

ANDREA BIGLIA (c. 1394-1435)

The Preservation and Dispersion of the Biglia Manuscripts

The news of Biglia's untimely death in Siena must have reached Milan not long afterwards. Thereupon the brethren of San Marco's Monastery in that city acted with dispatch to claim the inheritance left by Fra Andrea, which consisted above all else in the finely wrought, that is, the approved, copies of his own writings¹. This, according to a provision of the still operative Constitutions of 1290, was the right of that monastery as the convent which had "begotten" Andrea "in Christ"². Accordingly, the community decided to send their procurator, Fra Pasquino, to Siena as their representative³. On November 3 he presented himself at the Sienese chancellery bearing the following letter of commendation from Duke Filippo Maria of Milan:

Our most dear and distinguished friends,

Our reverend and venerable religious, the prior and brethren of the convent of San Marco in our city of Milan, have informed us that the famous professor of Holy Writ, Master Andrea Biglia, a professed of their convent, recently passed away in your city of Siena, leaving a great number of beautiful books and many other goods and things, all of which they claim belong de jure to their convent. We, moreover, by reason of our extraordinary affection for the same prior and brethren, have directed them to commend themselves earnestly to your distinguished selves, urging you eminent gentlemen to give your gracious assistance with right goodwill to Fra Pasquino, their representative, the bearer of these presents, who comes to your city for no other purpose than for the acquisition of the aforesaid books and goods left by erstwhile Master Andrea. A disposition, however, by Master Andrea himself, if he had otherwise disposed of these books and goods, is, as always, inviolable. Your cooperation in the transfer of the books and goods to the said Fra Pasquino in

* See J.C. SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435), His Life and Writings*, in *Augustiniana* 43 (1993) 1-2, 103-160.

¹ See Table VI.

² *Constitutiones O.E.S.A.* [of 1290] (Venice, 1508), p. 21v: "Et si qua bona iure hereditario post decessum suum remanserint, ad locum qui eum in Christo genuit, deductis tamen expensis infirmitatis et sepulture, devolvantur".

³ F. MARLETTA, *Note all'epistolario del Panormita*, in *La Rinascità* 5 (1942), 516-26, p. 525.

the name of his aforementioned convent will please us exceedingly.

Given at Cusago⁴, on the 17th day of October 1435⁵.

The inviolable disposition of goods to which this letter referred as having possibly been made by Andrea himself was in keeping with another provision of the same *Constitutions*, which accorded an Augustinian religious, while yet in health, the right to make a gift, with the permission of his superior, of a book or thing to a place or to a brother in the Order⁶. Biglia, overtaken by sudden and unexpected death, had, to all appearances, not exercised this right. That Fra Pasquino was successful in his mission can be inferred from two separate entries in the registers of Gerardo da Rimini, Prior General of the Order, both of which strongly recommend a reward for Fra Pasquino from his prior and community for his labors in claiming Andrea's effects and removing them to San Marco's in Milan⁷. It will be shown, moreover, that virtually all of the original Biglia manuscripts were still there in the San Marco library in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and that a few of these same parchments remained there through the first half of the eighteenth.

Leakage from Biglia's manuscript books other than his own compositions may have begun even before his death. His copy of Plato's *Republic*, for example, came, as we have seen, into the possession of a con-

⁴ The modern name is perhaps Cusago, a town to the west of Milan. It has a Visconti castle illustrated in *Lombardia*, Parte prima, Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1938, p. 120, fig. 203.

⁵ See Appendix for the Latin text [translation mine].

⁶ *Constitutiones* [of 1290], p. 21v: "Praeterea fratri existenti in sanitate liceat librum sive aliquam rem, de licentia sui superioris, loco vel alicui fratri ordinis dare, ita tamen quod ipsam rem vel librum seu usum eius extunc de cetero non possit habere. Quod si secus fuerit factum, concessio sive donatio huiusmodi nullam habeat firmitatem".

⁷ ROMA, Archivum generale O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 18: "Arimini, iulii 19, 1437. — Mandavimus Priori sive vices [sic] gerenti conventus Sancti Marchi [sic] de Mediolano ceterique patribus et fratribus ipsius conventus in meritum sancte obedientie quatenus dicerant [sic] secundum conscientiam quid pro suis laboribus frater Pasquinus de Mediolano meruerit eundo Senas et conducendo res olim magistri Andree de Mediolano Mediolanum et illud sub eodem precepto tradere eidem curent". Ib., fol. 43: "Ferrarie, decembris 22, 1438. — Item mandavimus Priori qui erit quatenus cum patribus, visis rationibus rerum magistri olim Andree de Mediolano quas frater Pasquinus traduxit de Senis Mediolanum, eidem aliquod emolumentum in premium laboris assignet". From R. ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia, Augustinian Friar and Humanist* († 1435), in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 154-85, p. 172. There can be little doubt that the Latin term *res*, 'things, effects, property,' used by Gerardo was intended to include Biglia's manuscript books.

temporary, Pier Candido Decembrio⁸. It is entirely possible, moreover, that Biglia *existens in sanitate*, to use the phrase of the *Constitutions* of 1290⁹, lost control of such a book through loan or theft, or gave it away. It is highly improbable, however, that a man like Biglia, who lavished so much care on the production of his manuscripts, would have parted during his lifetime with the autograph of his second eulogy of Gian Galeazzo, the *Secunda collaudatio* [ML 14], or with his Latin translation of Plutarch's *Timoleon* [ML 59], both of which are now found as 'strays', the one, indeed, in Milan, the other in distant Macerata¹⁰. They are, perhaps, examples of the steady attrition of the San Marco collection of Bigliana until its final dissolution under Napoleon¹¹. At any rate, they were evidently not available to Pamfili when he visited that library toward the end of the sixteenth century, prior to the publication of his *Chronica ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini* in 1581¹².

Table I is a list of bibliographers who have dealt with Biglia, from da Cora and his *Defensorium* of 1481 to an article of Anna Morisi's in 1974¹³. Those bibliographers who have had firsthand knowledge of any Biglia manuscripts or have handled any document relating to our author have been designated by an asterisk, and those who personally visited the Biglia collection in the San Marco library before the Napoleonic suppression have been additionally distinguished with a dagger. Of the latter there are only three: namely, Pamfili, De Rossi-Gandolfo, and Argelati, publishing respectively in 1581, 1704, and 1745. It will become evident, then, that in the interval of 120 years between the work of Pamfili and that of De Rossi-Gandolfo, every other bibliographer was indebted either directly or indirectly to Pamfili for any specific listing of Biglia's writings. From da Cora, Biglia's earliest known bibliographer, they could have drawn very little; the *Defensorium* does no more than allude to three,

⁸ FIRENZE, Bibl. Riccardina 827, fol. 36v: "Cum in novo exemplari olim fratris Andreae Bilii graece scriptum offenderim ..." [Decembrio writing to Fra Angelo]. See J.C. SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 138, note 171.

⁹ See note 6 above.

¹⁰ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 131, note 138 and p. 137, note 168. Respectively, *Secunda collaudatio*: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana F 55 sup., ff. 50r-57r, and *Timoleonis vita*: MACERATA, Bibl. Communale 5 3 C 26, ff. 89r-119r.

¹¹ The suppression of the monastery of San Marco took place around 1797. See notes 70-71.

¹² Pamfili's *Chronica* and a number of other rare works were available to the writer at the Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

¹³ An investigation of European library catalogues would establish the identity of any extant but still unstudied Biglia manuscripts (see Table IV) and thus expand the list.

possibly four, of Andrea's works¹⁴. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, exchange, sale, gift, borrowing, theft, or time (denoting natural decay), the attrition of use, and the ravages of abuse, had reduced the Biglia collection in San Marco to only nine codices¹⁵.

Pamfili, therefore, is for the student of Biglia's work the bibliographer par excellence. He seems to have had an innate sense of historical method and to have been careful not only about sources but about procedure too, as appears from the words which stand at the head of his list: "[The works of Biglia] which I actually looked at one by one in our library of San Marco and read through the titles are as follows"¹⁶. An examination of Pamfili's list, presented here in Table II, shows that it was his purpose to record only the actual compositions of Biglia. He excluded, therefore, Andrea's copy of Terence, even though (as Argelati noted¹⁷) it contained original, even autograph elements. (This omission is indicated at the end of the list after item [37]). Pamfili also excluded from his list (see after item [35]) any mention of what Arbesmann takes to be a copy of Biglia's translation of Aristotle's *Physics*¹⁸. If Pamfili decided not to mention the existence of this codex in the San Marco library because he knew it was a copy, the question then arises why he decided to present in his list both of the titles which bibliographers generally agree represent one and the same work, that is, Biglia's Milanese history. If the bibliographers are right, then either the codex represented by the title *Historiarum Mediolanensium, lib. 1* (item [22]), or both, are copies. (The writer's argument in favor of identity is to be found in the *Master List*)¹⁹. From another codex²⁰, which is a collection of six of Biglia's opuscula, Pamfili ([8], [9], [10]) gives the titles of the three non-oratorical opuscula,

¹⁴ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 103, note 3. Da Cora, like Muratori, seems to take the position that the *Historia Lombardica* and the *Historia Mediolanensis* are to be identified as one and the same work. See note 31 below. See ML 1 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant Works of Andrea Biglia OSA († 1435)*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 40 (1977), 141-84.

¹⁵ See Table II: D-G [3]/Arg XX, D-G [4]/Arg XVII, D-G [5]/Arg XIX, D-G [8]/Arg XXI, D-G [2]/Arg XVI, D-G [9]/Arg XXII, D-G [7]/Arg XVIII, D-G [10]/Arg XXIII, and D-G [6]/Arg XXIV.

¹⁶ G. PAMFILI, *Chronica ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini*, (Rome: Ex Typographia Georgii Ferrarii, 1581) p. 78v: "Quae vero Mediolani in bibliotheca nostra S. Marci singulatim vidi, ac per titulos legi, haec sunt" [translation mine].

¹⁷ See Table II, Arg XXIV, and SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 138, notes 172-73.

¹⁸ See Table II, D-G [7]/Arg XVIII, and SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 137, note 167.

¹⁹ See ML 1 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

²⁰ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup.

but apparently decided not to cite the three orations that accompany them.

These omissions are noted, one after item [9] and the other two after item [10]. We do not know why Pamfili did this; he may have known that these orations were to be found in another collective work, possibly the now missing *Orationum & epistolarum lib. 2* (item [2]).

It was not until some 120 years after Pamfili's *Chronica* that another eyewitness account of the Bigliana in the San Marco library — that of Agostino De Rossi — appears, reflected in the Augustinian D. A. Gandolfo's *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* of 1704. In the present instance, Gandolfo was writing at second hand. In his account of Biglia (pp. 60-62) Gandolfo includes a list of Biglia's writings. The first work listed is the treatise addressed to Fra Ludovico [ML 11]. At the end of the group that follows, items [2] through [10], he introduces two sentences that show he is drawing on a list prepared by De Rossi and that De Rossi in the course of a visit to San Marco paid particular attention to one of the manuscripts in question. Gandolfo writes:

"That all these works [his nos. (2) through (10)] are still to be found in our library of San Marco in Milan is given witness to by my confrere²¹ Agostino

²¹ De Rossi and Gandolfo were both sons of the Augustinian monastery of Genoa, Sant' Agostino. De Rossi died in 1668 at age 40, that is thirty-six years before the publication of Gandolfo's *Dissertatio historica* in 1704. It is conceivable, therefore, that such a manuscript book as the writer is envisioning, De Rossi's *Index*, would have been placed in the library of that convent when, presumably, it was removed from Agostino De Rossi's cell after his demise, if it had not already found its way there. Nowhere among the bibliographers, except in Gandolfo, is there a mention of such a book by De Rossi, much less of an edition of it. Consult the following accounts: (1) Giuseppe LANTERI, *Postrema saecula sex religionis Augustinianae* (3 vol. Tolentine-Rome: Ex Typographia Guidoni, 1858-60), III, 24-25: "Augustinus de Rossi, Ligur, ex oppido S. Michaelis prope Rhapallum, sacrae theologiae Doctor, non solum in theologicis disciplinis egregie versatum, verum etiam italicae, atque latinae linguae valde peritum se ostendit in pluribus lucubrationibus, quas tum versu, tum soluta oratione in lucem immisit. Ab Oldonino in *Athenis Lingusticis* dicitur theologus, poeta, et orator magni nominis. Septennium fuit Principis Andreae Doria praeceptor, ac secretarius ab epistolis latinis, obiitque in ejusdem Principis palatio anno 1668, aetatis suae 40. Scripsit varias orationes, epigrammata, odes, elegias, et alia, quorum quaedam videri possunt apud nostratem Gandolphum in suis floribus poeticis *Eremitae Augustiniani*". (2) Johann Felix OSSINGER, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana historica, critica et chronologica* (Ingolstadt-Augsburg: Universitatis bibliopolae, 1768), p. 780: "de Rubeis Augustinus, natione Italus, Alumnus Congregationis Lombardiae, Filius Coenobii Genuensis, vixit Saeculo 17. Vir singulari magnitudine ingenii ornatus, atque multarum scientiarum notitiam assecutus, varia exaravit, de quibus tamen sub nomine solum nota est: *Mulier fortis*. Mediolani 1617". See also Christian Gottlieb JÖCHER, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon/Universalis lexicon eruditorum* (11 vols., Leipzig: J.F. Gleditsch, 1750-1819, 1897), III, 2277, and Davide Aurelio PERINI, *Bibliographia*

De Rossi of Genoa, in an Index which is before me [*apud me*]. And he adds: "That he [Biglia] was of Lecceto I find from his own writings, sc. from the book *De anima*"²².

De Rossi is referring to the opening of a still extant manuscript (ML 54)²³ in which Biglia sets out his own name in the form, "F. B. Andr' i(n) illiceto".

The rest of Gandolfo's list (comprised of 38 items in all) was derived entirely from Pamfili²⁴, with three exceptions: item [1] mentioned above, the *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* [ML 11], which Gandolfo knew from the *Crysol purificativo* of Emmanuel Leal²⁵; item [11], the *Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum, ad Johannem cardinalem et episcopum Rhodemagensem* [ML 122], additionally known to Gandolfo from the manuscript copy in the Angelica Library in Rome²⁶; and item [38], the *Super 'Missus est angelus' et canticum 'Magnificat' expositio* [ML 41], which Gandolfo knew from Hippolyto Marraccio's *Bibliotheca Mariana*²⁷. In copying

Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Itali (4 vols., Florence: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929-37), II, 30.

²² GANDOLFO, p. 61: "Omnia haec adhuc permanere in Nostra Bibl. S. Marci Mediolani, testatur meus Augustinus de Rubeis Genuen. in *Indice* apud me. Et subdit. *Hunc inuenio ex ipsius scriptis fuisse illicetanum, scilicet ex lib. de Anima*".

²³ Treated in SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 132-3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* and p. 62: "[13], Haec [items (11) and (12)], & sequentia [items 13 ff.] ex Pamphilo & Torello", Gandolfo knew and used Pamfili directly, not just indirectly through Luigi TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani* (8 vols., Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti, 1659-86.), because, while he omits the *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo* (Pam [16], Table II), as Torelli does, he includes Pam [37] (Table II), using in lieu of a title these words: "Interpretatus est quoque Libros Ethicorum Aristotelis" (Gan [37]), a work which Torelli fails to mention.

²⁵ Emmanuel LEAL, *Crysol purificativo* (Lisbon 1673), p. 368. See GANDOLFO, p. 61: "citatur a meo Patre Emmanuelle Leal Lusitano in suo Opere Vlisypponae impresso 1673. fol. pag. 368; asseritque esse impr. Parmae 1601 4". For the refutation of this latter statement, see ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 155-56, note 9.

²⁶ GANDOLFO, p. 61: "Romae in Angelica M.S. fol.", that is, codex 1136 (S 4 5).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62: "ut ait Marraccius"; Ippolito MARRACCI, *Bibliotheca Mariana* (2 vols., Rome: Typis F. Caballi, 1648). See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 139, note 177. Gandolfo also saw fit to quote the comment of Sisto DA SIENA (SENESE), *Bibliotheca sancta* (Cologne: Apud M. Cholinum, 1586³), on the *Hexaemeron* (Gan [27]) [ML 44¹ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*]: "... insigne commentarium, ait Sixtus Senensis, quod una cum alijs eruditissimis eius operibus, nondum impressis in Bibl. Marciana mediol. habetur".

Pamfili²⁸ and reconciling his titles with De Rossi's, for some reason, or, probably, by error, Gandolfo omitted two works, Pamfili's item [11], the *Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversum schisma Benedicti* [ML 4]²⁹, and Pamfili's item [16], the *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo* [ML 26]; and, in the writer's opinion, he also left a doublet in his list, that is, two titles representing one and the same manuscript. These latter titles, which the writer has placed opposite each other in Table II, are the *Hexaemeron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito* [ML 44¹] (Pam [26]/Gan [27]) and the *Principium expositionis in Genesim* [ML 44²] (D-G [5]). Needless to say, until a manuscript is found and its identity definitely established, there is always the possibility, however slim, that these titles represent different works. And in reporting Pamfili's item [30], the *Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis Physicorum, libri 8* [ML 51¹], as it would appear, Gandolfo has it as his item [36], *In libros Physicorum Aristotelis, libri 3* [ML 51²], the difference in number probably a printer's error.

