Appendix 5: The Augsburg fragment of the 'Itinerarium antonini' and the Peutinger copy of a manuscript in the Speyer cathedral chapter library

Introduction

The *Cnd* was contained in a codex, identified as **Σ**, that is known to have existed in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter, at least between 1426/7 and 1550/1. This codex **Σ** (or Speyer codex, or codex Spirensis) contained a miscellany of documents all of which were derived from earlier documents composed or compiled by different people in various places at different times. This **Σ**-miscellany can be divided into 13 parts (hereafter referred to **Σ**1-**Σ**13)[1]: namely,

- < **Σ**1 > 'Cosmographia' comprising
  - (a) (excerpt from Iulius Honorius)
  - (b) (excerpt from Orosius, *Historiae*, I,2)
- < **Σ**2 > 'Itineraria' comprising
  - (a) Itinerarium provinciarum antoni<*ni*> augusti
  - (b) Itinerarium maritimum imperatoris antonini augusti
- < **Σ**3 > 'Montes urbis romae et aquae' comprising
  - (a) Septem montes urbis romae
  - (b) De aquarum ductibus romam rigantibus
- < **Σ**4 > Dicuil, *Liber de mensura (provinciarum) orbis terrae*
- < **Σ**5 > 'Notitia in provinciis galliarum'
- < **Σ**6 > 'Enumeratio provinciarum romanarum' (from the almanac or *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius)
- < **Σ**7 > 'De montibus portis et viis romae'
- < **Σ**8 > 'De rebus bellicis'
- < **Σ**9 > 'Disputatio hadriani augusti et epicteti philosophi'
- < **Σ**10 > 'De regionibus urbis romae'
- < **Σ**11 > 'De regionibus urbis constantinopolitanae'
- < **Σ**12 > 'De gradibus cognationum'
- < **Σ**13 > Compilation 'Notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*)

The last part of this miscellany, that is, **Σ**13, the *Cnd*, was its largest part, occupying 164 pages, one of which contained no list or picture.

The codex **Σ** was produced when the derived contents (contents derived from an antecedent exemplar) of its entire miscellany were either copied from a single book produced earlier, or when at least two or three books that were produced earlier, probably at different times and places, and each containing a different number of the documents that were later either copied into, or formed parts of, the **Σ**-miscellany, were either copied into **Σ**, or were bound together to form a composite codex.[2]

The existence of **Σ** in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter is last attested in 1550. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that **Σ** was later acquired by the *pfalzgraf* Ottheinrich (1502-1559), possibly in August 1552, and that it was listed in an inventory, dated 1.Dec.1566, of the books that were returned to his castle at Neuburg after his death. No later references to the existence of **Σ** have been made known, and the codex itself either no longer exists or has not been identified.[3]

In 1980, the Universitätsbibliothek in Augsburg acquired, from the Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung at Schloss Harburg (über Donauwörth),[4] a parchment sheet (hereafter referred to as **au**[gsburg]),[5] that contains a copy of a section of the *Itinerarium provinciarum / Itinerarium maritimum antonini* (hereafter referred to as the *Ipm,* whose contents are cited and numbered according

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1 Other divisions have been made, as described in *Commentary - §2: The Speyer codex **Σ**.*

2 See *Appendix 3: The Speyer codex **Σ**.*

3 See *Appendix 4: Archival evidence about the Speyer cathedral chapter, its library, and the codex **Σ** containing the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd).*

4 I acknowledge with gratitude the scholarly and generous assistance I received, over several years, from Dr Volker von Volckamer (1926-2007), former director of the archives, library and art collection in Schloss Harburg. I also thank his successor, Dr. Hartmut Steger, for granting me access to the archives in Schloss Harburg in April 2006 and for his interest in this research at that time.

5 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. I. 2, 2°, 37, (formerly Oettingen-Wallerstein, ms. I. 2, 2°, 37).

to the representation of it contained in the edition produced by Otto Cuntz).[6] A copy of the *Ipm* also existed in the codex **Σ** and, since 1927, it has been stated consistently that this parchment sheet **au** is a fragment of that codex - specifically, a fragment of **Σ**2, the second part of the miscellany in **Σ**.

If the identification of **au** as a fragment of **Σ**2 is correct, this fragment would provide significant information about that part of the codex **Σ**: for example, about the probable date and place that **Σ**2 was produced (based on its script); the material and size of the folia, the number of columns per page and lines per column in which its contents were arranged and, from what is known of the provenance of **au**, some indication about what may have happened to the codex **Σ** after 1566.

If the identification of **au** as a fragment of **Σ**2 is correct, and if it is then also assumed that the entire miscellany in the codex **Σ** was written at the same time (whether derived from the contents of a single codex or from several), rather than comprising a composite codex in which two or more previously separate codices were bound together, some of the aforementioned information that **au** could provide about **Σ**2 would also be important in considerations about **Σ**13, the *Cnd*, including some aspects of the relationship between the *Cnd* and the primary copies of it.

The parchment sheet **au**

The sheet **au** consists either of parchment or of vellum. Its contents and folding identify it as a bifolium[7] that has been extracted from a codex. And, since the text on the four pages of this bifolium contains a continuous section of a copy of the *Ipm*, (from item 32b4 to item 37a21), this bifolium formed the central bifolium of a gathering in the book from which it was excised. The height of **au** varies between 320 mm (at the edges) and 325 mm (at the centre); its width varies between 491mm and 497 mm. Each page, therefore, had a width of between 245mm and 248mm.

The four pages of the bifolium **au** may be numbered according to the sequence of its copy of the *Ipm* (section 32b4-37a21): namely, fol.1r (32b4-33b1), f.1v (33b2-34b12), f.2r (34b13-36a4), f.2v (36a5-37a21). The text, written in a later form of Carolingian minuscule, is arranged in 2 columns per page and 25 lines per column, and is written in brown ink, except that the initial letter of each of the five words (f.1rb23) ***A**beroa* (33a26), (f.1va3) ***I**tem* (33b5), (f.2ra1) ***I**tem* (34b13), (2vb11) ***I**tem* (37a16) and (f.2vb23) ***I**tem* (37a16) is written in red. The text in each column was written on impressed but uncoloured ruled lines, that were spaced at 1 cm intervals and aligned according to prickings along the side margins of the sheet.

The internal pages (f.1v-2r) contain three 16thC marginal annotations: to the left of *Augusta* (f.1vb11=*Ipm* 34a21) the word *augspurgk*; to the left of *Campaduno* (f.1vb13=*Ipm* 34a24) the word *kempten*; and to the left of *Inde augusta uindelicū* (f.2ra4=*Ipm* 34b21-22) the word *Augspurg*.

There is a hole through the middle of the item on f.1rb15, and the corresponding end of the item on 1va15. To the left of this hole on f.1r, in the central margin between the two columns, there are three light brown, mirror-reverse, alphabetic symbols, suggesting that these are traces of letters contained on a sheet that was previously glued onto f.1r, and later removed by Anton Diemand, who noted its contents.[8]

A small strip of the bifolium, along all its four outer edges, was previously folded inwards to cover parts of the top, bottom and side edges of f.1v and f.2r. These previous folds contain extensive tears or holes, especially along the side and bottom edges, resulting from extensive abrasion over an extended period. These features indicate that the bifolium was once used as a cover for a book, of which f.1r formed the

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6 All references to the *Ipm* in this appendix are to the edition by Cuntz, O., *Itineraria Romana. Volumen prius: Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense.* (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1929) and are cited according to the pages, columns and lines in that edition: for example, 32b4 refers to (page) 34, (column) b, (line) 4.

7 A ***bifolium*** is a single sheet that has been folded once across its centre so that its two sides then comprise four plane surfaces, or pages, each bounded by three cut edges and by the central fold.

8 Diemand, *op.cit.* p.2: *Die Aussenseite des vorderen Einbanddeckels war zur Hälfte durch ein aufgeklebtes Papier verdeckt mit der Überschrift:* "ATTESTATIONES In sachen Westersteten Contra Pfalz-neuburg Quarti Mandati 1602 et 1603 das Besteuerungsrecht zu Zöschingen betr." *(letzterer Zusatz* <ie: das [...] betr.> *von späterer Hand)*.

front, and f.2v the back. This is confirmed by the presence, in the middle of the bifolium, corresponding to the spine of the book, of smaller holes through which threads attached the parchment to the spine.

Discovery and identification of the bifolium **au**

In 1909, the Wallerstein *Oberachivrat*, Diemand, published a paper[9] in which he stated that, during the course of his research in 1906, he had found the bifolium **au** attached, as its outer cover, to a bound compilation of legal documents (*gebundener Prozessakt*)[10] related to a dispute involving the *pfalzgraf* who ruled Neuburg. Diemand dated the script in **au** to the end of the 10thC or beginning of the 11thC.[11] Paul Lehmann dated the script to the second half of the 9thC or, at the latest, the early 10thC and located its use to the region around the middle Rhineland.[12]

After removing pieces of paper glued to the front cover (**au** f.1r), and to both inner sides (**au** f.1v-2r), Diemand compared the copy of the *Ipm* in **au** with the edition produced by Gustav Parthey and Moritz Pinder,[13] and especially with the variants which they reported from the copies they had used, which included two primary copies and one secondary copy of **Σ**2.[14] From this comparison, Diemand concluded, firstly, that the text in **au** was very similar to that which existed in copies of **Σ**2,[15] but, secondly, that **au** could not be a fragment of **Σ**2 itself, because he noted four forms in **au** that did not exist in any copy (known to him) of **Σ**2:[16] namely,

- *Ipm* 32b11 *Capidava* = **au** 1ra9 *Capidua*,
- *Ipm* 34b14 *Pannoniae* = **au** 2ra1 *pannonię*,
- *Ipm* 33b16 *m.p.* = **au** 1va7 *mille plus minus*,
  Ipm 35a13 *m.p.* = **au** 2ra17 *plus minus*

The first form *Capidua* reported by Diemand is actually a misreading of the form in **au** which is *Capidaua* that also exists in all primary copies of **Σ**2. The second form *pannonię* includes the symbol *ę* (e-cedilla or hooked-e) which was commonly used to represent the diphthong or digraph *ae*, or the ligature *æ*. The same diphthong or digraph was also commonly represented by *e* without a cedilla. Thus,

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9 Diemand, A., *Ein in Wallerstein aufgefundenes Bruchstück des Itinerarium Antonini:* Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins Dillingen 22 1909 pp.1-9.

10 Diemand, *op.cit.* p.2, who identified the book as being located in *Lokal III Kasten II Fach 11b* (p.2, n.4).

11 Diemand, A., *op.cit.* p.4: *Der Codex, von dem sich der kärgliche Überrest eines Doppelblattes erhalten hat, war [...] geschrieben [...] wie aus dem ganzen Schriftcharakter hervorgeht und wie ein Vergleich mit einem [...] ebenfalls in Wallerstein entdeckten Bruchstück des Notkerschen Psalmenübersetzung bestätigte, um die Wende des X./XI Jahrhunderts.*

12 Lehmann, P., *Die mittelalterliche Dombibliothek zu Speyer:* Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Abteilung) (München) 1934 Heft 4 pp. 3-64. (Revised edition in Lehmann, P., *Erforschungen des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. (Stuttgart, 1959) bd.2 pp. 186-228) on pp.49-55.
(1934,pp.22-23, 1959,p.201): *Nach Prüfung [...] muß ich die gebrauchte klare und gefällige karolingische Minuskel in die zweite Hälfte des 9., kann sie spätestens in den Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts setzen. Als Ursprungsgebiet kommt das Land am mittleren Rhein in Betracht.*

13 Parthey, G. & Pinder, M., *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum ex libris manu scriptis ediderunt G. Parthey et M. Pinder.* (Berlin, Friederich Nicolaus, 1848).

14 Diemand *op.cit.* pp.5 referred to only three copies of **Σ**2: namely, the primary copies **P** (his T) and **M** (his U), and the secondary copy **m794** (his V) which was derived from the primary copy **O**.

15 Diemand, *op.cit.* pp.6-7: *Mit diesem verloren gegangenen Speyrer Codex nun muss auch die Handschrift, welcher das Wallersteiner Bruchstück entstammt, sehr nahe verwandt gewesen sein. [...] Oder sollte das Wallersteiner Bruchstück etwa der letzte Rest des verloren gegangenen Speyrer Codex selbst sein? Diese Annahme erscheint um deswillen unstatthaft, weil das Wallersteiner Bruchstück eben einige Lesarten hat, die keine einzige der zahlreichen aus dem Speyrer Codex geflossenen Handschriften aufweist.*

16 Diemand, *op.cit.* p5: <the four reported forms in **au** were> *wie keine der angezogenen Codices.*

while three copies of **Σ**2 have *pannonie* **OPT**, two have *pannoniae* **VM**. The remaining two forms in **au**, derived from *Ipm* 33b6 and 35a13, are considered below.

In 1927, Karl Schottenloher did not comment on the forms of any of the aforementioned four items cited by Diemand, but stated that the caution expressed by him could be ignored, because the text in **au** agreed verbatim (in fact, *Buchstabe für Buchstabe)* with **M** which was derived from **Σ**2, so that **au** must be a fragment of **Σ**2. He supported this conclusion with the fact, reported by Diemand, that **au** had formed the cover for a compilation of documents concerning the ruler of Neuburg (a.d.Donau) where Schottenloher believed that the codex **Σ** had been taken.[17]

In 1934, and again in 1959, Lehmann expressed his complete agreement with the argument outlined by Schottenloher, which he summarised as follows:[18] namely,

- (i) Ottheinrich acquired **Σ**, because it is listed in the 1566 inventory of his books in the castle at Neuburg; and
- (ii) the copy of the *Ipm* in **au** can be identified as a fragment of **Σ** because it agrees completely with the copy of **Σ**2 in the codex **M**; and
- (iii) the bifolium **au** came from Neuburg (a.d.Donau) because it was used as the cover for a bound collection of documents related to a legal dispute involving the *pfalzgraf* who ruled Neuburg; and, therefore,

  (iv) the bifolium **au** is a fragment of the codex **Σ**.

Since 1927, this conclusion (iv) has been repeated, and almost always as a statement of fact, including, most recently, in the description of **au** in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Universitätsbibliothek in Augsburg.[19] The circumstantial evidence, supporting the probability that assumption (i) is correct, has

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17 Schottenloher, K., *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evangelischen Publizistik.* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte begründet von J. Greving, Heft 50/51) (Münster in Westf., Verlag der Aschendorfischen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927), pp.10-11: <Diemand> *glaubte [...] zwar eine nahe Verwandtschaft mit der verschollenen Speierer Handschrift, nicht aber eine unmittelbare Beziehung zu ihr annehmen zu dürfen. Wäre ihm bei der Vergleichung nich bloß die Textausgabe von Parthey und Pinder, sondern auch die Münchener Abschrift* <codex **M**> *aus Speier zur Verfügung gestanden, so hätte auf den ersten Blick die völlige Übereinstimmung dieser Speierer Abschrift mit dem gefundenen Bruchstück festgestellt werden können. Da sich in beiden Texten Wort für Wort, ja Buchstabe für Buchstabe ganz und gar gleichlautend folgen, kann gar kein Zweifel darüber sein, daß in dem Wallersteinschen Doppelblatt ein trauriger Überrest der stolzen Speierer Handschrift gefunden ist. Vermutlich hat ein schlimmes Schicksal die Handschrift im Anfange des 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Gewahrsam des Neuburger Schlosses gelockt [...].*

18 Lehmann, *op.cit.*, (1934,p.22; 1959, p.201): *Der Entdecker* <Diemand> *[...] stellte sehr nahe Verwandtschaft mit dem Text des Speyerer Kodex fest. Schottenloher ging weiter, verglich das Gefundene* <i.e. Bruchstück> *mit München lat.10291 (fol.28 sq.) und wies auf die völlige buchstäbliche Übereinstimmung hin. Da das Bruckstück beim Einbinden von Prozeßakten des Ortes Westersteten gegen Pfalz-Neuburg verwendet war, der Spirensis mit der Kammerbibliothek Ottheinrichs nach Neuburg a(n) d(er) D(onau) gekommen ist, besteht für Schottenloher gar kein Zweifel daran, "daß in dem Wallersteinschen Doppelblatt ein trauriger Überrest der stolzen Speierer Handschrift gefunden ist". Ich stimme ihm vollkommen zu [...]*
The expression *Prozeßakten des Ortes Westersteten* contains a misunderstanding. The *Prozeßakten* have no connection with the *Ort* of *Westerstetten* (Alb-Donau-Kreis); they concern a litigant from a family with the surname *von Westerstetten*, who, around 1600, no longer had holdings in Westerstetten (which they had sold in 1434) and ruled, instead, the domain of Altenberg (Landkreis Dillingen a.d.Donau).

19 Hägele, G., *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppe Cod. I.2. 2° und Codd. II.1.2° 1-90*. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1996), p.84: *[...] Herkunft: Einziges erhaltenes Fragment einer paläographisch ins Mittelrheingebiet weisenden Hs. vom Ende des 9. oder Anfang des 10.Jh., die Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich 1542 zum Abschreiben von Speyer nach Heidelberg entlieh (Abschrift heute Clm 10291). Nach dessen Tod wurde die Hs. nicht nach Speyer zurückgegeben, sondern nach Neuburg/Donau verbracht und wohl alsbald makuliert.*

been presented elsewhere.[20] Statement (ii), that **au** agrees exactly with **M** is incorrect.[21] The evidence concerning statement (iii) is presented below.

The relationship between the copy of the Ipm in **au** *and the copy of it in* **Σ**2

There are available[22] at least six primary copies[23] of **Σ**2. These six primary copies, listed in the approximate chronological order of their production, from **O** in 1436 to **M** in, probably, 1542, are:

O Oxford, Bodleian library, western ms. 19854 - Canonici ms. misc. lat. 378, (fol.15v-47r.),
P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin ms. 9661, (fol.11v-37r),
T Trento, Biblioteca comunale, ms. W 3103, (10v-36r),
V Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Barberini lat. 157, (fol.13v-49r),
M München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10291, (fol.14r-47v);
zu Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 9/5632
containing the autograph *Emendationes in Antonini Augusti Itinerarium* by Hieronymus Zurita (1512-1580), which includes his excerpts from the codex **C** produced in 1426/7.[24]

Five of these primary copies of **Σ**2, that is, **OPTVM,** each represents the entire miscellany **Σ**1-13 (except that **T** omits all pictures) as did the codex **C**, from which the *Ipm* excerpts in **zu** were derived.

The documents that comprised parts **Σ**1-13 were all copies of original documents created in different places, at various times, by different writers or compilers, but the coexistence of copies of all those original documents within a single miscellany, or in a single composite codex, is not known to have occurred for the first time in any codex earlier than the codex **Σ**.

The miscellany **Σ**1-13 consisted of two smaller collections: the first, **Σ**1-7 contained copies of unillustrated geographical documents, written in a continuous text; the second, **Σ**8-13 comprised copies of documents on various subjects, each illustrated with one or more pictures, and each separated from the preceding document by beginning on a new page (with the exception of **Σ**12).

While copies of the original documents, of which copies comprised **Σ**1-4, **Σ**5-6, **Σ**10-11, also exist in copies that were demonstrably not derived from **Σ**, it can be concluded that any collection of copies of the same original documents, of which copies also comprised **Σ**1-7, and arranged in the same sequence as those in **Σ**1-7, was either derived from **Σ** or from an exemplar closely related to it. Two such books are:

ve Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: Ms. 3329 (Lat.X.88) (fol.12v-37r),
pe München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4013, (fol.14r-49v).

Evidence concerning the relationship between **pe** and **Σ** is described below. While noting the forms of **ve**, it is not intended to discuss, in this appendix, the relationship between **ve** and **Σ**. For the relationship

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Vorliegendes Doppelbl. aus dieser Hs. diente bis 1906 im Fürstlichen Archiv in Wallerstein als Einband für Prozeßakten der Jahre 1602/03.[...]

20 See *Appendix 4: Archival evidence about the Speyer cathedral chapter, its library, and the codex* ***Σ*** *containing the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

21 **M** differs from **au** in 32b15: *leg.i. idest iouia mpm xviii* **au**, *mpm xviii leg.i. idest iouia* **M**; 32b16: *Scitica* **au**, *Scythica* **M**; 32b19: *leg̅* **au**, *mpm* **M**; 33a27: *mpm* **au**, *mille plus minus* **M**; 33b3-4: *Hadrianopolim* **au**, *Hadrianopoli* **M**; 33b16: *mille plus minus* **au**, *mpm* **M**; 34b22: *mp* **au**, *mille plus minus* **M**; 35a13: *plus minus* **au**, *mille plus minus* **M**; 35a21-22: *in medio* **au**, absent in **M**, 35a23: *intercisa ...xxiiii* **au**, both absent in **M**; 35a28: *legione* **au**, *leg* **M**; 36a3: *Quintianis* **au**, *Quinttanis* **M**; 37a21: *sic* **au**, absent in **M**.

22 An ***available*** document is one that is generally known to exist.

23 A ***primary copy*** of a document is any available copy of it that was not entirely derived from any other available copy or copies of that document.

24 A 5-folia fragment of the codex that contained a primary copy of **Σ**13 (*Cnd*) exists as Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, ms. 86-1972, (formerly Cheltenham, Phillipps 16397).

between **pe** and **ve**, I cite and accept the conclusions of Ludwig Bieler.[25] But for the relationship between **Σ** and **pe** (which Bieler listed, together with **ve**, among the copies of **Σ**) the evidence in this appendix may make a contribution.

When the copy of the *Ipm* (section 32b4-37a21) in **au** is compared with the copies in primary copies of **Σ**2, and the copy in **pe** and in **ve**, and with the primary copies of the *Ipm* that were not derived from **Σ**, the following observations can be made.

First, as indicated in *Attachment 1(Section 1)*, the forms of more than half of the items and words that existed in **Σ**2 are the same as those which Cuntz represented as the forms that existed in the *Ipm* (excepting only some interchangeability of *c*/*t* and the almost consistent use in **Σ**2 of the abbreviation *mpm* to represent the abbreviation *m.p*. accepted by Cuntz as the form in the *Ipm*). The forms in **Σ**2 are known with certainty from the agreement between the *Ipm* and copies of **Σ**2, so that, where differences to these agreed forms exist among individual copies of **Σ**2, these can be identified as inaccurate copies of **Σ**2. Such indicative differences exist in **O** (34a5), **P** (35a10, 36a9-10), **T** (32b9, 35a16), **VM** (33b3-4), **M** (35a23, 36a3). They also exist in **pe** (36a16) and **ve** (37a14). In all the items in this section, **au** agrees with the form in **Σ**2, including their common use of the abbreviation *mpm*, so that these agreements provide the first indication of an affinity between **au** and **Σ**2.

Second, as noted in *Attachment 1(Section 2)*, there are several items whose form in **Σ**2 differed from that in the *Ipm*, as edited by Cuntz, but is either identical or similar to the form existing in one or more of the primary copies of the *Ipm*, and rejected by Cuntz as inaccurate copies of the *Ipm*. Once again, the forms in **Σ**2 are known with certainty from the agreement between the *Ipm* and copies of **Σ**2. And, since each of the forms rejected by Cuntz also existed in **Σ**2, he considered the copies of **Σ**2 as inaccurate copies of the *Ipm* and rightly rejected them. Each of these rejected forms also exists in **au** so that these items are a second indication of an affinity between **au** and **Σ**2.

