



Part 2
Catalogue

Introductory Note

The following pages contain brief descriptions of all the manuscripts on display in the exhibition. In addition to the conventional information, the descriptions state briefly the role each manuscript played in the process of Bessarion's work on *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, record its location in Bessarion's library (*locus* or *topos*) and, on the basis of Lotte Labowsky's study, indicate whether it has been identified with an item in Inventory A, which accompanied the act of donation, and/or Inventory B, which documents the transferral of the books to Venice, both during Bessarion's lifetime and after his death. The description of each manuscript found in Inventories A and/or B is also quoted.

All this information is relevant for a variety of reasons. The fact that the *locus* ("pressmark", as Labowsky calls it) is present in a particular manuscript could be interpreted as an indication that we have a completed work (as opposed to a mere draft or a working copy), which had its place in Bessarion's library at his residence in Rome. The absence of such information can be an indication that we are dealing with a working copy or a draft that was used in the process of composing the *ICP* by Bessarion himself or by members of his learned circle. It is not unreasonable to suppose that works without a *locus* were at some point on Bessarion's desk or circulated among the members of his entourage. In some other rare cases, this information is missing simply as a result of rebinding and its absence has no interpretative value. It is important to stress that the *locus* is an indication of a place where the book was supposed to be stored, rather than a unique 'ID-number' assigned to a single book, as the number of manuscripts allocated to a single *locus* vary from 2 (*locus* 63) to 21 (*locus* 33). Sometimes the book was reassigned by Bessarion from one *locus* to the other, as is the case, for example, with Gr. Z. 187 (742). The information obtained from the inventories edited by Labowsky is also revealing. However, it should be noted that the identification of a manuscript with an item in the inventories is by no means straightforward. It might have been so, if Bessarion or his collaborators had given each manuscript a unique number or code that appeared both on the manuscript and in the inventory. However, there is no such unequivocal link between actual manuscripts and the entries in the inventories. The identification of the entries with the manuscripts is one important outcome of the titanic project completed by Labowsky. It was she who solved the complicated "puzzle" as to which manuscript now extant in the Marciana is most probably indicated by each descriptive entry in the inventories. Undoubtedly, Labowsky's solution is correct in the majority of cases. However, in a few instances, it must remain a hypothesis and not a certainty (e.g. Lat. VI, 76 below). I quote these descriptions to highlight the available evidence collected by Labowsky in her study. The inclusion of these quotes does not imply that, in all cases, I agree with Labowsky's identification or have verified it myself.

Finally, the "Literature" section of each entry contains selected references to the secondary literature where more detailed descriptions of each manuscript may be found. In the age of electronic databases, it appeared superfluous to include a full secondary bibliography to each manuscript as it would probably become incomplete and even obsolete before the first printed copies of the catalogue leave the publishing house.

I Final Redaction

1 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 198 (744)

Parchment, middle of XV c., mm 280 × 195 × 95, ff. 318, lineis plenis 29, spatiū scripturae mm 170 × 110. Titles, incipit and explicit, marginal notes are in red. Initials at the beginning of each of the six books are red and gilded.

It contains six books of *In Calumniatorem Platonis (versio graeca)* in its final redaction. Bk. 1, ff. 3-31v; Bk. 2, ff. 31v-84; Bk. 3, ff. 84-162; Bk. 4, ff. 162-242v; Bk. 5, ff. 243-294; Bk. 6, ff. 294v-316v; ff. 317-318v + II are empty.

Bessarion's library locus 56

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 536 "Opus domini Reverendissimi in calumniatorem Platonis, in pergamento"

Literature Mioni 1981, 310



1
Venezia, BNM,
Gr. Z. 198 (744), f. 3r

2 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 229 (1695)

Parchment, middle of XV c., mm 280 × 195 × 95, *spatium scripturae* mm 180 × 110, *lineis plenis* 28, ff. IV, 364 with reclamants on f. 10v (I), 20v (II), 30v (III), 40v (IV), 50v (V), 60v (VI), 70v (VII), 80v (VIII), 90v (IX), 100v (X), 110v (XI at the edge of the page), 120v (minimal traces of the Roman numeral barely discernible at the edge of the page), 130v (Roman numeral cut off, minimal traces), 140v (XII), 150v (XV at the very edge), 160v (XVI), 170v ([XVII], cut), 180v (traces), 190v (XVIII), 200v (XII/XVIII), 210v (XIII (crossed through) / XX), 220v (XIII / XXI), 230v (XXII), 240v (XXIII), 250v (XXIII), 260v (XXV), 270v (XXVI), 280v (XXVII), 290v (XXVIII), 300v (XXVIII), 310v (XXX), 320v (XXXI), 330v (XXXII), 338v (XXXIII), 348v (XXXIII), 358v (XXXV); ff. 270, 337v-338v, 360-364 are empty. Round humanist script, titles, incipit and explicit, marginal notes and Greek words and phrases embedded in Latin text are in red. Coloured and gilded initials at the beginning of each book.

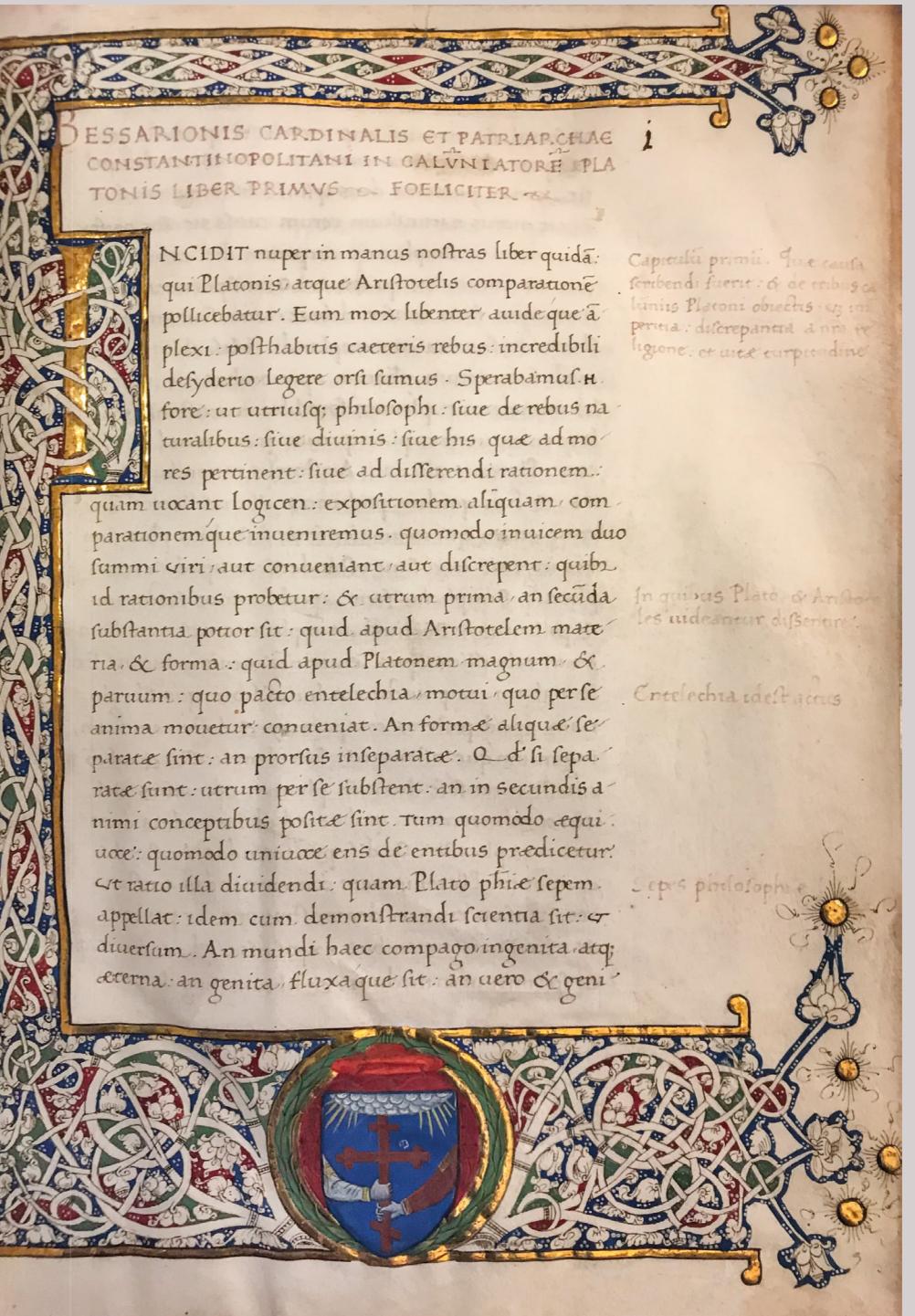
It contains six books of *In Calumniatorem Platonis (versio latina)* in its final re-daction. Bk. 1, ff. 1-36; Bk. 2, ff. 36v-101; Bk. 3, ff. 101-181; Bk. 4, ff. 181-269; Bk. 5, ff. 271-337; Bk. 6, ff. 339-359.

Bessarion's library *locus* 33

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 717 "Opus Domini Reverendissimi in calumniatorem Platonis in pergamo, pulchrum"

Literature Valentinelli 1871, 4: 5-6; Mohler 1923-42, 1: 364; 2: VIII; Gasparrini Leporace, Mioni 1968, 14-15



2
Venezia, BNM,
Lat. Z. 229 (1695), f. 1r

2

Venezia, BNM,
Lat. Z. 229 (1695), f. 1r

II Bessarion and Georgios Trapezuntios

3 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI, 76 (2848)

Paper, middle of XV c. (1458), mm 223 x 53 x 45, spatiū scripturae mm 150 x 85 remains relatively constant across fascicles, number of lines varies according to the scribe of each fascicle from 23 to 29, ff. II + 178 + II ff., 18 fascicles written by 15 different scribes, ff. 6-8, 29v-30, 37-40, 79v-80, 98v-100, 116v-118, 137v-138, 164v-168 are empty; titles of the first three chapters (on ff. 1, 3, 4), catchword on f. 5v, and "finis" on f. 178v are written in brown ink by Bessarion, titles throughout the book in red ink, damage to the upper part of the page from f. 159 becomes progressively worse until f. 178, which is preserved only in part.