Something less than a quarter of a century later, Ludovico Muratori and Filippo Argelati were collaborating in the preparation of the text of Biglia's Milanese history, published in Milan in 1731 in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* vol. 19, under the title *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [ML 1¹]. In his preface, Muratori described the provenance of the four fifteenth-century manuscripts he had borrowed for collation by Argelati³⁰; he stated his opinion that the two titles found in the tradition de-

²⁸ Like Pamfili, Gandolfo supplied incipits for only some of his entries; he never furnishes an incipit when Pamfili has none, and never has an incipit longer than Pamfili's. In 10 of his 11 incipits Gandolfo corresponds with Pamfili, either exactly or with slight differences that might have occurred through miscopying. The incipit he uses with his item [14] is reported in the next note.

²⁹ It is clear, though, that a *Panischolaria* entry stood in the tradition that yielded Gandolfo's list. As item [14] (Pam [10]), Gandolfo sets out the title *Pro suscipienda in Boemos expeditione ... lib 1*, but mistakenly adds thereto the incipit (*Nulla pacto adduci possum*) of the *Panischolaria*, which is item 11 in Pamfili's list.

³⁰ Ludovico Antonio MURATORI, *In Andreae Bili historiam Mediolanensem Praefatio*, in his *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1731), XIX, 3-5, p. 5: "Antiquissimum Codicem MStum, ubi Historia haec legitur, Ambrosiana bibliotheca ostendit, cujus exemplum mihi humanissime communicavit Marchio Theodorus Alexander Trivultius Patricius Mediolanensis, nempe ille, quem vestitum quidem Familiae decus illustrem, sed illustriorem jam chorus omnis Musarum, & carum cunctis effecit, & cui in primis multa debere me fateor, quum potissimum illius cura & opera ipsa haec mea Collectio in publicum Mediolani prodierit. Attamen ut nihil deesset Historiae huic, atque omnia castigatiora prodirent, ubi intellexi, pervetustum, ac vivente fortassis Auctore scriptum, ipsius Historiae Codicem adservari apud nobilem ac ornatissimum virum Carolum Comitem Pertusatum in Supremo Hispaniarum Consessu Regentem, qui

scending from Pamfili — namely, *Historiarum Langobardorum*, lib. 1 [ML 1²] (Pam [7]), and *Historiarum Mediolanensium*, lib. 1 [ML 1³] (Pam [22]) — are of the same work³¹; and, in addition to various biographical material, he included a detailed description of two codices, then, as now, in the Ambrosian Library, which contain works by Biglia³². The first of these, bearing the signature H 117 inf., contains items [11], [12], [13], [14], [23], [15], [16] and [17] of Pamfili's list, in that order³³. The other, bearing the signature N 280 sup.³⁴, contains items [8] and [9] of Pamfili's

Vindobonae agens, magnifica jam sibi comparata Bibliotheca, ardua negotia cum Musis conciliare pergit: continuo per literas egi, ut liceret mihi praesidio ejusmodi uti ad instruendam Bilii editionem. Protinus impetravi: quid vero e collatione textus illius in rem nostram emergerit, quicumque haec leget, animadvertet. Demum Ambrosianum Codicem, cujus jam memini, suppeditavit *Clariss. Saxius* eidem Bibliothecae Praefectus, quem edendum curavi. Alterum quoque Billianae Historiae exemplum, illudque vestustum reperi in eo ipso Codice Canonorum Novariensium, appellato *il Valisone*, unde Chronicon Mediolanense depromsi, editum Tom. XXVI Collectionis istius". See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 150, note 222.

³¹ Ibid.: "Venio nunc ad Historiam, quam publici juris facio. Scribit memoratus Vossius [*De historicis latinis*], a Billio compositam tum *Historiam Langobardorum*, tum *Historiam Mediolanensem*. Ego nullam aliam praeter hanc vidi; mihiq; paene certum videtur, *Historiam Mediolanensem* eandem esse cum *Langobardica*".

³² Ibid., pp. 4 and 5. See also Antonio CASAMASSA, *L'autore di un preteso discorso di Martino V*, in A. CASAMASSA, M. MACCARRONE, and L. OLIGER, eds., *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1948), II, 109-25, pp. 113-114, and ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 183-84.

³³ *Codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf. is Biglia's approved copy of these eight opuscula, that is, done by scribes under his direction, to which he added the rubrics, namely, the titles, incipits, and explicits, in his own hand. Because there are eight opuscula in this one codex, there are seven instances when the endings and beginnings of the works adjoin each other. In five of these seven instances this occurs on the same side of the folio. This can only mean that Biglia planned to have the codex executed thus. This would mean that in going through this codex and copying out the titles Pamfili erred and omitted the *De institutis ... Bernardini*, which in proper sequence should have been his item [15]. Later, when he caught his error, he made it his item [23] instead.

³⁴ In reporting the signature, and in other matters as well, Filippo ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium* (2 vols in 4, Milan: In aedibus Palatinis, 1745), I, 2, 160, was in error. Under item X of his list, he states in regard to this codex: "Extat in MS. Bibliothecae Ambrosianae signato H. n. 66. in fol. a quodam Aloysio de Strata scripto, & ad Conventum S. Mariae Coronatae olim spectante". In criticism and rebuttal of this statement, G. M. MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (2 vols in 6 pts, Brescia: Bossini, 1753-63), II, 2, 1220, note 12, observes: "[Argelati,] *Biblioth.* cit. Tom. I. col. 160 e Tom. II col. 1952. Tacer però non si vuole, che il Codice della Libreria Ambrosiana di Milano contenente le Operette del Biglia registrate dall'Argelati dal num. X. al XV, non è altrimenti il Codice H. 66. come riferisce il suddetto Argelati, ma il Codice N. 66 [the present *codex Ambrosianus* C 69 inf.] Questo è un Codice cartaceo bellissimo scritto in rosso, e in nero, e con miniature; ma è altresì falso che quel Codice, come quivi dice il

list; then, the oration *In exequiis* [ML 13]; next, Pamfili [10], followed by the *Oratio militaris* [ML 22] and the oration [*Coram Sigismundo rege*] [ML 24] — all in that order. As already noted, the three orations here indicated by title were not listed by Pamfili.

The first of these two Biglia manuscripts, the present *codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf. came to the Ambrosiana from San Marco's through Francesco Ciceri (1527-c. 1595)³⁵. The *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem* for the departure of this codex from the San Marco library can be fixed in the second half of the sixteenth century; these *termini* are, respectively, Pamfili's inspection of the codex in San Marco's prior to the publication of his *Chronica* in 1581 and Ciceri's acquisition of the codex prior to his death in c. 1595. We know, moreover, from a note written in the codex in 1605 by Antonio Olgiate, the first librarian of the Ambrosiana, that H 117 inf. was acquired from Ciceri's heirs by Federico Cardinal Borromeo, to serve with other codices as the nucleus of the manuscript collection of that library³⁶. We do not know at present how *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup. passed from the San Marco library into the Ambrosiana³⁷.

Much specific and detailed information was thus available to Argelati from his collaboration with Muratori when he came to compose his article on Biglia for the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, published in 1745. Besides some biographical detail which is not otherwise known³⁸, Argelati's principal contribution to our knowledge of Biglia is his list³⁹, which, like Gandolfo's, is divided into two categories: (1) works of Biglia known from manuscript, and (2) titles derived from other bibliographers. The first category is comprised of items I through XXIV,

medesimo Argelati, sia stato scritto a quodam Aloysio de Strata. Forse elgi aveva allora per le mani un'altra Collectanea, nella quale si trova un'Opera di Maffeo Vegio intitolata: *Dialogus veritatis, & Filalitis* [sic], a piè della quale si legge appunto: 'explicit liber iste, quem ego Aloysius Mediolanensis de Strata scripsi', ed avendo veduto allora la *Querela pacis* del Biglia, ha confusa quest'Opera con quella del Vegio, o di alcun altro Autore scritta dal detto Luigi de Strata. Ma quello che più importa e che l'Argelati abbia mentovata, sebben malmente, la suddetta Raccolta delle Opere del Biglia, la quale è una copia [that is, *codex Ambrosianus* C 69 inf. ff. 142r-159v], e non abbia indicati gli Originali esistenti pure in detta Libreria Ambrosiana scritti in pergamena, e di eleganti miniature adornati, segnati N. 280, siccome ci avvisa di Milano il gentilissimo Sig. Carantonio Tanzi".

³⁵ CASAMASSA, *Un preteso discorso*, p. 114 and note 27.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See note 34 above.

³⁸ Such as the details on the Biglia family tomb. See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 106 note 14.

³⁹ Unlike Pamfili and Gandolfo, Argelati furnishes no incipits.

the second of items XXV through XXXIX. The first category, likewise, is divided into two: (a) manuscripts known as then belonging to libraries other than San Marco's (items I through XV), and (b) manuscripts then housed in the San Marco library (items XVI through XXIV).

These categories, (1) and (2), are in exact accord with the declaration of procedure made by Argelati at the end of his biographical remarks on Biglia: "We present his works here, observing only the order in which we have had the [manuscripts] themselves in hand, and then other [works] as related by other [bibliographers]"⁴⁰. The subdivisions of the first category (works known from manuscript) are likewise in exact accord with an observation — and a second declaration of procedure — made by Argelati at the end of his treatment of the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [ML 1¹] (his item I): "The Abbot Picinelli cited as many works of this author as possible, the manuscripts of which he alleged are preserved in the library of the Brother Hermits of San Marco, but either many of them have perished, or he was confusing them with those in the Ambrosiana; we begin with the Ambrosian codices"⁴¹. Argelati's reference is to Filippo Picinelli's *Ateneo dei Letterati milanesi* published in 1670 and in particular to this statement at the end of Picinelli's biographical remarks on Biglia: "He also wrote many volumes, which are preserved in manuscript in the library of San Marco"⁴². Picinelli's list of Biglia's works, which then follows immediately, has the same order and much of the detail of the list presented in 1608 by Antonio Possevino, whom Picinelli cited as one of his sources⁴³. Possevino in turn gives evidence of having taken everything but the order of his list from Pamfili.

It is clear then, on the one hand, that Possevino and Picinelli, having no direct contact with the manuscript, were unaware that the two Biglia codices under our consideration, namely, H 117 inf. and N. 280 sup., had at the time of their respective publications long since passed from the

⁴⁰ ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,149-60: "Nos Opera illius hic exhibemus, servato tantum ordine, quo ipsa prae manibus habuimus, & deinde caetera sicuti ab aliis relata" [translation mine].

⁴¹ ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,160: "Abbas Picinellus Opera quam plurima istius Auctoris protulit, quae asserebat MSS. servari in Bibliotheca Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Marci, sed aut ex ipsis multa periere, aut ea, quae extant in Ambrosiana, cum ipsis confundeat, nos a Codicibus Ambrosianis incipimus" [translation mine].

⁴² FILIPPO PICINELLI, *Ateneo dei letterati Milanesi* (Milan: F. Vigone, 1670), p. 28 (reprinted in MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIX,6): "... avend'anco scritto molti volumi, che si conservano manuscritti nella Libreria di S. Marco, cioè" [translation mine].

⁴³ ANTONIO POSSEVINO, *Apparatus sacer* (3 tomes in 2 vols, Venice: Apud societatem Venetam, 1606), pp. 81-82.

San Marco library into the Ambrosiana; and, on the other hand, that Argelati, who had personally handled these codices in the Ambrosiana, was not absolutely certain of their provenance. It is also clear, moreover, that Argelati erred in presuming that any of the sources he listed, notably Picinelli or Possevino, had any except indirect knowledge of the Biglia manuscripts. Thus, after checking Picinelli's list against the manuscripts extant in private hands in Milan, those in the Ambrosiana, and those as yet in the San Marco library, Argelati was correct in his observation that "many of them [that is, works of Biglia once extant in San Marco's] have perished [or are, at least, missing]". He was wrong, however, in his presumption that "he [Picinelli, in 1670, the date of Picinelli's publication,] was confusing them [that is, the Biglia manuscripts once extant in San Marco's] with those in Ambrosiana." And by his use of the correlative conjunctions *aut* ... *aut* respectively before each of these possibilities he excluded the actuality, which was simply that Picinelli, very much out of date in this regard, was relating the state of the Bigliana in the San Marco library at the time of Pamfili's visit there prior to Pamfili's publication of 1581.

Argelati's treatment of the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [ML 1¹] as his item I is clear and deft⁴⁴, but, as he progresses through *codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf., listing the titles of the opuscula contained therein as his items II through IX, he makes a series of somewhat unclear comments, which are, perhaps, best set out in a tabulation:

Argelati	Picinelli	Title ⁴⁵	Comment
II	[2]	<i>Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversum schisma Benedicti</i>	... extat in Ambrosiana in MS. Codice signato H. n. 117, litteris rubro-nigris, & in Bibliotheca S. Marci.

⁴⁴ ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,160. First, he cites the edition in Muratori and the manuscripts on which it was based; second, he describes his part in the collection of the manuscripts; third, he cites the Vatican manuscripts of the history as listed by Montfaucon; fourth, he cites the Graevius edition; fifth, he cites another manuscript of the history preserved in the Visconti collection.

⁴⁵ For the sake of uniformity and clarity, the writer has here employed the titles found in the Master List in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, which are not necessarily identical with those presented by Argelati.

III	[3]	<i>Ad Reginaldum Remensem archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum, super generali indulto Alexandri V</i>	Extat in Ambros.
IV	[4]	<i>De disciplina ordinis ammonitio habita in capitulo Bononiensi</i>	Ibidem.
V	[5]	<i>Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum</i>	Ibidem.
VI	[14]	<i>De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum</i>	hic non est in Codice S. Marci.
VII	[6]	<i>Ad Barchinonenses de littera h in Yhesu</i>	In utraque Bibl. ut sup.
VIII	[7]	<i>De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo</i>	Ibid.
IX	[8]	<i>Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione</i>	Ibid.

It should first be observed in the tabulation that all of Argelati's comments are grammatically positive with the sole exception of number VI, and then that comment number II affirms the existence of a work in both the Ambrosian and San Marco libraries. Comment number III, however, while it affirms that the work there in question is likewise extant in the Ambrosian Library, is silent — contrary to what one would expect from Argelati's procedure in comment number II — as to whether or not the work is also in the San Marco library. Consequently, comment number III, taken in conjunction with comment number II, allows one or the other

of two inferences regarding the presence of the work there, one positive, that is: *extat quoque in Bibliotheca s. Marci*, and one negative, that is: *non extat in Bibliotheca s. Marci*. Moreover, what is true logically of comment number II is also true of comments numbers IV and V, which have been identified with comment number III by the Latin expression *ibidem*. If the negative inference, that is, *non extat in Bibliotheca s. Marci*, is the proper one, it must then be reconciled with comment number VI, that is, *hic non est in Codice s. Marci*, which is expressly negative. But comment number VI is a negation of the proposition, *extat in Bibliotheca s. Marci*, which is the alternative, or positive, inference allowed by comment number III when taken in conjunction with comment number II. In other words, if the negative inference drawn from comment number III, namely, *non extat in Bibliotheca s. Marci*, is the correct one, there is no positive assertion in regard to the library of San Marco left to be negated by comment number VI, which Argelati actually has written. Therefore, the negative inference cannot be correct, and the positive inference must be drawn, *extat in Bibliotheca s. Marci*, from which, then, comments IV through IX flow in completely logical sequence⁴⁶.

It is obvious, therefore, that some error was made in the composition of comment number III, either by Argelati himself or by someone else. If we assume that Argelati wrote what he meant, he could have written a simple *ibidem*, which would have said all that was required. The error, then, would have occurred in the printer's composing room. One plausible explanation, for example, would be that the typesetter, through a slip of the eye, read and set comment number II a second time under item III. When the error was later discovered, all of comment number II set in type after the third line of item II was simply extracted, and the words, *Extat in Ambros.*, which completed the line, were allowed to remain.

