscript, based on existing literature, in: Raschieri AA, *Codici plutarchei nella biblioteca di Giorgio Valla*. In: Pace G, Volpe Cacciatore P (eds), *Gli scritti di Plutarco: tradizione, traduzione, ricezione, commento*. Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale della International Plutarch Society. Rovello; 29 settembre - 1° ottobre 2011. Napoli: D'Auria; 2013. pp. 353-60: 355-56. The Plutarchean quire came into Valla's library from the collection of Filelfo, as argued by Orlandi L, *Andronikos Kallistos: A Byzantine Scholar and His Manuscripts in Italian Humanism*. Berlin-Boston: de Gruyter; 2023. pp. 81-83.
20. On Par. gr. 1741 see the recent description in: Palla A, *La Seconda epistola ad Ammeo di Dionigi di Alicarnasso*. Wiesbaden: Reichert; 2023. pp. 45-48, with reference to previous literature.
21. The reconstruction by Lobel E, Ref. 18, was further corroborated by Harlfinger D, Reinsch DR, *Die Aristotelica des Parisinus gr. 1741. Zur Überlieferung von Petik, Rhetorik, Physiognomik, De signis, De ventorum situ*. *Philologus* 1970;114:28-50, part. p. 40. See also Cortesi M, *Libri greci letti e scritti alla scuola di Vittorino da Feltre: fra mito e realtà*. In: Prato G (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*. Atti del V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998), I. Firenze: Gonnelli; 2000. pp. 401-16: 410 (and Cortesi M, *Greek at the School of Vittorino da Feltre*. In: Ciccolella F, Silvano L (eds), *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2017. pp. 54-78, 71), with specific reference to the role of Guarino and his students in the spreading of the *Poetics*. On Vat. gr. 1388 see Aleotti A, *Sull'eliminatio descriptorum nella tradizione manoscritta dei Theognidea*. *Rev Hist Textes* 2022;NS17:35-109: 49.
22. On the text of Par. gr. 2038, which some scholars believed to be the result of contamination with a now-lost independent witness of the text, see Centanni M, *Il testo della Poetica aristotelica nel Par. gr. 2038*. *Bollettino dei Classici* 1986; NS7:37-58. Tarán L, Gutas D, Ref. 13. p. 75, offers a more balanced assessment of the value of this manuscript, see also Tarán L, *The Text of Aristotle's Poetics in the Codex Parisinus Graecus 2038*. *Mnemosyne* 2016; 69:785-98. Orlandi L, Ref. 19. pp. 249-53 argues that Kallistos contaminated the Greek using Moerbeke's Latin translation of the text.
23. See Orlandi L, Ref. 19. pp. 138-46.
24. On Plusiadenus see Despotakis E, *John Plousiadenos (1423?-1500). A Time-Space Geography of his Life and Career*. Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT: Peeters; 2020.
25. On Quirini's life and library see Martínez Manzano T, *Fortuna humanística de un antiguo códice de Aristóteles, entre Constantinopla y Mesina*. In: Martinelli Tempesta S, Speranzi

- D, Gallo F (eds), *Libri e biblioteche di umanisti tra Oriente e Occidente*. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana; 2019. pp. 173-208: 193.
26. On Bondino, now identified with the mysterious Anonymus Harvardianus, see Orlandi L, *Al fianco di Aldo, per Galeno e Aristotele. L'identità dell'Anonymus Harvardianus*. *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 2022;63:281-315 (see also Maksimczuk J, *The Anonymus Harvardianus*, Alessandro Bondino (alias Ἀλέξανδρος Αγαθήμερος), and *The Role of the Manuscript Napoli III D 37 in Some Editions Principes of Aristotelian Works*. *Parekbolai* 2023;13:1-28). On the *Dresdensis* see the online description by Jürgen Wiesner at <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb1062643>>. On this manuscript see also Martínez Manzano T, Ref. 25. p. 194.
 27. A description of the manuscript by Dieter Harlfinger is accessible online at: <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb9848974>>.