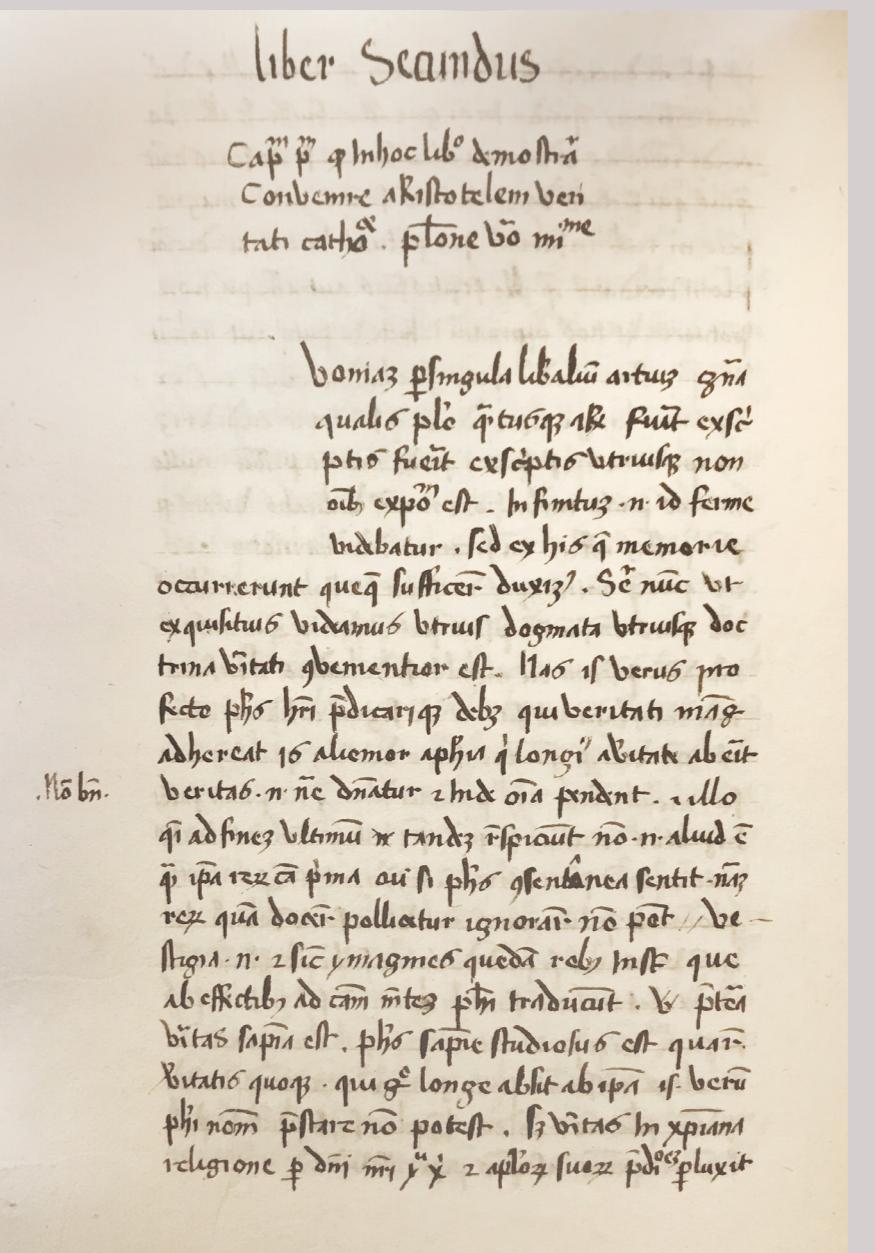
It contains *Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*. Bk. 1, ff. 1-27; Bk. 2, ff. 27v-107; Bk. 3, ff. 107-178.

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 893 "Trapezuntii contra Platonem, in papiro, sine tabulis"
(identification with this item in the inventory is based on Labowsky 1979, 115, 238, sed cf. Monfasani 2021b, 366-7)

Literature Valentinelli 1871, 4: 10, Monfasani 2021b, 366-78



3
Venezia, BNM,
Lat. VI, 76 (2848), f. 27v

4 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 79.D.107

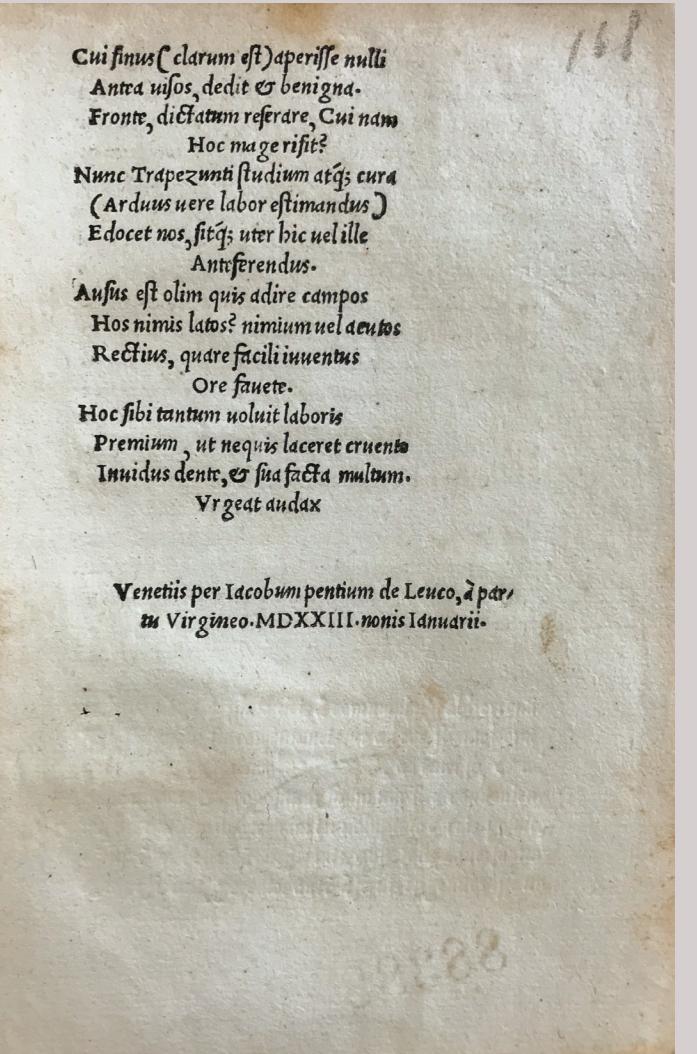
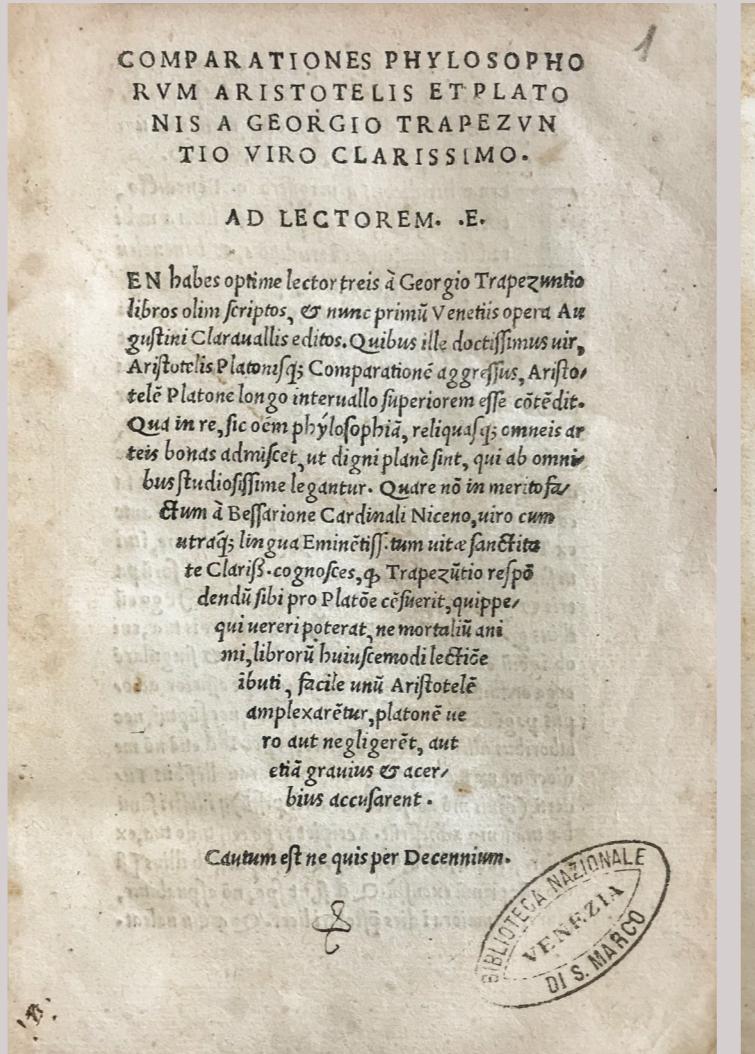
Printed in 1523, mm 155 x 115 x 25, ff. 168. Modern binding, probably in the 1950s. Title on f. 1: "Comparationes phylosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis a Georgio Trapezuntio viro clarissimo". Colophon on f. 168: "Venetiis per Iacobum pentium de Leuco, a partu Virgineo MDXXIII nonis Ianuarii".

It contains a printed version of Georgios Trapezuntios *Comparatio Platonis et Aristotelis*.

This book was never part of Bessarion's library (printed in 1523).

Literature

Monfasani 2021b, 428-38



5 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 161.D.10

Printed in 1577, mm 345 × 220 × 20. Title page + [VII] + 151 pp. Title: "Pauli Iovii [...] Elogia virorum literis illustrium [...] quotquot vel nostra velavorum memoria vixere". [...] Petri Pernae Typographi. Basil. Opera ac Studio.

