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The Search for Books in Uncharted Territory, *c.* 800–1500

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Contents

The Search for Books in Uncharted Territory, *c.* 800–1500

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REKA FORRAI AND LARS BOJE MORTENSEN

Introduction: the Medieval Experience of Book Searching

Abstract

The introduction outlines how the searching for texts by medieval scholars has been under-researched, and why the art of bibliography was radically different in the age before the printed book. Key questions are sketched and related to the articles published in the issue.

Keywords

Book history, Medieval manuscripts, Medieval libraries, Textual culture, Medieval literature

1. Unique books

In a celebrated short story from 1940, *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*, Jorge Luis Borges plays many tricks on his readers, some of them particularly startling from a book-historical point of view. The supposedly real place of Uqbar in ancient Mesopotamia cannot be traced in any reference books, except in one unique copy of a volume of a standard encyclopedia which the narrator's friend has happened upon in a second hand bookstore. The extra four pages in this copy describe Uqbar in dry encyclopedic fashion, including the inhabitants' literary fantasy world of Tlön – about which apparently a whole body of mythological knowledge had been developed, in fact, an entire encyclopedia of just that is hinted at. By a series of coincidences the narrator later inherits vol. XI of this hitherto unknown encyclopedia. Its title page gives no date or publisher. The mysteries continue, but in this context we can stop here and reflect on how Borges achieves his astonishing effects for modern readers habituated to the world of printed books.

First, it obviously makes little sense to us that a single copy of a volume of a standard encyclopedia contains a unique article – of course we expect all copies of the same edition or print-run to contain identical texts. Secondly, the appearance of an entirely unknown

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book, volume XI on Tlön, defies all bibliographical expectations by its uniqueness and by its lack of date and printer. True, these details are also missing in some real printed books such as many incunabula, underground literature etc.[1] But we have few doubts that any printed book, in fact, is a product of a very specific time and place. The subversion of expectations that Borges pulls off here, however, would not have worked in the era before the printing press. In the medieval world of books all copies were unique, additions and alterations freely made, and a book was not a product of a frozen moment, but often of a long (or even continuing) process. Most ancient and medieval texts did entail a place and time of publishing, but again, this was a process rather than an instant, and the subsequent copies made could not uphold an unambiguous one-to-one relationship to the exemplar.[2]

The elements of textual indeterminacy, surprise, loss, search, and discovery in the ages of the handcopied book have been employed as the core of the plot in modern historical fiction too. Most famously perhaps in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* (1980) that centers around the unique copy of the second book of Aristotle's *Poetics*, only to be lost forever as the action unfolds. More recently Anthony Doerr, in his sprawling multitemporal novel *Cloud Cuckoo Land* (2021), has turned the fragmentary and precious survival of an ancient Greek fantasy novel – in the style of *The Golden Ass* – into the unlikely centerpiece of a story that celebrates stories. His words about the survival of ancient literature through the Middle Ages are worth quoting (spoken by a Byzantine scholar just before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453):

> Time. Day after day, year after year, time wipes the old books from the world. The manuscript you brought us before? That was written by Aelian, a learned man who lived at the time of the Caesars. For it to reach us in this room, in this hour, the lines within it had to survive a dozen centuries. A scribe had to copy it, and a second scribe, decades later, had to recopy that copy, transform it from a scroll to a codex, and long after the second scribe's bones were in the earth, a third came along and recopied it again, and all this time the book was being hunted. One bad-tempered abbot, one clumsy friar, one invading barbarian, and overturned candle, a hungry worm — and all those centuries are undone.

The uncertainties of survival or loss, and of the simple identification of possibly extant texts, were also put to good use in medieval litera-

1. Johns argued that many features were as messy during the early period of print as they had been before – anonymous works, pamphlets in many different versions, pirated works, no copyright etc. But in the longer term there is surely a large difference. First of all, the publication of a printed text usually ensues in many surviving identical copies, creating a wider horizon of reference to one and the same text – however faulty this text or edition might be. But even with poor quality printed texts, the accumulation of knowledge (and corrections) is a much more linear process, because reference is easy. Secondly, the moment of publication is a single one – there is a very clear before and after (even if not always known). From another angle Asdal and Jordheim also argue that the printing press represents a major divide: after that we can begin to treat texts as 'immutable mobiles'.