However comment number III came to have its present form, if we can now hold that the sequence of comments took the logically acceptable form it would have had if comment number II had declared the presence of the work in question in both libraries, two hypotheses can then be adduced to explain these comments. Argelati, in affirming the presence of

⁴⁶ The potential for confusion in Argelati's comments II through IX is enormous. A classic example is found in Ossinger's *Bibliotheca Augustiniana historica*, pp. 130-34, which contains a list of Bigliana riddled with errors because of Ossinger's misinterpretation of these eight comments. For instance, after his item [2], that is, the *Panischolaria*, Ossinger has the comment: "Exstat in nostra Bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mediolani ..." or, after his item [14], that is, the *Primus et secundus liber Physicorum, cum principio libri tertii*, the comment: "Exstat in Bibliotheca nostra ad S. Ambrosium Mediolani". The Hermits of St. Augustine never owned, controlled, or administered the Ambrosian Library.

a work by Biglia in the San Marco library, was (1) comparing the titles he found in *codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf. with the titles of Biglia's works that Picinelli lists as being in San Marco, or (2) comparing the titles he found in that codex with the titles he found in another codex as yet in the San Marco library and almost identical in content with the Ambrosian codex. In favor of the first hypothesis, it can be pointed out that the fifth opusculum contained in H 117 inf., the *De institutis ... Bernardini*, that is, Argelati's item VI, is out of proper sequence in Picinelli's list, where it is presented as item [14] instead of item [6]. An exactly parallel misplacement had occurred in Pamfili's list and, consequently, in that of Possevino⁴⁷. Ticking off the titles one by one, Argelati might have taken note of the break in the sequence, not bothered to search further down the list, and given the negative statement that forms comment number IV. Against this hypothesis, one may ask why, if this was the procedure employed by Argelati, he failed to continue with *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup., which he next considered in his list, making no reference to San Marco holdings. In the second hypothesis, Argelati's *extat* (*est*) would have been literally applicable — the work is in the Ambrosian codex and it is also in the additional codex assumed in the hypothesis; in the first hypothesis, however, the *extat* would be shorthand for 'is in Picinelli's list'. The writer is inclined toward the first hypothesis. Of course, the discovery of a codex containing Argelati's items II, III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX; that is, Picinelli's items [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8]; that is, Possevino's items [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8]; that is, Pamfili's items [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], would vindicate the second hypothesis completely.

Argelati's treatment of the opuscula in *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup. in his items X through XV is direct and uncomplicated⁴⁸. Unlike Pamfili, he does not omit the titles of the three orations contained therein⁴⁹. He errs, however, in the title he assigns in his item XV to the untitled oration [*Coram Sigismundo rege*] [ML 24], referring to it as *Altera Oratio ad eundem Ducem*⁵⁰, who would be Filippo Maria of Milan, named just above in the title of item XIV⁵¹. The error is under-

⁴⁷ In Pamfili's list the items in sequence are [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], and [17], while the item out of sequence occurs six items later as [23]; in Picinelli's list the items in sequence are [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], and [8], while the items out of sequence occurs likewise six items later as [14]. See note 33 above.

⁴⁸ That is, Argelati's errors in the signature of the manuscript and in the title of the anepigraphic [*Coram Sigismundo rege*] are easily recognized and rectified.

⁴⁹ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 143, note 201.

⁵⁰ ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,160: XV. *Altera Oratio ad eundem Ducem*. *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*: XIV. *In Castris Philippi Ducis Mediolanensium Oratio Militaris*.

standable. Muratori had been content to suggest in his preface that the reader would understand the argument of this oration from its incipit, which reads: "This entire assembly which I see gathered to hear the praises of the blessed Augustine is to me, most godly prince, very gratifying indeed"⁵². Argelati seems to have considered such a surmise sufficient to establish the identity of the 'prince' in question.

Having finished his survey of the Biglia manuscripts then in private hands in Milan and of the Biglia codices in the Ambrosiana, Argelati turned his attention to the nine Biglia manuscripts unquestionably still to be found in the San Marco library at that time. It is in this, the second subdivision of the first category of his list (items XVI-XXIV), that Argelati, in the writer's opinion, makes his principal contribution to our knowledge of Bigliana. Not only is this portion of his list parallel to and, therefore, corroborative of the De Rossi-Gandolfo list, but it contains excellent descriptions of the parchments themselves, which have made possible, or at least, facilitated, the positive identification of three of them in various libraries⁵³.

The correlation between these two accounts of first-hand inspection, along with that of the much earlier one of Pamfili, is for the most part immediately evident from Table II. In discussing here the yield of that table, a composite numeration is employed as the reference. The first of the nine items, that is, Pam [24]/D-G [3]/Arg XX, is an obvious match; the second, Pam [25]/D-G [4]/Arg XVII, presents difficulty only in Pamfili's title, which has been resolved elsewhere⁵⁴; the third, Pam [26]/D-G [5]/Arg XIX, presents a solid problem: while the D-G [5]/Arg XIX match is certain, the writer attaches only a note of probability to their

⁵² MURATORI, *Praefatio*, p. 5: "Tamdem [sic] Oratio habetur, cujus initium: *Mihi quidem, Princeps divinissime, gratissimus est hic omnium coetus, quem ad audiendas beatissimi Augustini laudes convenisse video &c.* Quibus ex verbis argumentum intelligas" [translation mine].

⁵³ For the provenance of the MSS of Biglia's translation of Aristotle's *De anima* (S57) and of his translation of the *Physica* (S56¹) see ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 174-78. That I need not refer to Biglia's *Terence* (S60) as a lost production, but can direct the reader to a manuscript in the British Library is due to the fact that Miss Albinia C. de la Mare, visiting the Catholic University of America in the summer of 1974, mentioned her preliminary study of the manuscript to Professor Peebles, who recalled Argelati's relatively detailed account of the *Terence*. This description was subsequently found to agree with the description contained in Miss de la Mare's notes.

⁵⁴ See ML 41¹-41³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

identification with Pam [26]⁵⁵; the fourth, Pam [31]/D-G [8]/Arg XXI, presents a problem which stems not from the reconciliation of the titles, but from Arbesmann's suggestion that Argelati's title (Arg XXI) may represent Biglia's translation of the *Metaphysica*⁵⁶; the fifth, Pam [34]/D-G [2]/Arg XVI, is again an obvious match, as is also the sixth, Pam [35]/D-G [9]/Arg XXII; the seventh, Pam [—]/D-G [7]/Arg XVIII, in which Pamfili does not enter⁵⁷, as again he does not in the last correlation, presents no problem, granted that De Rossi in naming only two books was applying the principle *parvum pro nihilo reputatur* to the *principio libri tertii* of Argelati's title; the eighth, Pam [36]/D-G [10]/Arg XXIII, is again an obvious match; and the ninth and last, Pam [—]/D-G [6]/Arg XXIV⁵⁸, is an acceptable match, even though the De Rossi-Gandolfo title (D-G [6]) seems more appropriate for a commentary rather than for a text, even one furnished with marginal notes.

The similarity and diversity of such things as language and order in the De Rossi-Gandolfo and Argelati lists are, moreover, reassuringly that characteristic of independent reworking of the same material, and confers on the lists the indefinable aura of authenticity. There is, however, more diversity than similarity in the order of the lists, as appears from the following tabulation:

De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati	Argelati	De Rossi-Gandolfo
[2]	XVI	XVI	[2]
[3]	XX	XVII	[4]
[4]	XVII	XVIII	[7]
[5]	XIX	XIX	[5]
[6]	XXIV	XX	[3]
[7]	XVIII	XXI	[8]

⁵⁵ In Pamfili's list there is no title on Genesis other than his item [26], that is, the *Hexaemeron sive de mundo sex diebus condito*. Both De Rossi-Gandolfi and Argelati, however, seemed to make no identification of Pamfili's title with the manuscript they found in the San Marco library (D-G [5]/Arg XIX) and, therefore, included both titles in their respective lists. See Table II, and ML 47¹-47³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

⁵⁶ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 136, note 165.

⁵⁷ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 107-8, note 20, concerning Pamfili's omission of this item.

⁵⁸ See the preceding note.

De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati	Argelati	De Rossi-Gandolfo
[8]	XXI	XXII	[9]
[9]	XXII	XXIII	[10]
[10]	XXIII	XXIV	[6]

Argelati's first category, that is, works of Biglia known to him from manuscripts, ends, as has been pointed out⁵⁹, with his item XXIV. The second category of Argelati's list, that is, items XXV through XXXIX, consists, as has likewise been noted⁶⁰, of titles derived from other bibliographers, namely, Draud⁶¹, Lasor à Varea and Voss⁶², Marraccio and Novarini⁶³, and Picinelli⁶⁴. From Draud Argelati presented as his items XXV and XXVI, respectively the titles: *In libros Evangelicos lib. IV* - (Arg XXV/Pam [25]/Gan [—]) and *In Exhameron* [sic] - (Arg XXVI/ Pam [26]/Gan [27]); from Lasor à Varea and Voss, as his item XXVII, the title: *Tractatus de detrimento Fidei Orientis, sive de origine Turcarum* - (Arg XXVII/Pam [19]/Gan [11]); from Marraccio and Novarini, as his items XXVIII through XXXI, respectively the titles: *Expositio super Missus est Angelus* - (Arg XXVIII/Pam [—]/Gan [38]), *Expositio super Canticum Magnificat* - (Arg XXIX/Pam [—]/ Gan [likewise 38]), *Sermones Festivi de Beata Virgine* - (Arg XXX/ Pam [—]/Gan [—]), and *De Excellentia dignitate Virginis Mariae* - (Arg XXXI/Pam [—]/Gan [—]); and from Picinelli, as his items XXXII through XXXIX, respectively, the titles: *De amore, & magnitudine Crucis* - (Arg XXXII/Pic [10]/Pam [20]/Gan [20]), *De non necessario mortis metu lib. I* - (Arg XXXIII/Pic [12]/Pam [21]/ Gan [22]), *Historia Longobardorum lib. I* - (Arg XXXIV/Pic [24]/Pam [7]/ Gan [24]), *Exordia super practica Rhetorices* - (Arg XXXV/Pic [27]/Pam [1]/Gan [28]), *De Arte dicendi lib. III* - (Arg XXXVI/Pic [30]/Pam [4]/Gan [31]), *Orationes, & Epistolae lib. II* - (Arg XXXVII/Pic [28]/Pam [2]/Gam [29]), *Grammatices, sive de octo partibus Orationis, lib. VIII* - (Arg

⁵⁹ See p. 395 above.

⁶⁰ See the preceding note.

⁶¹ Georg DRAUD, *Bibliotheca classica* (Frankfurt: Bathasar Ostern, 1625², pp. 254 and 290.

⁶² Gerhard Johann VOSS, *De historicis latinis libris tres* (Leiden: Ex officina Ioannis Marie, 1623, 1651²), p. 504. The writer has no reference at this time for Lasor à Varea, with whom PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, I,129, links the name Savonarola in parentheses.

⁶³ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 139-40, notes 177 and 179.

⁶⁴ PICINELLI, *Ateneo*, p. 29 (reprint in MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIX,6).

XXXVIII/Pic [29]/ Pam [3]/Gan [20]), and *In Aristotelem de Coelo & Mundo* - (Arg XXXIX/Pic [34]/Pam [28]/Gan [34]).

Unfortunately, possibly because he had no direct contact with Pamfili's list as Gandolfo did⁶⁵, Argelati seems to have been less able to recognize the real significance of the first of the two titles he found in Draud, that is, *In libros Evangelicos lib. IV* (Arg XXV/Pam [25]/Gan [—]). Note from the latter third of this composite numeration, to wit, "Gan [—]", that Gandolfo seems to have realized that Pam [25], that is, the title *Expositiones in quatuor Euangelijs, lib. 4*, is equivalent to the title found in the De Rossi list, that is, *Ingens volumen sermonum ab Adventu ad finem Quadragesimae* (D-G [4]), and he, therefore, omitted Pamfili's title as a doublet⁶⁶. Argelati, however, included the title from Draud as item XXV in his list, even if he noted its similarity with his item XVII (see Table II), probably because Draud presented this title under the heading of commentary on the books of the Gospel. But it would seem that Argelati had less good reason for failing to match the second of the two titles he found in Draud, that is, *In Exhameron* [sic], with his item XIX, that is, *Commentaria in Genesim* (see Table II). Nevertheless, like Gandolfo, who, as has been noted, included a similar title from Pamfili, Argelati made this second title from Draud his item XXVI⁶⁷. Thus there may well be two sets of doublets in Argelati's list — XVII-XXV (this highly probable) and XIX-XXVI (at least possible).

In regard to Biglia's works on Mary listed above, namely, Arg XXVIII/Pam [—]/Gan [38], Arg XXIX/Pam [—]/Gan [likewise 38], Arg XXX/Pam [—]/Gan [—], and Arg XXXI/Pam [—]/Gan [—], one should bear in mind that these titles are known only from the testimony of Marraccio and Novarini⁶⁸. And the inclusion of the title *Historia Longobardorum lib. I* as his item XXXIV would seem to indicate that Argelati — agreeing in this with Picinelli — did not share Muratori's opinion that the *Historia Mediolanensis* is the same as the *Historia Langobardorum*⁶⁹.

* * *

No information relating specifically to the content of the San Marco library subsequent to Argelati has thus far come to the writer's attention. It

⁶⁵ Argelati does not name Pamfili among his sources.

⁶⁶ See ML 41¹-43³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

⁶⁷ See ML 47¹-47³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

⁶⁸ No bibliographer known to the writer lists these titles without citing Marraccio, and usually also Novarini, as their source.

⁶⁹ See note 31 above.

is possible, nonetheless, to speculate somewhat about the fate of the Bigliana in that library from the general events in Italy during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

In 1796, Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the French revolutionary army swept through the Alps into northern Italy and thereafter down into the Papal States, crushing the various armies thrown against him⁷⁰. The results of the ensuing Napoleonic occupation of Lombardy, as of the Papal States, were far reaching and often permanent: redundant bishoprics were suppressed, convents and monasteries were closed, works of art, manuscripts, and precious metals were confiscated and shipped to Paris. Sometime later, much of the art and many of the manuscripts were restored to Italy, but not all. In some instances, immediately upon their confiscation, the goods and books were put to auction by the French⁷¹.

This latter seems to have been the lot of the San Marco Bigliana, for we know that after the suppression of the monastery four of the codices were certainly in private Italian hands until they passed into a great library or were sold out of Italy. The *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* (S40¹/P23) and the [*Annotationes in evangelis quae per annum leguntur*] (S41¹/P242) came into the possession of the Confalonieri family; thereafter both codices entered their present home, the Ambrosiana⁷².

Similarly, the *Fr. B. Andae Mediolanensis Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus* (S57/P38) turned up in the library of the notorious purloiner of manuscripts, Guglielmo Libri. From there it passed by purchase in 1859 into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips. After his death it was sold at auction on June 10, 1896 by Sotheby's of London to Bernard Quaritch, another London bookseller. It then passed into the hands of Ingram Bywater, regius professor of Greek at Oxford University. In 1914, with other parts Bywater's library, the manuscript was bequeathed to the Bodleian⁷³.

⁷⁰ John A. R. MARRIOTT, *The Makers of Modern Italy* (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1931), p. 18.

⁷¹ Ludwig VON PASTOR, *The History of the Popes*, trans. E. F. PEELER (St. Louis: Herder, 1953), XL, 341-47; Albert DUFOURCQ, *Le régime Jacobin en Italie* (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1900), pp. 114-18; MARRIOTT, *The Makers*, pp. 18-19, 22-23, and 33.

⁷² Remigio SABBADINI, *Andrea Biglia (Milanese), frate Agostiniano del sec. XV*, in: *Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere: Rendiconti* 2. serie, 39 (1906), 1087-1102, pp. 1096-97.

⁷³ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 176-78. In the mid-nineteenth century a block of twenty volumes, nos. 6550-69 in the catalogue, were listed by Sir Thomas Phillips, their owner, as coming *Ex bibl. S. Marci de Milan*. But 'Milan' is an error for 'Florence', as has been shown by B. L. ULLMAN and P. A. STADTER, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua: Antenore, 1972), p. 55 (cf. pp. 316-17).

The *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis* (S56¹/P36) in the nineteenth century was in the possession of Carlo Morbio, the Milanese bibliophile and bibliographer. After his death in 1881, the manuscript was put up for sale on June 24, 1889 by List and Francke, booksellers of Leipzig. It is not known whether the Academy of Sciences in Budapest acquired this codex directly at this auction or through an intermediary, but that institution is its present home⁷⁴.

Concerning the provenance of the *Terentii comediae a Fr. B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in membranis cum suis variis commentariis marginalibus atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus* (S60/P411), it is thus far known to the writer, only that it was acquired by the British Museum (now Library), its present home, by purchase in February, 1836, at Heber's sale as Lot 1574⁷⁵.

Since five of the nine Biglia codices listed by De Rossi-Gandolfo and Argelati have survived and been located, the hope endures that the other four are awaiting discovery somewhere. After the work of Kristeller⁷⁶ and of the writer's Augustinian confrere, Adolar Zumkeller⁷⁷, it would seem unlikely that the *Super primum Sententiarum* (D-G [3]/Arg XX), the *Hexaemeron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito* (D-G [5]/Arg XIX)⁷⁸, the *Quaestiones Metaphysicorum Aristotelis, libri 12* (D-G [8]/Arg XXI)⁷⁹, and the *Primus et secundus liber Physicorum Aristotelis, cum principio libri tertii* (D-G [7]/Arg XVIII) will be found in Italy or in the countries of middle Europe.