This book was never part of Bessarion's library (printed in 1577).



5a

Venezia, BNM, 161.D.10.4, p. 30: Bessarion



5b

Venezia, BNM, 161.D.10.4, p. 31: Georgios Trapezuntios

III Working with Plato

6 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 199 (604)

Paper, middle of XV c., mm 298 x 212, ff. VI + 225 (+ 176 bis), lineis plenis 16-21
in ff. 1-32, 87-96v, 20-27 in ff. 33-76v, 25 in ceteris foliis; spatium scripturae
mm 180/195 x 110/135 in ff. 1-76v et mm 200 x 95 in ceteris foliis.

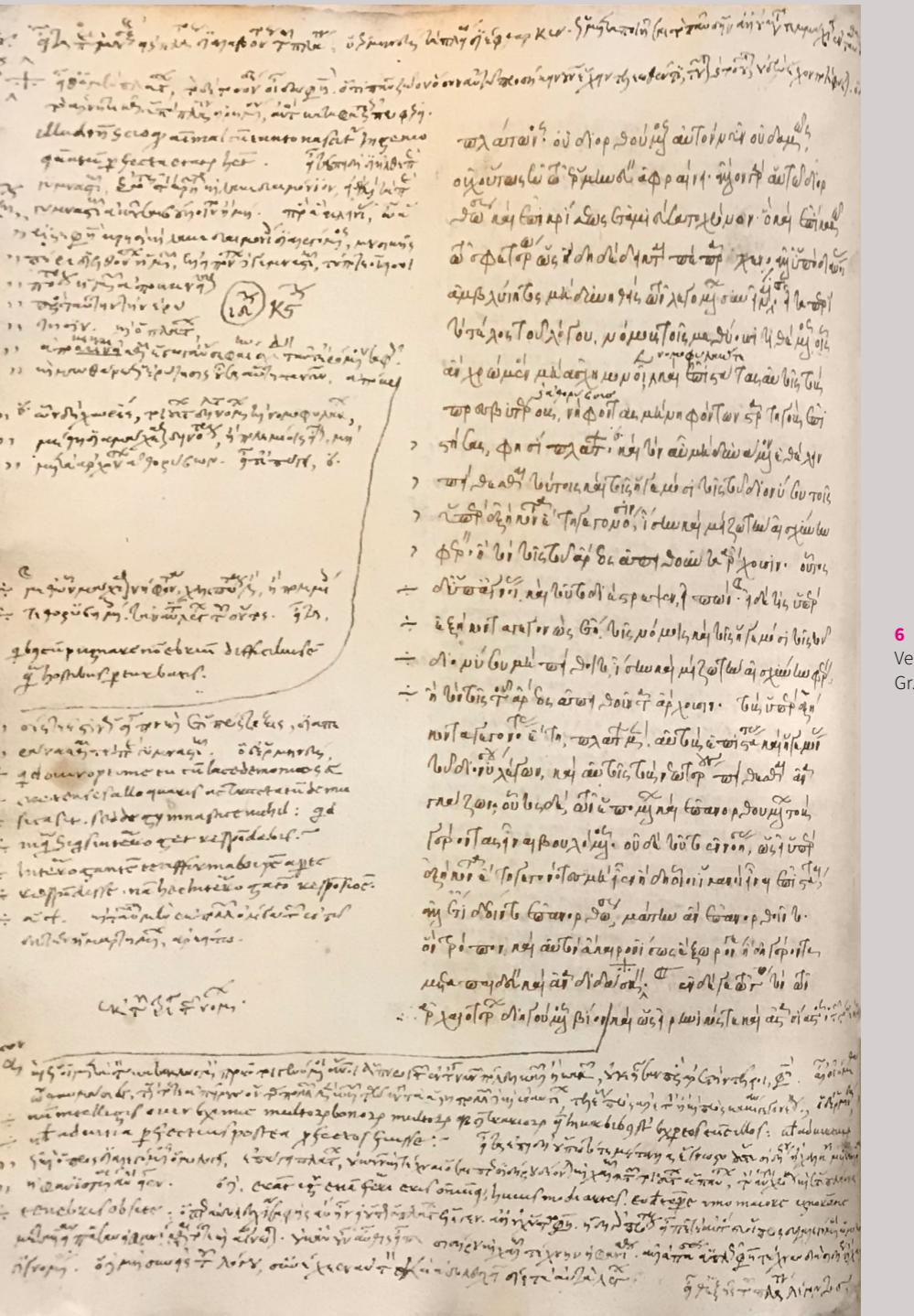
It contains Bessarion's working copy of the Greek version of Bk. 1, 2, 4 and 5 of
the ICP (Bk. 1, ff. 1-39v; Bk. 2, ff. 39v-97; Bk. 4, ff. 97v-182v; Bk. 5, 183-224v).

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 518 "Eadem [sc. 'Defensio Platonis' ut B 516] in papiro, prima manu,
consita in coperto pergamento"

Literature Gasparrini Leporace, Mioni 1968, 7-8; Mioni 1981, 310-11; Mariev
2022 (forthcoming)



6
Venezia, BNM,
Gr. Z. 199 (604), f. 197v

7 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 526 (776)

Paper, middle of XV c., mm 220 × 145 (mm 200 × 145 on ff. 64-100, 108-111), ff. I, 225, *lineis plenis* 26-39, *spatium scripturae ca.* mm 160/190 × 130/90. F. 1v index; 2-3v Plutarchus *Vitae paralleliae*, *excerpta ex vitis Timonis, Luculli et Themistocli*; 4-24v Herodotus *Historiae Excerpta*; 25-47 Thucydides; 48-59v Xenophon *historicus Hellenica Excerpta*; ff. 60-63v are empty; 64-97v Plutarchus *Vitae paralleliae*; 97v Porphyrius *Vita Plotini*; 100-107v Plato *Leges*; ff. 108-111v are empty; 112-135v *Compendium operum Platonis*; 136-148v Hermogenes *rhetor De inventione Excerpta*; 149rv Plutarchus *Apophthegmata Laconica*; 149v-150 Plutarchus *Vita Homeri*; 150-151v Lucianus *De saltatione Excerptum*; 152-164 Proclus *philosophus Institutio physica*; 164v-167 *Sententiae ex auctoribus ecclesiasticis collectae*; f. 167v is empty; 176-195v Ptolemaeus Claudius *Syntaxis mathematica*; *praemittitur varia geometrica et astronomica in lingua latina* (ff. 168-175v); *sequuntur definitiones mathematicae latine* (ff. 196-199); ff. 199v-207v are empty; *sequuntur geometrica et quedam calculatoria* (ff. 208-211 et 216-225); ff. 211v-215v are empty. Bessarion has been identified as the scribe of the entire volume with the exception of ff. 152-167.

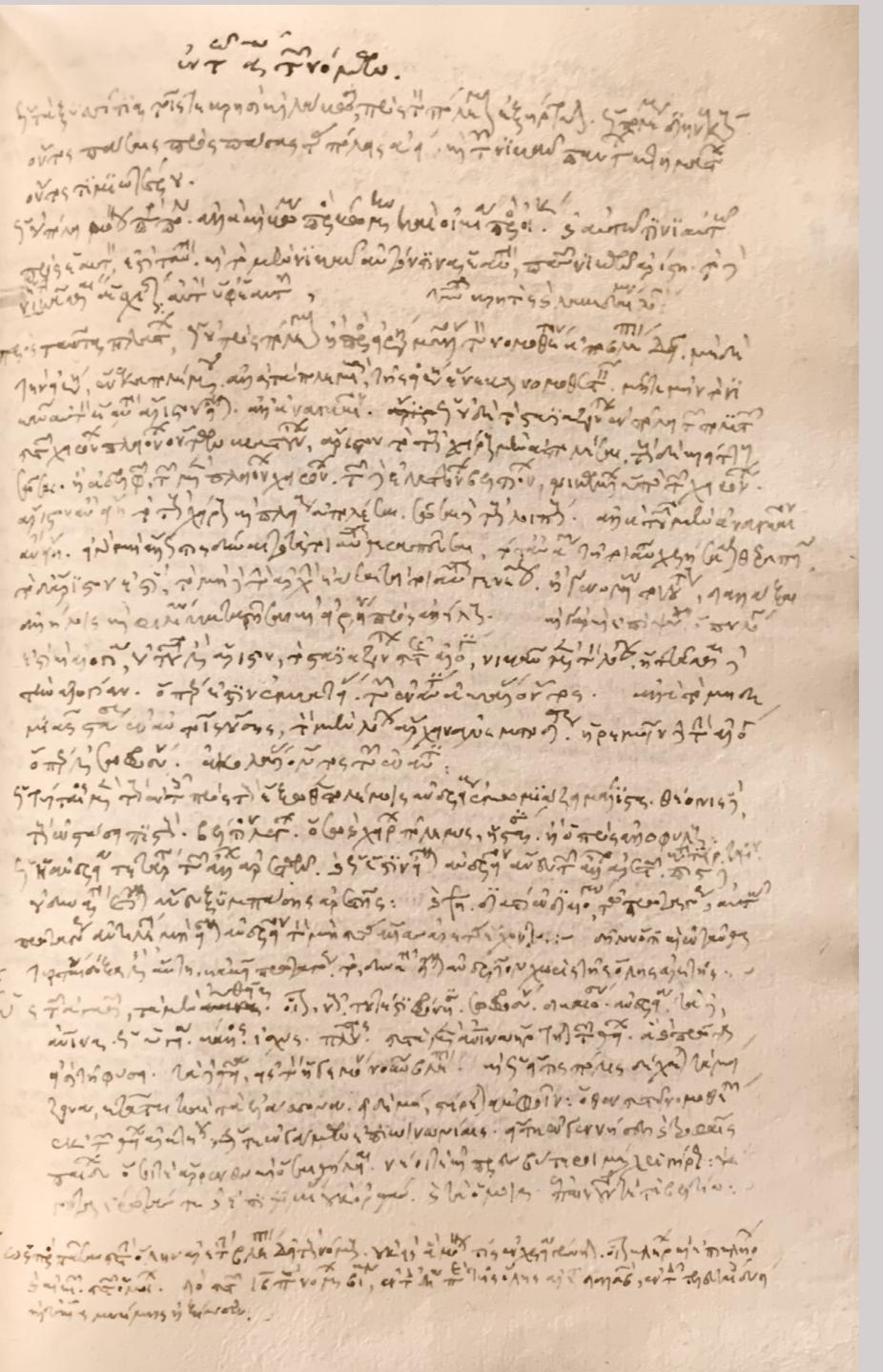
It contains, most importantly, a collection of excerpts from Plato's *Laws*, attesting Bessarion's particular interest in this dialogue and his profound knowledge of it.