2. On medieval publishing, see Niskanen, Tahkokallio.

ture itself. In the eleventh-century Persian national epic, *Shahnameh* (c. 1010), there is a recurrent reference to "the book" behind the narrative, as is also the case in the twelfth-century German *Kaiserchronik* (c. 1150). The truth in both cases is more likely to be a mixture of textual sources plus a good amount of invention – rather than a specific book. In blatant fictions we also find this ploy, as in the unprecedented Constantinopolitan romance by Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés* (c. 1176), and in the counterfactual twelfth-century *Gesta Herewardi* in which an Anglo-Saxon hero is imagined having given William the Conqueror real resistance. The author had found and old manuscript on whose authority we should believe this story, but unfortunately, he reports, it was already disintegrating and cannot be consulted by anyone now.[3] The most famous case of inventing a book behind the book was perhaps that of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Gesta Britonum* published in 1137/38: not only does he claim to have translated the entire chronicle from an old book in the ancient British language, he even taunts his fellow prominent historians of his day that they have no way of matching this, as they do not have access to that book.[4] One of these historians, Henry of Huntingdon, was in for something of a shock when he was notified about Geoffrey's unique pre-Christian history of the Isles, which he then attempted to work into his own work in a later installment.[5]

3. Schmidt, 77.

4. For these cases, see Agapitos and Mortensen; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De Gestis Britonum*, Prologus 2 and XI.208.

5. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway, Introduction ci; book 8, Epistola Warino Britoni (pp. 558-559): "Hoc tamen anno, cum Romam proficiscirer, apud Beccensem abbatiam scripta rerum predictarum stupens inueni. Quorum excerpta, ut in epistola decet, breuissime scilicet, tibi dilectissime mitto." ("But this year, when I was on my way to Rome, to my amazement I discovered, at the abbey of Le Bec, a written account of those very matters. Of this I send you, dear friend, some excerpts, greatly shortened so as to fit into a letter.")

2. Key questions about medieval book searching

The history of exciting manuscript book discoveries is often concentrated on the hunt for classical Roman texts by fifteenth-century Italian humanists. But, as Kathryn Kerby-Fulton maintains:

> ..so many medieval book hunters (were) concerned to acquire a text with guaranteed authorial authenticity and completeness. […] The fact that this concern is today so often thought to of as merely a humanist or 'Renaissance' preoccupation is in part because the serious medieval attempts to address it have still too rarely been highlighted.[6]

6. In her afterword to Johnston and van Deussen, 249.

With the present collection we want to fill part of this gap. The case studies in this volume argue that anonymous or little-known medieval scholars deserve a large part of the credit for the survival of both pagan and patristic texts from antiquity into the Middle Ages and beyond.

The survival of the Roman classics we first owe to Carolingian scholars who – in a process that is mostly lost to us – salvaged late antique exemplars from Italy, copied them (and then to a large degree discarded the ancient books). The impressive results of this process are known to us, but we can only guess at how organized or haphazard this search of old texts was.[7] But from the ninth century onwards – in both the Greek and the Latin world – there would be a number of intellectuals who conversed about and sought out old volumes, in the style of Thomas Becket (c. 1115-1170) as reported by his biographer Herbert of Bosham: during Becket's exile in France, his excitement over the presence of Carolingian treasures (classical and patristic) turned him into a great searcher of texts:

> In quarumque ecclesiarum omnibus armariis nullum audiebat in Galiis esse antiquitatis uel approbatae auctoritatis librum, quem transcribi non faceret…
>
> (He did not hear about one single book of great age or acknowledged authority in every book chest of every church in Gaul without having it copied).[8]

This anecdote illustrates another point made by Kerby-Foulton, namely that book history is "the history of intellectual desire." A desire for texts, whether already famous or canonical, or yet unknown, or just heard of, but in all cases a desire for the authentic, genuine, original form of a text.[9] They pursued their objective with admirable perseverance. Cicinnius, a tenth-century translator of hagiographical texts from Naples, when trying to locate the Greek original of the story of Saints Cosmas and Damian, had to first break the resistance of the Greek monks who were initially reluctant to share it. Roger Bacon claimed that he had been searching for Seneca's *Dialogues* for over twenty years. The twelfth-century anonymous translator of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, upon hearing about the arrival of the book from Constantinople to Sicily, described his mythological struggles of reaching the desired object:

> rei diu multumque desiderate spe succensu, Scilleos latratus non exhorrui, Caribdim permeavi, ignea Ethne fluenta circuivi, eum queritans a quo mei finem sperabam desiderii.
>
> (fired by the hope of (obtaining) something so long and ardently desired, I did not shudder at the thought of howling Scylla, I passed through Charybdis, I negotiated Etna flowing with lava, as I sought out the man, who, I hoped, would furnish me with the object of my desires.)[10]

7. For the Roman classics this is documented in depth by Munk Olsen in the chapter "Recherches des modèles et copie des manuscrits" 90-151.