Third, in *Attachment 1(Section 3)*, there are listed several items whose form in **Σ**2 differed from that in the primary copies of the *Ipm*, so that these forms are characteristic of **Σ**2 (whose forms are mostly known with certainty, either from the consensus or from the convergence of its primary copies) or copies of the *Ipm* that are closely related to **Σ**2. These characteristic **Σ**2 forms also all exist in **au**, and are a third indication of an affinity between **au** and **Σ**2.

This affinity is also emphasised by the fact that **au** omits a copy of the following two items which were also absent from **Σ**2:[26]

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[25] Bieler, L., *The text tradition of Dicuil's 'Liber de mensura orbis terrae':* Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C (Dublin) 64 no.1 1965 pp.1-31, who refers to **ve** as **V** and to **pe** as **J**.
(p.9): *Contents* <of J>*: The same as the Venice manuscript (V). The two copies are not, however, textually close enough to assume dependence on a common exemplar, certainly not in the text of Dicuil, [...]*; (p.11) *V and J agree as to contents(texts 1-6), but beyond that they have no demonstrable connection.* (note.3: *That the later of the two manuscripts, J, cannot be a copy of the earlier one, V, is proved by the following readings: iii.2 (p.16,2) Secundum* om.V, adest in J; *vi. 29 (p.32, 2) IIII milia V. LIIII milia J* cum rell; *vi. 31 ex (p.32, 14 f.) rapuit V. rapiant J* cum rell.; *vii.16 (p.45, 10) intrantum V. intantum J* cum rell; *vii.28 (p.51, 10) tunc V. iter J* cum rell.; *vii. 42 (p.58,10) candidae V. -as J* cum rell.; *ix. 6 (p.80, 17) credit V. condit J* cum rell. *They could, at best, be gemelli, but they have no characteristic group-readings, and each has a number of individual errors. The question of a common mediator is left open by Schnabel, pp.246 f.* [= Paul Schnabel, *Der verlorene Speirer Codex des Itinerarium Antonini, der Notitia Dignitatum und anderer Schriften:* Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (phil.-hist. Klasse) 29 1926 pp.242-257]*; Lehmann (pp.11 f. = p.193)* [= *op.cit*]*, with good reason, is sceptical.*

[26] In addition to these two omissions from the copy of the *Ipm* (section 32b4-37a21) in **au**, there were other omissions from the copies of the *Ipm* in derivatives of **Σ**2 and in **pe** and **ve**:
(1a1-9, 10 *Ab explo*) (3 items),
(2a6-7) *Ad Aquilam [...] Maiorem m.p.XIIII* (2 items),
(8a1-6) *Item [...] Sufetula m.p. XXXVI* (5 items),
(10b27) *Thramusdusim m.p. XXV* (1 item),
(11b4-9) *Alio [...] Caralis m.p. XLII* (5 items) *In Neapolitano totum hoc deficit iter.* (**zu**-20r25-26),

Ipm 36b3-4 *Helueto m.p. XXVIII leugas XVIIII*,
Ipm 36b20 *Calone leugas VIIII ala* .

But **au** has a copy of all those *Ipm* items that are variously absent from four primary copies of **Σ**2.[27] Those absent items are also present in the primary copy **O**, as well as in **ve** and in **pe** which are mutually-independent as indicated, for example, in:

Ipm 34a5 = *XXXVI*	xxxvi **au** = **PTVM**,**ve**,**pe**, xxvi **O**
Ipm 32b15 = *Trosmis*	Trosmis **au**,**pe** = **OPTVM** Trosmir **ve**
Ipm 36a16 = *Felice*	felice **au** = **ve**,**OPT** = fœlice **VM** felici **pe**.

Fourth, and finally, there remain fifteen items whose indicative forms provide some evidence about the relationship between **Σ**2 and **au** as well as **pe,ve**. These items are listed in detail in *Attachment 1(Section 4)*, from which their forms can be summarised as follows:

i	*Ipm* 34b13-18 = *a Daurono*	adauruno **au**,**pe**,**OPVM** adaurino **ve** Aclaurimo **T**
ii	*Ipm* 33b5-14 = *a Sirmi*	asyrmi **au,pe,ve**,**OP** = a Syrmi **M** asirini **T** a Syrini **V**
iii	*Ipm* 33b15-16 = *a Sirmi*	asyrmi **au,pe,ve**,**O** = a Syrmi **M** asirini **T** a syrini **V** *absent* **P**
iv	*Ipm* 32b15 = *leg. I*	Leḡ I **au**,**O**,**ve**,**pe**,**M** leg L **PT** leg **V** (*number absent*)
v	*Ipm* 35b5 = *leg. I*	leḡ i **au**,**ve**,**OPM** Legi͞oe i **pe** = legione i **V** mpm i **T**
vi	*Ipm* 35a28-29 = *leg. II*	legione ii **au,pe,ve** leḡ ii **OPTVM**
vii	*Ipm* 34b19-20 = *m.p.*	mp **au**,**ve**,**OM**,**zu** mpm **PV**,**pe** mille plus minus **T**
viii	*Ipm* 5b12 = *m.p.*	mp **au**,**ve**,**OM** mpm **PV**,**pe** mille plus minus **T**
ix	*Ipm* 32b15 = *m.p.*	mpm **au,pe,ve**,**OVM** mille plus minus **PT**
x	*Ipm* 33a26-27 = *m.p.*	mpm **au,pe,ve**,**OV** mille plus minus **PTM**
xi	*Ipm* 34b21-22 = *m.p*	mp **au**,**O**,**ve** mpm **PTV**,**pe** mille plus minus **M**
xii	*Ipm* 35b3 = *m.p*	mp **au**,**ve**,**O** mpm **PVM**,**pe** mille plus minus **T**
xiii	*Ipm* 35b19-20 = *m.p.*	mp **au**,**ve** mpm **OPTVM**,**pe**
xiv	*Ipm* 33b15-16 = *m.p.*	mille plus minus **au,pe,ve** mpm **OPTVM**
xv	*Ipm* 35a13 = *m.p.*	plus minus **au,pe,ve** mille plus minus **PM** mpm **OTV**

Items (i-iv): The **Σ**2 form appears certain from the coincidence between the form in the *Ipm* and either the identical form (iv-v) or phonetically similar form (i-iii) in most copies of **Σ**2. In all four items, **au,pe,ve** agree with **Σ**2.

Two of these items, (ii-iii) indicate one of the problems associated with an attempt to determine relationships between copies of documents comprising lists, such as the *Ipm*, where the names of the same entity (in the case of the *Ipm*, the names of places) are often repeated in close proximity, occasioning similar misreadings or the formation of scribal preferences leading to standardisation.

Item v: This suggests that the form in **Σ**2 was the same as the form in the *Ipm*; that this form was accurately copied by **OPM**, and that, for some reason, **V** and **pe** both expanded the abbreviation. That

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(12a12-14) *Item [...] Nura m.p.XXXV* (3 items) *In Neapolitano hoc deficit iter*. (**zu**-21r19),
(18a9) *inde Antiocia m.p. DCCLV* (1 item) *In Neapolitano praetermissa fuit haec mansio*.(**zu**-30v15-16),
(20a5) *Bessapara m.p. XXII* (1 item)
(25b15-16) *Item a Cyrro Edissa m.p. XCII* (1 item),
(27a11-b3) *In Medio [...] Scytopoli m.p.XVI* (15 items),
(28a1-7) *Gratia [...] Ancyra m.p. XCVIIII* (6 items),
(53a17-18) *Summo Penino m.p. XXV* (1 item),
(55a11-12) *Durocortoro m.p. XXVII leug.XVIII* (1 item)
(63b11) *Corduba m.p.XXIIII* (1 item);

[27] (32b15): *leg. I* - *I* absent in **V**; (32b19): *leg. II* - *leg* absent in **M**; (33a27): *sic* - absent **V**; (33b11-14): *per Sopianas Treveros usque* - absent **P**; (33b15) *A Sirmi* - absent **P**; (35a21-22) *in medio* - absent **M**; (35a23) *Intercisa m.p. XXIIII* - *intercisa* and *xxiiii* absent **M**; (35b5) *leg. I* - *leg* absent in **T**; (37a21) (37a21) *sic* absent in **M**.

reason may be connected with the fact that **T** replaced the abbreviation altogether. In this item, **au**,**ve** agree with the presumed form in **Σ**2, but there is an indication of an affinity between **pe**,**V**.[28]

Item vi: The form in **Σ**2 appears certain from the coincidence between the form in the *Ipm* and the consensus of **OPTVM**. This is the first instance in which **au** agrees with **ve**,**pe** against **Σ**2, and the first instance where **au** differs from **O**.

Items vii-xv: These nine items all involve different representations of the abbreviation *m.p.* which was apparently used consistently in the *Ipm* to denote *m(ilia) p(assuum)*. In **Σ**2 and in **au,pe,ve** the abbreviation *m.p.* was almost always represented as *mpm* - that is, *m(ilia) p(assuu)m* - which was occasionally expanded as *mille plus minus*. In (vii-xii), the first seven of these nine items **au** has either the *Ipm* form *m.p.* or the usual **au** form *mpm*. In the last two items (xiv-xv) **au** agrees significantly with **ve**,**pe** against **Σ**2: the agreement is significant, firstly, because (xiv) is the only instance where **au** has the expansion *mille plus minus*; secondly, because that expansion is not used in that item (xiv) by **PTM** which habitually use it elsewhere;[29] and, thirdly, because the last item, (xv), in **au,pe,ve** has the form *plus minus* which occurs in no other copy of any item in the *Ipm*.

Given these observations, it is concluded that:

(i) the form of the *Ipm* items in **au** have a closer affinity with those in **OPTVM** (the demonstrable copies of **Σ**2), and those in **pe** and **ve**, than with those in any other copies of the *Ipm*;

(ii) the form of three items in **au** agrees with that in **pe** and **ve** against the consensus of **OPTVM** (in the first two items) and the convergent form *mpm* (in the third item) : namely,

Ipm 35a28-29 = *leg. II*	legione ii **au,pe,ve**	leḡ ii **OPTVM**
Ipm 33b15-16 = *m.p.*	mille plus minus **au,pe,ve**	mpm **OPTVM**
Ipm 35a13 = *m.p.*	plus minus **au,pe,ve**	mille plus minus **PM** mpm **OTV**

and it is improbable, either that the *Ipm* form of all three items was changed identically and independently in **au**, **pe, ve** from a form identical to that in either the consensus or the convergence of **OPTVM** or, conversely, that the forms of these three items in **OPTVM** were derived from a form identical to that in **au** and that this form was changed independently in each of these five copies);
so that:

(iii) there must be a particular connection between **au**, **pe** and **ve**; and

(iv) it is improbable that **au** is a fragment **Σ**2 (as Diemand already concluded).[30]

But there is additional evidence which attests:

- firstly, that a close association exists between **au** and the exemplar of **pe** that does not exist between **au** and the exemplar of **ve**;
- secondly, that the exemplar of **pe** was located in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter; and,

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28 Further evidence of this affinity is described below, but attention is also drawn to one of the forms quoted above: *Ipm* 35b5 = *leg. I* leḡ i **au**,**ve**,**OPM** Legi͞oe i **pe** = legione i **V** mpm i **T**

29 While there are no examples, in this list (vii-xv), of expansions of the abbreviation by **OV**, these exist elsewhere.
The first three items in the *Ipm* all contain the abbreviation *m.p.* which is represented as follows: (1a12 *Tingi usque m.p.*) mpm **O**, miꝉ plus minus **P**,**ve**, milia plus minus **TVM**; (1a13 *Rusadder m.p.*) mpm **OT**, milia plus minus **PVM**,**pe**,**ve**; (1a14 *Mauretanie m.p.*) mpm **O**, miꝉ plus minus **M**, milia plus minus **PV**,**pe**,**ve**, mille plus minus **T**.
Thereafter, examples of expansions in **OV** include: (3b5 *Tingi m.p.*) mpm **O**, mille plus minus **PVM**,**pe**,**ve**; milia plus minus **T**; (9a25 *Privata m.p.*) mp **M**, mpm **PV**, miꝉ plus minus **O**,**ve**, milia plus minus **pe**, mille plus minus **T**; (12a17 *Palmas m.p.*) mpm **V**, mille plus minus **OPTM**,**pe**,**ve**; (13a9 *Pincianis m.p.*) mpm **V**,**pe**, miꝉ plus minus **O**,**ve**, mille plus minus **PTM**; (20a22 *Constantinopoli m.p.*) mpm **VM**, mille plus minus **OPT**,**pe**,**ve**; etc.

30 There is one further observation about the contents of **au** that may be relevant. The copy of (33a6 *Dionisopoli*) in **au** appears to be written *Dion**I**sopoli* in which some other alphabetic symbol, partially erased, has been either rewritten as ***I*** or represents a cancellation and there may also be a cancellation dot below it. The corresponding word appears as: *Dionisopoli* **OTVM**,**pe** *Dionsopoli* **P**,**ve**.

- thirdly, that the arrangement of at least parts of the text in the exemplar of **pe** also existed in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**.

*The Peutinger copy (***pe**)

The codex **pe** exists in *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, as *Clm 4013* and it has recently been described by Helmut Zäh, in a forthcoming publication.[31] He indicates that the codex consists of paper, comprises VII+77 folia, is written throughout in a single hand (Cursiva libraria), and has corrections, both by the scribe of the main text and by two later writers. He adds that the front cover of the codex contains an autograph note by Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547): | *Itineraria* | *antonini et* | *alia manu* | *manuscripta* |, and that a note on Ir, by Johann Andreas Schmeller (librarian at München in the 19thC), identifies the codex as *MS. Peutinger 37*. Finally, as part of the library of Peutinger, which comprised some 2200 manuscript and printed books, the codex **pe** was transferred to the Jesuit college in Augsburg in 1718/19 and from there to its present library in München in 1810.

(i) the production of **pe** *and the location of its exemplar*

The codex **pe** contains a copy of the same original documents, and arranged in the same sequence, as the copy of those documents that also exists in the first seven parts of the miscellany in codex **Σ**: namely,

'Cosmographia' comprising	(pe 1r-13v)	also in < **Σ**1 >
(a) (excerpt from Iulius Honorius)		
(b) (excerpt from Orosius, *Historiae*, I,2)		
'Itineraria' comprising	(pe 14r-49v)	also in < **Σ**2 >
(a) Itinerarium provinciarum antoni<*ni*> augusti		
(b) Itinerarium maritimum imperatoris antonini augusti		
'Montes urbis romae et aquae' comprising	(pe 49v)	also in < **Σ**3 >
(a) Septem montes urbis romae		
(b) De aquarum ductibus romam rigantibus		
Dicuil, *Liber de mensura (provinciarum) orbis terrae*	(pe 49v-66r)	also in < **Σ**4 >
'Notitia in provinciis galliarum'	(pe 66r-67r)	also in < **Σ**5 >
'Enumeratio provinciarum romanarum' (from the almanac of Polemius Silvius)	(pe 67r-68v)	also in < **Σ**6 >
'De montibus portis et viis romae'	(pe 68v-69v)	also in < **Σ**7 >

In a letter which Konrad Peutinger wrote to Matteo Casella,[32] in either 1530 or 1531, concerning earlier jurisdictions over the town Modena, Peutinger cited three *itineraria* in his possession:

- a copy printed in France (*unum, quod in Galliis formis excusum*), which was the one produced by Geoffroy Tory (c.1480-c.1533), and printed in Paris by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne the Elder, 1470-c.1520) in 1512;[33]

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31 Trede, J. & Zäh, H., *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Handschriften aus Augsburger Bibliotheken, Band 3: Dombibliothek und Jesuitenkolleg. Clm 3831-4029. Neu beschrieben von Juliane Trede und Helmut Zäh.* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz (forthcoming). Before publication, the descriptions will appear online at: www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de

32 König, E., *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*. (München, Beck, 1923), No.280 pp.446-458.
(p.450) *habemus tamen vetusta exemplaria manuscripta et unum, quod in Galliis formis excusum*. [...] (p.451) *Primum igitur exemplar formis excusum:* [...]
(p.452) *Habemus aliud itinerarium manuscriptum, cuius prima verba sunt: "Incipit cosmographia feliciter cum itinerariis suis et portubus et ex fastibus Romanorum et consulum nominibus et diversis"* [...]
(p.453) *Habemus tercium exemplar charta pergamena ad latitudinem fere pedis unius et dimidii et longitudinem duorum supra viginti nulla praeter miliarium observatione satis vetusto charactere conscriptum, quod et vias et itinera nominatim ab urbe Roma citatas per rubricatas lineas et per milliariam locorum distanciam satis diligenter ostendit,* [...]

33 *ITINERARIVM prouinciarum omniu(m) Antonini Augusti, cum Fragmento eiusdem, necnon indice haud qua(m)q(uam) asperna(n)do.* (separate paragraph) *CVM PRIVILEGIO, ne quis temere hoc ab hinc duos annos imprimat.* (separate paragraph) *Venale habetur vbi impressum est, in domo Henrici Stephani e regio(n)e schol(a)e Decretorum Parrhisijs.* There is no date, but the dedicatory letter, beginning *Godofredus Torinus Bituricus Philiberto Baboo viro modestissimo S.P.D* is dated, at the end, *Parrhisijs: e regione Collegij Coquerетici. 14. Calendas Septembris. 1512.*

- a manuscript copy with the opening item *"Incipit cosmographia felicier [...] diversis"*, which exists as an unbound paper manuscript[34] in a compilation completed by 4.Jul.1514,[35] (and identified by Schmeller as *Aug.Jes.14*);
- a map (*charta pergamena*) which is the Celtis-Peutinger *Roman map*,[36] identified by its first known owner, Konrad Celtis (1459-1508), as *Itinerarium antonini*.[37]

None of these three *itineraria* refers to the codex **pe** which was, therefore, presumably acquired by Peutinger after 1530/31.

As indicated elsewhere,[38] one of the sons of Konrad Peutinger was given permission by the Speyer cathedral chapter, on 14.Oct.1533, to borrow a book for 2-4 weeks to have it copied.[39] The borrower (*doctor Beutingers Sun*) was Claudius Pius Peutinger (1509-1552) who, having graduated at Ferrara in 1532, as *doctor utriusque juris*, served as a lawyer at the Imperial chamber court (*Reichskammergericht* - hereafter *RKG*) in Speyer in 1532-3 before returning to Augsburg in 1534.[40] He had been appointed to the position of *advocatus* at the *RKG* on 16.Sept.1532 and that of *procurator* on 19.May.1533.[41]

It has been noted above,
- firstly, that the codex **pe** contains a copy of the same original documents, and arranged in the same sequence, as the copy of those documents in the miscellany **Σ**1-7; and it has previously been concluded that any copy of the same original documents of which a copy comprised **Σ**1-7, and arranged in the same sequence as those in **Σ**1-7, are either derived from **Σ** or from an exemplar closely related to it;
- secondly, that **pe** existed in the library of Konrad Peutinger, but was not cited by him among his three copies of the *Ipm* in 1530-1531, so that he acquired **pe** after that date; and
- thirdly, that the Speyer cathedral chapter permitted the son of Peutinger, in Oct.-Nov. 1533 to borrow a book, to which it referred as the *Anthoninus*, to have it copied.

<copy used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Res/A.lat.b.13>

34 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4014ab.

35 König, *op.cit.* p.452, n.2: *Cod. Lat.4014ab [...] laut Vermerk auf fol.40r abgeschlossen am 4. Juli 1514*.

36 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex Vindobonensis 324.

37 Rupprich, H., *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*. (München, Beck, 1934) prints the testment of Celtis, as item 338 (pp.603-609), from the *Liber testamentorum universitatis Viennensis 1504-1551, Wien, Univ*(ersitäts)*Archiv, Ms.22, foll.20ff* noting that this document is an *Abschrift. Das Original ist nicht mehr auffindbar*. This document contains the following two entries: (lines 76-79): *Item. Ego lego domino doctori Conrado Peutinger Itinerarium Antonini Pii, qui etiam eundem nunc habet, volo tamen et rogo, ut post eius mortem ad usum publicum puta aliquam librariam convertatur.* and (lines 144-145): *Item. Itinerarius Anthonii est apud dominum Conradum Peutinger.*

38 *Appendix 4: Archival evidence about the Speyer cathedral chapter, its library, and the codex **Σ** containing the compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*, pp.13-14.

39 Minutes of the meeting of the Speyer cathedral chapter, Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv, Protokollsammlung 61/10934,p.135 (14.Oct.1533): <marginal heading beside line 9> | *Anthoninj* | *verleyhnus* | <lines 9-14> | *Verrers ist bewilligt vf bitlich ansuchens doctor Beutingers Sun* | *den Anthoninu(m) vf gnungsam sicherheyt vnd Caution ongeferde* | *vf xiiij tag od(er) iiij woch(en) zue leyhen, der es mitler Zeyt* | *ausschreib(en) vnd meyne(n) H(er)n wied(er) on nochtheyl vnd schad(en)* | *zustellen will, vnd ist solichs meim h(er)n dhombdechant* | *beuolh(en).*|

40 Roth, F., *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Ausgburger Stadtadvokaten Dr. Claudius Pius Peutinger (1509-1552)*: Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte - Texte und Untersuchungen 25 1928, pp.99-127 and 161-255, on pp.113-116.

41 *Annotata de personis Iudicij Cameræ Imperialis, à primo illius exordio, usq(ue) ad annum Domini M.D.LVI [...] Cum Gratia, & priuilegio Cæsareæ Maiestatis. Impressum Ingolstadii per Alexandrum, & Samuelem Weissenbornios fratres. M.D.LVII*, (un-numbered pp.) 42-43.
<copy used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Crim.38#Beibd.4>.

It is concluded, therefore, that **pe** was copied, in Oct.-Nov.1533, from a book in the cathedral chapter library and that this book was either **Σ** or a book that was closely related to it.

The book which Claudius Pius Peutinger borrowed cannot be identified on the basis of this external evidence because, firstly, as indicated previously,[42] the library of the cathedral chapter simultaneously had, at various times, both **Σ** and one or more copies it. And, secondly, while the chapter consistently used the title *Itinerarium* on twenty different occasions between 1526-1550 to refer to both the **Σ** and to any copy of it in its library (three times with the added designation *antonini*, and once with the phonetic equivalent *Iterini*) the book lent to Peutinger in 1533 is referred to in the chapter minutes as the *Anthoninus*. If this title actually referred to either **Σ**, or to a copy of it, this would be the only reference to the latter in the chapter minutes that did not include the word *Itinerarium*.

(ii) the sequence of some list items in **pe** *and in copies of* **Σ**

The evidence concerning the relationship between **pe** and **Σ** exists not only in their copies of the *Ipm*, but also in their copies of the documents that preceded the copy of the *Ipm*.

The codices **OPTVM**, **pe**, and **ve** contain the following two documents, in this sequence:
- a copy of a *Cosmographia* of which approximately a half consisted mostly of excerpts derived from a third recension or edition of a cosmography compiled by Iulius Honorius, while the remainder mostly comprised excerpts from a copy of a history written by Paulus Orosius.
  (this *Cosmographia-Honorius-Orosius* is hereafter referred to as the *Cho)*,[43]
  and
- a copy of the *Itineraria* that is, *Itinerarium provinciarum / Itinerarium maritimum antonini*
  (referred to here as *Ipm*).