Bessarion's library locus 76

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 592 "Excerpta quedam ex Herodoto, Thucidide, et Xenophonte, et ex parallelis Plutarchi, et ex legibus Platonis, et epithoma legum eiusdem Platonis, et epithoma de ideis rhetoriciis Hermogenis, et elementatio naturalis Proculi, et aliqua astronomica, in papiro"

Literature Mioni 1981, 410 ff.; Rigo 1991; Papadimitriou 1968



7
Venezia, BNM,
Gr. Z. 526 (776), f. 112r

Bessarion's Plato

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 187 (742)

chment, middle of XV c., mm 260 × 175, ff. III. 311 (+ 287 bis), lineis plenis
39, spatium scripturae mm 170/180 × 110/125. F. 1rv index; 2-107 Plato *Re-
publica*; 107v-135v Plato *Timaeus*; 136-139v *Timaeus De anima mundi et natu-*
f. 140 is empty; 141-153v Plutarchus *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*;
-159v Plato *Critias*; 159v-162v Ps.-Plato *Minos*; ff. 163-166v are empty;
-282v Plato *Leges*; 283-289 Ps.-Plato *Epinomis*; 289v-309 Ps.-Plato *Epistulae*.
umerous annotations in Bessarion's hand.

contains, most importantly, Plato's *Laws*, which were used by Bessarion in the process of correcting Georgios Trapezuntios' translation into Latin.

Sarion's library *locus 53, antea 77*

ntory A 430 "Item Platonis respublica, leges et epistolae, in pergameno, liber pulcherrimus"

Inventory B 525 "Eiusdem res publica, leges et epistolae, in pergamento"

Mioni 1981, 299; Pagani 2011



ezia, BNM,
187 (742) f. 176r

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 188 (1022)

per, beginning of the XV c., mm 245 x 170, ff. I. 178, *lineis plenis* 31/32, *spatium scripturae* 185 x 110. 1-131 Plato *Leges*; 131v-138v Plato / Ps.-Plato *Epino-s*; 138v-141v Ps.-Plato *Demodocus*; 141v-143v Ps.-Plato *Sisyphus*; 144-145 Lu-anus *Halcyon*; 145-152v Ps.-Plato *Eryxias*; 152v-155v *Definitiones*; 155v-176 ato / Ps.-Plato *Epistulae*; 176v-178 *Excerpta brevia ex operibus Luciani variis* anu Bessarionis.

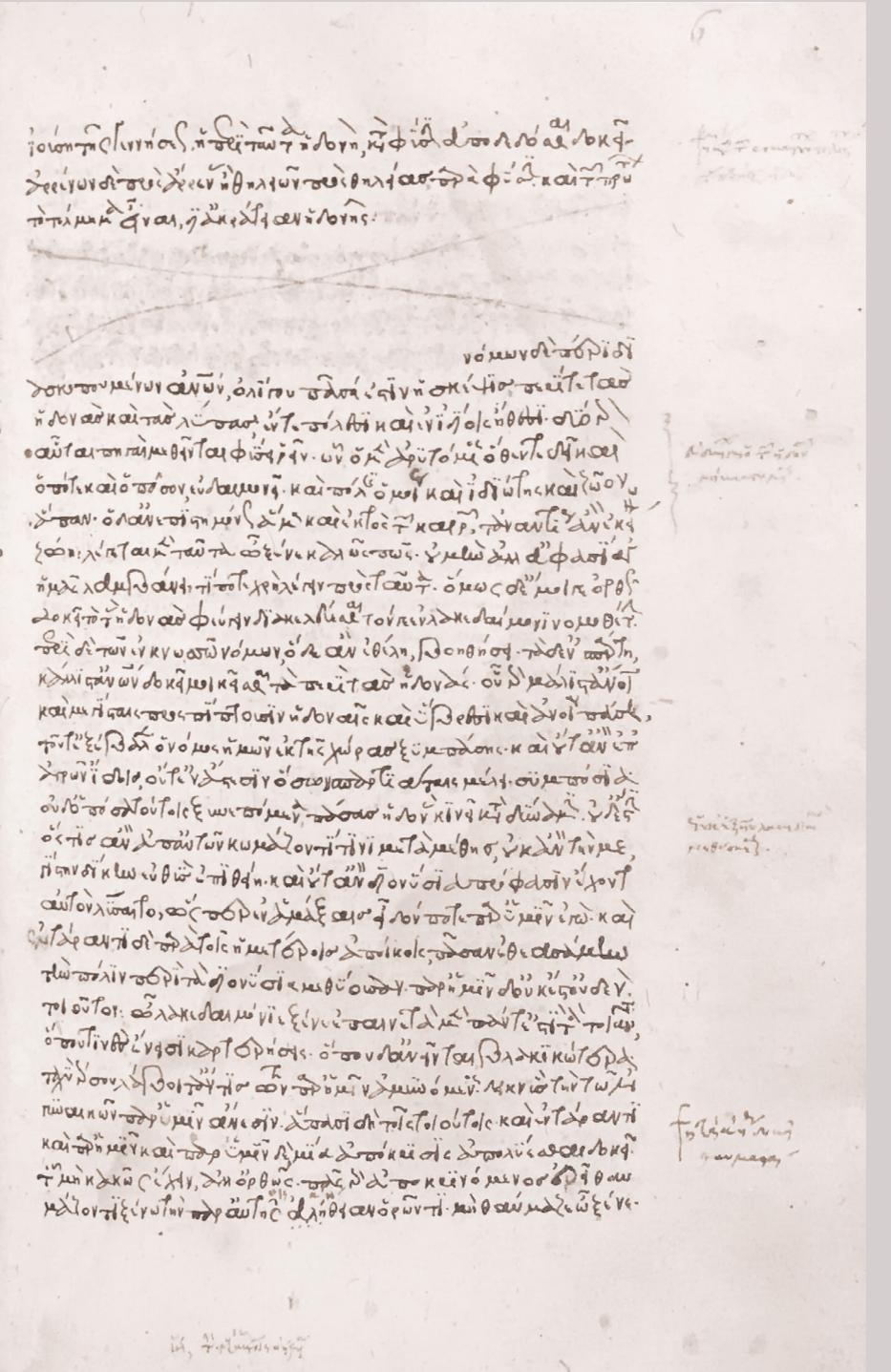
contains, most importantly, Plato's *Laws*, with some passages that had been censored' by Bessarion's teacher Georgios Gemistos (Plethon).

ssarion's library locus 53

entory A 421 "Item leges Platonis, dialogi quattuor noti, et epistolae eius, in papyro"

ventory B 528 "Platonis leges, epistolae et dialogi nothi, in papiro"

erature Mioni 1981, 300; Pagani 2009



ezia, BNM,
188 (1022), f. 6r

V Change of Plan: Gatti's Notata and the Reworking of the Treatise

10 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 226 (1636)

Paper, middle of XV c., mm 315 × 230 × 40, ff. 152, *spatium scripturae* mm 220 × 130, *lineis plenis* 25-27. The folios are numbered in the upper corner and in the lower corners (modern). The modern numbering is reported here with an asterisk. Numbers without asterisk refer to the older folio numbers in the upper corner. Viktor Tiftixoglou made a note about the foliation of this codex on the inner cover, his note is dated May 23 1985. 1*-12*=1-12; 13*-48*=49-84; 49*-84*=13-48; 85*-151*=86-152. Bk. 1 of *Liber defensionum* begins on f. 1*=1; Bk. 2 on 31*v=68v; Bk. 3 on 84*v=48v; f. 138*rv=139rv contains the letter of *Johannis de Rupeforti, iudicis maioris Fuxi civitatis, cardinali Albiensi*. The codex is written in Bessarion's hand (Mohler 1923-42, 1: 364; Gasparrini Loporace, Mioni 1968, 10).