While the descriptions of these four missing Biglia parchments supplied by Argelati are excellent (see Table II), he, as also De Rossi, would have done us an even greater service for the identification of these

⁷⁴ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, pp. 174-75.

⁷⁵ Note on a flyleaf inserted before *codex Britannicus Add. 10081* (LONDON).

⁷⁶ Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries* (5 vols., London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963-1990).

⁷⁷ A. ZUMKELLER, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustinereremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1966; Cassiciacum, 20). The middle European countries covered by Zumkeller's work are Germany, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the South Tyrol, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, Belgium, and Holland.

⁷⁸ See Table II. The use here of the title from Pamfili reflects the writer's opinion that Pam [26], D-G [5], and Arg XIX are titles of one and the same work. See ML 47¹-47³ in Schnaubelt, *Prolegomena*.

⁷⁹ See Table II. The use here of the title from Pamfili likewise reflects the writer's opinion that Pam [31], D-G [8], and Arb XXI are one and the same work. See ML 55¹-55³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

codices if he had furnished their incipits too. An inspection of the *Incipitory*, Table III, shows that six items have been distinguished with an asterisk. These incipits known to us only from the testimony of Pamfili are:

1. (S8/P20) (Pam [18]) *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem libri 3*
Incipit: *Non possum, pater optime*
2. (S42/P21) (Pam [20]) *De amore et magnitudine crucis ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem*
Incipit: *Ubi te inveniam, Deus meus*
3. (S47¹/P26) (Pam [26]/D-G [5]/Arg XIX) *Hexaameron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito*
Incipit: *Quoniam in hoc prooemio*
4. (S48/P33) (Pam [24]/D-G [33]/Arg XX) *Super primum sententiarum*
Incipit: *Quoniam in hoc prooemio*
5. (S54¹/P —) (Pam [30]) *Quaestiones in libros [Aristotelis] Physicorum, libri 8*
Incipit: *Omnis hic labor meus*
6. (S55¹/P35) (Pam [28]/D-G [8]/Arg XXI) *Quaestiones Metaphysicorum [Aristotelis], libri 12*
Incipit: *Auctoritas sane plurima est Aristotelis*

In the composite numeration used above, the symbols S and P refer to Table VII, the *Concordance of the Perini with the Schnaubelt Numeration of Biglia's Works*, while the symbols Pam, D-G, and Arg refer to Table II, *The Biglia Manuscripts in the Onetime Library of San Marco*. If the identity of Pam [26] with D-G [5]/Arg XIX, and the identity of Pam

[31] with D-G [8]/Arg XXI (see Table II) can be granted⁸⁰, then the incipits supplied by Pamfili, as in items 3, 4, and 6 in the tabulation above, are to be added to the descriptions of the Biglia parchments supplied by De Rossi and Argelati. If it can likewise be granted that Arbesmann is correct in his opinion that the *Primus, & secundus liber Physicorum, cum principio libri tertii* (Pam [—]/D-G [7]/Arg XVIII) is an unfinished copy of the *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis* (Pam [35]/Gan [9]/Arg XXII; see again Table II)⁸¹, then the copy will have the same incipit as the original, that is, item 56¹ of the *Incipitory: Quum et intelligere et scire contingat*. Thus we would be supplied with complete descriptions for the identification of four of the missing Biglia manuscripts.

The other three incipits known to us only from Pamfili, that is, items 1, 2, and 5 in the diagram above, relate to works already gone from the San Marco library before the compilation of De Rossi's list⁸².

* * *

In rounding out this study, it has seemed good to offer five other tables, in addition to the three already presented.

Table IV, *The Missing (Lost or Unidentified) Works*, presents all the titles of the missing works and includes even those titles the writer is virtually certain should be identified with extant works⁸³. This latter inclusion is a precaution taken to insure every possibility for the discovery and identification of the missing Biglia manuscripts. Four of these manuscripts are known to have survived, in Argelati's report, into the middle of the eighteenth century (in the library of San Marco). Even given the turbulence of the century, it would appear reasonably likely that some at least of these four works might still survive, and a hope looking to such survival has already been voiced⁸⁴. More numerous, however, are the titles of other missing works, whose survival is documented only as far as 1581, the date of Pamfili's list, in which alone they appear⁸⁵. The likelihood, then, of recovery of these works is relatively small, and,

⁸⁰ See notes 78 and 79 above.

⁸¹ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 175-76.

⁸² The present *terminus ante quem* for the compilation by De Rossi of the Biglia list for his *Index* is 1668, the year of De Rossi's death. See note 21 above.

⁸³ See notes 55-57.

⁸⁴ See Table VI.

⁸⁵ See Table II.

unhappily, this group includes all of Biglia's commentaries on Aristotle⁸⁶.

Table V, *Extant Manuscripts* has been arranged, according to city and library, in alphabetical order; according to shelf mark, in alphabetical and/or numerical order; and, according to folio, in numerical order. The respective Schnaubelt/Perini numeration (Table VII) has also been supplied.

Table VI, *Autograph Elements in the Extant Manuscripts*, purports to be neither definitive nor comprehensive, but is intended to establish a norm by which untitled, defective, or fragmented works by Biglia may be identified. It should be noted that the writer's findings are based mostly on an examination of photoprints, not of the manuscripts themselves.

Table VII, the *Concordance of the Perini with the Schnaubelt Numeration of Biglia's Works*, purports to be a comprehensive list of Biglia's works, both extant and missing. As regards the order of the Schnaubelt list, the first item is, properly, Biglia's magnum opus, his Milanese history. Items 2 through 12 are works of an historical or biographical flavor, if not character, resented in the chronological order of their composition. Item 8, found in this grouping is a missing work. Items 13 through 34 are individual orations. Presented first in this series because of their historical importance are Biglia's two eulogies of Gian Galeazzo, items 13 and 14. They are followed by seven more panegyrics, items 15 through 21. Then comes an oration which is sui generis among Biglia's speeches, item 22, the *Oratio militaris*. Next are two eulogies of St. Augustine, the first apparently delivered during Biglia's Bologna period⁸⁷ and the other, the [*Coram Sigismundo rege*]: respectively items 23 and 24. Then come two significant orations of religious character, the *De disciplina ordinis* and the *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae*, respectively items 25 and 26. Like the two foregoing, the next discourse, the *Sermo de sancto Dominico*, item 27, straddles the categories of profane and sacred oratory. Items 28 through 32 are five orations pertaining to education, the first two, 28 and 29, being, at least, introductory orations of courses taught by Biglia at the University of Bologna⁸⁸, and the second two, 30 and 31, being inaugural addresses delivered by him at the University of Siena. Next come two orations of dubious attribution to Biglia, items 33 and 34, the second of which is a fragment. These are followed by two of Biglia's extant letters, items 35 and 36. Then comes the now missing collection of Biglia's

⁸⁶ See Charles H. LOHR, *Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A-F*, in : *Traditio* 23 (1967) 313-413, p. 358.

⁸⁷ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 120, note 89, and ML 23 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

⁸⁸ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 125, note 113, and ML 28 and 29 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

orations and letters, item 37. Items 38 through 41 are collections of Biglia's sacred oratory, the first two of them among the missing works. Likewise among the missing works is item 42, which seems to be the title of an ascetical opusculum. The next item, 43, falls into the category of the consolatory epistle⁸⁹. Then come three mariological titles, items 44 through 46; while the *Sermones festivi*, item 45, may eventually be identified with various sermons in the two extant collections of Biglia's sermons, that is, items 40 and 41, the other two mariological items, 44 and 46, are certainly among the missing works. Next comes Biglia's missing commentary on Genesis, item 47. This is followed by Biglia's incomplete⁹⁰ commentary on Peter Lombard, item 48. Items 49 through 54 are titles of philosophical commentaries on Aristotle and Porphyry, all of them among the missing works. The exact nature of the next philosophical work, item 55, is unclear⁹¹; this work is also missing. Items 56 through 58 are translations of Aristotle by Biglia; of these, item 58 is missing. Next comes Biglia's translation of Plutarch's *Timoleon*, item 59. Item 60, a copy of Terence, had an *argumentum* by Biglia. The last group, items 61 through 63, are titles of works on grammar and rhetoric, all of them missing.

The reader will note that certain items in the list, that is, numbers 1, 40, 41, 47, 54, 55, and 56, have two or more entries, each of them designated by a second number written *super verum*. This device has been employed by the writer to accommodate and set out the various titles given by the bibliographers, which in each case the writer has found some reason to identify as one and the same work. The arguments for these identifications are found under the respective numbers in the Master List in *Analecta Augustiniana*⁹². The writer has also employed a letter (a-b) designation to give some recognition as literary entities to the prefatory letters with which Biglia dedicated four of the works in the list, that is, items 7, 12, 27, and 59.

Table VIII, the *Perini/Schnaubelt Numeration Converter*, is intended

⁸⁹ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 104, note 8, and p. 126, note 117, and ML 43 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

⁹⁰ We know this missing manuscript was incomplete from Argelati's description of the manuscript. See Table II, Arg XX.

⁹¹ See Table II and compare Pam [31], D-G [8], and Arg XXI with the tripartite numeration of S55 in Table VII. See ML 55¹-55³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*. The question of the nature of S55 is complicated by Arbesmann's suggestion that Argelati's title (S55²/P34, Arg XXI) represents Biglia's translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. See in this regard SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 136, note 165.

⁹² PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, I, 127-31.

to facilitate the use of Perini's list of Biglia's works. Covering 48 of some 67 currently known works by Biglia under 46 items, Perini's was the most comprehensive list available prior to this work. (Arbesmann's excellent article on Andrea Biglia does indeed present the various works [with commentary] and, in addition, the virtually unknown translation of the *Timoleon* [ML 58], along with new material on several manuscripts, but not in a numbered list.)

Villanova

Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT, O.S.A.

APPENDIX

*The Letter of Duke Filippo Maria of Milan
to the Sienese Chancery**

Magnifici amici nostri carissimi:

Significaverunt nobis Venerabiles et religiosi dilecti nostri Prior et fratres Conventus Sancti Marci Civitatis nostre Mediolani Venerabilem sacre pagine famosum professorem Magistrum Andream de Biliis eiusdem Conventus professum nuper esse defunctum in illa Civitate Senarum relictis pluribus pulchris libris ac aliis multis rebus et bonis que omnia Conventui huic asserunt de iure spectare. Nos autem ipsos priorem et fratres affectione singulari prosequentes duximus eos Magnificentis vestris obnix commendare hortantes easdem Magnificentias ut frati [sic] Pasquino eorum nuntio harum exhibitori illuc hac sola ex causa venienti circa consequutionem predictorum librorum et bonorum per dictum quondam Magistrum Andream relictorum, salva tamen semper eiusdem Magistri Andree dispositione, si aliter de ipsis libris et bonis disposuisset, velitis assistere favoribus oportunis per modum quod huiusmodi libros et bona consequatur idem frater Pasquinus nomine Conventus memorati, super quo nobis et plurimum complacebitis.

Datum Cusaghi, die xvij Octobris Mccccxxv.

* This letter has been copied from the edition by Fedele Marletta. See MARLETTA, *Note all'epistolario*, pp. 525-26. SIENA, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio del Concistoro, Vol. 75, n° 15.

TABLE I

Biglia's Bibliographers

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1481	da Cora	<i>Defensorium ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum assertorum regularium congregationis Frisonariae</i> , pp. 111r-111v.	Brief; bio-bibliographical material.
1520	Foresti	<i>Supplementi alle croniche all' anno 1418</i> , p. 286.	Biographical material.
1574	Gesner-Simler	<i>Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero deinde in epitomen redacta et novorum librorum accessione locupletata, iam vero postremo recognita, et in duplum post priores editiones aucta, per Iosiam Simlerum Tigurinum</i> , p. 35.	Brief; five, possibly six, references to works. The Gesner-Simler-Fries edition of 1538 is identical.
+*1581	Pamfilii	<i>Chronica ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini</i> , pp. 74r, 78r-79v.	Bio-bibliographical material; most complete original list.
1586	Senese	<i>Bibliotheca sancta</i> , p. 201.	Brief; biographical material; one reference: <i>Hexaameron</i> .
1595	Morigia	<i>La nobiltà di Milano</i> , III, 171.	Brief; biographical reference.
1606	Possevino	<i>Apparatus sacer</i> , I, 81-82.	Basically Pamfilii list.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1619	Gratianus	<i>Anastasis Augustininiana</i> , pp. 27-30.	Bio-bibliographical material; list.
*1623	Alidosi	<i>Li dottori forestieri</i> , p. 4.	Biographical documentary material.
1623	Voss	<i>De historicis latinis libri tres</i> , p. 504.	References to three, possibly four, historical works.
1623	Crusenius	<i>Monasticon Augustinianum</i> , p. 170	Brief; biographical material; in error.
1625	Draud	<i>Bibliotheca classica</i> , pp. 254, 290.	References to two theological works.
1643	a S. Carolo	<i>Bibliotheca pontificia</i> , p. 250.	Minimal; biographical material; one reference to a work.
1644	de Herrera	<i>Alphabetum Augustinianum</i> , I,54.	Bio-bibliographical material.
*1647	Novarini	<i>Virginea umbra</i> , Vol. IV of <i>Electa sacra</i> , pp. 29-30.	Four excerpts from missing Mariological work, with commentary.
1648	Marraccio	<i>Bibliotheca Mariana</i> , I,80.	Brief; biographical material; titles of three Mariological works.
1654	Elsen	<i>Encomiasticon Augustinianum</i> , pp. 51-52.	Biographical material; Pamfili list through Possevino.
1670	Picinelli	<i>Ateneo di letterati Milanesi</i> , p. 28	Biographical material; Pamfili list through Possevino.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1680	Torelli	<i>Secoli Agostiniani</i> , VI,558, 670-72.	An almost exact copy of Pamfili list.
1688	Schiphower	<i>Chronicum archicomitum Oldenburgensium</i> , II,64-65.	Verbatim copy of da Cora.
+*1704	Gandolfo	<i>Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus</i> , pp. 60-62.	Bio-bibliographical material; list, partly original.
1712	Moreri	<i>Le grand dictionnaire historique</i> , I,773.	Brief; references to three, possibly four, works.
1712	Zeno	<i>Giornale de' letterati d'Italia</i> , IX,179.	Bio-bibliographical material.
1723	Burmam	<i>Praefatio to Thesaurus antiquitatum Italicarum</i> , IX,6,6.	Bio-bibliographical material.
1723	LeLong	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i> , II,640.	Brief; two references to Scriptural works.
*1731	Muratori	<i>In Andreae Bili historiam Mediolanensem praefatio to Rerum Italicarum scriptores</i> , XIX,3-5.	Bio-bibliographical material; analysis of manuscripts.
1734	Fabricius	<i>Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis</i> , I,238-40; II,673.	Bio-bibliographical material; list. The Schöttgen edition of 1746 and the Mansi edition of 1858 are identical.
*1739	de Montfaucon	<i>Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova</i> , I,119, 507.	References to two codices in the Vatican Library (Rome), and to two in the Ambrosian Library (Milan).

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
+*1745	Argelati	<i>Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium</i> , I,2,159-61.	Bio-bibliographical material; list, partly original.
1745	Facio	<i>De viris illustribus</i> , 40.	Minimal; general biographical material; two vague bibliographical references.
1750 -51	Jöcher	<i>Allegemeines gelehrten-lexicon</i> , I,1089.	List.
1752	Zeno	<i>Dissertazione Vossiane, cioè osservazioni agli storici italiani, che hanno scritto latamente</i> , I,47-48.	Bio-bibliographical material.
1753 -63	Mazzuchelli	<i>Gli scrittori d'Italia</i> , II,2, 1219-20.	Bio-bibliographical material.
1768	Ossinger	<i>Bibliotheca augustiniana historica, critica et chronologica</i> , pp. 130-34.	Bio-bibliographical material; list; list of sources.
1816	Bini	<i>Memorie storiche della Perugina università degli studi e dei suoi professori</i> , I,1,249-52.	Bio-bibliographical material; partial list.
1833	Tiraboschi	<i>Storia della letteratura italiana</i> , III,116, 133.	Bio-bibliographical material.
1858	Lanteri	<i>Postrema saecula sex religionis Augustinianae</i> , I,231-33; III,410.	Bio-bibliographical material; list.
*1868	Valentinelli	<i>Bibliotheca manuscripta ad s. Marci Venetiarum</i> , VI,272-73.	Descriptions of two codices of the Milanese history in the Bibliotheca Marciana (Venice).