In **OPTVM**, **pe**, and **ve** the copies of the *Cho* and of the *Ipm* occupy the following pages:

Table 1

Cho	Location	No. of pages	No. of columns	Columns per page	Lines per column	
O	3ra1 - 15vb17	26	51 +17 L	2	29	
P	1va1 - 11rb35	20	40	2	35	
T	1r1 - 10va24	20	-*	(2)*	35-50	** only the lists are written in columns*
V	1ra1 - 13vb25	26	51	2	25*	** 10r has 24 written lines (see note 53)*
M	2ra1 - 14rb2	25	49 + 2 L	2	27	
pe	1ra1 - 13vb27	26	51 +27 L	2	25-30*	** excluding interlinear corrections*
ve	2ra1 - 12va16	22	42 +16 L	2	37	

Table 2

Ipm	Location	No. of pages	No. of columns	Columns per page	Lines per column	
O	15vb24 - 47ra2	64	125 + 8 L	2	29	
P	11va1 - 37ra7	52	102 + 7 L	2	35	
T	10va31? - 36ra1	51	99 +13 L	2	29-49	*13v is blank*
V	13vb7 - 49ra10	72	140 +29 L	2	25	
M	14rb9 - 47va21	68	132 +40 L	2	27	
pe	14ra1 - 49va4	72	142 + 4 L	2	24-34*	** excluding interlinear corrections*
ve	12va25 - 37ra27	50	97 +40 L	2	37	

The differences between the number of pages occupied by these copies of the *Cho* and of the *Ipm* resulted from a number of factors, including the size of pages, the number of columns per page, the type and size of the script in which the copies were written, the extent to which the scribes used abbreviations, and because the scribes used different numbers of lines per column. Moreover, while **OPVM** and **ve** used

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42 In *Appendix 4: Archival evidence about the Speyer cathedral chapter, its library, and the codex* ***Σ*** *containing the compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd).*

43 The contents of the *Cho* are cited and numbered according to the representation of it contained in the edition produced by Alexander Riese, *Geographi latini minores*. (Heilbronn, 1878, repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1964) pp.71-103.

ruled line spaces, resulting in an almost consistent number of written lines per column, **T** and **pe** did not, creating the variations indicated in the table above.

A definite relationship between the exemplar of **pe**, and the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**, and **ve**, can be observed when comparing the sequence of the items in their lists, and the arrangement of those lists in columns, in these copies of the *Cho*.

In the *Cho*, there were several lists whose items comprised the names of places (mostly of towns, but also of oceans, mountains, rivers and provinces). For his edition, Riese used two copies of the *Cho*: namely, *V*[44] and *L*[45] (neither of which was derived from **Σ**) and used the sequence of the list items in *V*.[46] He printed the items in columns and assigned a number to each column line.[47] References to these items in his edition are, therefore, by the page number and the column line number.

The copy of the *Cho* in **pe**, and the copies derived from **Σ,** are arranged throughout in two columns per page (except in **T**, in which the copy of those parts of the *Cho* that do not include lists of items or names are generally written in long lines across both column spaces). Within the lists, the items are sufficiently short to enable two items to be entered beside each other on each line in a column - one item on the left side (LS) of a line, the other item on the right side (RS) of the same line - with a blank space separating the two items.

Given this presence of two items on the same line in a column, and the absence of numbers in the *Cho* to indicate the *sequence* (the order from the first to the last) of the items, the initial correct sequence of the items would be established if all the items were sequentially arranged either

(i) horizontally, across the column lines (the first item on the LS and the second item on the RS of each column line, from the first column line to the last) as in **(A)**,
or

(ii) vertically, down the column lines (items entered sequentially first down the LS of all the column lines, until the last line of the column, and then, in the same column, down the RS of all the column lines again until the last line) as in **(B)**.

While the *sequence* of the items in **(A)** is the same as in **(B),** the *linear alignment* of the items (that is, which two items coexist on the same column line) is different in **(A)** and **(B)**.

diagram **(A)**

col. 1			col. 2	
LS	RS		LS	RS
1	2		11	12
3	4		13	14
5	6		15	16
7	8			
9	10			
end of page				

diagram **(B)**

col. 1			col. 2	
LS	RS		LS	RS
1	6		11	14
2	7		12	15
3	8		13	16
4	9			
5	10			
end of page				

If the arrangement in either **(A)** or **(B)** is copied into **(C)** or **(D)**, in which the items occupy a different number of lines in the first column than they do in **(A)** or **(B)**, the correct sequence of the items is retained, either

(i) if the horizontal arrangement in **(A)** is copied line-by-line, as in **(C)**,

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44 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 181 - hist.prof.658 (8thC), identified by Cuntz, *op.cit.* as L.

45 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, codex Plut.89, sup.67 (10thC), identified by Cuntz, *op.cit.* as R.

46 Riese, *op.cit.*, p.71, note: *In columnarum compositione nominumque ordine librum* V *religiosissime sequar*. The codex containing this copy of the *Cho*, identified by Riese as V, is also the codex that contained the copy of *Ipm* identified by Cuntz as L and, as shown in *Attachment 1(sections 2-3)* below, this copy of *Ipm* contained several forms that Cuntz rejected as inaccurate copies of those in *Ipm* but which are characteristic of the copies of *Ipm* in **au**,**ve**,**pe** and in those derived from **Σ**.

47 Where columns in a list extend beyond a page, Riese continued the line numbers beyond the first page, except in the list on pp.85-86, where the last item on p.85 (line 68) is followed on p.86 by lines numbered 1-14, instead of 69-82 (the latter, amended number, is used here).

or

(ii) if the vertical arrangement in **(B)** is reproduced in **(D)** - (that is, with items entered sequentially first down the LS of all the column lines, until the last line of the column, and then, in the same column, down the RS of all the column lines again until the last line) as in **(D)**.
But in this case, while the sequence of the items in **(D)** is the same as in **(B),** the linear alignment of the items in **(D)** is different to that in its exemplar.

diagram **(C)**

col. 1			col. 2	
LS	RS		LS	RS
			7	8
			9	10
1	2		11	12
3	4		13	14
5	6		15	16
end of page				

diagram **(D)**

col. 1			col. 2	
LS	RS		LS	RS
			7	12
			8	13
1	4		9	14
2	5		10	15
3	6		11	16
end of page				

But if **(B)** is copied into **(E)**, in which the items occupy a different number of lines in the first column than they do in **(B)**, and if the items in **(B)** are copied horizontally, line-by-line, into **(E)**, rather than in the vertical arrangement in which they were entered in **(B)**, then two changes occur:

(i) **(E)** retains the linear alignment of the first three lines in **(B)** but not their sequence, because in column 1, item 3 is now followed vertically by 6 instead of 4; and

(ii) **(E)** retains the linear alignment of the last five lines in **(B)**, but not their sequence, because item 5 is now followed vertically by item 11, not 6 (and item 10 by 14, not by 11); and this transition between the line containing items 5+10 and the one containing items 11+14 corresponds exactly to the point of transition between the first and second columns in **(B)**, identifying the arrangement in **(B)** as the exemplar of the arrangement in **(E)**,

as illustrated in the following diagram.

diagram **(E)**

col. 1			col. 2	
LS	RS		LS	RS
			4	9
			5	10
1	6		11	14
2	7		12	15
3	8		13	16
end of page				

In *Attachment 2* below, there is a tabulated summary of the *arrangement* of the list items (that is, the number of columns, lines per column and, within them, the distribution of the items, including the point of transition between the columns) in a selection of lists in the copies of the *Cho* in **OPTVM**,**pe**,**ve**, followed in *Attachment 3* by a selection of sections from the same lists, and from some others.

These summary tabulations in *Attachment 2* and *Attachment 3* demonstrate:

(i) that the sequence of the list items in **pe** is apparently the same as the one that existed in the *Cho* (with a single exception, noted in (a) below, which is common to **OPTVM**,**pe**,**ve**);

(ii) that the sequence of the list items in **pe** is arranged vertically (first on all the left sides, then on all the right sides of the column lines, to the end of the column - as in **B**/**D** above);

(iii) that the sequence of the list items in **OPTVM** was derived from an exemplar in which:
- the sequence of the list items was arranged vertically, as in **pe**; and
- the items occupied the same number of lines in each column as they do in **pe**;

(iv) that, where items occupy a different number of lines in the first column in **OPTVM** than they do in **pe**, the sequence of the items
- was consistently copied correctly by **O** (with a single exception, noted in (b) below); and
- was consistently copied incorrectly by **PT** (with a single exception, noted in (c) below) and by **VM**;

and, therefore,

(v) that the sequence of the *Cho* list items and their arrangement in **pe** is an exact copy of the sequence and linear alignment (with a single exception, noted in (d) below) that the corresponding items also had in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**; and

(vi) that the arrangement of the items in **pe** could not have been derived from an exemplar in which the arrangement is identical to that in any one of **OPTVM**.

This appendix, in which it is intended to describe the evidence to be considered in the identification of the codex from which **au** was excised, is not the appropriate place to discuss the relationships existing between **OPTVM**, and between these and **Σ**. But those who are interested in that subject may wish to consider some aspects from the following observations about the exceptions mentioned above.

Exception (a)
All the copies of the *Cho* list items in **pe** have the sequence that they apparently had in the *Cho*, with the single exception shown in *Attachment 2(4)*, where **OPTVM** and **pe** and **ve** all have the *Cho* items 15-16 listed in the reverse sequence 16-15.

Exception (b)
The sequence of the *Cho* list items in **pe** is arranged vertically (as defined and exemplified in diagrams **B** and **D** above). This vertical arrangement exists consistently in **O** with the exception of the list shown in *Attachment 2(7)*.
In this list, the copies of items 12-17 in **OPTVM**,**pe**,**ve** were written across entire column lines, and these were then followed by items 18-37. In **pe**, where only one line remained in the first column, its vertical arrangement required item 18 to be entered on the left side of that line and item 19 on the right side, followed in the next column by items 20-37, arranged vertically.
In **O**, most of the items in this list (and all the items in all its other lists) were also arranged vertically, except the two items 18-19 which coexist on the same line. This linear alignment in **O** resulted in the incorrect sequence 18,20-24,19,25-29 according to the vertical arrangement in which all the remaining items are entered. This line (items 18-19) indicates that the exemplar of **O** also had the column arrangement reproduced in **pe** (and, signficantly, this list in **O** is the only one in which this line, 18-19, and the first four lines in the list, have the same linear alignment of items as those in **pe**).
Apart from exception (a), relating to all copies, and apart from the exception of this list in *Attachment 3(7)* relating to **O**, it is observed that, in all instances where items occupy a different number of lines in the first column in **OPTVM** than they do in **pe**, the items in **pe** and **O** are always in the correct sequence (the one that apparently existed in the *Cho*), and are always arranged vertically, whereas, apart from the exception noted in (c) relating to **P** and **T**, the items in **PTVM** are always in an incorrect sequence, demonstrably resulting from their line-by-line copying of the vertical arrangement reproduced by **pe** - never the one in **O**. It remains to be explained why, in all these lists, **pe** and **O** always have the correct sequence of the items while **PTVM**,**ve** do not.

Exception (c)
The list shown in *Attachment 2(4)*, occupies one column in **OPTM**,**pe**,**ve** and two columns in **V**.
The items in **pe** and **O** are again listed in the correct sequence (apart from items 15-16, mentioned in exception (a) and reversed in all copies) and are again arranged vertically.
The items in **VM**,**ve** are listed in an incorrect sequence, whether read vertically (14 before 16 or 22 before 15) or horizontally (9 beside 17), resulting from the line-by-line copying of the vertical arrangement reproduced by **pe** - not the vertical arrangement in **O.** (In this list, and others, where **pe** and **O** have the correct sequence of items, which are arranged vertically, the linear alignment of the items in **pe** and **O** is never the same).
But in **P** and **T** the items are not only listed in the correct sequence, but also listed in two different arrangements: in **T** the items are arranged vertically as in **O** and in **pe**, and with the same linear alignment that exists in **O**, - not the one in **pe**; while in **P**, the items are arranged horizontally (which is an arrangement that does not exist in the copy of any other *Cho* list in **OPTVM**,**ve**,**pe**). It remains to be explained why the correct sequence of the items in this list, but not the correct sequence in other lists, was made apparent in the immediate common exemplar of **PT** (but not in that of **VM**,**ve**) and why **P** and **T** each listed the items correctly but in a mutually-different arrangement.[48]

Exception (d)
The information is this list is open to various explanations, but the facts are relatively certain and provide further evidence, both about the exemplar of **pe** and the exemplar of **V**, and perhaps about **OPTM** and

[48] There are significant affinities between **P** and **T** in their arrangements of other sections of their copies of **Σ**1-13, as described in *Appendix 1: The copies of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

ve. The arrangement of the complete list is shown in *Attachment 2 (3)*, while the section of it that is discussed here is shown in *Attachment 3(2).*

Attachment 2(3) shows that, in **O**, the derived contents are contained in 4 columns in which the items are listed in the correct sequence, arranged vertically. In **pe** and **V**, the derived contents in this list are contained in 3 columns, each of which begins and ends with the same items in both copies and, because their column contents are the same, **pe** and **V** both have the correct sequence of items, arranged vertically (as usual in **pe** but not **V**) and with almost identical linear alignments (except those mentioned below). In **PTM** and **ve** the items have an incorrect sequence resulting, almost entirely, from their line-by-line copying of the arrangement common to **V** and almost all of **pe**.

In a section of this list, shown in *Attachment 3 (2)*, the main scribe of **pe** initially wrote 8 items with the linear alignment 106-122, 107-124, 108-125, 109-127 omitting the two items 123, 126; these were subsequently added in interlinear positions (123 below 122, and 126 below 125) by a second scribe whose script exists in other corrections and annotations in **pe**, indicating that this second scribe compared the completed transcript in **pe** with its exemplar.

The reason for the initial omission of items 123 and 126 in **pe**, may be connected with the fact that in **V** the copy of this series of ten items (106-109, 122-127) contains two blank spaces: one to the left of 124,[49] the other to the left of 126.

The linear alignment of the items in the first two lines in **V=PTM** and **ve** (106-122, 107-123) indicates that, in their immediate common exemplar, there was no blank space to the left of item 123, since such a space would probably have been filled in **PTM** and **ve** in the same way that they filled the blank space reproduced in **V** on the next line. In fact, while **PTM** and **ve** represent neither of the blank spaces present in **V**, it is clear that the three different linear alignments in **P=T**,**M** and **ve** result from their omission of the two blank spaces that **V** reproduced from their immediate common exemplar. The fact that **pe** did not incorporate items 123 and 126 and make adjustments similar to those in **PTM** and **ve** suggests that, in the exemplar of **pe**, these two items may have been in the margin, resulting in their omission, since there are other instances where blank spaces in list lines were reproduced in **pe**.

Whatever the explanation for the initial omission of a copy of items 123 and 126 in **pe**, this linear alignment (107-124) in **pe** does not reproduce the one that existed in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM** and **ve**; and **pe** does not reproduce blank spaces that existed in that exemplar.

The coextensive columns in **au**, **pe** *and* **V**

It was concluded above, on the basis of the form of three items in which **au** agrees with **pe** and **ve** against the consensus of **OPTVM**, that there must be a particular connection between **au**, **pe** and **ve**.

There is other evidence which shows, firstly, that there is a particular affinity between **au** and the exemplar of **pe** that does not exist between **au** and the exemplar of **ve** and, secondly, that there is a particular affinity between **pe** and **V** that does not exist between **pe** and **OPTM** and **ve**.

(i) Coextensive columns in **au** *and in* **pe**

In **au** the contents derived from *Ipm* (section 32b4-37a21) are contained in eight columns and it is observed that the entire contents derived from the *Ipm* in each of the 8 columns in **au** are the same as the entire derived contents of the corresponding 8 columns in **pe**: that is, the contents of these columns are *coextensive* (columns whose entire derived contents in one document begin and end with the same item or word as those that begin and end the entire contents of a column in another document). The columns are also *successive* (following each other in an interrupted sequence) and in *identical page locations* (on the same page of each folium and on the same side of each page), as indicated in the following table:

Table 3

Page	columns in **au**/**pe**		**au**	lines		**pe**	lines
1	col.1	first item	Appiaria - *1ra1*			Appiaria - *28ra1*	
		last item	Tomos - *1ra25*	25		Tomos - *28ra(24)*	23+1

[49] In **V**, item 124 (*Adruntū*) is on the right side of the line f.5ra15. The left side of the same line was left blank by the scribe of **V**. Into that space, another scribe (different script and ink) wrote the word *Tridentum* which occurs nowhere in the *Cho* and is one of two indications that an owner of **V** was either in, or connected with, the town of Trento.

	col.2	first item last item	Callacis - *1rb1* Castraiarba - *1rb25*	25		Callacis - *28rb1* Castraiarba - *28rb25*	25
2	col.1	first item last item	Burdipta - *1va1* Cretio - *1va25*	25		Burdipta - *28va1* Crecio - *28va25*	25
	col.2	first item last item	Arlape - *1vb1* Triueros - *1vb25*	25		Arlape - *28vb1* Triueros - *28vb25*	25
3	col.1	first item last item	Item - *2ra1* mpm xxvi - *2ra25*	25		Item - *29ra1* mpm xxvj - *29ra25*	25
	col.2	first item last item	Campania - *2rb1* Augustis - *2rb25*	25		Campania - *29rb1* Augustis - *29rb27*	27
4	col.1	first item last item	Regio - *2va1* Boudobrica - *2va25*	25		Regio - *29va1* Boudobrica - *29va25*	25
	col.2	first item last item	Bonna - *2vb1* mpm cccxi sic - *2vb25*	25		Bonna - *29vb1* mpm |ccc.xj.sic. - *29vb25-26*	26

This distribution does not occur in any other copy of the *Ipm* derived from **Σ** or from a copy closely related to it:

Table 4				
	Ipm 33b4 - 33b1	*Ipm 33b2 - 34b12*	*Ipm 34b13 - 36a4*	*Ipm 36a5 - 37a21*
	col.1 col.2	**col.3 col.4**	**col.5 col.6**	**col.7 col.8**
au	1ra1 - 1rb25	1va1 - 1vb25	2ra1 - 2rb25	2va1 - 2vb25
pe	28ra1 - 28rb25	28va1 - 28vb25	29ra1 - 29rb27	29va1 - 29vb26

The contents corresponding to the columns in **au** and **pe** are distributed as follows in the other copies:

ve	22va7 - 22vb19	22vb20 - 23ra32	23ra33 - 23va9	23va10 - 23vb22
O	28rb23 - 28vb14	28vb15 - 29rb6	29rb7 - 29va27	29va28 - 30ra19
P	21vb12 - 22ra26	22ra27 - 22va4	22va5 - 22vb17	22vb18 - 23ra31
T	20ra38 - 20va8	20va9 - 20vb19	20vb21 - 21ra35	21ra36 - 21va6
V	28ra21 - 28va18	28va19 - 29ra17	29ra18 - 29va14	29va15 - 30ra13
M	27va21 - 28ra16	28ra17 - 28va11	28va12 - 29ra6	29ra7 - 29va1

There are, however, differences in the number of lines in which the text was arranged in **au** and in **pe**:

Table 5									
	col.1	col.2	col.3	col.4	col.5	col.6	col.7	col.8	total
au	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	200
pe	23+1	25	25	25	25	27	25	26	202

while the text corresponding to these columns occupied the following number of lines in **OPTVM**,**ve**:

O	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	200
P	25	25	23	25	24	24	25	25	196
T	25	25	25	26	27	29	25	25	207
V	24	24	24	25	23	24	25	24	193
M	25	25	24	25	25	24	25	24	197
ve	25	25	25	25	25	26	25	25	201

indicating that, to produce columns coextensive with those that also existed in **au**, the scribe of **pe** varied the number of lines in three columns.

These coextensive and successive columns, and their identical page locations in **au** and in **pe**, are not reproduced in **OPTVM**,**ve** and are unlikely to have been invented independently, so that this distribution in **au** and **pe** must have a common origin.

(ii) Coextensive columns in **pe** *and in* **V**

In addition to the aforementioned particular affinity that **pe** has with only **au**, there is a similar affinity that exists only between **pe** and **V**.[50]

There are several coextensive and successive columns in the same page locations in both **pe** and **V**. In addition there are three coextensive and successive columns that are not in the same page location and 15 other columns each of whose entire derived contents in one of the two copies differs by only one line

50 See also note 28

from the derived contents of the corresponding column in the other copy. While most of these columns contain lists, one of them contains continuous text (f.10ra in both **pe** and **V**).

Table 6

Cho Columns		**V**	lines
3vb	*first item*	Oceanus [...] gentes	
	last item	Arogotos - Antequinos	25
4ra	*first item*	Cenomannos - Velhedos	
	last item	Oceanus [...] montes	25
4rb	*first item*	Trienum - Marsos	
	last item	Pannoniam - Lucaniam	25
4va	*first item*	Apuliam -	
	last item	Ambianis - Dertonam	25
4vb	*first item*	Concordiam - Dorocortoros	
	last item	Nemausum - Abellinum	25
10ra	*first item*	usque	
	last item	climax	24 [51]

pe	lines
Oceanus [...] gentes	
Arogoti - ~~Antequini~~ Aquitani	25
Cenomanni - Velhedi	
Oceanus [...] montes	27
Trienum - Marsos	
Pannoniam - Lucaniam	25
Apuliam -	
Ambianis - Dertonam	26
Concordiam - Dorocortoros	
Nemausum - Abellino	25
usque	
climax	28

Ipm Columns		**V**	lines
17vb	*first item*	Tincausari	
	last item	Fines armariae	25
18ra	*first item*	Laminade	
	last item	Ad templum	25
18rb	*first item*	Bereceos	
	last item	Tacapas	25
18va	*first item*	Iter Sardiniae	
	last item	Lugudoneo	25
18vb	*first item*	Hafa	
	last item	Nura	25

pe	lines
Tincausari	
Fines armariae	25
Lamniade	
Ad templum	26
Berezeos	
Tacapas	25
Iter sardinie	
Lugudoneo	25
Hafa	
Nura	25

In the next 15 columns (19ra-22va) the contents of the corresponding columns in **pe** and in **V**, differ by only one line (either the opening and closing line), and these columns are followed immediately by 7 further coextensive and successive columns in identical page locations:

Ipm Columns		**V**	lines
22vb	*first item*	Medio orientis	
	last item	Catabolo	25
23ra	*first item*	Bais	
	last item	Rapa	25
23rb	*first item*	Rinocorubra	
	last item	Icacona	25
23va	*first item*	Oxirincho	
	last item	Pseleis	25
23vb	*first item*	Corte	
	last item	Pano	25
24ra	*first item*	Selino	
	last item	Taubasio	25
24rb	*first item*	Sile	
	last item	Apris	25

pe	lines
Medio orientis	
Catabolo	25
Bais	
Rapa	25
Rinocorirbra	
Icacona	25
Oxirincho	
Pselcis	25
Corte	
Pano	26
Selino	
Taubasio	25
Sile	
Apris	26

In a later section of the copy of the *Ipm*, there are three coextensive and successive columns that are not in the same location

Columns		**V**		lines
first item		c.166	Albucela	
last item		42rb	Titultiam	25
first item		c.167	Complotum	
last item		42va	Raudadumam	25
first item		c.168	Vasamam	
last item		42vb	Caesarea augusta [...]	25

pe		lines
c.167	Albucela	
42va	Titultiam	25
c.168	Complotum	
42vb	Raudaduniam	26
c.169	Vasama	
43ra	Cesar augusta [...]	25

[51] See note 53.