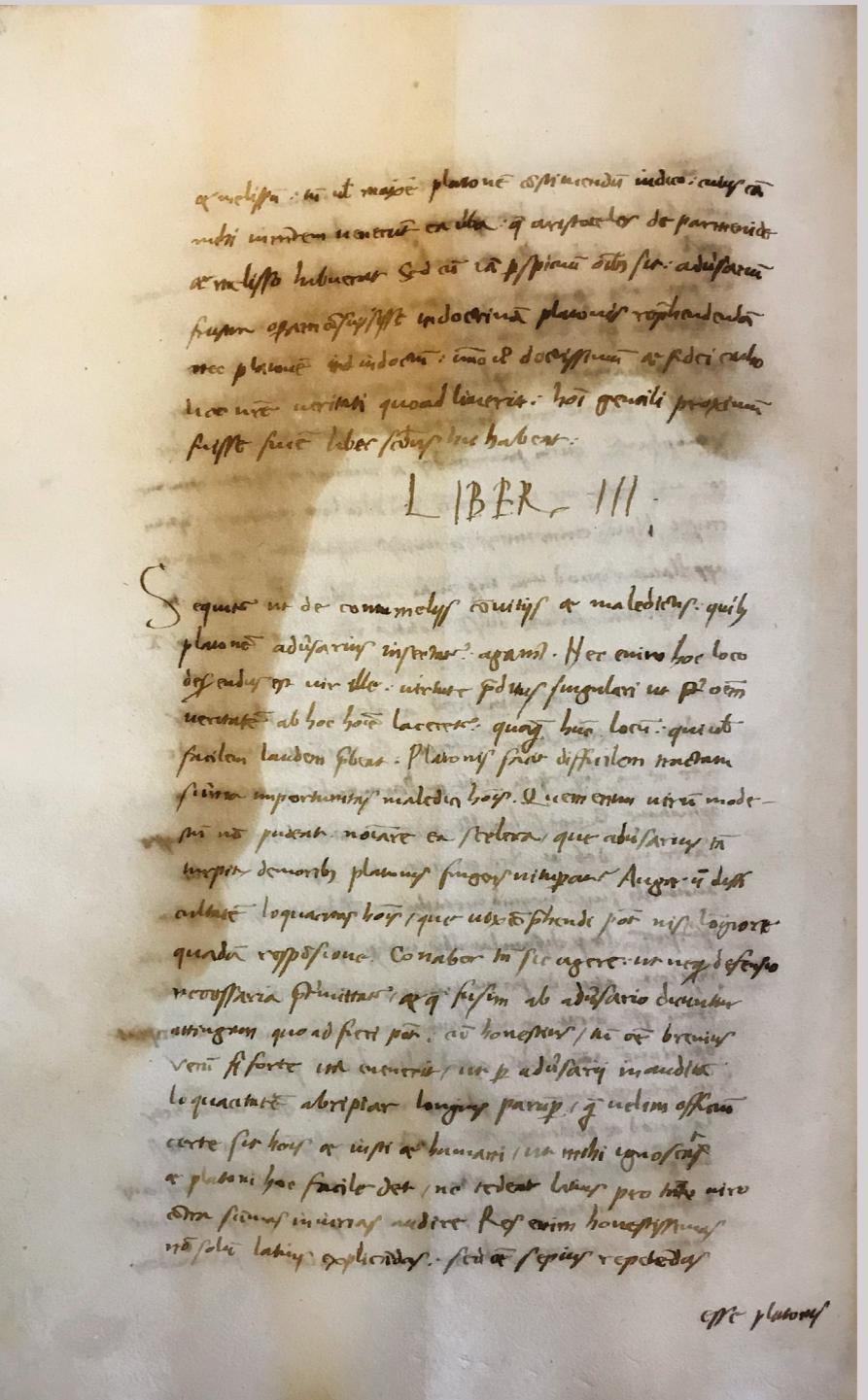
It contains an early version of Bessarion's reply to Georgios Trapezuntios' *Comparatio Platonis et Aristotelis* in Latin with the title *Liber defensionum contra obiectiones in Platonem*. After extensive revision, Bk. 1 and 2 of the *Liber defensionum* became Bk. 1 and 2 of the *ICP*, Bk. 3 became Bk. 4 of the *ICP*.

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 889 "De eadem materia [sc. 'Defensio Platonis' ut B 886], tres libri, in quinquerionibus, litteris ser Petri"

Literature Valentinelli 1871, 4:5; Mohler 1923-42, 1: 364 and 2: VIII; Gasparrini Loporace, Mioni 1968, 10



10
Venezia, BNM,
Lat. Z. 226 (1636),
f. 48v=84*v

Sed de hinc hactenus? Curae usque ad platonem excauit. & aduersarii tu regno carissimis
 Calumnae. Contraq[ue]ri. que non redirentur. colliguntur aduersarii. que inde
 quae philosophia. & in ipso p[ro]cessu philosophia autem iste spacio in platonem affectus. & Segundus
 respondet breviter. vicep[ro]cessu.
 dicit atq[ue] q[ui] gymnasit deputatus
 multasq[ue] amissio scimus.
 Gallosum spacio in platonem
 incepit. & conclusio in platonem
 sylogismos sonores. longus
 doctrinam quae in philosophia
 et deinde ad lucidius
 nomen dedit. q[uod] plato non p[ro]ficit
 ut: currit enim ad nullum omnium
 disciplinae genere exscitum possit.
 sed plane in summa his sine lato
 plus etiamen tibi concordat q[uod]
 est agere. nam si sicut p[ro]st
 maledicere videntur facili
 p[ro]p[ri]o p[er] se illorumque
 rosp[iritu] p[ro]p[ri]o autem minime
 ne mandari signatur. q[uod] loco:
 omnesq[ue] p[ro]cessus quodcumq[ue]
 erat in agendo suo g[ra]matis
 regreat. abdum quod dicit.
 Et regreditur. ne cunctis ut
 emendari potest. & despissa
 tons ut plato aut dixerit
 tuta: q[ui]cumq[ue] tunc
 cedat alio inceptu
 disrebat. & cetero cum
 tecno acutio[n]e
 nichil nisi p[ro]verbia gressu
 et omnia. & cetera cetero
 Examinab[us] volumen. ab
 ex philosophia fideamus
 esse eiusdem. nec illud
 sedelle latentes que dicit
 philosophat ut p[ro]p[ri]o. cetero ut
 ut ut sup[er] plato. cetero ut
 in p[ro]p[ri]o. secundus ut cetero
 tula. dicit. Octogenaria. & cetero
 q[ui]cumq[ue] nescire. q[ui]cumq[ue]
 quoddam plato videtur. q[ui]cumq[ue]
 apparet.

In difesa di Platone

11 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI, 61 (2592)

Paper, middle of XV c. (ff. 1-152) and XVII c. (ff. 153-158) ff. II + 158 + I, mm 300 x 220 x 40. The following description refers to the first part (ff. 1-152) of the codex only. Spatium scripturae ff. 1-70v: mm 200 x 150, lineis plenis 31-32; var. Spatium scripturae ff. 71-152 185 x 115, lineis plenis 24.

It contains: ff. 1-70v a draft version of Bk. 3 of the ICP; 71-152 Giovanni Gatti Notata ex libro inepitiis et deliramentis pleno, qui inscribitur De comparatione philosophorum (on the significance of this work and its relation to Bk. 3 in the final redaction of the ICP, cf. the article of John Monfasani at the end of this volume). The quires are misbound, as established by Monfasani 2021a, XLIX, the correct order of folios is 103-104, 102, 109-111, 112, 107, 105-106, 113-152, 71-101, 108.

Bessarions' library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 892 "Secundus liber pro Platone, in papiro"

Literature Valentinelli 1871, 4: 6-7; Gasparini Loporace, Mioni 1968, 10-11; Monfasani 2021a, XLIX-XLIX

11
Venezia, BNM,
Lat. VI, 61 (2592),
f. 103r

VI De natura et arte

12 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 527 (679)

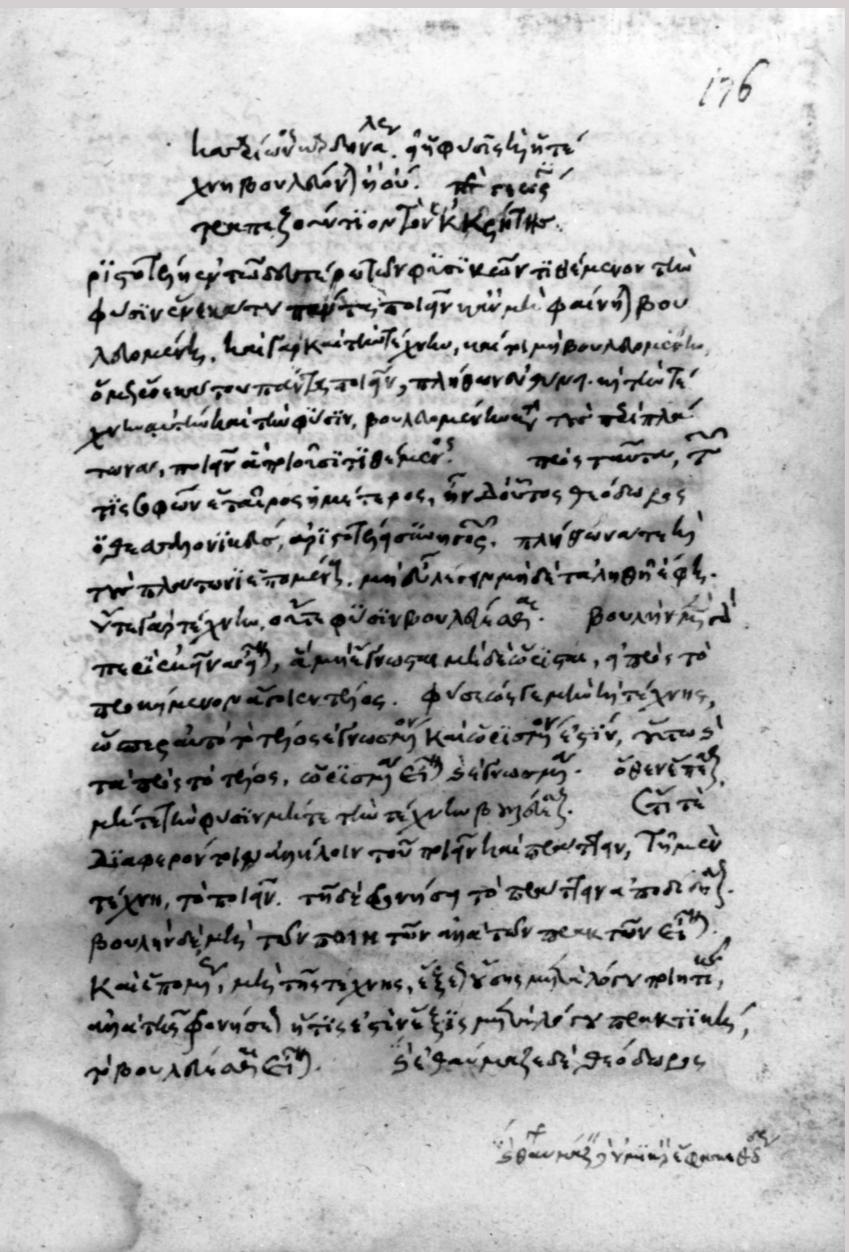
Paper, middle of XV c., mm 210 x 145, ff. I 247 (+ 160 bis, 197 bis, 200 bis), lineis plenis 24-29, spatium scripturae ca. mm 145/160 x 80/100. Ff. 1-16v *De processione Spiritus Sancti*; 17-44v *Oratio dogmatica de unione*; 45rv *Ad dicta Plethonis in Aristotelem*; ff. 46-49v are empty; 50-54v *Refutatio syllogismorum Planudae De Spiritu sancto*; ff. 55-57v are empty; 58-92 *Refutatio Marci Ephesini De Spiritu sancto*; f. 92v is empty; 93-103 Marcus Eugenicus *Capita syllogistica aduersus Latinos*; ff. 103v-105 are empty; 106-142v *De sacramento Eucharistiae*; 143-153v *Encyclica ad Graecos*; ff. 154-159v are empty; 160-174v *In Ioannem 21:22-23*; f. 175 is empty; 176-199v *De natura et arte (versio graeca)*; ff. 200-201v are empty; 202-234v *De natura et arte (versio latina)*; 240-244v *Epistulae*; ff. 245-247v are empty. A number of rubrications throughout the text. Several texts in Bessarion's hand, both in Greek and in Latin.