 28. For the watermarks, see Harlfinger's description quoted in the preceding footnote. In the upper margin off. 50v Valla wrote a short subscription, partially erased (perhaps by the humanist himself): Γεώργιος ὁ Βάλλας [ς *add.*] Πλακεντῖνος ἐξέγραψε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ [...]ρζαρίῳ [and not φερραρίῳ, as reported by Eleuteri, see below in this footnote] καὶ Βαπτίστῳ τοῦ [Ἰου]στινιάνῳ. τέλος. (George Valla from Piacenza wrote [this book] for himself and for his friends James [...] and Baptist Giustiniani [?]. The end). The names of the two friends (pupils?) of Valla have been almost completely obliterated, perhaps indicating a relationship that at some point broke down irreversibly. Neither of the two individuals, despite the undoubted progress in deciphering the note made by Paolo Eleuteri (see Eleuteri P, Canart P, *Scrittura greca nell'umanesimo italiano*. Milano: Il Polifio; 1991. pp. 93-95), is otherwise known or identifiable with certainty in Valla's circles.
 29. Brockmann C, Ref. 9. p. 62. On the Laur. 81.11 see the description in Bernabò M (ed.), *Voci dell'Oriente. Miniature e testi classici da Bisanzio alla Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*. Firenze: Polistampa; 2011. pp. 103-4. New insights on the Renaissance history of this manuscript will be provided by David Speranzi in a forthcoming paper.
 30. Heiberg JL, Ref. 2. pp. 97-98, prints the text of the letter, dealing with the concept expressed by the Greek word ἰδέα and its use and filled with literary quotations. A new critical edition of the letter is now provided in: De Keyser J, Francesco Filelfo, *Collected Letters*. *Epistolarum Libri XLVIII*, 3. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso; 2015. pp. 1584-85 (book 37, letter nr. 19).
 31. On the two manuscripts owned by Filelfo see Martinelli Tempesta S, Speranzi D, *Verso una ricostruzione della biblioteca greca di Francesco Filelfo*. In: Fiaschi S (ed.), Filelfo, le Marche, l'Europa. Un'esperienza di ricerca. Rome: Storia e Letteratura; 2018. pp. 181-212, part. 198 (nr. 42: Laur. 81.11) and 203-4 (nr. 67: Par. gr. 2623). On Par. gr. 2623 see Speranzi D, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo nella biblioteca di Iano Laskaris*. *Segno e Testo* 2005;3:467-96, here pp. 476-82 (on the scribe of this manuscript see also Speranzi D, *Il copista del Lessico di Esichio* (Marc. gr. 622). In: Bianconi D (ed.), *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; 2014. pp. 101-46).
 32. See Biondi L, *La Suda nel De ratione scribendi di Giorgio Valla: considerazioni a margine*. *Medioevo e rinascimento*. 2017;31:213-26. The connection between Laskaris and Filelfo is already known from a palaeographical point of view, but their often-conflictual relationship still needs to be further documented: see Speranzi D, *Su due codici greci filelfiani e un loro lettore (con alcune osservazioni sullo Strabone Ambr. G 93 sup.)*. In: Fiaschi S (ed.), *Philelfiana. Nuove prospettive di ricerca sulla figura di Francesco Filelfo*.

- Atti del seminario di studi; Macerata, 6-7 novembre 2013. Firenze: L.S. Olschki; 2015. pp. 83-117.
33. On Guidotto, see Eleuteri P, Canart P, Ref. 28. p. 89 nr. XXX and Murphy DJ, Greek Epigrams and Manuscripts of Damiano Guidotto of Venice. *Renaissance Studies* 1998;12:476-94. A description of the American manuscript in Kavrus-Hoffmann N, Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America. Part I: Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library. *Manuscripta* 2005;49:165-245, here pp. 211-214.
 34. Brockmann C, Ref. 9. p. 50 lists the peculiar reading of the Laurentianus (see also p. 62 with a list of readings peculiar to the Mutinensis). Following Brockmann's example, I collated the beginning and end of the text (1181a24-83b18 and 1212b18-13b30) in the Mutinensis and in Valla's Latin translation (in the *princeps* and in the 1498 reprint). I owe the information concerning the reading of the primary manuscripts to Christian Brockmann and José Maksimczuk, who are now working on a new critical edition of the Aristotelian text. The connection between Valla's translation and the readings of **Kb** was already observed by Susemihl F, *Aristotelis quae feruntur Magna moralia*. Leipzig: Teubner; 1883. p. VII. However, Susemihl was unable to define the exact relationship between the two texts. In light of the identification of the model employed by Valla, there are numerous erroneous reconstructions of the Greek original proposed by Susemihl under the *siglum* Va(IIa). On this point, see also Johnstone HM, Ref. 8. pp. 91-93.
 35. Johnstone HM, Ref. 8. pp. 28-29, based on a difficult to explain mistake (1191a8 Ἐκτορα **Kb**: ἄγγιον **Mut.**, corr. in mg. γρ. praemisso), suggests the possibility of an intervening (lost) manuscript between the Mutinensis and the Laurentianus. Such an unnecessary hypothesis can now be easily ruled out.