In the next 4 columns, the contents of the corresponding columns in **pe** (43rb-44ra) and in **V** (43ra-43vb), differ by only one line (either the opening or closing line).

These coextensive columns and their distribution in **pe** and in **V** are not reproduced in **OPTM**,**ve**, are unlikely to have been invented independently in **pe** and in **V** and must, therefore, have a common origin.

These observations about the coextensive columns in **au**, **pe** and **V** can be summarised as follows:

1 In **pe** and **V**, there are 21 coextensive columns, of which:
(a) 18 are in identical page locations in both copies:
Cho 5 successive columns **pe** (3vb-4vb) = **V** (3vb-4vb),
1 column **pe** (10ra) = **V** (10ra),
Ipm 5 successive columns **pe** (17vb-18vb) = **V** (17vb-18vb),
7 successive columns **pe** (22vb-24rb) = **V** (23ra-24rb), and
(b) 3 are in different page locations in both copies:
Ipm 3 successive columns **pe** (42rb-42vb) = **V** (42va-43ra);
These coextensive columns,[52] **pe=V,** are not coextensive with any columns in **OPTM**,**ve**.

2 In **au** (1ra-2vb) all 8 columns are coextensive with 8 columns in **pe** (28ra-29vb) and are successive and in identical page locations. These coextensive columns, **pe=au**, are not coextensive with any columns in **OPTM**,**ve** or in **V**.

3 (a) the coextensive columns **pe=au** and **pe=V** must both have existed in the exemplar of **pe** and were reproduced by **pe**;
(b) the coextensive columns **pe=V** must have existed in the exemplar of **V** and were reproduced by **V**; but **V** does not have the coextensive columns **pe=au**, meaning that either this arrangement did not exist in the exemplar of **V** or it did exist but was not reproduced by **V**).

4 The coextensive column contents **pe=au** and **pe=V** each existed in an exemplar in which at least these columns were arranged in 2 columns per page each containing 25 lines per column.
In **au**, the entire copy of its section of the *Ipm*, and in **V**, the entire copy of the text in **Σ**1-7, is arranged in 2 columns per page, with each column divided into 25 ruled line spaces (with one exception in **V**[53]) positioned by marginal prickings. This arrangement does not exist consistently in **pe** because, while its copy of the *Ipm* is also written in 2 columns per page, it is not written on ruled line spaces, and the number of written lines per column vary.[54] This variation in **pe** demonstrably resulted from the intention of the scribe to create columns that were coextensive with those in his exemplar while taking account of differences between the contents of his lines, script and the number of abbreviations, in comparison with those in his exemplar.

Apart from the existence of these coextensive columns **pe=au** and **pe=V**, there are other indications that the scribe of **pe** apparently intended to provide an accurate copy of the arrangement of the contents in his exemplar.

In some places, the scribe of **pe** added marginal notes to attest the content of his exemplar where he apparently considered that the accuracy of his copy may have been questioned: for example: *Ita h(ab)et(ur) in exe(m)plarj* (f.10ra21-23 LS margin) and *sic hab(et) ex(emplar)* (f.11va13-14, LS margin).

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52 In addition to **pe=V** there are, as indicated above, columns in **pe** and **V** where the entire derived content of a column in one copy differs by only one line from the corresponding column in the other copy: namely, 15 successive columns **pe** (19ra-22va) = **V** (19ra-22va) in identical locations, and 4 successive columns **pe** (43rb-43vb) = **V** (43ra-43va), in different locations in the two copies.

53 In **V**, in gathering II, the second outer bifolium (f.10||15) was ruled, on one of its two sides, (corresponding to the first and last page of the folded bifolium) with 24 lines, resulting in 24 written lines per column on 10r and 15v.

54 As noted in *Table 2*, the copy of the *Ipm* in **pe** occupies 142 columns and 4 lines. Within this, the number of written lines per column vary from 24 lines (in 3 columns), 25 (in 55), 26 (in 44), 27 (in 20), 28 (in 9), 29 (in 3), 30 (in 5) and 31, 32, 34 (in 1 column each).

In another list, in the copy of the *Cho*,[55] in **pe**, the exemplar of **pe** apparently had a blank space on the left side of a line containing only one item on its right side. In his copy, the scribe of **pe** inserted a cross + and wrote the word *nihil* to indicate the existence of the blank space in his exemplar. The blank space, but not the note, is reproduced on the left side of the line in **V**, and on the right side of the line in **ve**. In **OPTM** there is no evidence of the existence of a blank space.

All the blank spaces that exist in the copies of the *Cho* and the *Ipm* in **pe** also exist in **V**; conversely, all those that exist in **V** also exist in **pe** with the single exception, noted above,[56] where two blank spaces that exist in **V**, and demonstrably existed in the immediate common exemplar of **PTVM**,**ve** (and probably **O**) are not represented in **pe**.

In **Σ**, the documents comprising parts **Σ**1-7 (the unillustrated part of the miscellany) were written in two columns per page, and the parts were written continuously: that is, each part did not begin on a new page, and they were not separated from each other by intervening blank lines - except in the case of the first two parts. In **OTVM**, a gap of 6 blank lines occurs in the same column in which their copy of the *Cho* (**Σ**1) ends and that of the *Ipm* (**Σ**2) begins,[57] and it is certain from their agreement that a gap of 6 blank lines existed in **Σ** between **Σ**1 and **Σ**2.[58]

In **pe** the copy of the *Cho* ends on the last line of a column (f.13vb27) - as does the copy of **Σ**1 in both **P** and **V** - and the copy of the *Ipm* begins on the first line of the next column (f.14ra1) - as does the copy in **P**. In the 2-line space below f.13vb27, the main scribe of **pe** added the note: | *Sequit(ur) Itinerariu(m) p(er) terra(m).* | *In originalj sic vt sequit(ur)* | *Inuent(m) e(st)*.| which was subsequently cancelled by four diagonal strokes drawn through the note. The note was preceded by an asterisk, and was followed by another one. A third asterisk was inserted immediately above f.14ra1, at the start of the next page. These three asterisks were intended to be considered together, and indicated that the beginning of the *Ipm* was to be regarded as following immediately after the end of the *Cho*.

The exemplar of **pe**

It was concluded above, that the coextensive and successive columns, in identical page locations in **pe**, **V** and **au** are unlikely to have been invented independently and must, therefore, have had a common origin.

The distribution of the coextensive columns in **au**, **pe** and **V**, described above, is as follows:

Table 11		= coextensive columns						
V			**pe**			**au**		
cols		lines	cols.		lines	cols.		lines
1-11	*= 11*	275	1-11	*= 11*	287			

55 *Attachment 3 (3).*

56 See above, p.15, in *Exception (d)*.

57 In the secondary copy **m36** (Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, ms. Reservado 36), which is derived from **O**, the scribe of the copy derived from **O** has added (on fol.15r), from a source independent of **Σ**2, most of the words (but not the last line *Explicit [...] tripertiti* - and the beginning of *Ipm* - but not the title and first item *Incipit [...] Africae*) that are absent from the end of the copy of the *Cho* in primary derivatives of **Σ**; but, despite this interpolation in **m36**, it represents the 6-line gap present in **O** with a gap of 12 blank lines.

58 In **P** there is no gap; its copy of **Σ**1 ends on the last line of one page, and the copy of **Σ**2 begins on the first line of the next page (below the words *ITINERARIVM ANTONINI* which are a recent marginal addition). But this arrangement in **P** does not explain the gap in **OTVM** and must be an inaccurate copy of **Σ**, especially also since it is noted that **P** elsewhere condensed spaces represented in **OVM**. For example, in the copy of **Σ**13, the *Cnd*, **P** combined, on single pages, several pictures and lists that occupied separate pages in **OVM**; or, at the beginning of the copy of the *Cnd*, where **OTVM** leave a substantial gap between the end of their copy of *Cnd.1/2* on one page, and the beginning the copy of *Cnd.3* on the following page, the copy in **P** begins by closing the gap (item *Cnd.1/2.127* item is followed immediately by item *Cnd.3.1*) and then leaves the rest of the first column blank before resuming with the copy of *Cnd.3.2-71* in the remaining columns on the same page, instead of placing the entire copy of *Cnd.3* on a separate page.

12-16*	*= 5*	125	12-16*	*= 5*	128			
17-36	*= 20*	500	17-36	*= 20*	536			
37*	*= 1*	24	37*	*= 1*	28			
38-51	*= 14*	349	38-52	*= 15*	420			
		6 line gap						
52-67	*= 16*	392	53-67	*= 15*	403			
68-72*	*= 5*	125	68-72*	*= 5*	126			
73-87	*= 15*	375	73-87	*= 15*	386			
88-94*	*= 7*	175	88-94*	*= 7*	177			
95-*109*	*= 14.8*	370	95-108	*= 14*	385			
109-117	*= 7.7*	193	109-116*	*= 8*	202	1-8*	*= 8*	200
117-165	*= 48.5*	1212	117-166	*= 50*	1290			
166-168	*= 3*	75	167-169	*= 3*	77			

* indicates that these columns occur in identical page locations in the two copies

Since there is no evidence that **pe** was derived from two exemplars (Peutinger borrowed only one book from the Speyer cathedral library for a period of 2-4 weeks in October 1533) it is assumed that the coextensive columns reproduced as **pe=au** and **pe=V** must both have existed in the exemplar of **pe**. The coextensive columns occurring in identical page locations in **pe** and **V** (cols.12-16, 37, 68-72, 88-94) and in **pe** and **au** (**pe** 109-116 = **au** 1-8) must have occurred in the same page locations in the exemplar of **pe** (that is, on the same page of each folium and on the same side of each page).

It was noted above that **au** formed the central bifolium of a gathering[59] in the book from which it was excised, since the text on the four pages of **au** contains a continuous section of a copy of the *Ipm*, (from item 32b4 to item 37a21). Since there is evidence, described below, that **au** was in or near Speyer in 1605, the possibility exists that **pe** was derived from **au** (the reverse is precluded by the fact that **au** was produced several centuries before **pe**) and, if so, the 8 coextensive columns **pe=au** existed on the central bifolium in a gathering in the exemplar of **pe**.

If these observations are combined with the assumptions:
- that the exemplar of **pe** used the form of gathering most commonly used in medieval manuscripts: namely, gatherings that each comprised four bifolia (folded once to create 8 plane surfaces or pages on each side of the central fold) whose 16 pages would contain 32 columns, if each page were divided into 2 columns per page (this form of gathering is usually referred to as a quaternio or quire); and
- that the first page (containing columns 1-2) occurred on fol.1r,

it is possible to construct the foliation of, and columnar distribution of the derived contents in, an exemplar of **pe** and this construction is delineated in *Attachment 4*.

The form of gathering proposed for the exemplar of **pe** is actually used uniformly throughout **V**, but not in **pe**. Interestingly, the termination of the first six gatherings in **V** - I (f.1-8), II (f.9-16), III (f.17-24), IV (f.25-32), V (f.33-40), VI (f.41-48) - coincides with the first three gatherings in **pe** - I (f.1-16), II (f.17-32), III (f.33-48).

Consequently, it is suggested that the derived contents in an exemplar of **pe** were distributed in gatherings exactly like those in **V**, in columns whose contents were coextensive with those in **pe=V** and **pe=au**, and that those columns were written in 25 lines per column

In relation to any comparison between the contents of the columns in **pe** and **V**, it must be remembered, as shown previously, that columns 5-32 in **pe** contain five lists which reproduce the sequence and columnar arrangement of the list items that existed in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM** and of **ve** and that this sequence was miscopied by **V** (and others) whenever the lists in **V** occupied a different number of lines in its first column than the lines that **pe** reproduced from its exemplar.[60]

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59 A *gathering* in a codex is a group of sheets (filia or bifolia) that are folded - and generally stitched - together before being bound into the codex.

60 The arrangement in list **pe**,col.5-6 is misrepresented in **V**,col.5-6: *Attachment 3(1)*; **pe**,c.22-23 in **V**,c.22-23: *Attachment 2(7)*; **pe**,c.24-26 in **V**,c.25-26: *Attachment 2(5)*; **pe**,c.28-29 in **V**,c.29: *Attachment 2(8)*; **pe**,c.30-32 in **V**,c.31: *Attachment 2(6)*.

The construction delineated in *Attachment 4* suggests that this represents the codex from which the bifolium **au** was excised and that **pe** was derived either from that codex or from an exemplar with the same foliation and columnar distribution of its derived contents.

As concluded above, the exemplar of **pe** must have contained not only the coextensive columns **pe=au** but also **pe=V**. But **V** does not reproduce the coextensive columns **pe=au**. This means, either that the exemplar of **pe** was also the exemplar **V** but that **V** did not reproduce the columns **pe=au**, or that the exemplar of **V** did not contain columns coextensive with **pe=au** and, therefore, was not the exemplar of **pe**.

It is observed in *Table 11* that, in columns 1-94, **pe** and **V** contain substantially the same derived contents distributed in the same 94 columns, which contain all the coextensive columns (12-16, 37, 68-72, 88-94) that are in identical page locations in **pe** and in **V**. In columns 1-94, the only substantial differences between **pe** and **V** are, firstly, that the contents in **pe** occupy 2491 lines but 2346 in **V**; secondly, that the number of written lines in the columns in **pe** varies, while the columns in **V** consistently contain 25 (except 24 in columns 37-38 and 59-60); and, thirdly, that **V** has a gap of 6 blank lines at the beginning of column 52 which are not represented in **pe**.

This coincidence between **pe** and **V** in columns 1-94 ends from the beginning of column 95 and the difference between the two copies extends to the final group of 3 coextensive columns which, in **pe** (cols.167-169) are on different pages to those in **V** (cols.166-168).

At the beginning of the coextensive columns **pe** (cols.109-116) **=au** (cols.1-8), the first item (*Ipm 32b4: Appiaria*), occurs as the first item in the column **pe** (fol.28ra1) **=au** (fol.1ra1), but as the twenty-first item of the corresponding column in **V** (fol.28ra21).

In the intervening columns in **pe** (c.95-108) and in **V** (c.95-108 & 20 lines), the derived contents in both copies are the same. Although the contents are represented in a different number of lines (**pe** 385, **V** 370), both copies appear to represent contents that were contained in 370 lines in the exemplar of each, as indicated in *Attachment 5* and summarised as follows:

Table 12

pe columns	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	Lines
Corresponding contents in V															370
pe lines	27	31	30	32	30	30	26	26	27	25	25	25	25	26	385
deduct lines included in **pe** but absent in **V**								-1			-2				-3
deduct **pe** expanded item lines (in comparison with **V**)		-1 -1		-1			-1	-1	-1		-1	-1 -1	-1 -1	-1	-12
actual **V** lines represented in **pe**	*27*	*29*	*30*	*31*	*30*	*30*	*25*	*24*	*26*	*25*	*22*	*23*	*23*	*25*	*= 370*

But although the contents of both copies represent 370 lines in the exemplar of each, those in **pe** occupy 14 columns while those in **V** occupy 14 columns and 20 lines.

The contents in **OPTM**,**ve** corresponding to those in **pe** cols.95-108, suggest that the items which **pe** has represented in 14 columns ought to have occupied either at least 14.8 columns, as they do in **V** or, in their expanded form in **pe**, about 15.4 columns. In **OPT**,**ve**, the corresponding content occupied at least 15 columns.

Table 13

O (29 lines p.c.)	**P** (35 l.p.c.)	**T** (40-46 l.p.c)	**V** (24 l.p.c.)	**M** (27 l.p.c)	**pe** (25-32 l.p.c.)	**ve** (37 l.p.c.)
377	377	378	370	374	385	378
which, if converted to columns of 25 lines would occupy						
15 c.+2 lines	15 c.+2 lines	15 c.+3 lines	14 c.+20 lines	14 c.+24 lines	15 c.+10 lines	15 c.+3 lines

It obvious, therefore, that **pe** increased the number of lines in its columns in order to represent in 14 columns the derived content that is represented in 14.8 columns in **V**, and this increase is evident in the unusually high number of written column lines in **pe** cols.96-100.

If that increase had not occurred in **pe**, the beginning of **pe** c.109 and **au** c.1 would not have coincided and the coextensive columns **pe=au** would not have existed. The reason for the increase in **pe** is open to speculation. But, whatever the reason, it appears probable that, while the coextensive columns **pe=au** and

pe=V existed in exemplar of **pe**, the coextensive columns **pe=au** did not exist in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**.

The provenance of the parchment sheet **au**

As stated above, Schottenloher, supported by Lehmann and later writers, concluded that, because **Σ** was in Neuburg in 1566, and because the contents of the copy of the *Ipm* in **au** agreed verbatim with those in **M**, which was derived from **Σ**, and because the fragment **au** was used as the cover for a bound collection of documents related to a legal dispute involving the *pfalzgraf* who ruled Neuburg around 1600, therefore, **au** was a fragment of **Σ**.

It has been shown that **au** does not agree verbatim with **M**. But there is convincing circumstantial evidence, described in *Appendix 1*, that **Σ** was in Neuburg in 1566; and it is true that the fragment **au** was used as the cover for a bound collection of documents related to a legal dispute involving the *pfalzgraf* who ruled Neuburg around 1600. But the implication that **au**, therefore, came from Neuburg, is inconsistent with the available evidence.

As stated above, Diemand discovered the bifolium **au** in 1906, attached, as the outer cover, to a bound compilation of legal documents in the Wallerstein archives, and he published news of his discovery in 1909. This bound compilation, or book, is still shelved in the Fürstliche Archiv Wallerstein in Schloss Harburg (über Donauwörth) as *Steuersachen Zöschingen, III.2.11b* (hereafter referred to as **h**(arburg)**1**), and is contained in an archive box together with a second volume, concerning the same matter, shelved as *Steuersachen Zöschingen, III.2.11b/1* (hereafter **h**(arburg)**2**).

The two books, **h1** and **h2** contain documents relating to a dispute between Wolf Rudolf von Westerstetten, zum Altenberg, Staufen und Dunstelkingen (c.1525-1597) and *herzog* Philipp Ludwig (1569-1614) *pfalzgraf* of Pfalz-Neuburg, and to their litigation before the *RKG (Reichskammergericht.* In this dispute, Wolf Rudolf was the plaintiff or accuser, and Philip Ludwig the defendant or accused. Wolf Rudolf alleged that servants and followers of Philipp Ludwig had, in 1589 and on several later occasions, demanded, and received, taxes in Zöschingen, where Wolf Rudolf owned estates. In response to this allegation, Philip Ludwig claimed that Zöschingen was within the jurisdiction of the Höchstädt county court (*Landgericht*) which was subject to his jurisdiction. Wolf Rudolf requested the court to rule that the alleged jurisdiction did not entitle Philip Ludwig to tax the inhabitants on the estates of Wolf Rudolph in Zöschingen.

The *Reichskammergericht* (*RKG*), or Imperial chamber court, or cameral court, was created in 1495 and was one of the two supreme courts of the empire - the other being the palace court (*Reichshofrat*), generally located in Wien. Following its creation in 1495, the *RKG* was located permanently in Speyer from 1527 to 1689, when the town was invaded by French troops and largely destroyed. Thereafter the *RKG* was located at Wetzlar, until it was disbanded in 1806.

The *RKG* president (*Kammerrichter*), who represented the king or emperor, did not formulate judgements; instead he assigned incoming cases to groups of judges (*assessoren*, or *iudices*) and determined the size of the group to consider each case (the number assigned varied according to the importance of the case). These judges determined the final decision or verdict in each case. Half the judges were aristocrats, the others were graduate lawyers, and together they numbered about 25 in the middle 16thC. These judges, in their deliberations and attempts to reach agreement, were assisted by court lawyers who were either *advocati* or *procuratores*. Litigants in all cases did not personally attend the court; instead all claims, evidence, questions, arguments, and related procedures, were conducted in writing. In determining territorial disputes, the court often contracted commissioners to collect evidence, including witness statements. Given these procedures, the consideration of a case by the court could extend over a long period - often decades. Thus, in the aforementioned dispute, the case begun by Wolf Rudolf in about 1590, continued beyond his death in 1597. It is not known now whether the case was ever concluded or, if so, when this occurred; and, if it was concluded, it is not known in whose favour it was resolved, since the judgements of the *RKG* were recorded in judgement books (*Urteilsbücher*) which were destroyed during the sacking of Speyer in 1689.

The two books, **h1** and **h2**, result from the work of two imperial commissioners contracted by the *RKG* to collect evidence relating to the case instituted by Wolf Rudolf.

Book **h1** is now covered in a blue cardboard cover with a brown paper spine. The fact that **h1** is the book which was covered with **au** is attested by two observations. Firstly, glued to the blue outer front cover, in its middle top, there is a paper tag with the inscription: |*ATTESTATIO*|*NES*| *In sachen Westerstetten* | *Contra* | *Pfalz neuburg* | *Quarti Mandati* | *1602 et 1603* | which Diemand described as the tag that was glued to - and which he removed from - what is now fol.1r of **au**,[61] And, secondly, the inner front cover of **h1** contains two handwritten notes by Diemand, of which the first refers to this book.[62]

Book **h2** has as its outer cover a parchment fragment from a 15thC manuscript copy of the gospels (the fragment contains a copy of *Mark 14.60 - 15.2 and Luke 22.51-69*). Glued to the middle top of the outer front cover there is a paper tag with the inscription: | *ATTESTATIONES* | *ET* | *Transumpta documentorum* | *in causa Comissio-*|*nis* | *Deß herren Philipps Ludwigen, Pfalz-*|*grauens* | *Contra* | *Wolffgangum Rudolphum, a* | *Westerstetten* | written in the same script as the tag on the front cover of **h1**.

The script on the paper tag (*ATTESTATIONES ...*) on the front cover of **h1** and of **h2** is not found within either book, so that these inscriptions may have been added some time later than when the parchment cover was added to each book.

Book **h1** is written on 388 numbered paper folia. The first page of its compilation contains three notes: in the centre: first, the title | *Attestationes* | *In Sachen* | *Westerstetten* | *(con)tra* | *Pfalz Neüburg) 4. m(an)d(a)ti der Pf(andung)* | *In p(rim)o defensionalium* |; second, at the top left, the note: |*Taxa Zwaintzig acht guld(en)* | *dreissig Creutzer* |; and, third, in the left of the lower half, the note: | *Exp(editum).11.Junii* | *A(nn)o 1605* |. The book contains depositions by witnesses nominated by Wolf Rudolf von Westerstetten zu Altenberg which were recorded by an imperial commission led by Dr. Caspar Ruethart,[63] who is attested on f.387v in a statement containing the fact that the compilation was completed at *Eichstätt* on *19/29 April 1603*.

Book **h2** is written on 564 numbered paper folia. The first page of its compilation contains, in its centre, a long title *Attestationes [...] Alfingen*;[64] an explanatory note, across the bottom, in two paragraphs;[65] and

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61 See note 8.