It contains the Greek version of *De natura et arte* (= Bk. 6 of the ICP) and an earlier Latin redaction of this work written in Bessarion's hand (published for the first time in Mariev, Marchetto, Luchner 2015), without the changes by Niccolò Perotti that characterise the final Latin version of this work.

Bessarion's library locus 52

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 510 "Opera Domini Reverendissimi de spiritu sancto, et de sacramento eucharistie, et de 'sic eum volo manere' in papiro"

Literature Mohler 1923-42, 3: 91 *et passim*; Mioni 1981, 411 ff.; Mariev, Marchetto, Luchner 2015, XXIII-XXVII

12
Venezia, BNM,
Gr. Z. 527 (679), f. 176r

VII Printer's Copy

13 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 228 (1671)

Paper, middle of XV c., mm 295 × 201 × 50, spatum scripturae mm 175 × 115, lineis plenis 28, ff. 182. Each quire is given a letter and its folios are numbered, e.g. A1-5 for the first quire (ff. 1-10), B1-5 (ff. 11-20), etc. The last, recto folio of each quire bears a catchword (f. 10v, f. 20v) that conventionally prefigures the first word of the recto of the next quire. This is the case for the composition of ff. 1-96 (labelled with letters A-K). There is no catchword on f. 96v and the next quire is numbered V1-5 (ff. 97-108), which means that there is a gap in between. The absence of a catchword on f. 96v may indicate that Bk. 3 of the *ICP*, which would fit this gap and for which it probably was made, actually never constituted part of this codex. However, the fact that next quire in order is labelled with a letter V may indicate that a certain space (L-V) was already allotted for this book. The final words of Bk. 4 on f. 180v confirm that, in the design of the work, this was already a book 4: "...quarto quoque volumine finem imponamus". Ff. 1-96 are written in a cursive script; ff. 97-180v in a humanistic round script. Already Valentinelli (1871, 4: 6) identified the black stains visible throughout the later part of the codex from f. 97 on as *typographorum maculae*. Hellinga (2015, 102 fn. 4) confirmed that this one of the exceptionally rare cases where a copy that was actually used for printing is preserved.

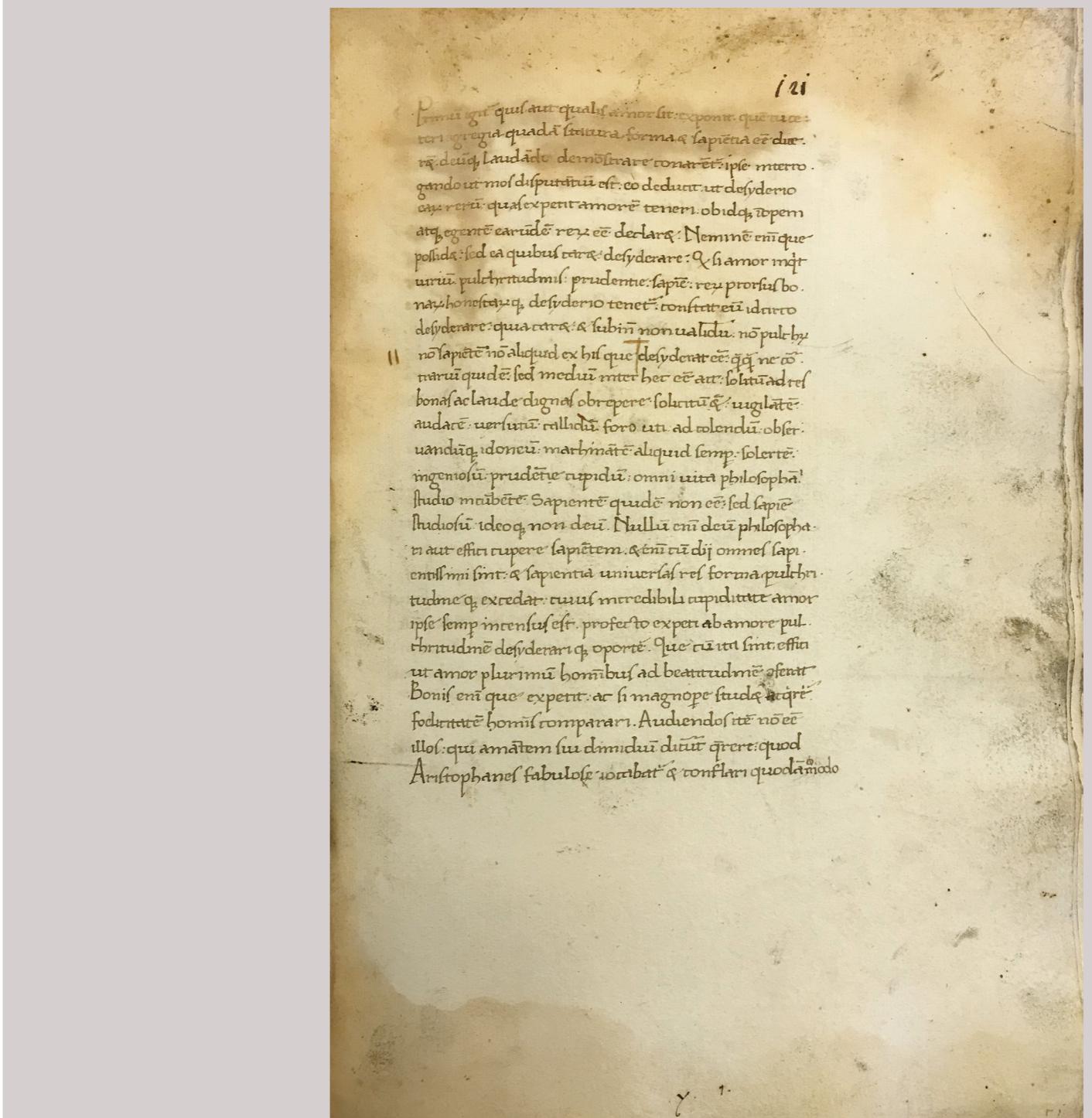
It contains a nearly complete version of Bk. 1, 2 and 4 of the *ICP*. Bk. 1, ff. 1-33; Bk. 2, ff. 33v-96; Bk. 4, ff. 96v-180v.

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 888 "De eadem materia [sc. 'Defensio Platonis' ut B 886], omnes quinque libri, in quinternionibus, in papiro, manu nostrorum diversorum"

Literature Valentinelli 1871, 4: 6; Gasparini Loporace, Mioni 1968, 13 ff.; Hellinga 2015, 102 fn. 4



13
Venezia, BNM,
Lat. Z. 228 (1671), f. 121r

VIII Editio princeps

14 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 218

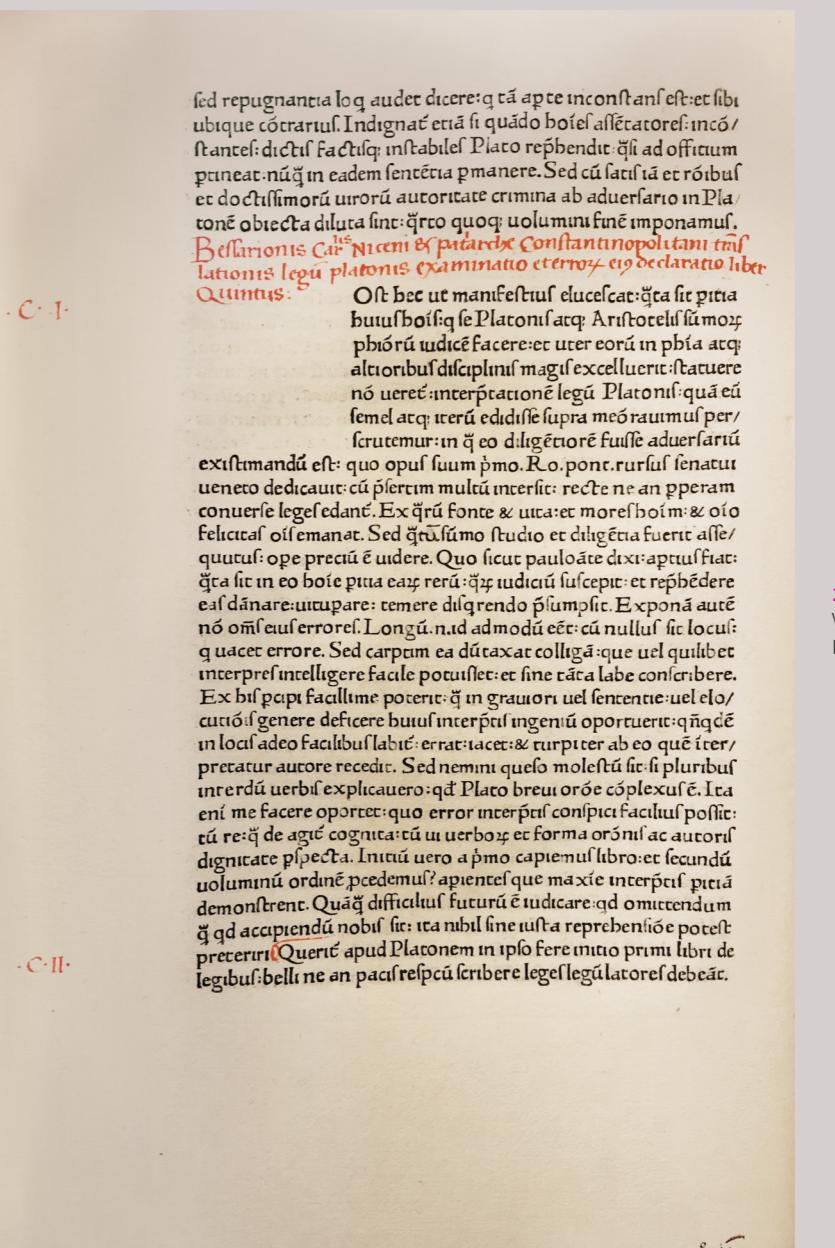
Printed in 1469, mm 335 × 230 × 70, ff. 233, f. 1 and f. 233 are empty. Colophon:
"Aspicis illustris lector quicunque libellos [...]".