8. Munk Olsen, 90.

9. Kerby-Foulton, 250, argues that this desire of original, authentic texts is so strong that it even has as its counterpart, "a genuine fear of the sloppy extract."

10. Gutas, 520, quoted and discussed in this issue by Beullens.

Anonymity is one of the difficulties in uncovering medieval book search. We know next to nothing about the translator of Ptolemy. The other difficulty is that medieval scholars tended to be very selective, when describing the particulars of their discovery: Cicinnius omitted crucial details such as the location, the name of the monastery, and the identities of the monks involved.[11] Bacon, when in 1266 he announced to Pope Clement IV that he had found a manuscript of Seneca's *Dialogues*, described the text as excellent quality and very rare. Still, Bacon had not provided the pope with any specifics about the manuscript. Instead of sending a copy to the pope, he had only made excerpts from the manuscript, which then constituted the third part of book seven of his *Opus Maius*.[12]

11. Dolbeau, 150.

12. Reynolds, 360–61.

Despite the difficulties presented by the various sources, the articles in this volume manage to answer a series of crucial questions that allow us to see some patterns, some typologies emerging. These could be grouped in the following categories:

Who were interested in searching for books?

The scavengers ranged from high-profile actors such as diplomats, bishops, scholars to anonymous agents barely leaving any trace. They often received support from various institutions, including royal, papal, and imperial courts, bishoprics, monasteries, and universities. These scholars were seldom solitary, but parts of a network, engaged in an exchange of books with each other, like the Carolingian court intellectuals (Keskiaho), or the Italian humanists (Pade).

Why did they desire a particular text? What constituted its value?

The protagonists in this volume were mostly interested in authoritative texts, whether Christian, such as works of patristic authors as Augustine (Keskiaho, Jensen) or pagan, like works of Greek science and philosophy (Beullens). Sometimes their effort consisted in finding not only one, but several copies of the same text with the purpose of collating them and establish a correct reading or even to correct intentional falsifications (Keskiaho) or to prepare obtaining whole and good quality texts (Jensen). They had tried to supplement deficient texts: Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* constituted a combersome case for humanists, because his text is littered with Greek that was often corrupted during the transmission, and the correspondence of Guarino Veronese testifies to this effort of recovering the correct Greek passages (Pade). Sometimes, rare texts were used to fill lacunae in other textual collections: the Latin translation of a Greek homily by Eusebius for example had 'left' its original context (as part of a large book that travelled from Italy to the North to be part of a Carolingian library) and had been used in a Latin homilary that lacked texts concerning the period of Easter (Conti).

What was their purpose with the text?

Medieval scholars searched for texts for various reasons. The obvious first reason was that they searched for the sake of their own learning. Testimony to this are the many glosses that accompany the texts in question, important sources of information about the readers' use of such texts, such as for example the notes in the *Astronomica* of Manilius, discovered by Gerbert of Aurillac in the library of Bobbio in the tenth century (Rossetti). Often these texts would constitute primary materials for their own writing projects; or, in case of translations, the basis of their translation projects. In this case the quality of the text was especially important, as it would bear on the quality of the translation (Beullens).

Finding materials for debates and controversies fuelled the urge of collecting and compiling authorities. Alcuin of York's interest in Augustine's works was motivated by his implication in the contemporary debate about the origin of the soul. Hincmar of Rheims used a whole group of assistants to find usable Augustinian arguments for the predestination controversy (Keskiaho).

Institutional concerns could also be at play: at the turn of the eleventh century, Herbert Losinga, bishop of Norwich went to great length to create a cathedral library at his new workplace (Niskanen).

The arrival of print did not put an end to manuscript search; indeed, the search just turned more feverish. Several early printing projects had veritable manuscript hunting expeditions at their core: the printed edition of the *Postillae* of the thirteenth-century scholastic theologian Hugo de Sancto Caro by Anton Koberger and Johann Amerbach left us a documentation of twenty-nine letters by the two men involved in unearthing the manuscripts needed for their publication (Jensen).