62 The first note states: *Vorliegender Prozeßakt war in ein altes Pergament gebunden, das ein Bruchstück des sog(ennanten) "Itinerarium Antonini" (Römisches Straßenverzeichnis) enthielt.*
Das Pergament wurde 1909 von dem Unterzeichneten losgelöst, wobei es sich zeigte, daß zur Verstärkung des Einbandes d(as) h(eißt) der 2 Einbanddeckel noch je 6 Papierblätter verwendet waren, die ihrerseits einem lateinischen Papiercodex des 15 J(ah)rh(un)d(ert)s religiösen Inhalts entstam(m)ten.
Alle Papierblätter (zusammen 12) wurden in die Fürstl(iche) Bibliothek nach Maihingen gegeben, das Pergament - ein sehr gut erhaltenes Doppelblatt - befindet sich im Fürstl(ichen) Archiv im Glaspult mit den Kaiser-Urkunden.
Der Fund wurde von dem Unterzeichneten veröffentlicht in: Jahrbuch des hist(orischen) Vereins Dillingen 1909 S(eiten) 1-9 mit einem von S(eine)r Durchl(aucht) Fürst Karl von Oettingen-Wallerstein gestifteter Facsimile.
Wallerstein, den 4 Juni 1918, Dr. A. Diemand, F(ürstlicher) Archivrat.
The *Bibliothek nach Maihingen* refers to the Oettingen-Wallerstein Bibliothek, comprising about 4500 manuscripts and printed books which were transferred to Maihingen in 1841, and temporarily relocated from there to Schloss Harburg in 1946, before being sold in 1980 to Bayern which placed them in the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. The Oettingen-Wallerstein archives remain in Schloss Harburg.

63 Caspar Ruethart refers to himself as *Syndicus* of the cathedral chapter at Eichstätt (*Ich Caspar Ruethart der Rechten* | *Doctor, Eines Ehrwürdigen Thumkapituls* | *zu Eystett Syndicus* - see note 69). A *syndicus* was a legal counsel or adviser, usually to administrative bodies and corporations, such as, in this case, a cathedral chapter. The eldest son of Wolf Rudolf v. Westerstetten had close connections with the Eichstätt cathedral at this time. (See note 78).

64 | *Attestationes* | *Transumpta Documentorum* | *In Causa Commissionis.* | *Des durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen* | *Fürsten vnd herrn, herrn Philips* | *Ludwigen Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein,* | *Herzogen in Bayern, Grauen* | *zu Veldentz vnd Spanheim (etc)* | *Contra* | *Den Edlen vnd Vesten, Wolff Rudolffen* |

three further notes: first, at the top left: |*Taxa Viertzig Zwey* | *gulden 33 Cr(eutzer)* |; second, on the bottom right | *Exped(itum) 28 Junii A(nn)o 1605* | and, third, along the bottom left: | *P(ro)d(uctum) Spirae 6 9bris* [i.e. novembris]| *Anno 1604* |. The book contains documents assembled by Dr. Mattheus Schorer (a citizen of Augsburg), who is attested on fol.563v in a statement which notes that the compilation was completed at *Augsburg* on *15 September 1604*.

But these two books, **h1** and **h2**, are not the original collections of depositions and documents compiled by the two imperial commissioners. They are copies of the original collections and this fact is indicated by internal evidence, and proved by external evidence.

The internal evidence consists of the following facts: firstly, that **h1** and **h2** are both written on paper with the same watermark (shield with caduceus), whereas the dates and places referring to their completion **(h1** April 1603 at Eichstätt, **h2** September 1604 at Augsburg) refer to documents written eighteen months apart in places separated by more than 60 km (in a direct line); secondly, the signature of the imperial commissioner at the end of each book is in the same hand as the preceding text; thirdly, the seals mentioned in various places in the two books do not exist within them; and, finally, the first page of each book contains *taxa* notes (that is, statements of the cost of preparing transcripts) as well as the date on which each book was sent to the intended recipient (in **h1**: *Taxa zwaintzig acht guld(en) dreissig Creutzer* and *Exp(editum) 11 Junij Ao. 1605* and in **h2**: *Taxa Viertzig Zwei gulden 33 Cr(eutzer)* and *Exped(itum) 28 Junij Ao. 1605)*

The external evidence is that the original compilations of the documents and depositions still exist in München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, *Akt RKG 13739/1*, which comprises two books that were combined into a single archival compilation some years ago.[66] The first of these two books (identified at Wetzlar as *W.2438* and initially at München as *RKG 13739*) consists of 338 numbered paper folia (hereafter referred to as **r**[kg]**1**) and the second (identified at Wetzlar as *W.2439* and initially at München as *RKG 210*) consists of un-numbered paper folia (referred to as **r**[kg]**2**).

Each of these two books, **r1** and **r2**, has an original cover[67] consisting of a single piece of parchment, whose inner and rear sides are blank.
The parchment cover of **r1** contains, at the top of its front page, the inscription | *Attestationes* | above the title to the volume, in the form of an address to the presiding judge (*Kammerrichter*) of the *RKG*.[68]

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von Westerstetten, zum Altenberg , | Stauffen Dunstelchingen, Fr(eiherr): Ell|wangisch(en) Rath, vnd Oberuogtt zu | Wasser Alfingen (etc) |

65 To the left: | *In Sachen* | *Westerstetten Impetrant.* | *C(ontra)* | *Pfalz Neuburg* | and to the right | *Inn sachen quarti m(an)d(a)ti* | *der Pfandung die Steuer* | *und Schatzung der Vnder-|thanen zue Zöschingen* | *betreffendt.* |

66 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchive (email: 10.Oct.2005): *Reichskammergerichtsprozesse: die beiden gesuchten Bände wurden im Zuge von Ordnungsarbeiten im Bestand Reichskammergericht aus den Prozessakten RKG Bestellnr. 210 (= alte Wetzlarer Signatur W 2439) und RKG Bestellnr. 13739 (= W 2438) entnommen und einem neu gebildeten Akt RKG Bestellnr. 13739/1 zugewiesen. Dieser Prozess begann 1590. Außer den beiden Bänden ist allerdings nur noch eine einzige Prozessschrift von 1608 überliefert. Der Band aus RKG Bestellnr. 13739 enthält 338 Blatt, der Band aus RKG Bestellnr. 210 ist unfoliiert.*

67 Letter from BayHStaA (27.Sept.1979): *Die [...] Akten W.2438 und W.2439 werden hier verwahrt unter den Signaturen "Reichskammergericht 13739" bzw. "Reichskammergericht 210". Sie enthalten jeweils einen Band mit Zeugenaussagen unter den von Ihnen angegebenen Daten (19./29 April 1603 bzw. 15 September 1604). Beide Bände tragen noch den Originaleinband bestehend aus einem einfachen Stück Pergament.[...]*

68 | *Dem Hochwürdigen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Eberharten | Bischouen zu Speyr, vnd Probsten zu Weissenburg. Röm(ischer) | Kay May(estä)t vnsers allergnedigsten Herrn Cammer-|richten, auch den Wolgebornen Edlen Gestrengen | Hochgelerten vnd Vösten Irer Kay. Mayt. Hochlöb-|lichen Kaiserlichen Cammergerichts zu Spey(er) | Herrn Assessoren vnd Richten Meinem gnedig(en) | Füsten, auch gnedig vnd günstigen Herrn.* |
The judge referred to in this address was Eberhard von Dienheim (c.1540-1610), a canon of the Speyer cathedral chapter 1561-1581, then Bishop of Speyer from 1581, and, simultaneously from

Below this, to the left, the names (with dates) of two court lawyers - *D.Kolbin* (*24 Decemb. Ao.1604*) and *L.Greck* (*27.Feb.Ao.1605*) - above the annotation | *Exp(editum) p(ro) vtroq(ue) 11 Junii* | *A(nn)o 1605* | and, in the middle of the page, at the right margin, the note | *P(ro)d(uctum) Spirae 30 Junii* | *A(nn)o 1603*|. Between the front cover, and fol.1r (which contains the opening declaration by Caspar Ruethart)[69], there is an un-numbered page describing the subject of the compilation and identifying the accuser and accused.[70] At the end of the compilation, there is the date of its completion and the seal and signature of Ruethart.[71] This followed, on the last two pages, by a statement by Dr. Johann Stahel, from Neuburg, attesting the completeness and accuracy of the compilation.[72]

1584 onwards, a judge of the *RKG*. (Remling, F.X., *Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*. (Mainz, 1852-1854), vol.2 pp.397-435).

69 | *Dem Hochwürdigen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn* | *Eberhardten Bischouen zu Speyr, vnd Probsten* | *zu Weissenburg (etc), Römischer Kay. Mayst (etc)* | *Vnsers Allergnedigstens Herrn Cam(m)errichter* | *Auch den wolgebornen Edlen Gestrengen* | *hochgelerten vnd Vösten Irer Kay. Mayst (etc)* | *hochlöblichen Kaiserlichen Cammergerichts* | *zu Speyr herrn Assessoren vnd Richtern* | *Meinem gnedigen Fürsten vnd herrn* | *auch gnedigen vnd gunstigen herrn.* | *Entbeut Ich Caspar Ruethart der Rechten* | *Doctor, Eines Ehrwürdigen Thumkapituls* | *zu Eystett Syndicus, meine Vnderthenige* | *geschlissene willige dienst, Vnd hiermit* | *zuuernom(m)en, Das Inn solchen Quarti* | *Mandati der Pfandung die Steur vnnd* | *Schatzung der Vnderthonen zu Zöschingen* | *betreffendt, In p(rim)o defensionalium et Elisiuo-*|*rum articulorum, sich zwischen dem Edlen* | *Wolff Ruedolphen von Westerstetten* | *zum Altenberg (etc) Clagern an ainem, So* | *dann dem Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen* | *Fürsten vnnd herrn, herrn Philips Ludwig(en)* | *Pfalzgrauen bey Rhain, Hertzogen Inn* | *Bayren, Grauen zu Valdentz vnd Spon-*|*heim herrn Beclagten Andertheils [...]* |

70 | *Attestationes* | *Zeugen verhör* | *In Sachen* | *Des Edlen Wolff Ruedolphen von Wester-*|*stetten zum Altenberg Stauffen vnd* | *Donstelkingen Clägern* |
| *Contra* |
| *Den Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten* | *vnd Herrn, Herrn Philips Ludwigen Pfalz-*|*grauen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim* | *herrn Beclagten* |
| *Quarti Mandati der Pfandung* | *die Steur vnd Schatzung der* | *vnderthonen zu Zöschingen* | *Belangende.* | *In p(rim)o Defensionalium et Eli-*|*siuorum Articulorum* |

71 **r1**, f.337r: | *Geben Eystett an der Altmül* |337v| *den 19/29 Monatstag Aprilis Nach* | *Christi vnsers Lieben Herrn vnd Selig-*|*machers geburt gezält, Sechzehn-*|*hundert vnd drey Jahr.*| <wax & paper seal> | *Casparus Ruothart IVD* | *et huius causae commissarius* | *in fidem omnium suprascripta(rum)* | *manu propria subscripsit.*| (the copy of this note occurs in **h1** on f.387v, without seal).

72 **r1**, (un-numbered f.338r-v): | *Vnnd dieweil Ich Iohann Euerhardt Stahel,* | *beider Rechten doctor, (etc) fürstlicher Pfaltz-*|*gräffischer Neuburgischer Abgeordneter Adiunct(us)* | *bey fürstellung, vffnem-mung, beeydigung, (etc) vnnd* | *abhörung Aller obgemelten siebenzehen Zeugen* | *gewesen, Ihre depositiones vnnd Aussage,* | *Auch Anndere obgemelte verhandlung mit* | *helffen beschreiben, vnnd volgendts dasselb,* | *wie es in diss gegenwertig Rotul, durch* | *den h(err)n. Kayserlichen Commis-sarien verfasst,* | *vnnd seinen gebrauchten Amanuensem in die drey* | *hundert vnnd sieben vnnd dreyssig blattern* | *zuen stännden geschrieben; vnnd mundiert* | *worden, mit Ihme Herrn Commissario Auss* | *denn Originaln Prothocolln helffen Collationirn,* |*solliches Alles nit Annderss, dann wie sich in* | *warheit zugetragen, vnnd sonnst vnnser beiden Prothocolln nach, vnnd Auffs wenigst* | *in effectu gantz vnnd gar gleichlauttnndt,* | <un-numb. f.338v> | *gerecht vnnd Allerdings gemess befunden,* | *Auch bei beschliessung desselben gewesen.* | *Alss hab ich dass zue gepürendter Vrkundt* | *neben dess H(err)n Commissarij In siegel, mein* | *Aigen Insiegel alhier /: so wohl Inwendig Als* | *Ausswendig:/ Auch thun Auffdruckhen vnnd* | *Anhängen vnnd mich mit Aiginer Hanndt vnder-*|*schrieben. Actum Aichstatt An der* | *Altmuhel den 19/29 Monats tag Aprilis* | *Nach Christi vnsers geliebsten H(err)n vnnd* | *Einigen Erlösers, vnnd Seeligmachers gnaden* | *reichsten geburt, gezehlt Tausendt Sechss* | *hundert, vnnd drey Jahr.* | <wax & paper seal> | *Iohann: Euerhardt* | *Stahel. D(octor) (etc) f(ürstlich)er* | *Pfaltzgreuischer Neu-*|*burgischer Adiunctus* | (the copy of this note occurs in **h1** on f.388r-v, without seal)

The parchment cover of **r2** contains, at the top of its front page, the inscription | *ATTESTATIONES ET TRANSUMPTA DOCVMENTORVM* | above the title, written in the top half of the page.[73] To the left of the first two paragraphs of this title, the annotation | *P(ro)d(uctum) Spirae 6 9br(is)* | *A(nn)o 1604* | and, below, to the left of the last paragraph of the title, the note | *Exped(itum) p(ro) vtraq(ue) parte 28 Junii* | *A(nn)o 1605* |. At the end of the compilation, there is the date of its completion and the seal and signature of Mattheus Schorer,[74] and, on the verso side of the same sheet, there is a statement by Caspar Ruethart attesting the accuracy of the compilation.[75]

The scribe who wrote the note *Expeditum pro vtroque 11 Junii A(nn)o 1605* on the cover of **r1** is the same scribe who wrote *Expeditum.11.Junii Anno 1605* on the first page of **h1**. A different scribe, who wrote *Expeditum pro vtraque parte 28 Junii Anno 1605* on the cover of **r2** is the same scribe who wrote *Expeditum pro vtraque parte 28 Junii Anno 1605* on the first page of **h2**.

Recently, compilations **r1** and **r2** were augmented by the addition of seven documents transferred from Sigmaringen.[76]

These notes, on the covers of **r1**-**r2** and on the first page of each of the compilations **h1**-**h2**, together with the contents of all four books, demonstrate the following:

(i) the original documents and depositions assembled by the imperial commissioners of the *RKG* are contained in book **r1** (completed at Eichstätt, 19-29 April, 1603) and book **r2** (completed at Augsburg, 15 September 1604);

(ii) Book **r1** was produced at Speyer by 30 June 1603 and book **r2** was produced at Speyer by 6 November 1604;

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73 | *In causa Com(m)isionis des Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen* | *Fürsten vnd herrn, herrn Philipps Ludwigen Pfaltzgrauen* | *bey Rhein herzogen in Bayrn, Grauen zu Veldenz vnd* | *Sponheim* | *Contra* | *Den Edlen vnd Vösten, Wolff Rudolffen von Westerstetten, zum Altenberg, Stauffen, Dunselchingen, Fr(ei)h(err) Ellwanigen* | *Ratth, vnd Obervogt zu Wasser Alfingen* | continued, to the right, below, | *In sachen Quarti Mandati* | *per pfandung die Steur* | *vnd schazung der vnder-*|*thonen zu Zöschingen* | *betreffendt.* |

74 **r2**, (un-numbered second last page, recto side of the sheet): | *Geschehen Augspurg, Sambstag den fünff Zehenden* | *tag Monats Septembris, als man Zehlet, nach Vhristi un-*|*sers lieben heren, vnd Seeligmachers geburt, Tausend* | *Sechshundert vnd Vier Jar.* | *Sr. Röm: Kay: May:* | *Allervnderthenigster, ge-*|*horsamister.* | <wax & paper seal> | *Mattheus Schorer* | (the copy of this note occurs in **h2** on f.563v, without seal).

75 **r2**, (un-numbered last page, verso side of the sheet): | *Vnd dieweil von dem Edlen vnd Vesten* | *Wolff Rudolffen von Westerstetten zum* | *Altenberg, Stauffen vnd Dunstelkhing(en)* | *Ich Caspar Ruethart der Rechten doctor Eines* | *Erwurdien Thumbcapituls zu Eystatt Syndicus* | *dem obernanten Kays: Com(m)issario,* [i.e. Mattheus Schorer] *bey den gehör der* | *Zeugen vnd transumption documentorum zu sein* | *atiungiert word(en). So bekenne Ich dass solich* | *examen testium vnd transumptio documentor(um)* | *in massen hierbey beschriben, treulich vnd fleissig* | *verricht, vnd wie gemacht, collationirt, vnd* | *revidirt auch des herrn Commissarij, vnd* | *meinem protocolln gleichlautendt befund(en)* | *word(en). Vnd solliches alles zu wahrerm* | *glauben vnd gezeugnus, hab ich mich* | *mit aigner handt vnderschriben, auch mein* | *aigen Insigell hierunden vffgedruckt* | *vnd auswendig, neben dess herrn Com(m)issarij* | *Insiegel, an dies Libell gehenckt, Actum* | *vff tag. Monat vnd Jar wie obstett.*| <wax & paper seal> | *Caspar Ruothart d(octor)* | *Atiunctus* | (the copy of this note occurs in **h2** on f.564r, without seal)

76 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, (letter: 05.Jun.2014): d*er Prozessakt Reichskammergericht 13739/1 zählt inzwischen dank einer Abgabe des Staatsarchivs Sigmaringen 7 Dokumente mehr als im Oktober 2005. Der Akt enthält nun auch die Quadrangeln. [...] Bereits vorhanden waren zwei Rotuli mit Zeugenaussagen und die pfalz-neuburgischen Probationes.*[that is, 13739/1] *Spezialprotokoll, Mandat und Causales fehlen weiterhin.* In a further letter from the HStA (18.Jun.2014) these 7 additional documents were submitted to the *RKG* on, respectively, 20.Jan.1595, 10.Sept.1595, 12.Dec.1597, 17.Jun.1597, 18.Feb.1598, 5.Nov.1601 and the last document is undated. These documents, together with *'Pfalz-Neuburg Akten, Neuburger Abgabe 1989, Nr. 5912'* (see note 82) indicate that the case before the *RKG* began around 1590.

(iii) Between 30.Jun.1603 and 11.Jun.1605, book **r1** was copied into book **h1**, at Speyer, for a cost of 28 guilders and 30 kreutzer;[77]
(iv) Between 6.Nov.1604 and 28.Jun.1605, book **r2** was copied into book **h2**, at Speyer, for a cost of 42 guilders and 33 kreutzer;
(v) On 11.Jun.1605, book **h1** was sent from Speyer to its recipient, and the same scribe noted this date on both the original compilation **r1** and on the copy **h1**;
(vi) On 28.Jun.1605, book **h2** was sent from Speyer to its recipient, and the same scribe noted this date on both the original compilation **r2** and on the copy **h2**;
(vii) The note on **r1** (*expeditum pro utroque*) and the note on **r2** (*expeditum pro utraque parte*) stated that, apart from the compilations **h1** and **h2**, which were sent to one litigant, another copy of **r1** and **r2** had also been sent to the other litigant.

The recipient of books **h1**-**h2**, and their subsequent location are both certain. Books **h1** and **h2** were the copies that were sent to the heir of Wolf Rudolf von Westerstetten because these two books remained with successive owners of his domain.

Wolf Rudolf von Westerstetten had two sons, Wolf (d.1642) and Johann Christoph (1563-1637),[78] neither of whom produced an heir. Following the death of Wolf, his part of the domain, which included Altenberg and Staufen, was administered by the state of Württemberg before being sold to Johann Gottfried *freiherr* von Syrgenstein (Syrgenstein borders Altenberg and Staufen) in 1666. In 1801 *freiherr* Johann Marquard *freiherr* von Syrgenstein sold Altenberg to *fürst* Kraft Ernst zu Oettingen-Wallerstein who, through his purchase, also came into possession of the Altenberg archives which, after 1801, formed a part of the Oettingen-Wallerstein archives which are located in Schloss Harburg.[79] And it was within these archives that Diemand found the fragment **au** bound to book **h1** as its outer cover. As noted above, the two books, **h1** and **h2**, are still in the Wallerstein archives in Schloss Harburg today.

It is certain, therefore, that the two books **h1** and **h2**:
- were produced at Speyer before June 1605 (not at Neuburg) and were copied from original documents belonging to the *RKG* at Speyer (not documents in Neuburg);
- were sent from Speyer to Altenberg in June 1605 and remained in the Altenberg archives until these were transferred to, and incorporated in, the Wallerstein archives in 1801;
- were never lent to, or borrowed from, or copied from documents belonging to, the ruler of Neuburg (and vice versa) since a copy of the volumes **r1** and **r2** had been sent to each litigant: one copy to Neuburg, and the other copy, **h1**-**h2**, to the heir of Wolf Rudolf.

so that **h1** (around which **au** was bound) was never at, nor derived from documents belonging to the ruler of, Neuburg (where the codex **Σ** is believed to have been attested in 1566).

What remains unknown is where and when **au** was attached to the book **h1**. Apart from the certainty that this did not occur at Neuburg, at any time, the available evidence is insufficient to provide an answer. But some suggestions may be made.

The most obvious conclusion is that **au** was added as a cover to **h1** at Speyer, in the *Kanzlei* of the *RKG*, sometime before 11.Jun.1605 (when **h1** was sent to Altenberg). It may be relevant that the judge to whom **r1** was addressed was a former canon of the Speyer cathedral chapter and subsequently bishop of the diocese.[80]

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77 In the later 16thC, the general rate was 1 guilder = 60 kreuzer.

78 Johann Christoph v. Westerstetten was made a canon at Eichstätt in 1589, then dean of the chapter between 1592-1602, and finally elected bishop of Eichstätt in 1613.

79 Diemand, *op.cit.*, p.7: *In das Wallersteiner Archiv kam das erhaltene Bruchstück* [i.e. **au**] *bezw. der Prozessakt, zu dessen Einband er verwendet war* [i.e. **h1**], *im Jahre 1801 mit der Erwerbung der Herrschaft Altenberg, welche Fürst Kraft Ernst zu Öttingen-Wallerstein am 3.November des genannten Jahres von dem Freiherrn Johann Marquard von Syrgenstein um die Summe von 133,000 fl.rheinisch kaufte.*

80 See note 68.

The fact that the second book, **h2**, was not covered with a fragment from the same manuscript as **au** is not significant for, perhaps, two reasons. Firstly, **h1** was produced sometime between 30.Jun.1603 and 11.Jun.1605, while **h2** was produced sometime between 6.Nov.1604 and 28 Jun.1605. It is not known whether they were produced at the same time, but they were certainly sent from Speyer at different times so that, if they were bound at Speyer, in parchment covers comprising folia excised from manuscript books, these folia need not have been from the same manuscript. And, secondly, the *RKG* produced and archived a large number of case files (*Prozessakten*) which, although the exact number is unknown, is calculated to have been about 100,000, in addition to books recording judgements (*Urteilsbücher*), minutes of meetings (*Sitzungsprotokolle*), account books (*Rechnungsbücher*) and similar documents.[81] More significant, than the fact that **h1** and **h2** are covered with parchment fragments excised from two different manuscript books, is the fact that the copies of **r1** and **r2** that were produced for Philipp Ludwig and sent to Neuburg, at the same time that **h1** and **h2** were sent to Altenberg, cannot be found.[82]

If **au** was not added as a cover to **h1** at Speyer, it could only have been done after it arrived at Altenberg, and before the Altenberg archives were incorporated in the Wallerstein archives.