 36. Johnstone HM, Ref. 8. p. 96. Most, if not all, of the disagreements listed by Johnstone are insignificant when we considered the rather free approach to the original adopted by Valla and many other Renaissance translators. Here are the two most significant examples: 1294b15-16 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ **CP²** (*ab ipso* Valla): ἀπ' αὐτῆς cett. (including **Kb** and **Mut.**); 1209b8 φίλοι P2 (*amici sunt*): φίλος cett. Other instances are less meaningful: omissions of καί (1194a20), οὐ instead of οὐ (1192b5, but here **Mut.** has δ' οὐ), and so on.
 37. See Rashed M, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Schrift De generatione et corruptione*. Wiesbaden: Reichert; 2001. For the *Parva Naturalia* we still depend on preliminary and/or incomplete investigations (I was not able to see the PhD dissertation by Justin Winzenrieth, who studied the whole corpus), such as Escobar Á, *Die Textgeschichte der aristotelischen Schrift Περί ἐνοπνίων*. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Parva naturalia [dissertation]. Berlin: Freie Universität; 1990 and a forthcoming study on the transmission of the *De Sensu* by Paraskevi Gatsioufa (University of Granada), who kindly let me read a draft of the chapter consecrated to the filiation of Vindob. Phil. gr. 64. As base-text for the *De Caelo* I used both the edition by Longo O, *Aristotele, De caelo*. Firenze: Sansoni; 1961, and that by Moraux P, *Aristote, Du ciel*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 1965. New light on the transmission of this text will come from the still unpublished dissertation by Boureau M-L, *Aristote: Du ciel III-IV*. Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction et commentaire [dissertation]. Paris: Sorbonne Université; 2019, which I could not see. For the sake of completeness, I have also collated Valla's translation with the *edition princeps* of the *De Caelo*, published by Aldus in 1497 (ISTC ia00959000). The text of the Aldine edition is the result of a contamination: part of it derived from the Harvardianus 17 (fragmentary), descended from Vindob. Phil. gr.

- 64, and another source pertaining to branch a: see Sicherl M, Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellenvert, kultureller Hintergrund. Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh; 1997. pp. 83-85 and Rashed M, Ref. 37. pp. 311-14. The *editio princeps* does not include the diagram reproduced by Valla in his translation: see below.
38. See, for example, Rashed M, Aristote, De la génération et de la corruption. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 2005. pp. CLXXXVII-CCXLIV. New insights (not always convincing) on the role played by Vindob. Phil. gr. 100 in: Golitsis P, Quelques observations sur l'histoire et les origines de l'Aristote de Vienne (codex Vind. Phil. gr. 100). In: Bianconi D, Ronconi F (eds), La "Collection philosophique" face à l'histoire. Péripiéties et tradition. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto-Medioevo; 2020. pp. 93-117.
 39. Brockmann C, Lorusso V, Martinelli Tempesta S, Exegetische Paratexte zur Physik des Aristoteles in griechischen Manuskripten aus der Renaissance: Einleitung und Edition. Eikasmós. 2017;28:261-98 (with previous literature). On the scribes of the Vindobonensis see Orlandi L, A Lesser-Known Member of Bessarion's Milieu: The Scribe-Bishop Makarios. In: Quenzer JB (ed.), Exploring Written Artefacts. Objects, Methods, and Concepts, I. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter; 2021. pp. 753-71 (especially pp. 756-57). On the history of the Vindobonensis see also Orlandi L, ref. 19. p. 89.
 40. On Isaiah, see most recently Villa E, Per l'identificazione della mano di Isaia di Cipro. Segno e Testo 2022;20:391-96.
 41. On these manuscripts, while waiting for the more extensive study by Gatsiufa to see the light of day, see Prapa C, Diagramme in der Handschriftentradition. Ein methodologischer Beitrag anhand der Überlieferungsgeschichte von Aristoteles, De Caelo. Codices Manuscripti 2012;82/83:31-41, part. pp. 31-32, with concise descriptions of the codices and references to the essential bibliography. On the Riccardianus, which played a central role in spreading the text of the Vindobonensis, see the online description by David Speranzi: <<https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/cnmd/202044?>>.