It contains ICP Bk. 1, ff. 16-36v; Bk. 2 37-74v; Bk. 3 75-124v; Bk. 4 125-176v;
Bk. 5 176v-219v; Bk. 6 220-232v.

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 806/807 "Duo volumina defensionis platonicae, in papiro"



15 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 219

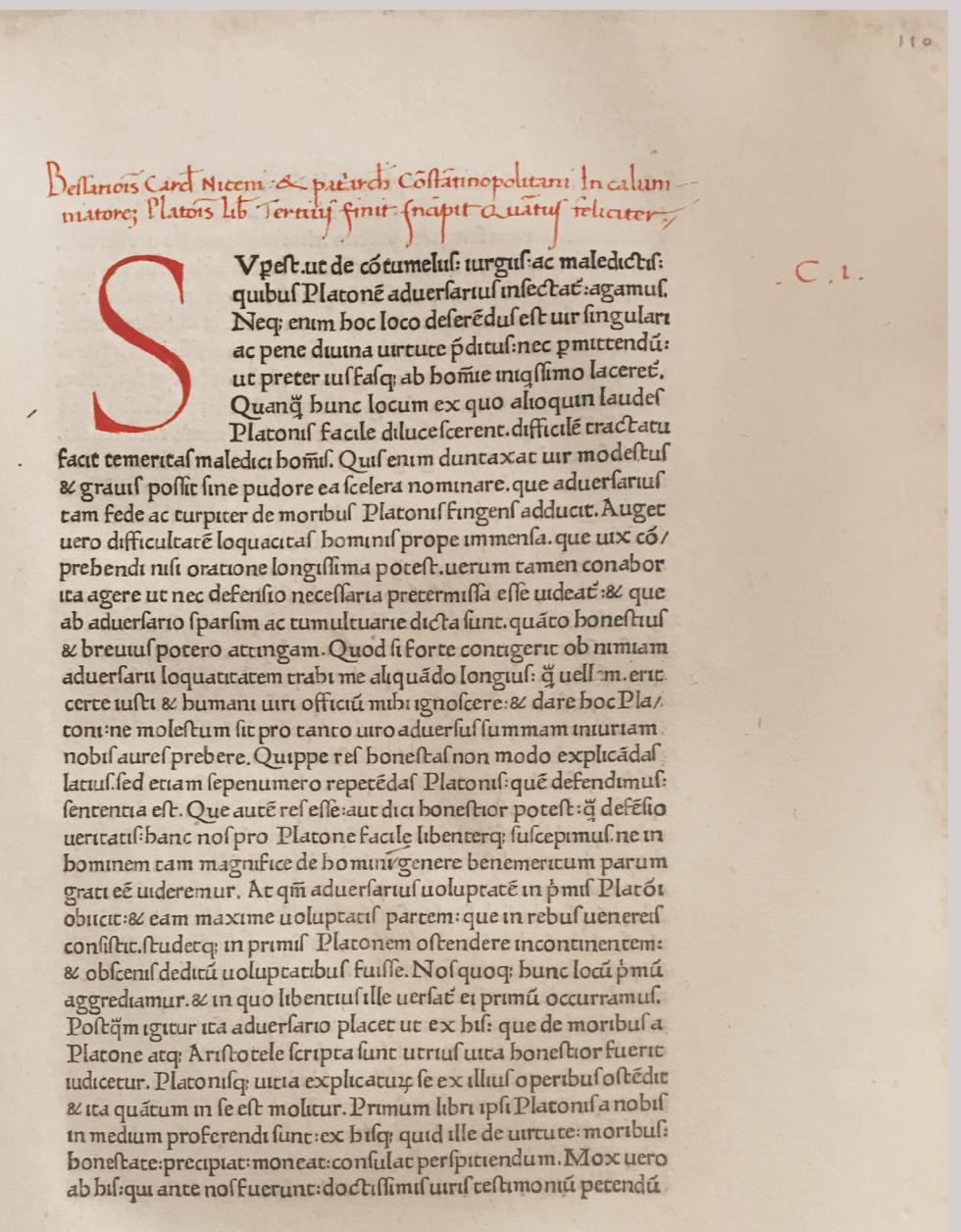
Printed in 1469, mm 335 × 230 × 70, ff. [I-VX] + 218, ff. 217-218 are empty; on f. 21v signs of a longer text that has been erased and is no longer legible; on f. 113v an extensive marginal note; on f. 49v at the bottom a long note in red ink "Quae sit auctoris in hoc tertio libro intentio"; on f. 204 an extensive marginal note. Colophon: see description of Inc. 218 above. Initial letters added on ff. 1 (red, blue and black), 22 (red), 50 (black), 110 (red), 160v (black), 204 (red). Corrections in Bessarion's hand throughout the text.

It contains ICP Bk. 1, ff. 1-21v; Bk. 2, ff. 22-49v; Bk. 3, ff. 50-109v; Bk. 4, ff. 110-160v; Bk. 5, ff. 160v-203v; Bk. 6, ff. 204-216v.

Bessarion's library no locus

Inventory A absent

Inventory B 806/807 "Duo volumina defensionis platonicae, in papiro"



15
Venezia, BNM,
Inc. 219, f. 110r

IX Reprints of the *editio princeps*

16 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Aldine 145

Printed in 1503, mm 320 × 215 × 27, ff. [IX] + 111 + [2]. Colophon: "Venetiis in aedib. Aldi Romani, Iulio mense MDIII".

It contains introductory material and "index eorum omnium, quae singulis libris pertractantur" (ff. I-IX, not numbered, first page is empty) and Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* in six books (ff. 1-111). Final two pages are empty.

This book was never part of Bessarion's library (printed in 1503).

BESSARIONIS CARDINALIS NICENI: ET PATRIARCHE CONSTANTINOPOLITANI IN CALVMNIATOREM PLATONIS LIBER PRIMVS.

Quæ causa autorem ad scribendum impulserit.
Confutatio de tribus uitis obiectis Platoni: imperitia: discrepantia a christiana religione: & uitæ turpitudine.
Reprehensionem Platonis fidei Orthodoxæ magnum detrimentum afferre.
Cur a nostris doctribus in primis Platonis testimonia citentur.
Detrahentes Platonis infidelium impietatem adiuuare.
Nostraræ etatis latinos pauca habete Platonis opera: & raro ea legere.
Maiores nostros Platonem omnibus philologis præpositi.
Qui sit ordo & series totius operis.

Caput Primum.

N CIDIT N VPER IN MANVS NOSTRAS LIBER quidam: qui Platonis: atq; Aristotelis comparationem pollicebatur. Eum mox libenter: auideq; amplexit: posthabitis ceteris rebus: incredibili desiderio legere ossi sumus. Sperabamus enim fore utriusq; philosophi: sive de rebus naturalibus: sive diuinis: sive iis: quæ ad mores pertinentiæ sive ad differendi rationem: quæ uocant logiken: expositione aliquam: cōparationemq; inueniremus: quomodo inueniri duo summi viri: aut conueniant: aut discrepant: quibus id rationibus probetur: & utrum pri-
ma: secunda substantia potius sit: quid apud Aristotelem ma-
teria: & forma quid apud Platonem magnū: & parvum: quo pa-
sto entelechia: motu: quo per se anima mouetur: conueniat: An formæ aliquæ separate sint:
an pro�is inseparatae: q; si separatae sunt: utrum per se substantia in secundis animi concepti-
bus posse sint. Tum quomodo equitoce quomodo uniuoce ens de entibus prædicetur: ut ra-
tio illa dividenda: quam Plato philosophia: sive appellat: idem cū demonstrandi sciētia sit
ut diuersum. An mūdi hec compago ingenita: atq; æternæ: an genita: flux aq; sit in uero & ge-
nita simul: & ingenita: atq; æternæ: & quomodo genita: quomodo ingenita: tum hæc uito ani-
ma dici possit. Vtrum præterea deus ipsius substantia: an duntaxat motus naturalis rerum
causa sit: atq; opifex. Quintum ne simplicium corporum dici cœlum oporteat: an unum ex qua
tuorūs præterea ultimus hoīum situ senſerit neatq; honestum: an scientia cō-
templandi. His aliisq; huiusmodi suminop; philosophorum opinionibus ne i singulis immo-
remur plenum fore librum existimabam. Hoc enim veteres pleriq; tum græci: tum latini fece-
re: Platonis alii: Alii Aristotelis rationibus fauentes: & hac quidē probantes: illa refellentes.
Fuerunt etiam qui conuenire inter se duos philosophos summo ingenio nixi sunt ostende-
reut apud græcos iplerisq; Simplicius fecit: apud latinos facturum le pollicitus est Boëtius: an
impluerit: necfio. Nullum enim tale illius opus ætate nostra uenit in lucem. Existimabā itaq;
autōrem huius libri: quo sibi gloriam apud posteros cōpararet: & doctrinā suam: ingeniumq;
ostentaret: hoc idem fecisse: & vel conciliasse inter se duorum philosophorum opiniones: uel
alteri inhærentibus ad id rationibus ducere: explicasse. Quod si præterēdas Aristote-
lis opiniones: Platonis uero contemendas existimare: causam eius rei demonstratione: ut par-
erat: ac necessariis rationibus exposuisse. Lætabar itaq; ea spe mirū in modum: & librum singu-
lati quadam uiditate legebam. Quāuis enim in ipso fera primordiū iurgiū: ac maledictis ple-
nus occurseret: tamen æquo animo patiebar: sperans fore ut quod optabam progressu tēpo-
ris appareret. Iam uero ubi perleto libro pro thesauris quos sperabā: Carbones (ut dici solet)
iuent: & desiderio frustatus nihil animaduertit: præter cōuicta: & cōtumelia: & iurgia in Plato-
nē. His enī duntaxat erat liber ille referitus: in tā ueteris comedie: immo ut plane: oēs: quæ
unq; fuerunt: comedias excederet: obſtpui uehemēte tantæ rei nouitatem attinuit. Neḡ enī
fieri posse existimasse: ut tale opus ī lucem unq; prodiret. Aut quisq; ex omni hoīum generes
tam aperte & ueniat: & cōmuni omnium sententia: contradicens: non modōne erubesceret:
sed pōtius quasi præclaro quodam inuento gloriaretur: & more galli ignobilis: ut Plato iquits
a disceptandi certamine diffiliens canceret: gemitire: seq; ipsum circūspiceret. Quippe Aristotele
cui Platonem comparat extollit laudibus: quod quidē reprehendi nō potest: Dignus est enim:
qui maxime laudetur. Aristoteles: Platonē uero contumeliis afficit: & iurgiis: maledictisq; per