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
*1879	Ghiron	<i>Bibliografia lombarda - Catalogo dei manoscritti intorno alla storia della Lombardia, esistenti nella Biblioteca Nazionale de Brera</i> , in: <i>Archivio storico Lombardo</i> , VI, 171-72.	Descriptions of the two codices of the Milanese history in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense.
*1884	Porro	<i>Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana</i> , XII-I, 31-32.	Descriptions of four codices of the Milanese history in the Biblioteca Trivulziana (Milan).
*1886	Stevenson-De Rossi	<i>Codices palatini latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae</i> , I, 211-14.	Description of <i>codex Palatinus latinus</i> 607 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Rome).
1890	Lanteri	<i>Additamenta ad Crusenii monasticum</i> , I, 437.	Brief; biographical material.
*1890	Mazzantini-Sorbelli	<i>Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia</i> , V, 125.	Description of a codex of the Milanese history in the Biblioteca Comunale (Perugia).
1891	Mancini	<i>Vita di Lorenzo Valla</i> , p. 31.	Bio-bibliographical materials.
*1893	Narducci	<i>Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii S. Augustini de urbe</i> , pp. 469, 474-75, 480.	Descriptions of three works by Biglia in codices of the Biblioteca Angelica (Rome).
1896	Pothast	<i>Bibliotheca historica medii aevi</i> , I, 42.	Reference to the Milanese history.
1906	Hürter	<i>Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae</i> , II, 849.	Brief; bio-bibliographical material.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
*1906	Sabbadini	<i>Andrea Biglia (Milanese) Frate Agostiniano del sec. XV</i> , in: <i>Istituto lombardo di scienza et lettere: Rendiconti</i> (2nd series), XXXIX, 1087-1102.	Bio-bibliographical material; analyses of manuscripts.
*1907	Novati	<i>Di un codice originale del 'Liber rerum mediolanensium' di frate Andrea Billia esistente, nella Nazionale di Madrid</i> , in: <i>Archivo Storico Lombardo</i> (4th series), XXXIV, 217-24.	Bio-bibliographical material; analysis of the Madrid codex of the Milanese history.
*1907	Zaoli	<i>Istituto per la storia dell'Università di Bologna</i> , IV, 140, 228, 232, 235.	Biographical documentary material.
1912	Monnier	<i>Le Quattrocento: Essai sur l'histoire littéraire du xv^e siècle italien</i> (2nd ed.), II, 159, 429.	Brief; reference to two works.
*1920	Segarizzi	<i>Per la bibliografia di Andrea Biglia</i> , in: <i>Nozze Cessi-Drudi</i> , pp. 5-7.	Analysis of <i>codex Vaticanus Palatinus latinus</i> 607; bibliographical and documentary material; edition of Biglia letter and reply.
1929	Perini	<i>Bibliografia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Itali</i> , I, 127-31	Bio-bibliographical material; most comprehensive list prior to this work.
*1932	Ehrle	<i>I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'università di Bologna</i> , Vol. I of <i>Universitatis Bononiensis monumenta</i> , p. 112.	Biographical documentary material.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1935	De Romanis	<i>L'Ordine Agostiniano</i> , pp. 93-94.	Brief; biographical material.
1935	Disdier	<i>Biglia (Andrea)</i> , in: <i>DHGE</i> , I, 1454-55.	Bio-bibliographical material; lists; references.
1937	Duhr	<i>Biglio (André) [De Belii]</i> , in: <i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> , I, 1618-19.	Bio-bibliographical material.
*1942	Marletta	<i>Note all'Epistolario del Panormita</i> , in: <i>La Rinascità</i> 5 (1942), 516-26.	Biographical material; new documentation.
*1949	Casamassa	<i>L'autore di un preteso discorso di Martino V</i> , in: <i>Miscellanea Pio Paschini</i> , II, 109-25.	Authorship of the <i>De translatione s. Monicae</i> ; analysis of <i>codex Ambrosianus H 117 inf.</i> ; documentary material.
1950	Stegmüller	<i>Repertorium biblicum medii aevi</i> , II, 98.	Brief; three biblical references.
*1955	Billanovich	<i>Pietro Piccolo da Monteforte tra Petrarca e il Boccaccio</i> , in: <i>Medioevo e rinascimento: Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi</i> , I, 12-13.	Discovery of three hitherto unknown orations by Biglia, with descriptions, commentary, and bibliography.
*1957	Hunt	<i>List of the Phillipps manuscripts in the Bodleian Library</i> , in: <i>The Bodleian Library Record</i> , VI, 361.	A description of the codex of Biglia's translation of Aristotle's <i>De anima</i> in the Bodleian Library (Oxford).
*1960	de Marinis	<i>La legatura artistica in secoli XV e XVI: Notizia ed elenchi</i> , III, 21.	Descriptions of two codices of the Milanese history, one in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, the

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
			other in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan).
1962 -67	Cosenza	<i>Biographical and bibliographical dictionary of the Italian humanists and of the world of classical scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800</i> (2nd ed.), I,603-04, V,278-79.	Extensive bio-bibliographical material.
*1963	Mynors	<i>Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford</i> , pp. xlv, 126, and 145.	Description and provenance of the MS containing the orations by Biglia discovered by Billanovich and of another MS of Biglia's <i>Annotiones in evangelia quadragesimae</i> .
*1963 -67	Kristeller	<i>Iter Italicum</i> , 2 vols., index.	Important; descriptions and analyses of uncataloged or incompletely cataloged Biglia manuscripts.
1965	Arbesmann	<i>Andrea Biglia, Augustinian Friar and Humanist</i> (†1435), in: <i>Analecta Augustiniana</i> , XXVIII, 154-85.	Bio-bibliographical material; analyses of manuscripts; documentary material.
*1965	Arbesmann	<i>Der Augustinereremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung</i> , Vol. XIX of the European Cassiciacum Series, pp. 70, 120-41.	The German equivalent of the foregoing.
*1966	Zumkeller	<i>Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mittel-europäischen Bibliotheken</i> , Vol. XX	Analysis of <i>codex Vaticanus Palatinus latinus</i> 607; description of the codex of the Milanese

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
		of the European Cassiciacum Series, pp. 56, 567-68.	history in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Wien); description of a manuscript of the <i>De translatione s. Monicae</i> in the Universitätsbibliothek (Kiel).
1967	Lohr	<i>Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A-F</i> , in: <i>Traditio</i> , XXIII,358.	Brief; five titles of Biglia's philosophical commentaries.
1967	Potthast	<i>Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi</i> , II,530-31.	Reference to the eulogy, <i>In exequiis</i> , and to the Milanese history; bibliographical material.
*1968	Ferrabino	<i>Biglia, Andrea (Andrea da Milano, Andrea de Billiis)</i> , in: <i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , X, 413-15.	Bio-bibliographical material; list of editions and extant manuscripts; new documents relative to Biglia.
1970	Kristeller	<i>The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning</i> , in: <i>The American Benedictine Review</i> , XXI,35-36.	Titles of three translations from the Greek by Biglia; bibliographical material.
1974	Kristeller	<i>Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning: Three essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller</i> , p. 131.	The Biglia item is identical with that in the ABR article above.
*1974	Morisi	<i>Una pagina sconosciuta di Andrea Biglia sull'immortalità dell'anima</i> , in: <i>Studi storici sul medioevo cristiano</i> , Offeriti a Raffaello Morghen per il	Identification and description of missing MS of Biglia's consolatory epistles; large selections therefrom.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
		<i>90° anniversario dell'Istituto storico Italiano (1883-1973)</i> , 1,539-52.	
1976	Elm	<i>Mendikanten und Humanisten im Florenz des Tre- und Quattrocento: Zum Problem der Legitimierung humanistischer Studien in den Bettelorden</i> , in: O. Herding and R. Stupperich, ed., <i>Die Humanisten in ihren politischen und sozialen Umwelt</i> , III,58-60, 63-85.	Brief reference.
1976	Herding	<i>Humanistische Friedensideen am Beispiel zweier Friedensklagen</i> , in: O. Herding and R. Stupperich, ed., <i>Die Humanisten in ihren politischen und sozialen Umwelt</i> , III,14-23, 26, 31-34.	Treatment of <i>Querellae pacis</i> .
1977	Hay	<i>The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century</i> .	Brief reference
*1977	Rusconi	<i>Fonti e documenti su Manfredo da Vercelli OP ed il suo movimento penitenziale</i> , in: <i>Archivum Praedicatorum</i> , 47 (1977), 61-63, 67, 71-72, 78, 89, 97.	Treatment and critical text of <i>Admonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum predicatorum</i> .
*1977	Schnaubelt	<i>Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant Works of Andrea Biglia OSA (H 1435)</i> , in: <i>Analecta Augustiniana</i> , 40 (1977), 141-84.	List of Biglia works, manuscripts, and bibliography.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1978	Rusconi	<i>Note sulla predicazione di Manfredo da Vercelli OP ed il suo movimento penitenziale dei terziari manfredini</i> , in: <i>Archivum Praedicatorum</i> , 47 (1978), 95, 97-98, 100-04, 110, 113-16, 130.	Detailed commentary.
1979	Fioravanti	<i>I 'commentarii historici de defectu fidei et Orientis' di Andrea Biglia</i> , in: <i>Rinascimento</i> , 2nd Series 19 (1979), 241-46.	Treatment of <i>De origine Turcharum</i> .
1980	Arasse	<i>Andrea Biglia contre saint Bernardin de Sienne: L'humanisme et la fonction de l'image religieuse</i> , in: <i>Acta conventus neo-latini Turonensis</i> .	Treatment of <i>De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum</i> .
1981	Cochrane	<i>Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance</i> .	Brief comments on Biglia as historian.
*1981	Leccesi	<i>Un codice quattrocentesco di prediche di autore agostiniano nella biblioteca franciscana de Falconara Marittima</i> , in: <i>Analecta Augustiniana</i> , 44 (1981), 149-247.	Treatment of <i>Ingens volumen sermonum ab adventu ad finem quadragesimae</i> .
*1981	Voci	<i>La suggestione umanista dell'Eremo in Andrea Biglia</i> , in: <i>Critica Storica</i> , 18 (1981), 661-81.	Critical text of <i>Ad Reginaldum remensem Archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum</i> .
*1982	Morisi	<i>Biglia, Andrea</i> , in: <i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> (1982), II, 141-42.	Brief bio-bibliographical notice.

Date	Bibliographer	Title	Comments
1982	Walsh	<i>The Augustinian Observance in Siena in the Age of S. Catherine and S. Bernardino</i> , in: D. Maffei and P. Nardi, ed., <i>Atti del Simposio intern. Cateriniano-Bernardiniano</i> , pp. 939-50.	Brief account of Biglia's confrontation with Bernardino.
*1983	Kristeller	<i>Iter Italicum</i> , III, 585.	Description of known Biglia manuscript.
1985	Kohl	<i>Renaissance Humanism: A Bibliography of materials in english</i> , no. 1562.	Bibliographical citation.
1988	Walsh	<i>Wie ein Bettelorden zu (s)einem Gründer kam: Fingierte Traditionen um die Entstehung der Augustiner-Eremiten</i> , in: <i>Fälschungen im Mittelalter</i> , V, 585-610.	Reference to <i>Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione</i> .
*1989	Kristeller	<i>Iter Italicum</i> , IV, 87, 92, 241, 247, 290, 544, 603.	Descriptions of five known Biglia manuscripts; and descriptions of two manuscripts containing respectively one and two hitherto unidentified Biglia works.

TABLE II - Part I

*The Biglia Manuscripts in the
Onetime Library of San Marco*

PAMFILI (1581)	DE ROSSI - GANDOLFO (1704)	ARGELATI ⁹³ (1745)
[1] <i>Exordia super practica Rhetorices, lib. 3.</i>	_____	_____
[2] <i>Orationum & epistolarum, lib. 2.</i>	_____	_____
[3] <i>Grammatices, sive de octo partibus orationis, lib. 8.</i>	_____	_____
[4] <i>De arte dicendi, lib. 3.</i>	_____	_____
[5] <i>Expositio super Universalia Prophyrij [sic].</i>	_____	_____
[6] <i>Expositio super Perihermenias Arist.</i>	_____	_____
[7] <i>Historia Langobardorum, lib. 1.</i>	_____	_____
[8] <i>Querelae pacis, lib. 1.</i>	_____	(X. Ambrosian)
[9] <i>De pace cum Philip- pensium componenda</i>	_____	(XI. Ambrosian)

⁹³ The entry 'Ambrosian' repeated fourteen times, each with an appropriate serial number, indicates that Argelati knew at the Ambrosian Library a MS of the work in question, apparently the very one known to Pamfili.

Pamfilii	De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati
<i>ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum, lib. 1.</i>		
[—] [<i>In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea</i>]	_____	(XII. Ambrosian)
[10] <i>Pro suscipienda in Boemos expeditione, Iordano Vrsino Cardinali, lib. 1.</i>	_____	(XIII. Ambrosian)
[—] [<i>In castris Philippi ducis mediolani oratio militaris Brixiae disserta</i>]	_____	(XIV. Ambrosian)
[—] [<i>Laudatio sancti Augustini coram Sigismundo rege</i>]	_____	(XV. Ambrosian)
[11] <i>Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversus schisma Benedicti, lib. 1.</i>	_____	(II. Ambrosian)
[12] <i>De concordia & meritis ordinum, super generali indulto Alexandri Papae V ad Reginaldum Rhemerisem archiepiscopum, lib. 2.</i>	_____	(III. Ambrosian)
[13] <i>De disciplina ordinis admonitio habi-</i>	_____	(IV. Ambrosian)

Pamfilii	De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati
<i>ta in Capitulo Bononiensi, lib. 1.</i>		
[14] <i>Admonitio ad F. Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum, lib. 1.</i>	_____	(V. Ambrosian)
[15] <i>Ad Barcinonenses de littera H. in nomine IHS.</i>	_____	(VII. Ambrosian)
[16] <i>De concessione & translatione beatae Monychae matris beatiss. Augustini, Sermo.</i>	_____	(VIII. Ambrosian)
[17] <i>De ordinis nostri propagatione ad fratrem Ludouicum, lib. 1.</i>	_____	(IX. Ambrosian)
[18] <i>De pace & victoria Ro. Ecclesiae, ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Rom. eccl. Cardin., lib. 3.</i>	_____	_____
[19] <i>Commentarij historici de detrimento fidei Orientis, sive de origine Turcharum ad Ioannem Cardinalem & episcopum Rhotomagensem⁹⁴.</i>	[11] Codex Angelicus apographus ⁹⁵ .	_____

⁹⁴ He means at no. XVIII; see below at this number.

⁹⁵ Gandolfo exhibits knowledge of a MS of this work at the Angelica in Rome, his no. [11].

Pamfilii	De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati
[20] <i>De amore & magnitudine Crucis, ad Nicolaum Bononiensem Cardinalem.</i>	_____	_____
[21] <i>De non necessario mortis metu, lib. 1.</i>	_____	_____
[22] <i>Historiarum Mediolanensium, lib. 1.</i>	_____	I. [Argelati notes the existence of 6 MSS of Biglia's Milanese history].
[23] <i>De institutis discipulis ex [sic] doctrina fratris Bernardini de Senis ordinis Minorum, lib. 2.</i>	_____	(VI. Ambrosian)
[24] <i>Super Primum Sententiarum</i>	[3] <i>In primum sententiarum Opus imerfectum, cum praeueniente morte non potuerit perficere.</i>	XX. <i>In primum librum sententiarum. MS. fol. perg. justae molis. Codex imperfectus, cui aliena manu inscriptum est ut supra</i> ⁹⁶ . <i>Ibid.</i> [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on Argelati's XVI: <i>Extat</i> etc.]
[25] <i>Expositiones in quatuor Euangelijis, lib. 4.</i>	[4] <i>Ingens volumen sermonum ad Aduentu ad finem Quadragesimae.</i>	XVII. <i>Sermones ab Adventu usque ad Resurrectionem Christi. MSS. in fol. max. perg. litteris rubro-nigris, ac miniat. deauratis, justae molis. Extat. ibid.</i> [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on XX].

⁹⁶ See note 94.

Pamfilii	De Rossi-Gandolfo	Argelati
[26] <i>Hexameron sive de mundo sex diebus condito.</i>	[5] <i>Principium expositio- nis in Genesim.</i>	[XIX. <i>Commentaria in Genesim. MS. in fol. perg. pagg. 40. est Codex imperfectus. Ibid. [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on XX].</i>
[27] <i>Commentaria super libros Arist. de Ani- ma, lib. 3.</i>	_____	_____
[28] <i>Commentaria in li- bris de Coelo & mundo, lib. 4.</i>	_____	_____
[29] <i>Quaestiones in li- bros de Anima, lib. 3</i>	_____	_____
[30] <i>Quaestiones in lib. Physicorum, lib. 8.</i>	_____	_____
[31] <i>Quaestiones Meta- physicorum, lib. 12.</i>	[8] <i>Metaphysica eiusdem.</i>	XXI. <i>In Metaphysicam Aristotelis Commentaria. MS. in fol. perg. justae molis cum litteris rubro- nigris, & stemmate Bil- liorum. Ibid. [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on XX].</i>
[32] <i>Sermonum diversa- rum materiarum, lib. 3.</i>	_____	_____
[33] <i>Dominicale & Fes- tium, lib. 2.</i>	_____	_____
[34] <i>Annotationes in Euangelia Quadra- gesimae.</i>	[2] <i>In Euangelia opus maximum, & volumine, & doctrina.</i>	XVI. <i>Annotationes in Evangelia Quadragesi- mae MS. in fol. maximo in Pergamo, pagg. 752,</i>

Pamfilii

De Rossi-Gandolfo

Argelati

cum miniaturis deauratis: in prima littera, quae est O, visitur Auctor, super eminentem Cathedram in actu legendi librum, cum Auditoribus Regularibus variorum Orinum, atque ad calcem primae pag. adsunt Insignia Billiorum Familiae; in fine sic legitur, litteris rubro-negris: "Hic finis libri Annotatio-num in Evangelia Qua-dragesimae P. [sic] B. Andreae Mediolanensis Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini. Deo semper gratia. Amen. Caepa [sic] Bononiae, producta Pisis [sic] com-pleta Senis, nam multa intervenire ad annum Millesimum Quadringen-tesimum, ac Trigesimum Primum; in Festo Sancti Augustini, quod optave-ram; Date laudes, ac preces Deo. Amen. Fra-ter Andreas Mediolanen-sis Cognomine Billiarda-rum expliciit." Extat in Bibliotheca Coenobii Sancti Marci Mediolani.