During a visit to the archives in Schloss Harburg in 2006 it was observed that a large number of archival books in the Wallerstein archives were covered in sheets of parchment excised from various earlier manuscript books. Before he published his report in 1909, Diemand had already considered the possibility that **au** may have been attached to **h1** in one of the earlier archives from which Wallerstein inherited documents, so he searched the Wallerstein archives for other covers taken from the same manuscript as the fragment **au**.[83] He apparently conducted further searches before 1925 when he wrote to Schottenloher to report that he could find no further fragments in the Wallerstein archives. When Schottenloher printed this communication in 1927, he added that he had conducted his own search for similar fragments in the archives at Neuburg, but also without success.[84] If **h1** had arrived at Altenberg

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81 In anticipation of hostile developments shortly before Speyer was invaded by French troops and largely destroyed in 1689, many *RKG* books and archives were transferred from Speyer. The remainder were either looted or destroyed. Thereafter the *RKG* was permanently relocated to Wetzlar from 1689 until it was disbanded in 1806. During the following century, the remaining archives, comprising some 70,000 Prozessakten were progressively distributed (according to the location of the residence the defendant in each case) among about 50 state archives in Germany and in some neighbouring countries.

82 Research, without success, was undertaken at the Staatsarchiv Neuburg a.d. Donau before 1989. In the autumn of 1989, the contents of the Staatsarchiv Neuburg a.d. Donau were divided between the Staatsarchiv in Augsburg and the Hauptstaatsarchiv in München.
Augsburg, Staatsarchiv (email: 22.Jul.2005): *Die Abschrift des Prozessaktes des Reichskammergerichts, welche für Philipp Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg bestimmt war, konnten wir in unserem Bestand Pfalz-Neuburg nicht ermitteln. Das Staatsarchiv Augsburg verwahrt seit dem Umzug von Neuburg an der Donau nach Augsburg im Jahre 1989 nur noch die Überlieferung der Unterbehörden im Territorium Pfalz-Neuburg. Die Amtsbücher der Zentralbehörden sowie die Bestände Pfalz-Neuburg Urkunden und Pfalz-Neuburg Akten werden im Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchiv (Abteilung I) aufbewahrt und neu geordnet.*
München, Hauptstaatsarchiv, (email: 23.Sept.2005): *In den Beständen der pfalz-neuburgischen Zentralbehörden konnte keine Abschrift der Reichskammergerichts-Akten über den Prozess zwischen Wolf Rudolf von Westerstetten und Philipp Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg ermittelt werden. Unter der Signatur 'Pfalz-Neuburg Akten, Neuburger Abgabe 1989, Nr. 5912' fand sich lediglich ein dünner Akt (9 beschriebene Seiten) mit dem Betreff: Einspruch gegen den Versuch des Wolfgang Rudolf von Westerstetten einer Besteuerung seiner Giltleute in Zöschingen, 1593*.

83 Diemand, *op.cit.,* p.7: *Wann und wo der Codex, von dem das Wallersteiner Blatt übrig geblieben ist, aufgelöst under zerschnitten wurde, wird wohl kaum jemals festgestellt werden können. Es scheint jedoch, dass zur Zeit, als das Wallersteiner Blatt Verwendung als Umschlag fand, keine weiteren Blätter vorhanden waren, wenigstens blieben all Nachforschungen, die der Berichtstatter nach dieser Richtung im fürstlichen Archiv unternahm, erfolglos.*

84 Schottenloher, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12, n.22: *In Wallerstein sind, wie mir Herr Oberarchivrat Dr. Diemand am 25. Juli 1925 gütigst mitteilte, keine weiteren Funde mehr geglückt. Dank dem freundlichen*

without a cover, the same would have been true of **h2**. It is improbable that **h1** would have been covered with **au**, but that sheets from the same manuscript were not available to be used to cover either **h2** or any other archival book in the Altenberg archives; if, however, other books had been covered with sheets from the same manuscript from which **au** was excised, it is equally improbable that all those other books had disappeared before 1906, when Diemand searched through the Altenberg books in the Wallerstein archives.

Schottenloher invented the hypothesis that **au** is a fragment of the codex **Σ**, which was probably in Neuburg in 1566, apparently because he concluded, from the brief description by Diemand in 1909, that **h1** had originated in Neuburg or its vicinity. Schottenloher gave no indication whether Diemand had told him that the original compilations, **r1** and **r2**, had been located in the *RKG* archives and transferred to Bayern.[85] But, if **Σ** was at Neuburg in 1566, and if it remained at Neuburg for some time after that date, and if it had then been dismembered by a book-binder, it is improbable, either that no books at Neuburg had been covered with sheets extracted from **Σ**, or that any books that had been covered with such sheets all disappeared before Schottenloher searched the archives, even though some archival material at Neuburg was, allegedly,[86] destroyed in the 19thC. It is even more improbable that a single bifolium, extracted from a book belonging to the ruler of Neuburg, would have been transported c.70km (in a direct line) to the Altenberg domain, to be used there by its ruler as the cover for a case file, copied from *RKG* documents at Speyer, and relating to court proceedings in which the defendant was the ruler of Neuburg.

Further evidence about the binding of case files at the *RKG* in Speyer will undoubtedly become available from the c. 70,000 *RKG Prozessakten* that have now been distributed among more than 50 archives in Germany and in some neighbouring countries. One or several of these case files may even have a parchment cover excised from the same manuscript book of which **au** is a fragment.

But until such additional fragments are identified, and provide contrary evidence, it must be concluded that it is probable that **au** was added as a cover to **h1** when it was produced at Speyer, at some time between 30.Jun.1603 and 11.Jun.1605. This conclusion is, of course, incompatible with the conclusion, based on convincing circumstantial evidence, that the codex **Σ** was at Neuburg, certainly in 1566, and presumably remained there some time after that date. That is, if **Σ** was at Neuburg from 1566 onwards, **au** cannot be a fragment of **Σ** because **au** was never at or near Neuburg; but if **au** were a fragment of **Σ**, then that codex was never at Neuburg.

Conclusions

Entgegenkommen des Herrn Oberarchivrats Dr. Deybeck konnte ich die Bestände des Kreisarchivs in Neuburg a.d. Donau, wo man am ersten die Reste der denkwürdigen Handschrift sucht, mit prüfendem Blick aber ohne Ergebnis durchsehen.

85 The inner front cover of **h1** contains two handwritten comments by Diemand. A transcript of the first one is contained in note 62 above. The second comment states:
NB. Laut Mitteilung des Staatsarchivs in Wetzlar an das f(ürstliche) Archiv vom 21 Aug(ust) 1922 befanden sich ehedem in Wetzlar zwei Reichskam(m)ergerichtsakten, die später an Bayern abgegeben wurden (vermutlich jetzt im Kreisarchiv Landshut) nämlich;
1. W 2438 Wolf Rudolph v(on). Westerstetten-Altenberg contra Philipp Ludwig, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein u(nd) Consorten-Neuburg b(e)z(w) Höchstädt betr(effend) Schutz der Unterthanen zu Zöschingen in der Freiheit von Steuerzahlungen an Verklagten u(nd) Rückgabe abgenom(m)ener Pfandstücke (seit 1599) [Akte am 27 April 1852 an Bayern abgegeben]
2. W.2439 Derselbe contra Philipp Ludwig Pfalzgraf be Rhein-Neuburg ebtr(effend) Jurisdiktion zu Zöschingen (seit 1602) [Akte am 20. Sept. 1845 an Bayern abgegeben].
Wallerstein, 9. Dez. 1922. Dr Diemand.

86 München, Hauptstaatsarchiv, (email: 25.Oct.2005): *[...] da erhebliche Teile der Neuburger Archive im 19. Jahrhundert verloren gegangen sind (Angeblich ist ein großer Teil des Hausarchivs der Herzöge von Pfalz-Neuburg in Gewölben unter dem Fußboden des Neuburger Schlosses verfault und als Dünger veräußert worden).*

The evidence described in detail above, may be summarised as follows.

1 The bifolium **au** was used as the outer cover of a compilation of documents that was produced at Speyer between 30.Jun.1603 and 11.Jun.1605, when the compilation was sent, from Speyer, to the ruler of Altenberg in whose archives (inherited by successive owners of that domain) that compilation remained, with **au** as its cover, until it entered the Wallerstein archives in 1801.
It is probable, therefore, that **au** existed in Speyer or its immediate vicinity around 1600 and that the codex *[au]* from which **au** was excised had existed in that town or its vicinity.
There is no evidence that **au**, or the manuscript from which it was excised, could have existed, at the castle in Neuburg (a.d Donau) where **Σ** is believed to have been in 1566 (and presumably for some time later).

2 The bifolium **au** was the central bifolium of a gathering in the codex *[au]* because its 8 columns contain a copy of the continuous section *Ipm* (32b4-37a21).

3 The bifolium **au** contains forms of items which are characteristic only of the copy of the *Ipm* in **Σ**, and of copies of the *Ipm* closely related to **Σ**, but **au** also contains three forms (also existing in **pe** and **ve**) that are not contained in copies demonstrably derived from **Σ** (that is, **OPTVM**): namely,

Ipm (35a28-29) = *leg. II* legione ii **au,pe,ve** leg̅ ii **OPTVM**
Ipm (33b15-16) = *m.p.* mille plus minus **au,pe,ve** mpm **OPTVM**
Ipm (35a13) = *m.p.* plus minus **au,pe,ve** mille plus minus **PM** mpm **OTV**

and it is improbable, either that the identical forms in **au**, in **pe** and in **ve** were invented independently from the forms in **OPTVM** (particularly the unique form *plus minus)*, or that the forms in the latter were independently invented from the forms in **au**

4 The entire derived contents in **au** (that is, the items derived from the *Ipm* and excluding the three 16thC marginal annotations) exist in 8 columns that are coextensive with 8 columns inthe codex **pe**, and these columns **pe=au** are successive and in identical page locations in **au** and in **pe**. This identical distribution of derived contents is not reproduced in **OPTVM**,**ve** and is unlikely to have been invented independently in **au** and in **pe**.

5 The bifolium **au** was written between the second half of the 9thC and the end of the 10thC, while **pe** was produced in 1533 when it was copied from a codex (the *Anthoninus*) belonging to the Speyer cathedral chapter, and consists entirely of a copy of the documents of which a copy also existed, and in the same sequence, in **Σ** (as its parts **Σ**1-7).

6 The codex **pe** contains 21 columns whose derived contents are coextensive with 21 columns in the codex **V**; of these columns **pe=V**, 20 are successive and 18 are in identical page locations in **pe** and in **V**. This identical distribution is not reproduced in **OPTM**,**ve** and is unlikely to have been invented in the mutually-independent copies **pe** and **V** and must have been derived from an immediate common exemplar.

7 In **pe**, the sequence of the list items in its copy of the *Cho* is the same as that which existed in the *Cho*. This sequence of items in **pe**, and the number of lines that these items occupied in each column in **pe**, are an exact copy of the sequence and arrangement that also existed in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**,**ve** and was mostly reproduced accurately in **O** and mostly inaccurately in **PTVM**,**ve**.

8 The Speyer exemplar of **pe** must have contained the arrangements from which **pe** reproduced *both* the coextensive columns **pe=au** and **pe=V**. An exemplar which had the columnar distribution of its derived contents identical to that in **pe**, and its gatherings identical to that in **V**, would have had the distributions **pe=au** and **pe=V** and would have had **au** as the central bifolium in a gathering.

9 The codex **V** was derived from **Σ** and contains a copy of its entire miscellany **Σ**1-13. **V** contains the 21 coextensive columns **pe=V** but it does not reproduce the coextensive columns **pe=au**. While both distributions **pe=au** and **pe=V** must have existed in the exemplar of **pe** the peculiar arrangement of the derived contents in **pe** immediately preceding its reproduction of the columns **pe=au** suggest that these coextensive columns did not exist in the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**,**ve**.

10 It has been observed that:
- **au** was not derived from **OPTVM**,**pe**,**ve**, since **au** was produced earlier (5 above);

- **pe** was not derived from **OPTVM**,**ve**, (3, 4, 6, 8);
- **OPT** were not derived from **pe** because they were produced earlier; nor were **VM** (3, 5, 8);
- **OPTVM** were not derived from the codex of which **au** is a fragment (3, 4 above);
- **pe** was probably derived from the codex *[au]* (3, 4) from which **au** is attested at Speyer (1);
- **pe** was not derived from two books at Speyer because the producer of **pe** was lent only one book;
- **Σ**, the immediate common exemplar of **OPTVM**, was probably at Neuburg in 1566 and presumably for some time later) while **au** was probably at Speyer in 1605 (certainly never Neuburg or its vicinity);

and it is concluded, therefore, that **au** is not a fragment of **Σ**.

While it is apparent that **au** is not a fragment of **Σ**, the available evidence is insufficient to determine the relationship between them. The arrangement of at least some of their contents was in 2 columns per page and 25 lines per column (attested by **au** and **V**); the sequence and arrangement of their copy of *Cho* list items was the same as that reproduced in **pe**, mostly understood and correctly adapted by **O** and mostly misunderstood and miscopied by **PTVM**; and both contained the columnar distributions reproduced as the coextensive columns **pe=V** and it is apparent that one was derived from the other. But they differed in the columnar distribution that **pe** copied, from **au** as the coextensive columns **pe=au**; and also differed in three indicative forms (listed in 3 above).

It is speculated that the codex *[au]* may have contained a copy only of the documents of which another copy existed in **Σ**1-7 (the unillustrated parts of the **Σ**-miscellany) and may, for that reason, have been less important than **Σ** in the cathedral chapter library. The codex **Σ** was probably removed from the cathedral chapter library collection by Ottheinrich in 1552, while *[au]* was eventually dismembered in the vicinity of Speyer around 1600 when at least one of its bifolia, **au**, was used by members the *Kanzlei* of the *RKG* in Speyer as the cover for the copy of a compilation of court documents that was produced at Speyer and sent from there to Altenberg on 11.Jun.1605.

Attachment 1:
A comparison of the items in *au* with the corresponding items in the primary copies of of Σ2, and a comparison of both of those with the primary copies of the *Ipm* and the edition constructed by Otto Cuntz *Itineraria Romana. Volumen prius: Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense.* (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1929), p.32, col.b, line 4 **(32b4)** - p.37, col.a, line 20 **(37a20)**

In his edition, Cuntz identified the *Ipm* as the *liber archetypus* of the copies **P** (Escorial RII 18), **D** (Paris Reg.7230), **L** (Wien 181-hist.prof.658) (Cuntz, *op.cit.*, p.vi), and he occasionally consulted additional copies, including **B** (Paris Reg.4807). In sections 2-3 below, some of the forms represented by Cuntz as having existed in the *Ipm* are followed, in brackets, by alternative forms he cited from the aforementioned copies, none of which was derived from **Σ**2.

The symbol **Σ**2 refers either to the concurrence of **OPTVM,** or to the convergence of **OPTVM** with any alternative forms noted in brackets (including any that are available and relevant from the excerpts in **zu**). The following alternative forms are not noted below: (i) the alternative forms *viiii* and *ix* (the latter occurs in **PT**,**ve**,**pe** 34b7, 35a19, 36b5-6, 36b12, 37a9; **PT**,**pe** 32b17, 32b18, 32b23, 37a7; **T,pe** 36b19), (ii) where the abbreviation *m.p.* in the *Ipm* is represented, as it mostly is, by *mpm* in **Σ**2, **au,pe,ve**.

Section 1: Agreement between the edited form of the *Ipm* and **Σ**2, **au,pe,ve**.

32b4 *Appiaria m.p. XIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b5 *Transmariscam m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b6 *Candidiana m.p. XIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b9 *Sucidava m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Succidaua **T** *20rb4*)
32b11 *Capidava m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b12 *Carso m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b13 *Cio m.p. X* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b14 *Biroe m.p. XIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b17 *Arrubio m.p. VIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b22 *Salsovia m.p. XVII* = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** | Sa[///]a mpm xvii | **au** *1ra20*
32b23 *Salmorude m.p. VIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b24 *Vale Domitiana m.p. XVII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* doiciana **T** *20rb19*)
33a1 *Ad Salices m.p. XXVI* = **aΣ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a2 *Historio m.p. XXV* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a3 *Tomos m.p. XXXVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a4 *Callacis m.p. XXX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Callatis **T** *20rb23*)
33a8 *Marcianopoli m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a10 *Ancialis m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a12 *Sadame m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a15 *Burtudizo m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a16 *Bergule m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a20 *Cenofrurio m.p. XVIII* = **aΣ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a21 *Melantiada m.p. XXVII* Melanciada = **aΣ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Melantiada **V** *28va12*
33a25 *Nicomedia m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b1 *Castra Iarba m.p. XXX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b2 *Burdipta m.p. XXV* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b3-4 *Hadrianopolim m.p. XXXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Hadrianopoli **V** *28va20* = **M** *28ra18*)
33b19 *Ad Fines m.p. CXXXVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b21 *Ulmos m.p. XXVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b22 *Civalis m.p. XXIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b23 *Mursa m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b24 *Antianis m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b25 *Suppianis m.p. XXX* = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Suppianis mpm xx[///] **au** *1va15*
34a1 *Limusa m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34a2 *Silicenis m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34a3 *Valco m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34a4 *Mogetiana m.p. XXX* = Mogeciana **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Mogetiana **O** *29ra4*)
34a5 *Sabaria m.p. XXXVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* xxvi **O** *29ra5*)
34a6 *Scarabantia m.p. XXXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Scarabancia **T** *20va29*)
34a8 *Vindomona m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Vindemana **zu** *60r7*)
34a9 *Comagenis m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

34a11 *Arlape m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34a13 *Lauriaco m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Lauriaco M.p. xxxii **zu** *60r31*)
34a16 *Iovavi m.p. XXVIII* = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Iouani **zu** *60v9* Louani **T** *20va39* = **pe** *28vb6*)
34a19 *Isinisca m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Isinista **T** *20vb2,* xxvii **zu** *60v29*)
34a20 *Ambre m.p. XXXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34a25 *Vemania m.p. XV* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b1 *Brigantia m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b3 *Ad Fines m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b6 *Monte Brisiaco m.p. XXX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b7 *Argentorato m.p. XXXVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* xxxviii **zu** *61r31*)
34b8 *Tabernis m.p. XIIII* = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Tabernis mp[///] xxiiii **au** - *1vb22*
34b9 *Decem Pagis m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b12 *Triveros m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b23 *Argentorato m.p. XXXVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Argentoraco **O** *29rb11*)
35a2 *Ritti m.p. XXXIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Ricti **pe** *29ra8*)
35a3 *in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a4 *Aciminci m.p. CXIII* aciminci mpm cxxii sic = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Acumniti **zu** *62r22*)
35a5 *Cusi m.p. XXXIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a6 *Bononia m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a7 *Cucci m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Cucti **zu** *62v23*)
35a8 *Cornaco m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a9 *Teutiburgio m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a10 *Mursa m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Nursa **P** *22va19*)
35a11-12 *Ad Novas et Aureo Monte* Ad nouas & aureo monte = **Σ2**,**au**, (*except* et **T** *20vb37* = **ve** *23rb11* = **pe** *29ra16*)
35a16-17 *Ad Statuas in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Ad fatuas **T** *20vb40*)
35a18 *Alisca ad latus* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a19 *RIpm Alta m.p. XXVIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a20 *Lussunio m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a23 *Intercisa m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*excep*t m$\bar{p}$ **P** *22va26,* milleplusminus **T** *21ra4,* mpm **M** *28vb7 both* intercisa *and* xxiiii *absent*)
35a24-25 *Vetus Salinas in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a26 *Matrica m.p. XXVI* matrica mpm xxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* mille plus min$^{\partial}$ **P** *22va27-28*)
35b4 *Azao in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b10-11 *Quadratis in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b13 *Gerulata in medio* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b21 *Comagenis m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b23 *Arlape m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b27 *Ovilatus m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a3 *Quintianis m.p. XXIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Quinttanis **M** *29ra5*)
36a4 *Augustis m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a6 *Abusina m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a7 *Vallato m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a9-10 *Augusta Vindelicum m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* uindecum **P** *22vb22*)
36a11 *Guntia m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au** (*except* Guncia **T** *21rb1* = **ve** *23va15*= **pe** *29va6*)
36a12 *Celio Monte m.p. XVI* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a16 *Arbore Felice m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* fœlice **V** *29va25* = **M** *29ra17*, felici **pe** *29va11*)
36a17 *Finibus m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a18 *Vitudoro m.p. XXII leg.* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b8 *Concordia m.p. XVIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b9 *Noviomago m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b10 *Bingio m.p. XXV* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b12 *Boudobrica m.p. XVIIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b13 *Bonna m.p. XXII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
37a6 *Iaciaco m.p. XXXII* = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Laciaco **T** *21rb34* = **pe** *29vb14*)
37a7 *Iovavi m.p.* =au,**Σ**2 (*except* Louaui **T** *21rb35* = **pe** *29vb15*)
37a8 *Bidaio m.p. XXXIII* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
37a10 *Isinisco m.p. XX* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
37a14 *Parthano m.p.XX* = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** (*except* Parchano **ve** *23vb18*) Parth[///]o [//]pm[//] x[//] **au** 2vb21

37a16-21 *Item a Lauriaco per medium Augusta Vindelicum sive Brigantia m.p. CCCXI sic*
Item ad Lauriaco per medium Augusta Vindelicum sive Brigantia mpm CCCXI sic **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** (*except* brigancia milleplus minus **T** *21va3-6*, mp **M** *29vra1:* sic *absent*) Item ad Lauriaco p̱ med[///] augusta uindelicu[///] gantia mpm cccxi sic **au** *2vb23-25*

Section 2: Disgreement between the edited form of the *Ipm* and **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** but agreement between the latter and one or more of the primary copies of the *Ipm*