Where would they look? What circuits facilitated such hunts?

Ideal locations for book hunting included cities like Rome and Constantinople (Keskiaho, Beullens), as well as various courts (papal, episcopal, royal, and imperial), and libraries (both monastic and personal). Gatherings such as synods and councils also provided opportunities for finding texts. For contemporary works, a successful strategy was to contact the author directly. For instance, Peter of Nonantola wrote directly to Amalarius of Metz to obtain his works (Keskiaho).

Through what channels had the texts reached these places?
Books circulated as gifts, through diplomatic channels, with envoys frequently involved in searching and requesting books (Beullens). However, scholarly networks were perhaps the most efficient method. Numerous letters attest to the extensive exchange of books through intellectual connections. Keskiaho's analysis of the Carolingian scholarly correspondence of Alcuin of York, Hrabanus Maurus, and Lupus of Ferrières highlights many instances of such successful searches. Similar epistolary networks were those of Herbert Losinga (Niskanen), or Guarino Veronese (Pade).

What were the ways of acquiring one's own copy?
The desired text could unexpectedly appear as a gift, such as the Galen manuscript given to Robert of Anjou (r. 1309–1343) by the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III (r. 1328–1341). Unexpected treasures could also be found during travels. For instance, Burgundio of Pisa discovered the commentary of John Chrysostom on the Gospel of John, which he had ordered to be copied while conducting business, allowing him to translate it on his return journey (Beullens). Lending books often caused significant anxiety, with owners reluctant to part with such precious objects even temporarily, often requiring strong persuasion (Keskiaho, Rossetti).

The print business has left us valuable documentation about the costs of such searches, including not only the price paid for the manuscript but also related expenses like travel, borrowing, or copying costs (Jensen).

The most extreme form of 'finding' (apart from stealing) was likely forging the desired text as seen in the thirteenth-century forgery of the so-called *de Vetula*, claimed to be a poem by Ovid, supposedly buried with him in his grave (Beullens).

3. Bibliography before print

Another consideration also lay behind this issue, one closely related to the theme of search: how was the art of bibliography practised before the age of print? Obviously, one had reasonably good track of the books of the Bible, the great patristic authorities, and the canonical classical works – although even here one was often faced with deficient copies, misattributions, unauthorized additions and other problems that did not have an immediate solution: there simply was no archimedic point of textual reference in a world where every book was unique. There were admirable efforts by scholars to supplement, clean, and mend corrupt texts or to re-attribute them; this amounted to a certain accumulation of bibliographical knowledge in the most learned circles within certain disciplines, but it was, we believe, still a radically different situation than the world after print.

If one ventured beyond the most canonical and was interested, for example, in more recently composed works, bibliography was an impenetrable jungle, based on hearsay, specific networks, interests etc – and with absolutely no guarantee of any overview. There were book lists for some institutions, but there were no lists of the lists. Sometimes even for orientation in one's own institutional library, the use of multiple, complicated and incomplete documents were necessary.[13] The auto-bibliographies or self-commentaries of high-profile authors like Galen, Augustine and Dante were meant to weed out misunderstandings and additions that had accrued to their oeuvre in this wild bibliographical west.[14] But one thing is for a famous author to state that "that work is not mine, but this one is", it is much worse to guess the identity and authority of new or old works that suddenly surface, or to assess whether a reference to an otherwise unknown text carries any weight.

The fake books mentioned above were in a way the negative of the uncontrollable bibliography before print. The positive was that there were actually important texts – whether ancient or modern – hiding in some book collection of which no one had yet heard. We know this fascination in the most direct way from the testimony of the humanists, but the principles of haphazard navigation in the 'dark' bibliography was exactly the same before the early fifteenth century, although we have fewer names, dates and direct descriptions of book hunting. But indirectly, we believe there are many stories to be discovered about privileged access to rare texts, and we hope that the present essays may be helpful to open up this field.

13. Kaska, 2018.

14. See Marchesi, Singer; for a transnational perspective see Pizzone and Blankinship.

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JESSE KESKIAHO

Finding Patristic Authorities in the Carolingian Period

Abstract

This article investigates how and for what reasons Carolingian scholars sought and found works by the so-called church fathers. It begins by discussing the use of late antique bibliographical guides to learn about patristic titles and their orthodoxy. It looks at how Carolingian scholars went about acquiring copies of interesting works through their networks, and the peculiarities particular to the search for patristic texts. It closes by looking at examples of how some of the works of Augustine of Hippo were 'edited' by Carolingian scholars, arguing that such active engagement with these texts took place more often than sometimes thought.[1]

Keywords

Carolingians, Manuscripts, Patristics, Medieval editing, Annotations.