ro dimid. quo a
plane vocatur

16
Venezia, BNM,
Aldine 145, f. 1r

Simplicius
Io. Petrus hoc idem
se facturū ē politus

Pro Tessanis carb
nes

17 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 387.D.29

Printed in 1516, mm 320 × 215 × 35, ff. VIII + 116 + 53. Colophon: "Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae socii mense septembri MDXVI".

It contains *In Calumniatorem Platonis* in six books (ff. 1-116), Bessarion's *Metaphysicorum Aristotelis XIII Librorum Tra[n]slatio* (ff. 1-50) and Teophrasti *Opusculum* (ff. 50v-53).

This book was never part of Bessarion's library (printed in 1516).

BESSARIONIS CARDINALIS NICENI, ET PATRIARCHAE CONSTANTINOPOLITANI IN CALVMNIATOREM PLATONIS LIBER PRIMVS.

Quæ causa authorem ad scribendum impulerit.
Confutatio de tribus uitis obiectis Platoni imperitia, discrepantia a christiana religione, & uitæ turpitudine.
Reprehensionem Platonis fidei Orthodoxæ magnum detrimentum afferre.
Cur a nostris doctoribus in primis Platonis testimonia cententur.
Detrahentes Platoni infidelium impietatem adiuuare.
Nostræ ætatis latinos pauca habere Platonis opera, & raro ea legere.
Maiores nostros Platonom omnibus philosophis præposuisse.
Qui sit ordo, & series totius operis.

Caput Primum.

NCIDIT NVPER IN MANVS NOSTRAS LIBER quidam, qui Platonis, atq; Aristotelis comparationem pollicebatur. Eum mox libenter, quideq; amplexi, posthabitis ceteris rebus, incredibili defyderio legere orsi sumus. Sperabamus enim fore ut utriusq; philosophi, siue de rebus naturalibus, siue coheretq; q;ndi utramq; omnia diuinis, siue iis, quæ ad mores pertinent, siue ad differendi rationem, quæ uocant logiken expositionem aliquā, comparationemq; inueniremus, quomodo inuicem duo summi viri aut conuenient, aut discepent, quibus id rationibus probetur, & utrum priuata, an secunda substantia potior sit, quid apud Aristotelem materia, & forma, quid apud Platonem magnum, et parvū, quo pateat entelechia motui, quo per se anima mouetur, conueniat. An formæ aliqua separatae sint, an proflus inseparatae, & si separatae sunt, utrum per se substant, an in secundis animi conceptibus positæ sint. Tum quomodo equinoce, quomodo uniuoce ens de entibus prædicetur, ut ratio illa diuidendi, quam Platæ philosophiæ sepem appellat, idem cū demonstrandi sciētia sit, an diuersum. An mihi hæc compago ingenita, atq; æterna, an genita, fluxa, & sit an uero & genita simul, & ingenita, atq; æterna, & quomodo genita, quomodo ingenita, tum hæc, tum anima dici possit. Utrum præterea deus ipsius substantiæ, an duntaxat motus naturalium rerum causa sit, atq; opifex. Quintum ne simplicium corpori dici celum oporteat, an unum ex qua duor, quis præterea ultimus hominum finis censeri debeat, uirtus'ne, atq; honestus, an sciētia contemplandi. His, aliisq; huiusmodi summoq; philosophorum opinionibus, ne in singulis immoretur, plenum fore hbrum existimabam. Hoc enim ueteres pleriq; tum græci, tum latini fecerunt, Platonis alii, Alii Aristotelis rationibus fauentes, & hæc quidem probantes, illa refellentes. Euerunt etiam qui conuenire inter se duos philosophos summo ingenio nixi sunt ostenderent, ut apud græcos in plerisq; Simplicius fecit, apud latinos, facturū se pollicitus est Boetius, an impluerit, nescio. Nullum enim tale illius opus, ætate nostra, uenit in lucem. Existimabā itaq; authorem huius libri, quo sibi gloriā apud posteros compararet, & doctrinā suā, ingeniumq; ostentaret, hoc idem fecisse, & uel conciliasse inter se, duorum philosophorū opiniones, uel alteri inharentem, quibus ad id rationibus duceretur, explicasse. Quod si præferendas Aristotelis opiniones, Platonis uero conténdas, existimaret, causam eius rei demonstratione, ut parerat, ac necessariis rationibus, exposuisse. Latabar itaq; ea spe, mirum in modū, & librū singulari quadam audire legebam. Quāvis enim, in ipso fere primordio iurgiis, ac maledictis plenis occurreret, id tamen æquo animo patiebar, sperans fore, ut quod optabam, progreſſu tēpōris appareret. Iam uero, ubi perfecto libro, prothesauris, quos sperabā, carbones (ut dici solet) inueni, & defyderio fruſtratus, nihil animaduerti præter cœnitia, & cœmilia, & iurgia in Platonē, his enī duntaxat, erat liber ille refertus, instar ueteris comœdiae, immo, ut plane' oēs, quæ unq; fuerunt, comedias excederet, obſtupui uellementa tāta rei nouitate attonitus. Neq; enī fieri posse existimat, ut tale opus in lucē unq; prodiret. Aut quifq; ex omni hominū genere, tam aperte & ueritati, & cōmuni omnium sententia cōtradicens, non modo nō erubesceret, sed potius quasi præclaro quodam inuento gloriaretur, & more galli ignobilis, ut Plato inquit, & disceptandi certamine diffiliés canceret, gelſiret, se q; ipsū circūspiceret. Quippe Aristoteli,

17
Venezia, BNM,
387.D.29, f. 1r

Bibliography

- Gasparrini Loporace, T.; Mioni, E. (1968). *Cento codici Bessarionei = Catalogo di mostra* (Venezia, 31 maggio-30 settembre 1968). Venezia: Libreria vecchia del Sansovino.
- Hellinga, L. (2015). *Fare un libro nel Quattrocento: problemi tecnici e questioni metodologiche*. A cura di E. Gatti. Udine: Forum.
- Labowsky, L. (1979). *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. Sussidi eruditii 31.
- Mariev, S. (2022 forthcoming). *In Calumniatorem Platonis V: Editio princeps of Greek and Latin Versions*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. Byzantinisches Archiv – Series Philosophica 5.
- Mariev, S.; Marchetto, M.; Luchner, K. (2015). *Bessarion, Über Natur und Kunst – De natura et arte*. Griechisch – Lateinisch – Deutsch. Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag. Philosophische Bibliothek 670.
- Mioni, E. (1981). *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*. Vol. 1, *Thesaurus Antiquus – Codices 1-299*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- Mohler, L. (1923-42). *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*. 3 Bde. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Monfasani, J. (2021a). *Notata, seu Tractatus qui erat fons Libri III Operis Bessarionis in Calumniatorem Platonis adversus Georgium Trapezuntium*. Turnhout: Brepols. Corpus Christianorum – Series Graeca 94.
- Monfasani, J. (2021b). *Vindicatio Aristotelis: Two Works of George of Trebizond in the Plato-Aristotle Controversy of the Fifteenth Century*. Tempe (AZ): Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 573.
- Pagani, F. (2009). “Damnata verba: censure di Pletone in alcuni codici platonici”. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 102, 167-202.
- Pagani, F. (2011). *Platonis Leges Georgio Trapezuntio interprete cum Bessarionis animadversionibus: introduzione, edizione critica e appendici* [PhD dissertation]. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.
- Papademitriou, T. (1968). “An Unnoticed Manuscript of Thucydides in the Hand of Bessarion”. *Thesaurismata. Bollettino dell'Istituto ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini*, 5, 272-88.
- Rigo, A. (1991). “Bessarione, Giovanni Regiomontano e i loro studi su Tolomeo a Venezia e Roma (1462-1464)”. *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 21, 48-110.
- Valentinelli, J. (1871). *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum, Codices MSS. Latini*, vol. IV. Venetiis: Ex typographia commercii.