32b8 *Dorostoro leg. XI Cl. m.p. XII* (xxi = **L**) Dorostoro mpm leg.xxi Cl. mpm xii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
32b19-20 *Novioduno leg. II Herculea m.p. XX* (Herculex **L**,**B**) Nouioduno leḡ ii Herculex mp̄m xx **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Nouioduno͝ **pe** *28ra15-16,* leg *absent, replaced with* mpm **M** *27vb10-11*)
32b21 *Aegiso m.p. XXIIII* (egiso **P**) Egiso mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a5 *Timogitia m.p. XVIII* (Timogittia **L**) Timogittia mpm xviii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a7 *Odisso m.p. XXIIII* (udisso **B**) Vdisso mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a9 *Scatris m.p. XXVI* (soatris **L**) Soatris mpm xxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a11 *Debelco m.p. XXIIII* (debeleo **L**) Debeleo mpm xxxiiii **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Debelio **V** *28va2*)
33a17 *Drizipara m.p. XIIII* (drizipala **L**) Drizipala mpm xiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a23 *Pantecio m.p. XV* (panthecio **D**,**L** pantetio **B**) Panthetio mpm xv = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33a24 *Lybissa m.p. XXIIII* (libissa **P**) Libissa mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
33b17-18 *Augusta Vindelicum m.p. CCXVI* (uindel **L**, uindelec **B**) Augusta uinde leḡ· mpm ccxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Augusta mude Legſ Milleplus|minus cc xvj **T** *20va15-16*)
33b20 *Treveros leugas, non m.p. CCXXI* (ad treueros **L**) Adtreueros mpm xxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* ccxxxvi **zu** *59v20*)
34a7 *Muteno m.p. XII* (moteno **L**) Moteno mpm xii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Motena **T** *20va30*)
34a14 *Ovilavis m.p. XXVI* (ouilabis **L**) Ouilabis mpm xxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* xxviii **zu** *60v2***)**
34a15 *Laciaco m.p. XXXII* (iaciaco **L** laciaco **B**) Iaciaco mpm xxxii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Laciaco **T** *20va38* = **pe** *28vb5,* Iatiaco M.p. xxxiiii **zu** *60v5*)
34a21-22 *Augusta Vindelicum m.p. XXVII* (uindelec **L**) Augusta uinde·leḡ·mpm xxvii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Augusta ninde Legſ· Mille plus minus xxvij **T** *20vb4-5*)
34b2 *Arbore Felice m.p. XX* (felici **P**) Arbore felici = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* fœlici **V** *29ra8* = **M** *28va2*)
34b4 *Vindonissa leugas m.p. XXX* (uindones **L**) Vindonas mpm xxx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b5 *Arialbino m.p. XXIII* (arialbinno **L**) Arialbinno mpm xxiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Arialbimio **zu** *61r26*)
34b10 *Divodoro m.p. XXXVIII* (XX **L***)* Diuodoro mpm xx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
34b11 *m.p. XII* (*absent* **L**) *absent* **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35a21-22 *Annamatia in medio* (anamatia **L**) Anamatia in medio = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* **M** *28vb7* in medio *absent*)
35a27 *Campona in medio* (campania **L**) Campania in medio = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Campano **V** *29rb16*)
35b9 *Arabona m.p. XXX* (adrabona **L**) adrabona mpm xxx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b14-15 *Carnunto m.p. XXX leg. XIIII G.G.* (gemina **L**, g̅g̅ gemina **B**) carnunto mpm xxx·leḡ xiiii·GG·gemina = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* mille plus minus **T** *21ra20,* legione **V** *29va1*)
35b16-18 *Aequinoctio et Ala Nova in medio* (equinoctio **P**) Equinoctio & alanoua in medio = **Σ2**,**au** (*except* et **T** *21ra22* = **ve** *23rb33-34* = **pe** *29rb14* = **zu** *64v11*)
35b22 *Cetio m.p. XXX* (cecio **L**,**B**) Cecio mpm xxx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
35b24 *Loco Felicis m.p. XXV* (laco **L**) Lacofelicis mpm xxv = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* fœlicis **V** *29va7*)
36a1 *Stanago m.p. XVIII* (stanaco **L**) Stanaco mpm xviii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a5 *Regino m.p. XXIIII* (regio **L**) Regio mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a13 *Camboduno m.p. XIIII* (campoduno **D**) Campoduno mpm xiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a15 *Brigantia m.p. XXIIII* (brigentia **L**) Brigentia mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a20 *Rauracis m.p. XXVII leg.* (leg *absent* **B**) Rauracis mpm xxvii (leg *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36a21 *Arialbino m.p. XVII leg.* (artalbinno **L**) Artalbinno mpm xvii (leg *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**
36b11 *Antunnaco m.p. XVII* Antunnaco = **Σ2**,**au** (*except* Antiminaco **ve** *23va33*, Antiumaco **pe** *29va24*)
36b14-15 *Colonia Agrippina leugas* (leuḡ **D**, leg **L**) Colonia agrippina leḡ = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Colonia**.** agripina**.** mp̄m· leḡ**.** **pe** *29vb2*)
37a1 *Burginacio leugas VI ala* (burcinacio **L**) Burcinatio leḡ vi ala = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Burcinacio **T** *21rb29* = **pe** *29vb9*)
37a2 *Harenatio leugas X ala* (haranacio **L**) Aranatio Leḡ x ala = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Aranacio **T** *21rb30* = **ve** *23vb7*)
37a3-4 *Item a Lauriaco Veldidena* (m.p.CCLXVI sic *added in* **L**) Item ad lauriaco uel didena mpm cclxvi sic = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** (*except* mille plus minus **M** *29rb15-16*) Item ad Lauriaco uel didena mpm cclx[///] sic **au** *2vb11-12*

37a5 *Ovilavis m.p. XXVI* (xx **L**) Ouilanis mpm xx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

37a12-13 *Ad pontes Tesseninos m.p. XL* (tesfennios **L**, tesfenios **B**) Ad pontes tesfenios**.** mpm**.** xl = **Σ2**,**ve**, (*except* tesfonios **P** *23ra27*, Tessemos **V** *30ra9*, Tessenios **M** *29rb24*, teffemos **zu** *67r31*, tesphenios **pe** *29vb20*) Ad pontes tesfenio[///] mpm [///] **au** *2vb20*

Section 3: Disagreement between the edited form of the *Ipm* and **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

32b7 *Teclicio m.p.XII* Teditio mpm xii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Tedicio **pe** *28ra4*)

32b10 *Axiupoli m.p. XII* Auxiupoli mpm xii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

32b16 *Scytica* Scitica = **au**, Σ2 (*except* Scithica **V** *28rb9*, Scythica **M** *27vb8*)

32b18 *Diniguttia m.p. VIIII* Dimiguttia mpm viiii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Dimigutia **pe** *28ra14-15 &24*

33a13 *Tarpodizo m.p. XVIII* Tarpatizo mpm xviii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Tapatizo **zu** *59v3*)

33a14 *Ostodizo m.p. XXXII* Ostodiszo mpm xxxii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Ostodizo **pe** *28rb11*)

33a18 *Tzirallo m.p. XVI* Izirallo mpm xvi = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** I[///]o mpm xvi **au** *1rb15*

33a19 *Heraclia m.p. XVIII* Heradia mpm xvii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

33a22 *Bizantio m.p. XVIII* Bizantia = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Bizancia **T** *20va2* = **pe** *28rb19*, Byzantia **V** *28va13*)

34a10 *Cetio m.p. XXIIII* Cretio mpm xxiiii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Crecio **T** *20va33* = **pe** *28va25*)

34a12 *Loco Felicis m.p. XXVI* Lacofelicis mpm xxvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

34a17 *Bidaio m.p. XXXIII* Badaio mpm xxxiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Badeaio M.p. xx **zu** *60v 13-14*)

34a18 *Ponte Aeni m.p. XVIII* Ponteaeni mpm xviii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Ponteani **P** *22rb22,* M.p. xxxii **zu** *60v16*)

34a23 *Rostro Nemaviae m.p. XXV* Rostrone mauie = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* mauiae **V** *29ra4* = **M** *28rb25* Rastro nemauie **T**)

34a24 *Campoduno m.p. XXXII* Campaduno mpm xxxii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

34b24 *ad leg. XXX m.p. sic* Adlech mpm xxx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

35a1 *A Laurino m.p. XXV* Ad laurino mpm xxv = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

35a14 *Altino in medio* Altino indio = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

35a15 *Lugione m.p. XXV* (lagione **P** lucione **D** legione **L**) leg̅•mpm̅ xxv = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

35b7-8 *Ad Mures et ad Statuas in medio* Admuros & ad statuas in medio = **Σ2**,**au** (*except* et **T** *21ra15* = **ve***23rb28* = **pe** *29rb8*)

35b25-26 *Lauriaco m.p. XX leg. III* Launaco mpm xx •leg̅•iii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

35b28 *Ioviaco m.p. XXVII* Iouiacus mpm xxvii = **Σ2**,**au**,**ve** (*except* Louiacus **T** *21ra31* = **pe** *29rb23*)

36a2 *Bolodoro m.p. XX* Bolodero mpm xx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36a8 *Summunturio m.p. XVI* Summuntorio mpm xvi = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36a14 *Vemania m.p. XV* Vemanio mpm xv = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36a19 *Vindonissa m.p. XXIIII leg.* Vindonissa mpm xxiii (leg *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36a22 *Uruncis m.p. XXII leugas X* Vruncis mpm xxii (leugas x *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36b1-2 *Monte Brisiaco m.p. XXIII leugas XV* Monte brisiaco mpm xxiii (leugas xv *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*except* Montefrisiaco **P** *22vb35*)

36b3-4 *Helueto m.p. XXVIII leugas XVIIII absent* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*in Neapolitano deest haec mansio* **zu** - *65v28*)

36b5-6 *Argentorato m.p. XXVIIII leugas XVIIII* Argentorato mpm xxviiii (leugas xviiii *absent*) = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36b7 *Brocomago m.p. XX* Brocomaco mpm xx = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36b16 *Durnomago leugas VII ala* Durnomago leg̅• vii ala• = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Durno mago Leg̅ vii a[///] **au** *2vb3*

36b17 *Burungo leugas V ala* Burungo leg̅ v• ala• = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Nouensio leg̅ [///] **au** *2vb5*

36b18 *Nevensio leugas V ala* Nouensio Leg̅ v ala = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

36b19 *Gelduba leugas VIIII ala* Gelduba Leg̅ viiii ala = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** (*except* Belduba **T** *21rb26*) Gelduba**.** Leg̅ [///]a **au** *2vb6*

36b20 *Calone leugas VIIII ala absent* = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve** (*In Neapolitano deest hæc mansio.* **zu** - *67r*)

36b21-23 *Veteris leugas XXI castra leg. XXX Ulpia* Veteris leg̅ xxi• Castra ulpia leg̅ xxx = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Ueteris Leg̅ xxi Castra ulpia Leg̅ xx[///] **au** *2vb7-8*

37a11 *Ambrae m.p. XXXII* Ambre mpm xxxii = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Ambre mpm xxx[///] **au** *2vb19*

37a9 *Ponte Aeni m.p. XVIII* Ponteaeni mpm xviiii = **Σ2**,**au,pe,ve**

37a15 *Veldidena m.p. XXIII* = **Σ2**,**ve**,**pe** Vel didena mpm [///] **au** *2vb22*

(4) Alternatives among the primary copies of **Σ**2 compared with **au,pe,ve**

32b15 *Trosmis leg. I Iovia m.p. XVIII* (id est **L**,**B**)
| Trosmis Leḡ·i· idest iouia | mpm̄ xviii· | **O** *28va6-7*
| Trosmis Leḡ. L· idest iouia | mille plus minus xviii | **P** *21vb24-25*
| Trosmis Legꝑ.L. idest iouia | Mille plus minus· xviij | **T** *20rb10-11*
| Trosmis leg̃ id est iouia mpm xviij | **V** *28rb8: number between* leg̃ *and* id *absent*
| Trosmis mpm xviij leg̃: i. | id est Iouia | **M** *27vb6-7*
| Trosmis Leḡ·I· idest iouia | mpm xviii | **au** *1ra13-14*
| Trosmir leḡ·i· idest iouia· | mpm xviij. | **ve** *22va19-20*
| Trosmis leg̃ ≠ i Iouia m̄pm̄· xviij· | **pe** *28ra13* (id est *absent*)

33a6 *Dionisopoli m.p. XXIIII*
| Dionisopoli mpm̄ xxiiii· | **O** *28va21*
| Dionsopoli mpm̄ xxiiii | **P** *22ra4*
| Dionisopoli m̄pm· xxiiij | **T** *20rb25*
| Dionisopolj mpm xxiiij | **V** *28rb22*
| Dionisopoli mpm xxiiij | **M** *27vb21*
| DionIsopoli mpm xxiiii | **au** *1rb3 some other alphabetic symbol, partially erased, rewritten as* I *or as a cancellation line*
| Dionsopoli mpm xxiiij. | **ve** *22va34*
| Dionisopoli. m̄pm̄· xxiiij· | **pe** *28rb3*

33a26-27 *A Beroa Adrianopolim m.p. LXXXVII*
| A Beroa hadrianopolim | mpm̄ lxxxvii·sic· | **O** *28vb12-13*
| Aberoa hadrianopolim mille | plus minus Lxxxvii· Sic· | **P** *22ra24-25*
| A beroa hadrianopolim Mille | plus minus Lxxxvij. sic | **T** *20va6-7*
| A Beroa Adrianopolim mpm lxxxvij | **V** *28va17:* sic *absent*
| A Beroa hadrianopolim mille | plus minus lxxxvij Sic | **M** *28ra14-15*
| Aberoa hadrianopolim | mpm Lxxxvii sic | **au** *1rb23-24*
| Aberoa hadrianopolim. | mpm lxxxvij. Sic. | **ve** *22vb17-18*
| A Beroa Hadrianopolim | m̄pm̄· lxxxvij sic· | **pe** *28rb23-24*

33b5-14 *Item de Pannoniis in Gallias per mediterranea loca, id est a Sirmi per Sopianas Treveros usque*
| ITem de pannoniis ī galli/|as per media terranea loca | idest asyrmi p̱sopianias tri/|ueros usqꝫ **O** *28vb17-20*
| Item de pannoniis in gallias | p̱ media terranea loca idest asyr/|mi **P** *22ra29-31 rest absent*
| Item depannonus in gallias | per media terranea loca idest | asirini per sapianos triueros | vsqꝫ **T** *20va11*
| Item de Pannonijs in gallias per media|terranea loca id est à Syrini per Sopia„|nas Triueros usqꝫ **V** *28va21-23*
| Item de Pannonijs in Gallias per me|dia terranea loca id est à Syrmi per | Sopianas Triueros usqꝫ **M** *28ra19-21*
| Item de pannoniis in gallias | per media terranea loca· | idest asẏrmi p̱sopianas tri|ueros usqꝑ **au** *1va3-6*
| Item de pannoniis in gallias | p̱ media terranea loca id est |asyrmi p̱sopianias triueros usqꝫ | **ve** *22vb22-24 14*
| Item de pannonijs In gallias | p̱ media Terranea loca· idest | Asyrı̄ per sopianos triueros vsqꝫ | **pe** *28va3-5*

33b15-16 *A Sirmi Lauriaco m.p. CCCCXXXVII*
a syrmi Lauriaco | mpm̄ ccccxxxvii· | **O** *28vb20-21*
Lauriaco mpm̄ ccccxxxvii· | **P** *22ra31: beginning absent*
asirini lauriaco m̄pm· ccccxxxvij | **T** *20va14*
a Syrini Lauriaco | mpm ccccxxxvij | **V** *28va23-24*
à Syrmi | Lauriaco mpm ccccxxxvij | **M** *28ra21-22*
asẏrmi Lauriaco | mille plus minus ccccxxxvii· | **au** *1va6-7*
| asyrmi lauriaco mille plus mi|nus. ccccxxxvij. | **ve** *22vb25-26*
| Asyrı̄ Lauriaco· mille plus | minꝯ cccc·xxxvij | **pe** *28va6-7*

34b13-18 *Item per ripam PANNONIAE a Daurono in GALLIS ad leg. XXX usque* (pannonie **P**,**D** a dauruno **B** usque *absent* **L**)
| ITem per ripā pannonie adau|runo in gal? ad leug̅•xxx• | **O** *29rb7-8*
| Item per ripam pannonie adau/|runo in gallis ad leug̅ xxx | **P** *22va5-6*
| Item per ripam pannonie• | Aclaurimo in gallis ad leug? xxx | **T** *20vb21*
| Item per ripam Pannoniæ adauruno in | Gallis ad leug̈ xxx | **V** *29ra18-19*
| Item per ripam pannoniæ adauruno | in Gallis ad leug̈ xxx | **M** *28va12-13*
| Item ꝑ ripā pannonię adau|runo in gallis ad leug̅ xxx | **au** *2ra1-2*
| Item ꝑ ripā pannonie ad au|rino ingallis ad leug̅•xxx• | **ve** *23ra33-34*
| Item per Ripam·pannonie adau„|runo In gallis ad leugā xxx• | **pe** *29ra1-2*

34b19-20 *A Taurino Lauriaco m.p. DLXXXVII* (adaurino **L**)
| Adaurino lauriaco mp̅•dlxxxxvii• | **O** *29rb9*
| Ad aurino Lauriaco mpm̅ dLxxxvii | **P** *22va7*
| Adaurino Lauriaco• Mille plus | minus• dLxxxvij | **T** *20vb22-23*
| Adaurino lauriaco mpm Dlxxxvij | **V** *29ra20*
| Adaurino lauriaco mp̈ Dlxxxvij | **M** *28va14*
Adaurino Lauriaco M.p. DLxxxvii **zu** *61v31-32*
| Adaurino Lauriaco mp̅.dLxxxvii | **au** *2ra3*
| Adaurino Lauriaco mp̅.dlxxxvij | **ve** *23ra35*
| Adaurino Lauriaco. m̅p̅m̅• dlxxxvij• | **pe** *29ra3*

34b21-22 *inde Augusta Vindelicum m.p. XL*
| Inde Augusta uindelicū•mp̅•ccxxii• | **O** *29rb10*
| Inde augusta uindelicū mpm̅ ccxxii• | **P** *22va8*
| Inde augusta mude licum• | mp̅m• cc•xxij | **T** *20vb24-25*
| Inde Augusta uindelicū mpm ccxxij | **V** *29ra21*
| Inde Augusta vindelicū mille | plus minus ccxxij | **M** *28va15-16*
| Inde augusta uindelicū•mp̅ ccxxii | **au** *2ra4*
| Inde augusta uindelicū•mp̅•ccxxij• | **ve** *23ra36*
| Inde augusta vindelicū. m̅p̅m̅• ccxxij• | **pe** *29ra4*

35a13 *Antianis m.p. XXIIII*
anti/|anis mpm̅ xxiiii• | **O** *29rb22-23*
antianis | mille plus minus xxiiii | **P** *22va20-21*
an|tianis mp̅m• xxiiij | **T** *20vb37-38*
antianis | mpm xxiiij | **V** *29rb8-9*
Antianis | mille plus minus xxiiij | **M** *28vb1-2*
anti|anis plus minus xxiiii | **au** *2ra16-17*
antia|nis plus minus. xxiiij• | **ve** *23rb11-12*
Antianis | plus minꝰ xxiiij• | **pe** *29ra16-17*

35a28-29 Aquinquo leg. II Adiut. m.p. XX
aquunquo | Leg̅• •ii | Adiut mpm̅ xxiii• | **O** *29va3-5*
aquunq̊ leg̅•ii• | Adiut mpm̅ xxiii | **P** *22va29-30*
aqun„|quo Leg?• ij | Adutt mp̅m• xxiij | **T** *21ra7-9*
aquunquo leg̈. ij | Adiut mpm xxiij | **V** *29rb16-17*
à quunquo leg̈. ij | Adiut mpm xxiij | **M** *28vb10-11*
aquunquo | Legione ii | Adiut mpm xxiii | **au** *2rb1-3*
a qunnquo | legione •ij• | Adiut mpm xxiij• | **ve** *23rb21-23*
aquunco | Legione ij• | Adiut m̅p̅m̅• xxiij• | **pe** *29rb1-3*

35b3 *Crumero m.p. XXXIII* (crumero *after the number* **L**)
| Alacofelicis in medio mp̅•xxxiii• | Crumero **O** *29va6-7*
| Alaco felicis in medio mpm̅ xxxiii | Crumero **P** *22va31-2*
| A laco felicis in medio• Mille | plus minus xxxiij | Crumero **T** *21ra10-12*
| A laco fœlicis in medio mpm xxxiij | Crumero **V** *29rb18-19*
| A laco felicis in medio mpm xxxiij | Crű̃mero **M** *28vb12-13*
| Alaco felicis in medio.mp̅ xxxiii | Crumero **au** *2rb4-5*
| Alacofelicis in medio. mp̅•xxxiij• | Crumero **ve** *23rb24-5*
| A laco felicis in medio. m̅p̅m̅• xxxiij• | Crumero. **pe** *29rb4-5*

35b5-6 *Bregetione leg. I Adiut. m.p. XVIII*
| bregentione leg̅· ·I· | Adiut mpm̅ xviii· | **O** *29va8-9*
bregen/|tione Leg̅ ·i | Adiut mpm̅ xviiii | **P** *22va32-34*
bregen|cione m̅p̅m̅· j· | Adiut mp̅m· xviij | **T** *21ra12-14:* leg *absent, replaced with* m̅p̅m̅
bregentione | legione j | Adiut mpm xviij | **V** *29rb19-21*
Bregentio„|ne leg· i· | Adiut mpm xviij | **M** *28vb13-15*
| bregentione· leg̅ ·i· | Adiut mpm xviii | **au** *2rb6-7*
| bregencione leg̅. ·i· | Adiut mpm xviij· | **ve** *23rb26-27*
| Bregentione. Legi̅o̅e j. | Adiut m̅p̅m̅· xviij· | **pe** *29rb6-7*

35b12 *Flexo m.p. XXII*
flexo·mp̄·xxii· | **O** *29va12*
flexo mpm̅ ·xxii· | **P** *22vb2*
fleros | mille plus minus xxij | **T** *21ra17-18*
flexo mpm xxij | **V** *29rb24*
flexo mp̈ xxij | **M** *28vb18*
flexo mp̄ xxii | **au** *2rb10*
flexo. mp̄. xxij· | **ve** *23rb30*
flexo | m̅p̅m̅· xxij· | **pe** *29rb10-11*

35b19-20 *Vindobona m.p. XXVII leg. X Gem.*
| uindebona mpm̅ xxviii leg̅·x·gem̅· | **O** *29va16*
| uindebona m̅p̅m̅· xxviii· leg̅·x·gem̅· | **P** *22vb6*
| Vinde bona· m̅p̅m·xxviij· Legꝺ | x· gemina | **T** *21ra23-24*
uin„|debona mpm xxviij leg̈ x gem̅. | **V** *29va3*
| Vindebona mpm xxviij leg̈ x Gem̅. | **M** *28vb22*
| uindebona· mp̄·xxviii·leg̅·x gem̄· | **au** *2rb14*
uindebona. mp̄·xxviij·leg̅· | x. geni· | **ve** *23rb34-35*
| Vindebona. m̅p̅m̅· xxviij· | Legione. x.gem̈~~ina~~ | **pe** *29rb15-16*

Attachment 2: The sequence and arrangement of list items within columns in copies of the *Cho*

(1) Riese p.74: *Oceani orientalis famosa oppida sunt:* <1> *Bizantium* [.] <66> *Corinthus*

pe	
□2r a	2r b
	43 55
	‖ ‖
	54 66
1 22	
‖ ‖	
21 42	

O	
□4r a	4r b
	40 54
	‖ ‖
	53 66
1 20	
‖ ‖	
19 39	
42 absent	

P	
2r a	2r b
1 22	48 60
‖ ‖	‖ ‖
21 42	54 66
43 55	
‖ ‖	
47 59	

T	
1v a	1v b
	5 27
	‖ ‖
1 22	21 42
‖ ‖	43 55
6 26	‖ ‖
	54 66

V	
2r a	2r b
	19 40
	‖ ‖
	21 42
1 22	43 55
‖ ‖	‖ ‖
18 39	54 66

M	
2v b	3r a
	10 31
	‖ ‖
	21 42
1 22	43 55
‖ ‖	‖ ‖
9 30	54 66

ve	
2v b	3r a
	43 55
	‖ ‖
	54 66
1 22	
‖ ‖	
21 42	

(2) Riese p.77: *Oceanus orientalis habet gentes:* <18> *Persas* [.] <68> *vel Haedui*

pe	
3v b	4r a
	66 68
	67
18 42	
‖ ‖	
‖ ‖	
‖ ‖	
41 65	

O	
5v b	6ra
	68
18 43	
‖ ‖	
42 67	

P	
3v a	3v b
	36 60
	‖ ‖
	41 65
	66 68
	67
18 42	
‖ ‖	
35 59	

T	
3r a	3r b
18	50
‖	‖
25	65
42	68
‖	
49	
26	
‖	
41	
66	
67	

^

exemplar of T ?