While the character and execution of the initiatives usually known as the Carolingian reforms continue to be debated (van Rhijn, "Introduction"), it is well established that Charlemagne (reigned 768–814) and his family funded selected institutions and called for educational reforms and correct books to be put to use by the bishops, responsible for teaching the will of God to their flocks. Consequently, books were copied in great numbers in a new uniform script known as the Caroline minuscule, library collections were systematically built up and enriched, and children were schooled (McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms* 140–66; McKitterick, *Carolingians*; Brown, "Introduction;" Contreni, "The Carolingian renaissance").

The Carolingian reforms stimulated intellectual work and patristic literature was central to these activities. Carolingian scholars were convinced that the patristic period had ended but was not beyond recall (Ward 166–72). Although the correct books called for in Charlemagne's famous *Admonitio generalis* were primarily liturgical, when applying the directive in their own dioceses, Carolingian bishops sometimes interpreted it more widely, to include also homilies by Gregory the Great (d. 604) (*Admonitio generalis* 70, 224; Contreni, "'Let Schools be Established'" 230–31). More importantly, Carolin-

1. I wish to thank Lars Boje Mortensen and Reka Forrai for inviting me to give the paper on which this article is based at the Odense symposium in 2022, and Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce and the two anonymous reviewers for their critical remarks and suggestions.

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gian bishops saw themselves as safeguarding and perpetuating patristic teaching. Rosamond McKitterick has shown how Carolingian scholars developed from the works of late antique church historians a view of history as a story about Christian writers and their works (*History and Memory* 229, 232, 234–44). The fathers were seen as teachers, not yet the giants of scholastic imagination (Steckel 548).

The Carolingian period continued the development of the canon of patristic writers that had begun in late antiquity (Otten; Gioianni; Pollard and Weber). Reform activity required clarifying what the fathers had written, which of the works attributed to them had they in fact written, and sorting out authoritative writers from those who were theologically suspect. It also involved finding out where exemplars of interesting titles were kept and negotiating access to them, ensuring they were preserved in good copies and corrected when necessary, and making sure that those who were supposed to read them could make sense of them.

In this article I survey some of the practical aspects involved in the search for and finding of patristic books in the Carolingian period. I will first discuss how the Carolingians went about determining what were the authoritative works of the fathers. I then turn to how Carolingian scholars procured copies of interesting books through their networks and continue with a closer look at how and why specifically patristic titles were sought out. Many of the specific examples concern engagement with the works and thought of Augustine of Hippo (354–430). The article concludes by considering cases where more than one copy of some of his major works seems to have been used to produce one surviving Carolingian copy. These cases imply that somebody gathered or even hunted for copies of the work in question and demonstrate the active nature of Carolingian engagement with authoritative texts.

Learning about patristic titles

Before one can look for books, one must find out what books to look for. How did the Carolingian scholars identify authoritative Christian texts? A few of the patristic authors had taken care to curate their literary oeuvre. Augustine famously wrote up the *Retractationes*, where he not only listed the works he had written but also sketched out the main argument of each work or the circumstances of their composition and noted issues he had since changed his mind about.

Moreover, his hagiographer Possidius drew up a list of his works. Other examples of authors who drew up lists of their works include the sixth-century senator and monastic founder Cassiodorus (d. *c.* 585) (*De ortographia* praef., 144) and Gregory of Tours (d. 594) (*Decem libri historiarum* 10.18, 535–36).

In addition to catalogues of the works of a single author, late-antique bibliographical quides could be used. *De uiris illustribus*, compiled by Jerome (d. 419/20) and continued by Gennadius of Marseille (d. *c.* 496) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636), listed ecclesiastical writers and their works. Cassiodorus wrote his *Institutiones* for the use of the brothers of Vivarium, the monastery he had founded. It gives advice about suitable titles both for secular and sacred studies. However, the guide that may have spoken best to the Carolingian desire for authoritatively correct books was the *Decretum* or *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, a list of orthodox and apocryphal works circulating falsely under the name of either pope Damasus (366–84) or pope Gelasius (492–6). It may have been created by an Augustinian faction in the context of the fifth- and sixth-century debates over Augustine's teaching on grace and free will (Schwartz; Gioianni 28; cf. von Dobschütz 348–52). Its purported papal origin was important to the Franks, who made wide use of it in their quest for orthodox books (McKitterick, *Carolingians* 202–04).