- [35] Interpretatus est quoque ex Graeca in Latinam linguam, Aristotelis, lib. 8. physicorum, ...
- [9] Expositio, seu translatio ex Graeca in Latinam linguam Physicae Aristotelis.

XXII. Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis. In fine sic legitur: Explicit F. B. Andreae Mediolanensis Interpretatio libri Physicorum Aristotelis ex

Pamfilii

De Rossi-Gandolfo

Argelati

Graeca in Latinam linguam. MS. in fol. parvo perg. ab Auctore egregie scriptus litteris rubro-nigris, & deauratis cum stemmate Billiorum. Ibid. [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on XX].

[—] []

[7] *In primum, & secundum Physicorum.*

XVIII. *Primus, & secundus liber Physicorum, cum principio libri tertii. MS. in fol. max. perg. Manu aliena antiqua sic adnotatum est in principio: Scriptum hoc super Physicis, superveniente morte incompletum, fecit Angelicus Doctor Magister Andreas de Billiis de Mediolano. Extat ibid. [i.e., at San Marco; cf. on XX].*

[36] *(Interpretatus est quoque ex Graeca in Latinam linguam, Andreae Aristotelis,) ... lib. 3. de anima, ...*

[10] *Interpretatio ex Graeco in Latinum Aristotelis de Anima.*

XXIII. *Aristotelis liber de Anima, in fine sic legitur Litteris uncialibus F.B. Mediolanensis nova Interpretatio in tribus libris Aristotelis de Anima, ex Graeca in Latinam linguam translatus. Deo item gratias. In principio adest argumentum Operis, atque sequentes Versus Auctoris:*

*Virgo pios oculos, mentemque intende benignam;
Supplicibus nam sola malis superes Veneranda;
Usque adeo absorpti pervastis mergimus undis,*

*Haeremusque rati, si non tua dextra revellat,
Unde [sic] sinusque tuos laeti gremiumque petamus.
Beatissimae V. M. F. B. Andreas Illiceto.*

*MS. in 4 perg. optime
scriptus cum miniaturis.
Ibid. [i.e., at San Marco;
cf. on XX].*

[37] (*Interpretatus est
quoque ex Graeca
in Latinam linguam,
Aristotelis.*) ... lib.
10. ethicorum.

[—] []

[6] *Annotationes in Ter-
rentium.*

XXIV. *Terentii Come-
diae a F.B. Andrea Me-
diolanensi scriptae in
pergameno peregrine cum
suis variis Commentariis
marginalibus, atque va-
riantibus lectionibus in-
terlinearibus. MS. in 4.
perg. pag. 180. Ibid. [i.e.,
at San Marco; cf. on
XX].*

TABLE II - Part II

*Provenance*⁹⁷

TBL V	TBL X		Pam	Olg ⁹⁸	DeR	D-G	Arg	
EXT MSS	ML		1581	1605	1628-1668	1704	1745	1992
?	S58	MBSM	[1]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S34	MBSM	[2]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S59	MBSM	[3]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S60	MBSM	[4]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S46	MBSM	[5]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S47	MBSM	[6]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
?	S1 ²	MBSM	[7]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
V.14.a	S2	MBSM	[8]	.....	.....	.....	MBA X	MBA
V.14.b	S3	MBSM	[9]	.....	.....	.....	MBA XI	MBA
V.14.c	S13	MBSM	[—]	.....	.....	.....	MBA XII ...	MBA
V.14.d	S6	MBSM	[10]	.....	.....	.....	MBA XIII ...	MBA
V.14.e	S22	MBSM	[—]	.....	.....	.....	MBA XIV ...	MBA
V.14.f	S23	MBSM	[—]	.....	.....	.....	MBA XV	MBA
V.13.a	S4	MBSM	[11]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA II	MBA
V.13.b	S5	MBSM	[12]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA III	MBA
V.13.c	S24	MBSM	[13]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA IV	MBA
V.13.d	S7 ²	MBSM	[14]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA V	MBA
V.13.f	S10	MBSM	[15]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA VII ...	MBA
V.13.g	S25	MBSM	[16]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA VIII ...	MBA
V.13.h	S11	MBSM	[17]	.. MBA	.....	.....	MBA IX	MBA
?	S8	MBSM	[18]	.....	.....	.....	.....	?

⁹⁷ Sigla in alphabetical order: Arg = Argelati; BAS = BUDAPEST, Academy of Sciences; CVBAV = CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana; DeR = De Rossi (see note 21); D-G = De Rossi-Gandolfo; EXT = extant; FBNC = FIRENZE, Bibl. Naz. Centrale; LBL = LONDON, British Library; MBA = MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana; MBSM = MILANO, Bibl. s. Marci; ML = Master List (Table X); MSS = manuscripts; OBL = OXFORD, Bodleian Library; Olg = Olgiati; Pam = Pamfili; ? = existence or whereabouts of MS unknown to writer; [?] = identity of MS encountered by Pamfili unknown to writer; RBA = ROMA, Bibl. Angelica; S = Schnaubelt; TBL = Table; V. = Table V.

⁹⁸ *Codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf. was not known directly by De Rossi among the Biglia MSS still in the San Marco library when De Rossi visited there, because that codex had left the San Marco library and found a new and permanent home in the Ambrosian Library before De Rossi was born.

TBL V	TBL X		Pam	Olg	DeR	D-G	Arg
V.26/31.b	S12 ²	MBSM	[19]	.....		[?]	..... CVBAV
?	S3	MBSM	[20]	.....			?
V.3 ²	S40	MBSM	[21]	.....			FBNC
?	S1 ³	MBSM	[22]	.....		6 MSS ... 15 MSS	
V.13.e	S9	MBSM	[23]	.. MBA	.....	MBA VI	 MBA
?	S45	MBSM	[24]	.....	MBSM	[2]=[3]	. MBSM XX ?
V.10	S38 ³	MBSM	[25]	.....	MBSM	[3]=[4]	. MBSM XVII MBA
?	S44 ¹	MBSM	[26]	.....	MBSM	[4]=[5]	. MBSM XIX ?
?	S48	MBSM	[27]	.....			?
?	S49	MBSM	[28]	.....			?
?	S50	MBSM	[29]	.....			?
?	S51 ¹	MBSM	[30]	.....			?
?	S52 ¹	MBSM	[31]	.....	MBSM	[7]=[8]	. MBSM XXI ?
?	S35	MBSM	[32]	.....			?
?	S36	MBSM	[33]	.....			?
V.9	S37 ¹	MBSM	[34]	.....	MBSM	[1]=[2]	. MBSM XVI . MBA
V.1	S53 ¹	MBSM	[35]	.....	MBSM	[8]=[9]	. MBSM XXII . BAS
?	S53 ^{2&3}	MBSM	[—]	.....	MBSM	[6]=[7]	. MBSM XVIII ?
V.22	S54	MBSM	[36]	.....	MBSM	[9]=[10]	MBSM XXIII OBL
?	S55	MBSM	[37]	.....			?
V.5	S57	MBSM	[—]	.....	MBSM	[5]=[6]	. MBSM XXIV LBL

TABLE III

*Incipitory*⁹⁹

No.

- 27^a [αα] Abbati religiosissimo F. B./[aβ] Visus es attentior: see [b] Nihil ego hoc, viri optimi, precor
- 31 Ampla, viri optimi, et immortalia quae adsiduis hominibus dabantur
- 55¹ *Auctoritas sane plurima est Aristotelis
- 28 Equidem hoc sum semper arbitratus, patres venerantissimi
- 2 Etiamne me ex omnibus terris
- 12^b [b] Et quidem coepto huius historiae: see [αα] Optimo et honoratissimo patri in Christo/[aβ] Factus sum per hos dies
- 21 Etsi multa forsán incommoda
- 12^a [aβ] Factus sum per hos dies/[αα] Optimo et honoratissimo patri in Christo: see [b] Et quidem coepto huius historiae
- 9 Forsan quidem ego nequaquam ex te
- 35 [a] Frater B. Andreas Aurispae suo s. p. d./[b] Sic mutat fortuna, mi Aurispa
- 26 Gaudeo mihi quoque, fratres religiosissimi
- 16 Hanc ego unam mortem
- 30 Idem sane mihi hodie et in hoc loco
- 36 [a] In Christo patri honoratissimo/[b] Tua caritas mihi saepe memoriam

⁹⁹ * marks incipits of missing works supplied by Pamfili.

- 24 Mihi quidem, princeps divinissime
- 19 Multae quidem res
- 17 Multum fortasse ac nimium detrimenti
- 5 Multum, pater honoratissime, dignitatem tuam vererer
- 25 Neminem puto ex vobis, patres sanctissimi
- 57^a [a] Nescio equidem an hic: see [b] Quum inter pulcherrimas optimasque res
- 27^b [b] Nihil ego hoc, viri optimi, precor: see [aα] Abbati religiosissimo F. B./[aβ] Visus es attentior
- 23 Nihil ergo hoc loco, viri sanctissimi, voluntatis vestrae
- 6 Nihil puto inane pro hac mea cura
- 7^b [b] Nolo aut tu aut quisquam alius: see [a] Quid ego aut qua ratione de his
- 34 Non existimo ego vos, nobilissimi iuvenes
- 8 *Non possum, pater optime
- 20 Non referam hoc loco
- 11 Non sane videtur hoc tempus aut hic locus exigere
- 32 Non sum ignarus
- 13 Novum sane ac perdifficile onus
- 4 Nullo pacto adduci possum
- 10 Omnes, ut existimo, sententiam salvatoris audivimus
- 54¹ *Omnis hic labor meus

- 12^a [αα] Optimo et honoratissimo patri in Christo/[aβ] Factus sum per hos dies: see [b] Et quidem coepto huius historiae
- 59^a [a] Peroportune factum arbitror: see [b] Res quidem Syracusanorum priusquam Timoleon in Siciliam mitteretur
- 47 *Principium hoc immensi voluminis
- 11^a [a] Quae sum scripturus: see [b] Tum itaque inter curandum
- 40ⁱ Quantum sim hoc opere profecturus nescio
- 18 Quem sermonem de Laurentio vestro
- 7^a [a] Quid ego aut qua ratione de his: see [b] Nolo aut tu aut quisquam alius
- 48 *Quoniam in hoc prooemio
- 43^a [a] Quod tandem ad te, Johannes, huicemodi litteras scribo: see [b] Vix credideram in rebus meis
- 56ⁱ Quum et intelligere et scire contingat
- 57^b [b] Quum inter pulcherrimas optimasque res: see [a] Nescio equidem an hic
- 59^b [b] Res quidem Syracusanorum priusquam Timoleon in Siciliam mitteretur: see [a] Peroportune factum arbitror
- 33 Saepe audieram, viri spectatissimi
- 29 Sane minor cura me hodie habet patres sanctissimi
- 35 [b] Sic mutat fortuna, mi Aurispa/[a] Frater B. Andreas Aurispae suo s. p. d.
- 14 Si primum hodie, viri clarissimi
- 3 Si ut plerisque, hac praesertim hominum aetate

- 36 [b] Tua caritas mihi saepe memoriam/ [a] In Christo patri
honoratissimo
- 11^b [b] Tum itaque inter curandum: see [a] Quae sum scripturus
- 42 *Ubi te inveniam, Deus meus
- 15 Utar profecto vel hoc munere
- 22 Viris equidem me loqui puto
- 27^a [aα] Visus es attentior/ [aβ] Abbati religiosissimo F. B.: see [b] Nihil
ego hoc, viri optimi, precor
- 43^b [b] Vix credideram in rebus meis: see [a] Quod tandem ad te,
Johannes, huiuscemodi litteras scribo

TABLE IV

*The Missing (Lost or Unidentified) Works*¹⁰⁰SCHNAUBELT/PERINI
NUMERATION

(S42/P21)	De <i>amore</i> et magnitudine crucis ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem (Pam)
(S51/P—)	Commentaria super libros <i>Aristotelis</i> De anima, libri 3 (Pam)
(S53/P—)	Quaestiones in libros < <i>Aristotelis</i> > De anima, libri 3 (Pam)
(S52/P40)	Commentaria in libris < <i>Aristotelis</i> > De coelo et mundo, libri 4 (Pam)
(S58/P37)	[Interpretatio] <i>Ethicorum Aristotelis</i> , libri 10 (Pam)
(S55 ³ /P—)	Metaphysica eiusdem [<i>Aristotelis</i>] (Gan)
(S55 ² /P34)	In Metaphysicam <i>Aristotelis</i> commentaria (Arg)
(S55 ¹ /P35)	Quaestiones Metaphysicorum < <i>Aristotelis</i> >, libri 12 (Pam)
(S50/P39 ²)	Expositio super Perihermenias <i>Aristotelis</i> (Pam)
(S54 ² /P—)	In libros Physicorum < <i>Aristotelis</i> > libri 3 (Gan)
(S56 ³ /P—)	In primum et secundum Physicorum < <i>Aristotelis</i> > (Gan)
(S56 ² /P—)	Primus et secundus liber Physicorum < <i>Aristotelis</i> >, cum principio libri tertii (Arg)
(S54 ¹ /P—)	Quaestiones in libros < <i>Aristotelis</i> > Physicorum, libri 8 (Pam)

¹⁰⁰ Titles are arranged alphabetically by key words [italicized] and entered more than once when appropriate. The bibliographer who first supplied the given title is indicated in parentheses. Some of the titles are certainly doublets.

- (S63/P43) De *arte dicendi* libri 3 (Pam)
[Biblica] See under Evangelium, Genesis, Hexaemeron, Missus est, Magnificat.
- (S42/P21) De amore et magnitudine *crucis* ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem (Pam)
- (S63/P43) De *arte dicendi* libri 3 (Pam)
- (S39/P29) *Dominicale* et festivum [sermones], libri 2 (Pam)
- (S37/P44) Orationum et *epistolarum* libri 2 (Pam)
- (S40²/P—) In *evangelia* opus maximum et volumine et doctrina (Gan)
- (S41³/P25) Expositiones in quattuor *evangeliiis*, libri 4 (Pam)
- (S39/P29) *Dominicale* et *festivum* [sermones], libri 2 (Pam)
- (S47³/P27) Commentaria in *Genesim* (Arg)
- (S47²/P—) Principium expositionis in *Genesim* (Gan)
- (S62/P42) *Grammatices*, sive de octo partibus orationis, libri 8 (Pam)
- (S47¹/P26) *Hexaemeron*, seu de mundo sex diebus condito (Pam)
- (S1²/P 46) *Historiarum Longobardorum* liber 1 (Pam)
- (S1³/P45) *Historiarum Mediolanensium* liber 1 (Pam)
- (S1²/P46) *Historiarum Longobardorum* liber 1 (Pam)
- (S44/P28) Commentarium super 'Missus est angelus' et canticum *Magnificat* (Marr)
- (S45/P30) Sermones festivi de beata virgine <Maria> (Marr)
- (S46/P31) De excellenti dignitate beatae *Mariae* virginis (Marr)

- (S46/P31) Historiarum *Mediolanensium* liber 1 (Pam)
- (S44/P28) Commentarium super *Missus est angelus* et canticum 'Magnificat' (Marr)
- (S47¹/P26) Hexaameron, seu de *mundo* sex diebus condito (Pam)
- (S37/P44) *Orationum* et epistolarum libri 2 (Pam)
- (S8/P20) De *pace* et victoria Romanae ecclesiae ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem libri 3 (Pam)
- (S62/P42) Grammatices, sive de octo *partibus* orationis, libri 8 (Pam)
- (S49/P39¹) Expositio super Universalia *Porphyrii* (Pam)
- (S61/P41²) Exordia super practica *rethorices* libri 3 (Pam)
- (S48/P33) Super primum *Sententiarum* (Pam)
- (S39/P29) Dominicale et festivum [*sermones*], libri 2 (Pam)
- (S45/P30) *Sermones* festivi de beata virginie Maria (Marr)
- (S38/P—) *Sermonum* diversarum materiarum libri 3 (Pam)
- (S41²/P24¹) Ingens volumen *sermonum* ab adventu ad finem quadragesimae (Gan)