 42. Rashed M, Ref. 37. pp. 293-310 and Prapa C, Ref. 41. The hand of Adramyttenus in the Par. gr. 2033 was identified by Stefec R, Weitere Beispiele kretischer Schnittdekoration. Codices Manuscripti & Impressi 2013;89/90:39-54, here p. 45. Adramyttenus' hand can also be identified in Par. gr. 2035 (f. 220r, the last lines of this page were written by another anonymous scribe working in Apostolis' scriptorium). A description of Par. gr. 2035 (where the co-operators of Apostolis are not identified) is accessible online: <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb1208672>> (Dieter Harlfinger).
 43. On the breakdown of relations between Adramyttenus and his teacher as early as the beginning of the 1470s, see Stefec R, Eine Schmähschrift des Michael Apostoles. Byzantinische Zeitschrift 2014;107:851-76. If the dating to c. 1474 of a violent pamphlet by Apostolis against Adramyttenus is correct, it follows that the production of the codicological units that now constitute Par. gr. 2033 + 2035 must precede that date, since it is unimaginable that relations between the two could have continued after such an unfortunate episode. The consequences of such an elevation of the chronology of the two Parisian manuscripts are not insignificant: it would mean, in fact, that the Vindobonensis arrived in Crete before the death of Isaiah of Cyprus and perhaps even as early as the early 1470s. In Dieter Harlfinger's description quoted in the previous note, watermarks (for Par. gr. 2035) dating from the early 1470s (1472 to be precise) are identified. I can add that the two Parisian codices copied by Apostolis bear Greek-Latin *marginalia* by the same (so far

- anonymous) Western annotator, referable to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, proving that the Aristotelian quires had landed together in the library of an Italian, probably Venetian, humanist. Suliardus could therefore transcribe them in Venice, on Valla's commission, and not in Crete.
44. The same diagram is found in Argyropulus' Latin translation (I refer to the 1496 *editio princeps*), with a small innovation: a line tracing the diameter of the circle is added here. Point A, from which the described movements originate, is placed at the centre of the circle in accordance with the Aristotelian text.
 45. See Prapa C, Ref. 41, with plates reproducing the diagram in the manuscripts she considered.
 46. The manuscript bears no obvious traces of Valla's reading (except, perhaps, for a brief annotation on f. 128r, as proposed by Dieter Harlfinger in the description cited here below), nor is it provided with his ex libris (there is only the Greek ex libris of Alberto Pio di Carpi with a *tabula* of the contents, both in the hand of Marcus Musurus). The earliest mention of its Vallian origin is in Cenni storici della R. Biblioteca Estense in Modena. Con appendice di documenti. Modena: Cappelli; 1873. p. 14. The stemmatic reconstruction outlined here significantly strengthens the hypothesis that the manuscript did indeed find a place among Valla's books. A description of the codex by Dieter Harlfinger can be accessed at: <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/cagb7870188>>. On the relationship between the Mutinensis and Par. gr. 2035, see Rashed M, Ref. 37. pp. 306-10. Due to a clerical error, a direct filiation of the Mutinensis from the Riccardianus 14 is indicated in the *stemma*, in contrast to the partial *stemma* on p. 310 and the textual argument expounded in the body of the text.
 47. Valla had in his library at least four other codices copied by Suliardus: Mutinenses α .P.5.17 (gr. 115), α .Q.5.16 (gr. 85), α .Q.5.21 (gr. 91), α .T.9.6 (gr. 40), but it cannot be ruled out that all the codices now in Modena that this copyist produced came to Alberto Pio's library through Valla's collection. On Suliardus' movements, in addition to the still valuable appendix in: Lobel E, Ref. 18. pp. 54-56, see also Speranzi D, Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; 2013. pp. 60-63 and Stefec R, Die Handschriften der Sophistenviten Philostrats. Römische historische Mitteilungen 2014;56:137-206, here p. 195. As documented by Orlandi L, Ref. 19. pp. 143-45, it is certain that Suliardus had access to Valla's codices (many of which were already owned by Kallistos), most likely during the last decade of the fifteenth century. The literature on Suliardus seems to have overlooked the important indication by Diller A, The Manuscripts of Pausania, Trans Proc Am Philol Assoc. 1958;88:169-88, here p. 178, that Suliardus signed in 1491 Par. gr. 1410 "doubtless copied in Florence from the old codex," meaning by this the now-lost manuscript brought to Italy by Niccolò Niccoli in 1418 and then kept at the convent of San Marco for over a century before it disappeared. Thus, the *terminus ante quem* for Suliardus' arrival in Italy is the narrow period 1489-1490, and not the wider 1489-1495 time span, conservatively indicated by Speranzi D, ref. 47. p. 63.