McKitterick has shown how late-antique guides to Christian literature were often collected in Carolingian manuscripts to create veritable bibliographical manuals (*Carolingians* 206–10). There even appear to be concrete traces of the use of *De uiris illustribus* as a kind of shopping list. David Ganz and McKitterick have drawn attention to a copy made at the turn of the eighth century in a northern Frankish centre that belonged to the library of Corbie already in the Merovingian period. Some lines of text in this manuscript of *De uiris illustribus* are marked with the *require*-symbol, commonly employed to mark linguistically questionable passages, but in this case intended perhaps as a reminder to seek out particular titles (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), lat. 12161, *e.g.* fol. 77r; McKitterick, *Carolingians* 202; Ganz, "The Merovingian Library" 154).[2]

The collection and study of bibliographic tools is reflected in Carolingian library catalogues, as McKitterick has also shown. The earliest surviving book lists that refer to an actual collection of books come from Würzburg and Fulda in the late eighth century.[3] From the ninth century, we possess systematic catalogues, not alphabetical but thematically organised, from the monasteries of Reichenau (in 821–

2. On *require* and other technical signs used in the early Middle Ages, see Steinová *Notam superponere studui*; Steinová "*Nota* and *Require*."

3. These are the list of books loaned from the Würzburg cathedral library to the abbeys of Fulda and Holzkirchen, Glauche et al. 977–79; and the earliest surviving list of books owned by Fulda, probably a copy of an older list, Schrimpf et al. 5–6; see also McKitterick 169–72; Gorman 55–56. An eighth- or ninth-century possibly Anglo-Saxon booklist survives in a volume that Gerward, the librarian to Louis the Pious, donated to Lorsch, Häse 168; Gorman 56–62. A fragment of an apparent booklist probably written in North Italy in the late seventh or early eighth century, in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, cii, fol. 127v, was signalled by Bischoff as a library catalogue ("Die Bibliothek" 212 n. 3). However, while its fragmentary state makes determining its nature difficult, it might simply be a list of books to be acquired or of books that have been lent; see also Gavinelli 375; I thank Evina Steinová for sharing a picture of the fragment and her ideas on the text.

822), Lorsch (*c.* 830, in 830–40 and again *c.* 850), St. Riquier (831), Fulda (ca. 840–50), Murbach (*c.* 850), St. Gallen (*c.* 850), and Bobbio.[4] A list of books could be simply a way of keeping track of books in a collection, but catalogues were also a way of conceptualising a collection of books, and it is possible they were also circulated in order to make the location of exemplars of certain texts known (McKitterick, *Carolingians* 209).

4. Respectively, Lehmann 244–50; Häse 82–101, 102–35, 136–67; Hariulf 3.3 89–93; Schrimpf et al. 85; Milde 36–48; Lehmann 71–82; Lehmann 263–66; Tosi 197–214. Generally, see McKitterick 173–96, 262–66.

Throughout the early Middle Ages, Rome was famous as a source of books. They were sought out by monastic founders, benefactors, and scholars, and gifted by the popes (McKitterick, "Roman Books" 93–95; Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek" 151–52). For example, Pope Paul (757–67) sent Charlemagne's father King Pippin (758–63), perhaps at his request, liturgical texts and Greek texts on grammar ("Codex Carolinus" 24, 529; Gastgeber). Charlemagne requested and received a Roman Sacramentary from Pope Hadrian (772–95) in the late 780s ("Codex Carolinus" 89, 626).[5] Constantinople was another possible source of books: famously, the emperor gave Louis the Pious (778–840) a collection of the works of Dionysius the (Ps.)-Areopagite (Paris, BNF, gr. 437) in 827 (McCormick 374). The papacy was above all a religious authority, yet it seems to have been worthwhile seeking secular works in Rome as well, as Abbot Lupus of Ferrières (*fl.* 850) did, writing to Pope Benedict III (855–58) and asking after Cicero's *De Oratore*, Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoriae* and Donatus' commentary on Terence (*Ep.* 103, 90–91; McKitterick, "Roman Books" 118).

5. See also the indispensable translation of the *Codex Carolinus*, with much contextualizing information, by McKitterick et al., the letters referenced here at 246 and 368–69.