TABLE V

Extant Manuscripts

LIBRARY	SHELF MARK	WORK	S/P NUMERATION
1 BUDAPEST, Magyar Tudomá- nyos Akadémia Könyvtára (Aca- demy of Scien- ces)	4°36	<i>Interpretatio Phy- sicorum Aristote- lis</i>	(S56 ¹ /P36)
2 FALCONARA MA- RITIMA Bibl. Franciscana	30	<i>Ingens volumen sermonum ab ad- ventu ad finem quadragesimae</i>	(S41 ² /P24 ¹)
3 FIRENZE, Bibl. Naz. Cen- trale	Nuovi Acquisiti 354, fols. 142v-146v	<i>Oratio in novatio- nem annuam stu- diorum habita per fratrem Andre- am sacrae theolo- giae discretissi- mum magistrum Mediolanensem. Senis</i>	(S31/P—)
4 IB.	Nuovi Acquisiti 921, fols. 1r-56v fols. 57r-98v	<i>De non necessa- rio mortis metu liber 1</i> <i>De bona et pre- tiosa matris mor- te libri 2</i>	(S43 ¹ /P32) (S43 ² /P—)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
5 FIRENZE, Bibl. Riccardiana	770, fol. 170A	<i>Frater B[ilia] Andreas Aurispae suo s.p.d. [epistola]</i>	(S35/P18)
6 KIEL, Universitäts Bibl.	Bord. 10 15 s, fols. 1-8	<i>De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo</i>	(S26/P7)
7 LONDON, British Library	Add. 10081	<i>Terentii comediae a F. B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in pergameno peregre cum suis variis commentariis marginalibus atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus</i>	(S60/P41 ¹)
8 IB.	Add. 11760, fols. 86v-89v	<i>Ad invictissimi ducis Mediolani laudes Magistri Andreae [Biliae] Augustinensis ordinis oratio</i>	(S14 ² /P—)
9 MACERATA, Bibl. Comunale	5 3 C 26, fols. 89r-119r	<i>F. B. Andreae Timoleontis vita ex Graecis Plutarchi in Latinas litteras translata, F. H. Sancti Augustini</i>	(S59/P—)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
10 MADRID, Bibl. Nacional	1066	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
11 MANCHESTER, University Li- brary	3 f 32, fols. 115v-119r	<i>Alfonso Arago- num regi F. B. Andreas de Me- diolano s.p.d. de pace cum duce Mediolani compo- nenda</i>	(S3/P10)
12 MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana	C 69 inf., fols. 142r-159v	<i>Querellae pacis</i>	(S2/P9)
13 IB.	ES VII 2 (Sussi- dio G 156)	<i>Annotationes in evangelia quadra- gesimae</i>	(S40 ¹ /P23)
14 IB.	ES VII 3 (Sussi- dio G 157)	[<i>Annotationes in evangeliiis quae per annum legun- tur</i>]	(S41 ¹ /P24 ²)
15 IB.	F 55 sup., fols. 50r-57r	<i>F. B. Andreae se- cunda collaudatio anniversaria Jo- hannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani</i>	(S14/P11 ²)
16 IB.	G 87 sup.	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
17 IB.	H 117 inf., fols. 1r-28r	<i>Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adver- sum schisma Be- nediti</i>	(S4/P2)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
19 IN. (57652)	fols. 28r-42r	<i>Ad Reginaldum Remensem archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum</i> [epistolae 2]	(S5/P3)
MILANO, Bibl. Nat.			
21 IN. (57612)	fols. 42r-56v	<i>De disciplina ordinis ammonitio habita in capitulo Bononiensi</i>	(S25/P—)
22 MILANO, Bibl. Trivulziana			
23 IN. (57652)	fols. 57r	<i>Ad Iordanum Ursinum nobilem Romanum et ecclesiae cardinalem epistola velut prooemium pro duobus libellis sequentibus</i>	(S7 ¹ /P—)
24 IN. (1017612)			
25 IN.			
26 IN. (119612)	fols. 57v-73v	<i>Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum, [libri 2]</i>	(S7 ² /P4)
27 OXFORD, Balliol College Library			
(519652)	fols. 73v-103r	<i>De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum</i> [epistolae 2]	(S9/P5 ¹)
(—51552)			
(519652)	fols. 103r-112v	<i>Ad Barchinonenses de littera h in Yhesu</i>	(S10/P6)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
18 IB.	fols. 112v-124v	<i>De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo</i>	(S26/P7)
	fols. 125r-142v	<i>Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione</i>	(S11/P8)
	N 280 sup., fols. 1r-14v	<i>Querelae pacis</i>	(S2/P9)
	fols. 14v-17v	<i>Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda</i>	(S3/P10)
	fols. 17v-20v	<i>In exequiis Johannis Geleatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea</i>	(S13/P11 ¹)
	fols. 20v-26v	<i>Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione Iordano Ursino</i>	(S6/P12)
	fols. 26v-29r	<i>In castris Philippi ducis Mediolani oratio militaris Brixiae disserta</i>	(S22/P—)
	fols. 29r-30v	[<i>Laudatio sancti Augustini coram Sigismundo rege</i>]	(S24/P13)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
19 IB.	T 42 sup.	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
MILANO, Bibl. Naz. Braidense	AD XII 12	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
21 IB.	AD XIV 55, pp. 87-428	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
22 MILANO, Bibl. Trivulziana	1381	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
23 IB.	1383	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
24 IB.	1430	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
25 IB.	1502	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
26 IB.	Nuovi Acquisiti N. 3, Coll. B 150	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
27 OXFORD, Balliol College Library	146B, fols. 66r-68v	[<i>Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononiae] habita</i>	(S28/P—)
	fols. 68v-71v	[<i>Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria</i>]	(S29/P—)
	fols. 71v-75r	[<i>Laudatio sancti Augustini Bononiae dicta</i>]	(S23/P—)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
28 IB.	161	<i>Annotationes in evangelia quadragesima</i>	(S40 ¹ /P23)
29 OXFORD, Bodleian Library	Bywater 10 (40042)	<i>Fr. B. Andreae Mediolanensis Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus</i>	(S57/P38)
30 IB.	Canonicianus 276, fols. 1-120	<i>Super primum Sententiarum</i>	(S48/P33)
31 PARMA, Bibl. Palatina	10	<i>De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum [epistolae 2]</i>	(S9/P51)
32 PERUGIA, Bibl. Comunale	F 71	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ P1)
33 SALAMANCA, Bibl. Universitaria	64, fols. 69v-72v	<i>Sermo de corpore Christi</i>	(S27 ² /P—)
	fols. 74 bis-77v	<i>Sermo in coena domini</i>	(S27 ³ /P—)
34 ROMA, Bibl. Angelica	1109 (S 3 4)	<i>Annotationes in evangelia quadragesima</i>	(S40 ¹ /P23)
IB.	1136 (S 4 5)	<i>Andreae Billii Mediolanensis ordinis s. Augustini commentarii his-</i>	(S12/P19)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
		<i>torici de detrimento fidei et orientis ad Guilielmum cardinalem de Estouvilla</i>	
36 IB.	1139 (S 4 8), fols. 129v-135r	<i>Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi</i>	(S27/P22)
37 SIENA, Bibl. Comunale	D VI 5, fols. 2r-3r	<i>In Christo patri honoratissimo fratri Bernardino frater Andreas salutem [epistola]</i>	(S36/P—)
38 CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana	Pal. lat. 607, fols. 156r-158r	<i>In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea</i> (title this MS: <i>Secunda anniversaria eiusdem ducis sequente anno habitata F. Andreae</i>)	(S13/P11 ¹)
	fols. 158r-160v	<i>F. B. Andreae collaudatio funerea pro Baptista Bentivoglio clarissimo milite civitatis Bononiae</i> (this MS untitled)	(S15/P—)
	fols. 160v-161v	<i>[Oratio funebris Jacobi]</i>	(S16/P—)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
	fol. 161v-163v	<i>F. B. Andreae Mediolanensis de laudibus discipli- narum. Senis</i>	(S30/P52)
	fol. 163v-164r	<i>Collaudatio fune- rea Johannis Gis- lerii militis Bono- niensis F. B. An- dreas</i>	(S17/P14)
	fol. 164v-165r	[<i>Oratio funebris in laudem Lau- rentii Bononien- sis</i>]	(S18/P15 ¹)
	fol. 165r-166r	[<i>Oratio funebris in laudem Jacobi Bononiensis doc- toris iuris</i>]	(S19/P15 ²)
	fol. 166r-166v	[<i>Oratio funebris in laudem Stepha- ni</i>]	(S20/P15 ³)
	fol. 166v-167v	[<i>Oratio funebris in laudem Nicolai iurisconsulti</i>]	(S21/P15 ⁴)
	fol. 167v-168r	[?][<i>Oratio ad doctorum insignia atque ornamenta adipiscenda</i>]	(S33/P16)
	fol. 168r	[?][<i>Oratio de philosophiae lau- dibus</i>] (imperfect)	(S34/P17)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	S/P Numeration
39 IB.	2078, fols. 1r-58v	[<i>Interpretatio Physicorum Aris- totelis</i>] (title this MS unavailable)	(S56 ¹ /P36)
	fols. 59r-88r	[<i>Interpretatio li- bri Aristotelis De anima</i>] (title this MS unavailable)	(S57/P38)
40 IB.	5297 (fragm.), fols. 13r-312v	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i> (ti- tle this MS: <i>De rebus Italianis</i>)	(S1 ¹ /P1)
41 IB.	5298, fols. 1r-82v	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i> (ti- tle this MS: <i>De rebus Italianis</i>)	(S1 ¹ /P1)
	fols. 83r-118v	<i>Commentariorum historicorum de defectu fidei in oriente libri 12 ad Johannem a Rupescissa s. R. e. cardinalem</i>	(S12/P19)
42 IB.	Lat. 1084, fols. 144-52	<i>Super primum Sententiarum</i>	(S48/P33)
43 VENEZIA, Bibl. Naz. Mar- ciana	162 (3536)(Cl. XXII 306)	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)
44 IB.	255 (3457)(Cl. XXII 305)	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)

Library	Shelf Mark	Work	P/S Numeration
45 IB.	XI 3 (4351), fols. 25r-30r	<i>F. B. Andreae collaudatio fune- rea pro Baptista Bentivoglio cla- rissimo milite ci- vitatatis Bononiae</i>	(S15/P—)
	fols. 39v-43r	<i>Oratio [de studiis disciplinisque li- beralibus] An- dreae Mediola- nensis ordinis Heremitarum</i>	(S23/P—)
46 WIEN, Österreichische National Biblio- thek	5891	<i>Mediolanensium rerum historia</i>	(S1 ¹ /P1)

TABLE VI

Autograph Elements in the Extant Manuscripts¹⁰¹

Remigio Sabbadini describes Ambrosian codices H 117 inf. (Table V.17. a-h) and N 280 sup. (V.18.a-f), two collections of Biglia's works, as "retouched by the author," but, unfortunately, does not give his reasons for this opinion¹⁰². These 'retouchings' consist of headings, incipits, linear and interlinear corrections, catchwords, marginalia, and explicits. Similar elements in the same hand are found in other manuscripts of Biglia's works, such as the codex of the *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis* (V.1), in the Budapest Academy of Sciences; the codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence containing Biglia's consolatory epistles *De non necessario mortis metu/De bona ac pretiosa matris morte* (V.4); Biglia's personal copy of Terence (V.7), in the British Library; the Ambrosian codex of the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* (V.13); and the codex of the *Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus* (V.9). Thus far only one work written completely in the hand recognized by Sabbadini as Biglia's has come to light, the *Secunda collaudatio anniversaria Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani* (V.15)¹⁰².

We can but conjecture why Sabbadini took this for Biglia's handwriting. He certainly evinced no such incontestable proof as an autograph letter by Biglia. Nevertheless, as one examines these 'retouchings', one notes again and again in the headings the words, *F(ratris) B(illii) Andree* (plates 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 23). And on the last folio of Biglia's *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae*, also described by Sabbadini, one finds a long passage in the same hand (plate 1), which ends with the words, *Frater Andreas Mediolanensis Cognomine Billiardarum*, followed by *explicit*. These latter words have all the

¹⁰¹ The accompanying presentation does not purport to list every single instance of Biglia's autograph. Further study may identify, even in the manuscripts in question, examples of the autograph elements not shown in the plates or not yet even identified by the writer as such. Moreover, it is quite likely that manuscripts other than the present nine (see below, note 108) may be found to contain the hand vouched for by Sabbadini as being that of Biglia.

¹⁰² SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1097: "Ritoccato dall'autore". Sabbadini also analyzes Ambrosiani ES VII 2 and F 55 sup. and is equally firm in finding in them both examples of Biglia's autograph. In F 55 sup., the "fasciolo a parte" (fols. 49-57) that contains the *Secunda collaudatio*, he simply says (p. 1098): "è autografo". Of Biglia's direct participation in the production of ES VII 2, Sabbadini reports (p. 1096) as follows: "Il codice fu eseguito sotto la sorveglianza del Biglia, che vi aggiunse di sua mano le rubriche e la sottoscrizione". Sabbadini did not know the three expatriate MSS in which I think I have found further examples of the hand of Biglia (see on plates 5-6, 7-8, 9-10).

appearances of a signature (plate 2), and appear to have been recognized as such by Sabbadini (see again below, note 102). Moreover, the writer of this 'Biglia' hand exercised great authority over these manuscripts, directing their production with catchwords (plate 14) and correcting scribal errors (plates 8, 9, 10, 17, and 24), as an author might. From such evidence a degree of high probability should be conceded to Sabbadini's opinion.

It may be significant, moreover, that four of the manuscripts characterized by such 'autograph elements' were completed within Biglia's Lecceto, or Siena, period (1429-35)¹⁰³. Certainly, the Bodleian manuscript of Biglia's translation of the *De anima* (Plate 5) is marked *in Illiceto*, and the Ambrosian manuscript of the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* (Plate 1) explicitly gives August 28, 1431 as the date of its completion. Similarly, the respective completions of the two collections (V.17.a-h and V.18.a-f) are to be gauged by their latest works: *codex Ambrosianus* H 117 inf., by the treatise *De ordinis nostri forma et propagatione*, that is, probably after 1430¹⁰⁴; and *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup., by the oration [*Coram Sigismundo rege*], that is, after August 28, 1432¹⁰⁵. And any manuscript of the Milanese history would necessarily be dated after the completion of the ninth book in 1434¹⁰⁶. So it seems quite possible that, during this, the final period of his life, Biglia undertook to have fine copies of his work made on parchment, often illuminated with elegant capitals and, in some instances, with charming miniatures, and generally furnished with various elements in his own clear, distinctive script. These codices would then have constituted at least a portion of his personal library and would have represented approved texts of his works. It is impossible to say how many of the Biglia manuscripts examined by Pamfili in the San Marco library prior to his publication of 1581 belong in this category. But, if used with caution and prudence, the characteristics of the manuscripts presented in the plates, especially the 'Biglia' script, may serve as a norm for the identification of missing Biglia codices, particularly any that may have lost the author's name or identifying title.

Very useful in such identification is the manuscript of the *Secunda colaudatio* (plates 11 and 12), for the following reasons: (1) it is written in the one hand common to all manuscripts here presented as being in some wise Biglia's autograph; (2) it is the only manuscript encountered so far written entirely in that hand; and (3) it affords many examples of words and phrases that can be matched with the same or similar words or phrases in other possibly autograph material. For example, one may compare the catchword *libertas* at the bottom of plate 14

¹⁰³ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 135-136, notes 161-164.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 135, note 157.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 143, note 201.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 149, note 214.

with *liberalitatem*, the first word in line 2 of plate 12. It should be noted, however, that the general appearance of the script in this manuscript (V.15) is not so neat as that, for example, of the dedicatory verses in honor of Mary in the translation of the *De anima* shown in plate 5. The letters in the former script lack, for the most part, the accuracy, definition, and finesse of the latter. The former would, possibly, represent Biglia's ordinary, or everyday, hand; and the latter, his book hand.

The single most peculiar feature of this 'Biglia' hand is, perhaps, in the terminology of Mallon's *Paléographie Romaine*¹⁰⁷, his 'r' of *deux traits* (see plates 11 and 12 *passim*). The *ductus* of this letter appears to consist (1) of a stroke ascending briefly from left to right in a tapering convex curve before looping sharply back on itself, and (2) a stroke descending from the loop at an angle of about forty-five degrees, that is, tapering obliquely downward from left to right, usually in a convex curve. The other 'r' which 'Biglia' regularly employs is of common formation (see plate 8, line 3, first word on the left, *grauiter*; plate 11, line 4, second word from the right, *crederem*). The 'potbellied' capital 'B' and the open capital 'A' regularly found in the Biglia 'signature' are also notable characteristics of the hand (see plates 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 23).