col.1	*col.2*
	26 50
	‖ ‖
	41 65
18 42	*66 68*
‖ ‖	*67*
25 49	

V	
3v b	4r a
	66 68
	67
18 42	
‖ ‖	
‖ ‖	
‖ ‖	
41 65	

M	
4v a	4v b
	67
18 42	
‖ ‖	
41 65	
66 68	

20, 43 absent

ve	
4r a	4r b
	20 44
	‖ ‖
	41 65
18 42	66 68
‖ ‖	67
19 43	

(3) Riese p.79-81: *Oceanus occidentalis habet famosa oppida:* <1> *Ravenna* [.] <127> *Salerno*

pe							
4v a		4v b			5r a		
			44	69	94	110	
			‖	‖	‖	‖	
1	22		68	93	109	127	
‖	‖						
21	43						

O										
6r b		6v a			6v b			7r a		
			5	33		62	91		120	124
			‖	‖		‖	‖		‖	‖
1	3		32	61		90	119		123	127
‖	‖									
2	4									

ve							
4v b				5r a			
1	22			51	76		
‖	‖			‖	‖		
21	43			68	93		
44	69			94	110		
‖	‖			‖	‖		
50	75			109	125		
				127	126		

P									
4r a		4r b			4v a				
		11	32		67	92			
		‖	‖		68	93			
		21	43		94	110			
1	22	44	69		‖	‖			
‖	‖	‖	‖		109	125			
(10)	31	66	91		126	127			

V							
4v a		4v b			5r a		
			44	69	94	110	
			‖	‖	‖	‖	
1	22		68	93	109	127	
‖	‖						
21	43						

M									
5r b		5v a			5v b				
1	22	49	74		101	117			
‖	‖	‖	‖		‖	‖			
19	43	68	93		107	123			
44	69	94	110		124	125			
‖	‖	‖	‖		108	126			
48	73	100	116		109	127			

21 *absent*

T							
3v b		4r a					
1	22	61	86				
‖	‖	‖	‖				
21/19	43	64	89				
44	69	94	110				
‖	‖	‖	‖				
60	85	109	125				
		126	127				

absent
line with items 13 + 34
line with items 65 + 90
line with items 66 + 91
line with items 67 + 92
line with items 68 + 93

(4) Riese p.81: *Oceanus occidentalis flumina sunt:* <9> *Betis* [.] <*22*> *Tiberis*

pe	
5ra	
9	17
10	18
11	19
12	20
13	21
14	22
16	
15	

O	
7ra	
9	15
10	17
11	18
12	19
13	20
14	21
16	22

T	
4ra	
9	15
10	17
11	18
12	19
13	20
14	21
16	22

P	
4va	
9	10
11	12
13	14
16	15
17	18
19	20
21	22

ve	
5rb	
9	17
10	18
11	19
12	20
13	21
14	22
16	15

M	
5vb	
9	17
10	18
11	19
12	20
13	21
14	22
16	15

V			
5ra		5vb	
9	17	16	15
10	18		
11	19		
12	20		
13	21		
14	22		

Items 15-16 are listed in reverse sequence 16-15 in all these copies.

(5) Riese p.85: *Oceanus septentrionalis habet famosa oppida:* <34> *Heraclia* [.] <*82*> *Heliopolis*

pe	
6v b	7r a
	38 59
	‖ ‖
	58 82
34 36	
35 37	

O	
8v b	9r a
	62 79
	‖ 80
34 48b	78 82
‖ ‖	
48a 61	

V			
7r a		7r b	
34	36	55	*78*
35	37	‖	‖
38	59	58	82
‖	‖		
54	77		

M			
7v a		7v b	
34	36	41	62
35	37	‖	‖
38	59	57	80
‖	‖	58	82
40	61	81	

81 absent

P	
6r a	
34	36
35	37
38	59
‖	‖
58	81
	82

=

T	
5v b	
34	36
35	37
38	59
‖	‖
58	81
	82

ve	
6v b	
34	36
35	37
38	59
‖	‖
56	79
80	
57	81
58	82

(6) Riese p.89: *Oceanus meridionalis habet oppida:* <1> *Arabiam* [.] <64> *Bida*

pe					
8r b		8v a		8v b	
		10	35	60	63
		‖	‖	61	64
1	6	34	59	62	
‖	‖				
5	9				

O			
10r b		10v a	
		60	63
		61	64
		62	
1	31		
‖	‖		
30	59		

P			
7r a		7r b	
1	6	22	47
‖	‖	‖	‖
5	9	34	59
10	35	60	63
‖	‖	61	64
21	46	62	

T		
6v b		
1	20	
‖	‖	
19	38	
39	52	
‖	‖	
51	64	

V			
8v a		8v b	
		28	53
1	6	‖	‖
‖	‖	34	59
5	9	60	63
10	35	61	64
‖	‖	62	
27	52		

line with items 18 + 43 *absent*

M			
9r		9r b	
		19	44
1	6	‖	‖
‖	‖	34	59
5	9	60	63
10	35	61	64
‖	‖	62	
18	43		

ve			
7v b		8r a	
		5	9
		10	35
		‖	‖
		34	59
1	6	60	63
‖	‖	61	64
3	8	62	

Attachment 2

(7) Riese p.84: *Oceanus occidentalis habet gentes:* <2> *Gotos* [.] <*37*> *Carpi Gotos*

the double line (=====) indicates the number of column lines on which items 12-17 are written.

In **OP**,**ve** the first two letters (*To*) of 12 (*Tolosantes*) are written at the end of the line after item 11 and the rest of the word (*losantes*) begins the next line

pe	
6rb	6va
	20 29
	21 30
	22 31
	23 32
2 7	24 33
3 8	25 34
4 9	26 35
5 10	27 36
6 11	28 37
12|17==	
=====	
=====	
18 19	

V	
6rb	6va
	12|17==
	=====
	=====
	18 19
	20 29
	21 30
	22 31
	23 32
	24 33
	25 34
2 7	26 35
3 8	27 36
4 9	28 37

M	
7ra	7rb
	21 30
	22 31
2 7	23 32
3 8	24 33
4 9	25 34
5 10	26 35
6 11	27 36
12|17==	28 37
=====	
=====	
=====	
18 19	
20 29	

=

T	
5ra	5rb
	21 30
	22 31
2 7	23 32
3 8	24 33
4 9	25 34
5 10	26 35
6 11	27 36
12|17==	28 37
=====	
=====	
=====	
18 19	
20 29	

P	
5va	5vb
	23 32
	24 33
	25 34
	26 35
	27 36
	28 37
2 7	
3 8	
4 9	
5 10	
6 11.12==	
12|17===	
=====	
=====	
18 19	
20 29	
21 30	
22 31	

ve	
	6rb
	2 7
	3 8
	4 9
	5 10
	6 11.12==
	12|17===
	=====
	=====
	=====
	18 19
	20 25
	21 26
	22 27
	23 28
	24 29
	30 34
	31 35
	32 36
	33 37

O	
8rb	8va
	30 34
	31 35
	32 36
	33 37
2 7	
3 8	
4 9	
5 10	
6 11.12==	
12|17===	
=====	
=====	
18 19	
20 25	
21 26	
22 27	
23 28	
24 29	

(8) Riese p.87-8: *Oceanus septemtrionalis habet gentes:* <1> *Scytas* [.] <*30*> *Sogotanos*

pe 7vb-8ra		**O** 9vb		**V** 8ra		**P** 6vb		**M** 8va-8vb				**ve** 7va		**T** 6va	
										8	22	1	2	1	2
										9	23	3	17	||	||
				1	2	1	2			10 11	24	||	||	9	23
	3	17	1	16	3	17	3	17		12	25	9	23	10 11	
	||	||	||	||	||	||	||	||		||	||	10 11		12	24
	9	23	9	24	9	23	9	23		16	30	24		||	||
	10 11	24	10	25	10 11	24	10 11	24	1	2		12	25	15	28
	12	25	11	26	12	25	12	25	3	17		||	||	16	
	||	||	||	||	||	||	||	||	||	||		16	30	||	||
1 2	16	30	15	30	16	30	16	30	7	21				30	25

Attachment 3: The sequence and arrangement of selected list items within columns in copies of the *Cho*

(1) Riese p.80:
17 Celtiberia, 18 Caesarea augusta, 19 Tarracona, 20 Caesareacum, 21 Ambiani
39 Henemona, 40 Cremona, 41 Patavi, 42 Brexia, 43 Dertona

pe 4va
17 - 39
blank 40
19 - 41
18 - 42
21 - 43
4vb
44 - *(etc.)*

V 4va
17 - 39
blank 40
19 - 41
18 - 42
21 - 43
4vb
44 - *(etc.)*

T 3vb
17 - 39
blank 40
18 - 41
21 - 42
19 - 43
44 - *(etc.)*

M 5rb
17 - 39
blank 40
19 - 41
18 - 42
blank 43
44 - *(etc.)*

21 absent

O 6va
11 - 39
12 - 40
13 - 41
14 - 42
15 - 43
"" - 44
16 - 45
17 - 46
20* - 47
19 - 48
18 - 49
21 - 50

P 4rb
17 - 39
20* - 40
19 - 41
18 - 42
21 - 43
44 - *(etc.)*

ve 4vb
17 - 39
20* - 40
19 - 41
18 - 42
21 - 43
44 - *(etc.)*

O * Cęsaria *written in smaller script by a different scribe*
P * Cęsaria *written by the scribe of the text*
ve * Cesariana *written by the scribe of the text*

(2) Riese p.80-81:
106 Neapoli, 107 Ardea, 108 Cumas, 109 Acerras
122 Lupias, 123 Rarentum, 124 Odrunto, 125 Canusium, 126 Marcellianum, 127 Aretium

pe 5ra
106 - 122
123
107 - 124
108 - 125
126
109 - 127

V 5ra
106 - 122
107 - 123
*blank** - 124
108 - 125
blank - 126
109 - 127

M 5vb
106 - 122
107 - 123
124 - 125
108 - 126
109 - 127

P 4va
106 - 122
107 - 123
108 - 124
109 - 125
126 - 127

=

T 4ra
106 - 122
107 - 123
108 - 124
109 - 125
126 - 127

V * *this space, initially blank, has a name that was later interpolated by a different scribe and is not derived from any item in the* **Cho**

ve 5ra
106 - 122
107 - 123
108 - 124
109 - 125
127 - 126

O 6vb-	7ra
	120 - 124
77 - 106	121 - 125
78 - 107	122 - 126
79 - 108	123 - 127
80 - 109	

(3) Riese p.85:
55 Ephesos, 56 Cercira, 57 Caeliase, 58 Sextos
78 Maleon, 79 Candiaca, 80 Phylopolis, 81 Crysopolis, 82 Heliopolis

pe 7ra
55 - 78
56 - 79
+nihil - 80
57 - 81
58 - 82

V 7rb
55 - 78
56 - 79
blank - 80
57 - 81
58 - 82

ve 6vb
55 - 78
56 - 79
80 - *blank*
57 - 81
58 - 82

P 6ra
55 - 78
56 - 79
57 - 80
58 - 81
82

=

T 5vb
55 - 78
56 - 79
57 - 80
58 - 81
82

M 7vb
55 - 78
56 - 79
57 - 80
58 - 82
81

O 8vb-9ra	
	62 - 79
42 - 55	63 - 80
43 - 56	64 - 82
44 - 57	77 - *Riese p.86,*25
45 - 58	78 - *Riese p.86,*26

81 absent

(4) Riese p.86:

15 Oceanus septemtrionalis habet flumina: 16 Thanais, 17 Boristenen, 18 Meotidem, 19 Nais, 20 Thesimon, 21 Fasin, 22 Chorestem, 23 Timnim, 24 Gaddum, 25 Spiramos, 26 Spercium, 27 Aceloum, 28 Alpheum, 29 Eurotas, 30 Rudacum, 31 Hermunam, 32 Meandrum, 33 Surum, 34 Asdrubelam

pe	
7ra	7rb
	18 - 27
	19 - 28
	20 - 29
	21 - 30
	22 - 31
	23 - 32
	24 - 33
	25 - 34
15====	26
16 - 17	

P	
6ra	6rb
	16 - 17
	18 - 27
	19 - 28
	20 - 29
	21 - 30
	22 - 31
	23 - 32
	24 - 33
15====	25 - 34
======	26

M	
7vb	8ra
	23 - 22
	31 - 32
	24 - 33
15====	25 - 34
16 - 17	26
18 - 27	
19 - 28	
20 - 29	
21 - 30	

ve	
6vb	7ra
	22 - 31
	23 - 32
15====	24 - 33
======	25 - 34
16 - 17	26
18 - 27	
19 - 28	
20 - 29	
21 - 30	

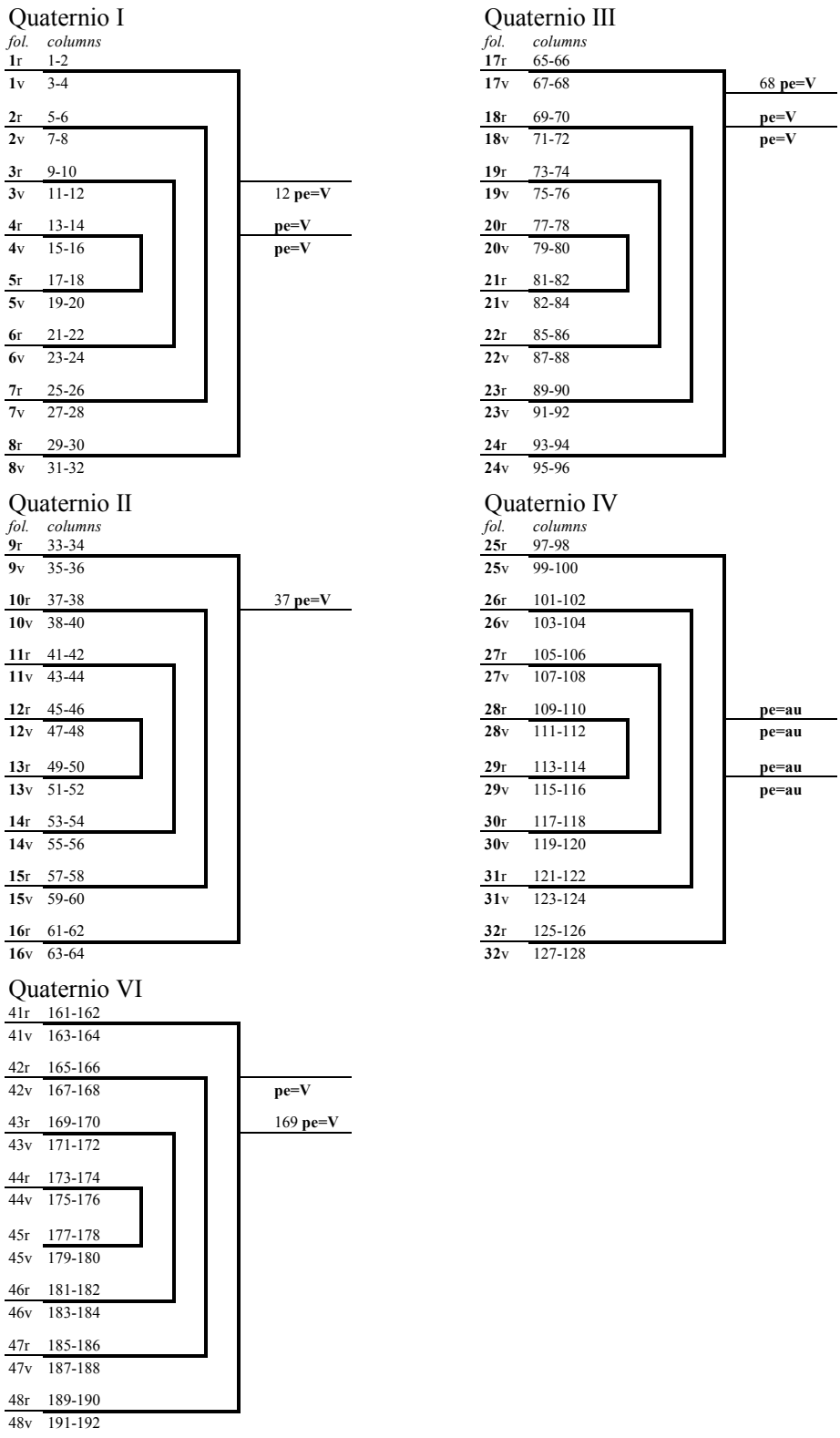
V 7rb
15====
16 - 17
18 - 27
19 - 28
20 - 29
21 - 30
22 - 31
23 - 32
24 - 33
25 - 34
26

T 5vb
15====
======
16 - 17
18 - 27
19 - 28
20 - 29
21 - 30
22 - 31
23 - 32
24 - 33
25 - 34
26

O 9ra
Riese p.85-6
62 - *79*
63 - *80*
64 - *82*
65 - 15=
66 - ===
67 - ===
68 - 16
69 - 17
70 - 18
71 - 19
72 - 20
73 - 21
74 - 22
75 - 23
76 - 24
77 - 25
78 - 26
27
28 - 32
29 - 33
30 - 34
31

81 absent

Attachment 4: The exemplar of pe**.**



Attachment 5: The location of the copies of the *Ipm* (section 1a10-37a21) in pe and V and au.

The columns in **au** *and in* **V** *contain 25 ruled and written lines of text (with the exception of* **V**, *fol.15ra-rb which have 24).*
The figures beside each page number indicate the location of the same derived contents in the three copies: for example, the derived contents in **V**,*13vb7-25 are the same as those in* **pe**,*14ra1-29.*
Where an item in a column in **pe** *occupied more than the corresponding item in V (the reverse does not occur), it is indicated in the* ***diff****(erence)****s*** *column beside a code referring to a detailed note below the table.*

Col.	V			pe			*diffs.*	
88	**22vb**	**1-25**	=	88	**22vb**	**1-25**		
89	**23ra**	**1-25**	=	89	**23ra**	**1-25**		
90	**23rb**	**1-25**	=	90	**23rb**	**1-25**		
91	**23va**	**1-25**	=	91	**23va**	**1-25**		
92	**23vb**	**1-25**	=	92	**23vb**	**1-26**	-1	
93	**24ra**	**1-25**	=	93	**24ra**	**1-25**		
94	**24rb**	**1-25**	=	94	**24rb**	**1-26**	-1	
95	24va	1-**25**		95	24va	1-25 26-**27**		
96	24vb	1-2 3-**25**		96	24vb	1-25 26-**31**	-1 *a* -1 *b*	
97	25ra	1-6 7-**25**		97	25ra	1-19 20-**30**		
98	25rb	1-11 12-**25**		98	25rb	1-15 16-**32**	-1 *c*	
99	25va	1-17 18-**25**		99	25va	1- 9-**30**		
100	25vb	1-22 23-**25**		100	25vb	1-3 4-28 2-**30**		
101	26ra	1-**25**		101	26ra	1-24 25-**26**	-1 *d*	
102	26rb	1-2 3-**25**		102	26rb	1-24 25-**26**	-1 *e* -1 *f*	
103	26va	1-2 3-**25**		103	26va	1-25 26-**27**	-1 *g*	
104	26vb	1-2 3-**25**		104	26vb	1-23 24-**25**		
105	27ra	1-2 3-**25**		105	27ra	1-**25**	-1*h*	*30b3-4 *abs.* **OV** = 2 lines in **pe,**
106	27rb	1-2 3-24 * **25**		106	27rb	1 2-**25**	-1 *i*	*31a13 *part abs.* **V** = 1 line in **pe,**
107	27va	1-22 23-**25**		107	27va	1-3 4-**25**	-1*j*	-1*k*
108	27vb	1-20 21-**25**		108	27vb	1-6 7-**26**	-1 *l*	
109	28ra	1-20 21-**25**		109	**28ra**	**1-5** **6-23+1**	=	1 **1ra** **1-25**
110	28rb	1-19 20-**25**		110	**28rb**	**1-6** **7-25**	=	2 **1rb** **1-25**
111	28va	1-18 19-**25**		111	**28va**	**1-8** **9-25**	=	3 **1va** **1-25**
112	28vb	1-17 18-**25**		112	**28vb**	**1-8** **9-25**	=	4 **1vb** **1-25**
113	29ra	1-17 18-**25**		113	**29ra**	**1-8** **9-25**	=	5 **2ra** **1-25**
114	29rb	1-15 16-**25**		114	**29rb**	**1-12** **13-27**	=	6 **2rb** **1-25**
115	29va	1-14 15-**25**		115	**29va**	**1-11** **12-25**	=	7 **2va** **1-25**
116	29vb	1-14 15-**25**		116	**29vb**	**1-12** **13-26**	=	8 **2vb** **1-25**
117	30ra	1-13 14-**25**			30ra	1-12		

Different line arrangements

			V		**pe**		O	P	T	M	ve
a	24b21-22	*Satala...xxvi*	24v b 22	1	24v b 21-22	2	*1*	*1*	*2*	*1*	*1*
b	24b23-25a1	*A Germanicia...lxxxvii*	24v b 24-25	2	24v b 23-25	3	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*3*
c	26a1-2	*Item a Nicopoli...cxxxvii*	25v b 20	1	25r b 9-10	2	*2*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*
d	28b2	*Tabiam...cxvi (sic)*	26v a 2	1	26r a 25-26	2	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*
e	28b16-18	*Item a Tavia...usque*	26v a 15-16	2	26r b 13-15	3	*3*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
f	29a14	*Satala mp cccxx*	26vb9	1	26v a7-8	2	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*
g	29b4-7	*Item a Satala...usque*	26v b 23-24	2	26v a 22-24	3	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
h	30a11-12	*Item a Caesarea ...ccxi*	27r b3	1	27r a1-2	2	*2*	*2*	*2*	*1*	*2*
	30b3-4	*In medio Tonosa*	*absent*		27r a15-16	2	*abs*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
	31a13	*Item a Cocuso Arabisso usque m.p.lii*	*27v a 19**	1*	27r b21	2	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
i	31a16-17	*Item a Cocuso...(sic)*	27v a 22	1	27r b 24-25	2	*2*	*2*	*2*	*1*	*2*
j	31b1-2	*Item a Meletena Samosata*	27v b4	1	27v a7-8	2	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*
k	31b7-8	*Item a Nicpoli Satala*	27v b9	1	27v a13-14	2	*2*	*2*	*2*	*1*	*2*
l	32a1-3	*Item...Nicomediam*	27v b 23-24	2	27v b 3-5	3	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*2*

* *Arabisso usque m.p.lii* absent **V**