With these characteristics in mind, examine plates 21 and 22. Novati states that the heading and the entire *prooemium* of the Madrid codex of the Milanese history (plate 21) are Biglia's autograph¹⁰⁸. I do not concur with this opinion, much though I would like to in order to authenticate Biglia's authorship of the epigrams at the end of the manuscript. Rather, I would propose *codex Mediolanensis Trivulzianus* 1430 (V.24) for recognition as a manuscript of the Milanese history embellished by the author's hand. This latter codex is of parchment, and, like the Ambrosian codex of the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae*, it is illuminated on folio 1r with the Biglia family coat of arms¹⁰⁹. But, most importantly, the elements presented in plates 23 and 24 show the characteristics of the 'Biglia' hand detailed above. The identification of this manuscript

¹⁰⁷ Jean MALLON, *Paléographie Romaine* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Filología, 1952), pp. 21-23.

¹⁰⁸ Francesco NOVATI, *Di un codice originale del 'Liber rerum mediolanensium' di frate Andrea Biglia esistente nella Nazionale di Madrid*, in *Archivio storico Lombardo* 4. serie, 34 (1907), 217-24, p. 218: "la lettera proemiale scritta di pugno dell'autore" [plate 21] and "questo titolo [that seen in plate 22], che noi pare di pugno del Billia". Novati refers (p. 218, note 1) to the Biglia autographs recently noted by Sabbadini and adds: "quindi è agevole il confronto". If Novati himself made the proposed comparison, he does not detail its outcome. According to Novati the Madrid MS was copied under Biglia's eyes and completed and corrected by Biglia's own hand (*ibid.*). It will be worthwhile to study in greater detail than has been possible for me at present the frequent corrections and notes that are revealed (Novati states) as autograph (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁹ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 106, note 15.

(V.24) as autograph in part may serve as a demonstration of the validity of these criteria.

List of Plates

1. *codex Ambrosianus* ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), fol. 375r.

Autograph element (title, commentary, signature, explicit):

*Hic finis libri annotationum
in euangelia quadragesime
F. B. Andree mediolanensis
ordinis heremitarum sancti Au-
gustini deo semper gratias Amen*

*Cepta bononie producta peru-
sii completa senis nam multa a-
lia interuenere Ad annum
millesimum quadringentesimum
ac trigesimum primum in die
festo Augustini quod obtaueram
date laudes ac preces deo Amen*

*frater Andreas mediolanensis
cognomine billiardarum explicit*

2. *ibid.*

Autograph element (detail of signature):

*frater Andreas mediolanensis
cognomine billiardarum explicit*

3. *idem*, fol. 1r.

Element (miniature portrait of author)¹¹⁰.

4. *ibid.*

Element (Biglia family coat of arms)¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*

¹¹¹ See *ibid.*

5. *codex Bodleianus* 40042, fol. 1v (verso of flyleaf).

Autograph element (dedicatory verses, dedication, and heading of *argumentum*)

*Virgo pios oculos mentemq(ue) intende benignam
Supplicib(us) nam sola malis superes ueneranda
Vsq(ue) adeo absorpti preuastis mergimur undis
Heremus q(ue) rati si non tua dextra reuellat
Luctantes morti et leuior subuectet ad auras
Vnda sinus q(ue) tuos laeti gremium q(ue) petamus
Beatissimae uirgini mariae F. B. Andr(eae) in illicito*

*F. B. Andree mediolanensis noua interpretatio
in tribus libris Aristotelis de anima argumentum*

6. *idem*, fol. 2r.

Autograph element (incipit):

*F. B. Andr(eae) M(ediolanensis) d(e) a(n)i(m)a ar(istote)lis
lib(er) p(r)im(us) in(cipi)t*

7. *codex Britannicus* Add. 10081, fol. 3r.

Autograph element (title of *argumentum* and *argumentum*):

*F. B. Andree mediolanensis Ar
gumentum de origine terentii*

*Afrum me latini mei
decreuerunt inuitus
q(ue) et innoxius ad bar
baros pellor Hoc mihi
nunc demum capi est quoniam et poe
no captiuum tradunt atq(ue) hec nostri
laboris merces hoc deniq(ue) nostre erudi
tionis meritum qui latine lingue om
nem etatem obsecundauius ceterum
ubi nomen punicum aut ubi sermo
punicus qui rome natus romanam
linguam uel solus effeci Mirum
dictu usq(ue) adeo homines desi
piunt potuisse quo tempore
me natum ferunt quenq(ue)m apud*

*poenos uel terentium uocitari
 uel latinum esse qui ne gre
 ce q(ui)d(e)m mediocriter assuissent
 Mihi uero latinam linguam
 frustra uideor obseruauis
 se si romanae facundie au*

8. idem, fol. 9v.

Autograph element (the scribe has omitted an entire line¹¹²; Biglia supplies this in the left margin and in doing so sets out twice the first three words):

*Hoc q(ui)d sit. Hoc
 q(ui)d sit. o(mn)es q(ui) amant
 grauiter sibi dari u
 xorem ferunt*

9. *codex Budensis Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára* 4°36, fol. 25v.

Autograph element (marginal correction, at left):

*Caue errorem scriptoris
 transi ad h(oc) signu(m) T*

10. idem, fol. 55r.

Autograph element (marginal correction, at right):

*tempus est sed numerus
 motus At in numero*

11. *codex Ambrosianus* F 55 sup., fol. 50r.

Autograph element (title in upper right corner, and text):

*F. B. Andr(eae) se
 cunda collaudatio
 a(n)niuersaria Ioh(ann)is
 Galeaz uicecomitis
 ducis M(edio)lani*

Si primum hodie Viri clarissimi nostri ducis laudes

¹¹² See SABBADINI, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 191.

*efferende essent maximam profecto neq(ue) habilem
aut nostris humeris habilem aut ulla spe suscipi
endam sarcinam excepisse me crederem Quippe
qui eas res primus attingerem que nullo eloquio
non superiores essent mox q(ue) ut cogitari cepissent
non admirationem modo sed stuporem quoq(ue)
ac formidinem uel maximis ingeniis afferrent
De his enim dicendum esset que cum egregios pre
dicatores habuerint semper tamen in eo genere
fuere ut parum dicta ac laudata uiderentur
Iam uero mihi magna ex parte leuatus*

12. idem, fol. 56r.

Autograph element (text):

*familie non unius hominis extat humanitatem
liberalitatem caritatem sequi Quid uero in
tota prouincia egregium quid in hac nostra ci
uitate magnificum quid per urbes atq(ue) opida
per uicos et agros uel munitum uel ornatum
spectari potest quod non horum insignibus splen
deat Nanq(ue) et arces et menia que omnibus lo
cis uisuntur quid nisi horum opes atq(ue) arti
ficia sunt Aut quis non miretur saltum illum
papiensem quem hic ipse galeaz tam mirifice
struxit siue ille salomonem in edificandis regiis
edibus siue cirum in (con)serendis ortis uoluit imi*

13. codex Ambrosianus H 117 inf., fol. 42r.

Autograph element (explicit and title):

*Secundus ad reginaldum explicit F. B. Andr(eae)
De disciplina ordinis a(m)monitio h(ab)ita in capitulo
bononiensi*

14. idem, fol. 46v.

Autograph element (catchword in bottom margin):

libertas

15. *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup., fol. 1r.

Element (miniature portrait)¹¹³ and autograph element (title):

Querelle pacis F. B. Andree m(ediolanensis)

16. *ibid.*

Element (detail of miniature portrait of author)¹¹⁴.

17. *idem*, fol. 5r.

Autograph element (interlinear correction between lines 2 and 3; marginalia, at right side, from top to bottom):

tollerare

Persaru(m)

Macedonum

Alexander

18. *codex Forentinus Nationalis Centralis* N. A. 921, fol. 56v.

Autograph element (explicit):

*F. B. Andree mediolanensis or uocati
ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini
ad Iohannem cognatum de non neces
sario mortis metu pro fulminato consola
tio explicat.*

19. *idem*, fol. 57r.

Element (miniature portrait)¹¹⁵ and autograph element (title):

*F. B. Andree ad Benedictum sororis de bo
na et preciosa matris morte F. B. Andr(eas) medio-
(lanen)sis*

20. *ibid.*

Element (detail of miniature portrait)¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ See SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 106, note 15.

¹¹⁴ See *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*

21. *codex Matritensis Nationalis* 1066, verso of flyleaf.

Autograph element in Novati's opinion (title and whole of proem; title only transcribed here):

F. B. Andreae reru(m) liber mediolane(n)siiu(m) historiae. Prohemium

22. *idem*, fol. 1r.

Autograph element in Novati's opinion (title):

F. B. Andreae Patriae historiae liber p(r)im(us).

23. *codex Mediolanensis Trivulzianus* 1430, fol. 24r.

Autograph element (explicit and incipit):

*F. B. Andree Patrie historie secundus explicit
Incipit tertius feliciter*

24. *idem*, fol. 46v.

Autograph element (marginalia, at left side, from top to bottom):

Siccus i(n)trat forliuii(m)

captum oppidum refere

bant Pulsi mox ad flo

rentinos literis

TABLE VII

**Alphabetical Concordance
of the Perini with the Schnaubelt
Numeration of Biglia's Works**

- S3 - P10: *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda.*
- S10 - P6: *Ad Barchinonenses de littera h in Yhesu.*
- S11 - P8: *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione.*
- S5 - P3: *Ad Reginaldum Remensem archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum, super generali indulto Alexandri Papae V, [epistolae 2].*
- S7^a - P—: *Ad Iordanum Ursinum nobilem Romanum et ecclesiae cardinalem epistola velut prooemium pro duobus libellis sequentibus.*
- S7^b - P4: *Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum, [libri 2].*
- S40¹ - P23: *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae.*
- S41¹ - P24²: *[Annotationes in evangelii quae per annum leguntur].*
- S17 - P14: *Collaudatio funerea Johannis Gislerii militis Bononiensis. F. B. Andreas.*
- S47³ - P27: *Commentaria in Genesim.*
- S51 - P—: *Commentaria in libris Aristotelis De anima, libri 3.*
- S52 - P40: *Commentaria in libris <Aristotelis> De coelo et mundo, libri 4.*
- S12^b - P19: *Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum, ad Johannem cardinalem et episcopum Rhotomagensensem.*

- S42 - P21: *De amore et magnitudine crucis ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem* [See S8].
- S63 - P43: *De arte dicendi libri 3.*
- S43² - P—: *De bona et pretiosa matris morte libri 2.*
- S26 - P7: *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo.*
- S25 - P—: *De disciplina ordinis ammonitio habita in capitulo Bononiensi.*
- S46 - P31: *De excellenti dignitate virginis Mariae opusculum.*
- S9 - P5¹: *De institutis, discipulis, et doctina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum* [epistolae 2].
- S43¹ - P32: *De non necessario mortis metu liber 1.*
- S8 - P20: *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem libri 3* [see S42].
- S39 - P29: *Dominicale et festivum [sermones], libri 3.*
- S27^a - P22²: [Epistola], "Abbati religiosissimo F. B. Andreas," [inscripta velut prooemium pro Sermone de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi].
- S12^a - P—: [Epistola praefatoria commentariorum historicorum de origine Turcharum ad Johannem cardinalem Rupescissam].
- S61 - P41²: *Exordia super practica rhetorices libri 3.*
- S50 - P39²: *Expositio super Perihermenias Aristotelis.*
- S49 - P39¹: *Expositio super Universalia Porphyrii.*
- 41³ - P25: *Expositiones in quattuor evangellis libri 4.*
- S15 - P—: *F. B. Andreae collaudatio funerea pro Baptista Bentivoglio clarissimo milite civitatis Bononiae.*

- S57 - P38: *Fr. B. Andreae Mediolanensis Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus.*
- S30 - P52: *F. B. Andreae Mediolanensis de laudibus disciplinarum. Senis.*
- S14 - P11²: *F. B. Andreae secunda collaudatio anniversaria Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani.*
- S59b - P—: *F. B. Andreae Timoleontis vita ex Graecis Plutarchi in Latinas litteras translata, F. H. sancti Augustini.*
- S35 - P18: *Frater B[ilia] Andreas Aurispae suo s. p. d. [epistola].*
- S62 - P42: *Grammatices, sive de octo partibus orationis, libri 8.*
- S47¹ - P26: *Hexaameron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito.*
- S1² - P46: *Historiarum Longobardorum liber 1.*
- S1³ - P45: *Historiarum Mediolanensium liber 1.*
- S22 - P—: *In castris Philippi ducis mediol[ani] oratio militaris Brixiae disserta.*
- S36 - P—: *In Christo patri honoratissimo fratri Bernardino frater Andreas salutem [epistola].*
- S40² - P—: *In evangelia opus maximum et volumine et doctrina.*
- S13 - P11¹: *In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea.*
- S54² - P—: *In libros Physicorum <Aristotelis> libri 3.*
- S55² - P34: *In Metaphysicam Aristotelis commentaria.*
- S56³ - P—: *In primum et secundum Physicorum <Aristotelis>.*
- S41² - P24¹: *Ingens volumen sermonum ab adventu ad finem quadragesimae.*
- S58 - P37: *[Interpretatio] Ethicorum Aristotelis, libri 10.*

- S56¹ - P26: *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis.*
- S23 - P—: [*Laudatio sancti Augustini Bononiae dicta*].
- S24 - P13: [*Laudatio sancti Augustini coram Sigismundo rege*].
- S1¹ - P1: *Mediolanensium rerum historia.*
- S55³ - P—: *Metaphysica eiusdem <Aristotelis>.*
- S33 - P16: [?] [*Oratio ad doctorem insignia atque ornamenta adipiscenda*].
- S34 - P17: [?] [*Oratio de philosophiae laudibus*].
- S32 - P—: *Oratio [de studiis disciplinisque liberalibus] Andreae Mediolanensis ordinis Heremitarum.*
- S19 - P15²: [*Oratio funebris in laudem Jacobi Bononiensis doctoris iuris*].
- S18 - P15¹: [*Oratio funebris in laudem Laurentii Bononiensis*].
- S21 - P15⁴: [*Oratio funebris in laudem Nicolai iurisconsulti*].
- S20 - P15³: [*Oratio funebris in laudem Stephani*].
- S16 - P—: [*Oratio funebris Jacobi*].
- S29 - P—: [*Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria*].
- S31 - P—: *Oratio in novationem annuam studiorum habita per fratrem Andream sacrae theologiae discretissimum magistrum Mediolanensem. Senis.*
- S28 - P—: [*Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononia habita*].
- S37 - P44: *Orationum et epistolarum libri 2.*
- S4 - P2: *Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversum schisma Benedicti.*

- S56² - P—: *Primus et secundus liber Physicorum <Aristotelis>, cum principio libri tertii.*
- S47² - P—: *Principium expositionis in Genesim.*
- S59^a - P—: [*Praefatium Vitae Timoleontis Plutarchi ab Andrea Biglia translatae ad Carolum Malatestam Ariminensium dominum*].
- S6 - P12: *Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione Iordano Ursino.*
- S53 - P—: *Quaestiones in libros <Aristotelis> De anima, libri 3.*
- S54¹ - P—: *Quaestiones in libros <Aristotelis> Physicorum, libri 8.*
- S55¹ - P35: *Quaestiones Metaphysicorum <Aristotelis>, libri 12.*
- S2 - P9: *Querellae pacis.*
- S27^b - P22¹: *Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustinano Mediolanensi.*
- S38 - P—: *Sermonum diversarum materiarum libri 3.*
- S45 - P30: *Sermones festivi de beata virgine.*
- S44 - P28: *Super 'Missus est angelus' et canticum 'Magnificat' expositio.*
- S48 - P33: *Super primum Sententiarum.*
- S60 - P41¹: *Terentii comediae a Fr. B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in membranis cum suis variis commentariis marginalibus atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus.*

TABLE VIII

Perini-Schnaubelt Numeration Converter

P1 - S1 ¹	P15 ⁴ - S21	P31 - S46
P2 - S4	P16 - S33	P32 - S43 ¹
P3 - S5	P17 - S34	P33 - S48
P4 - S7	P18 - S35	P34 - S55 ²
P5 ¹ - S9	P19 - S12	P35 - S55 ¹
P5 ² - S30	P20 - S8	P36 - S56 ¹
P6 - S10	P21 - S42	P37 - S58
P7 - S26	P22 ¹ - S27 ^b	P38 - S57
P8 - S11	P22 ² - S27 ^a	P39 ¹ - S49
P9 - S2	P23 - S40 ¹	P39 ² - S50
P10 - S3	P24 ¹ - S41 ²	P40 - S52
P11 ¹ - S13	P24 ² - S41 ¹	P41 ¹ - S60
P11 ² - S14	P25 - S41 ³	P41 ² - S61
P12 - S6	P26 - S47 ¹	P42 - S62
P13 - S24	P27 - S47 ³	P43 - S63
P14 - S17	P28 - S44	P44 - S37
P15 ¹ - S18	P29 - S39	P45 - S1 ³
P15 ² - S19	P30 - S45	P46 - S1 ²
P15 ³ - S2		