Procuring books through scholarly networks

Recent work has highlighted the importance of scholarly networks to Carolingian scholarly pursuits (Meeder 4–5, Grifoni–Vocino 102–05). Locating and getting a hold of copies of interesting titles, like publishing new ones also depended on scholarly networks (Tahkokallio 2, 8–9; Niskanen 1–2; Keskiaho 29–30). Looking at Carolingian scholars and authors, it is clear and unsurprising that the book collection they were first acquainted with was that of the place where they studied. Later, a successful scholar may have been assigned to lead a monastery or a bishopric somewhere else. They might not lack for books so much as the particular titles they knew or the authoritative texts suitable for teaching their flocks in accordance with the spirit of the Carolingian reforms. However, if they knew where an exemplar was available, they could reach out to their friends and connections to get copies. Extant letters exemplify how the Carolingian elites went about procuring books.

Alcuin of York (d. 804) was one of the leading scholars in Charlemagne's entourage. Master of the cathedral school in York, he was recruited by the Frankish king and joined his court probably in 786 and was appointed as the lay abbot of Tours in 796 (Bullough). We find him there in September 798, suggesting to Charlemagne that he send a few boys to York to make excerpts from titles Alcuin knows are there but has no access to in Tours (Alcuin, *Ep*. 121, 176–77). A few years earlier he had responded to Charlemagne's astronomical query by noting that both Bede and Pliny the Elder had written things relevant to the question, but that he did not have their works with him at that moment. Therefore, he asked that Charlemagne send him a copy of Pliny's books so that he could answer properly (Alcuin, *Ep*. 155, 250).[6] On both occasions, Alcuin refers to books he had become familiar with previously but did not have currently at hand. In one case he knew the books were in York, and in both he sought to appeal to Charlemagne's resources to get them.[7]

6. For the context, see also McLeish and Garrison esp. 20–25, with a partial translation of the letter at 47–50.

7. While Alcuin does not say so, he probably was acquainted also with Pliny's work at York; see Garrison 98–99.

One of Alcuin's major undertakings for Charlemagne was mounting, with other court theologians, opposition to Spanish Christological thinking that they disapproved of (Cavadini). One of the proponents of this so-called Adoptionism was Felix, bishop of Urgell (d. 818). Preparing to debate him in 799, Alcuin sought to locate a transcript of Felix's debate with a Muslim, and, after asking around, sent word to Bishop Leidrad of Lyons (798–814), who he had been told might have a copy. He also noted that Peter of Pisa, one of the other scholars Charlemagne had recruited, had debated a Jew at Pavia, and that there was a transcript of that debate as well, which Angilbert, the lay abbot of Saint-Riquier (d. 814), might know something about (Alcuin, *Ep*. 172, 284–85; van Renswoude 43–44). Angilbert was the lover of Charlemagne's daughter Bertha and a close counsellor of the king, and had accompanied his son Pippin to Italy in 782 as one of the advisers assigned to the underage ruler (Davis 417 n. 218 with a helpful collection of literature). Leidrad, a Bavarian, had been introduced to Alcuin by his friend Arn, bishop of Salzburg (d. 821), and tasked, together with two other agents, with bringing Felix to Aachen (Boshof 56–57; Holtz 315–16). Alcuin writes that he had made enquiries to determine who was likely to have knowledge of the texts he was seeking. Leidrad as a bishop of a southern see involved in the fight against Adoptionism plausibly had a copy of Felix's debate or the means to acquire it, and Angilbert with his contacts in the Italian kingdom might have knowledge of Peter of Pisa's debate. The court connected these men, and it is symptomatic that the letter from which we learn about this book-hunting is one that Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne.

While books may have been difficult to obtain, the lack of access to necessary books is also a trope in the literature of the period. Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842, archbishop of Mainz from 847, and a prolific author of biblical commentaries made frequent use of a related conceit. He proposed that his commentaries, effectively collections of patristic excerpts, could stand for a whole library, and would be especially useful to those who did not have access to many books (Hrabanus, *Ep*. 13, 400; *Ep*. 28, 443; *Ep*. 34, 468; *Ep*. 36, 471).

Hrabanus himself clearly did not lack access to books. It is not surprising that when Frechulf, probably a former monk of Fulda, was installed as the bishop of Lisieux (824/5–50/2), he wrote to Hrabanus to request the books of the Bible and patristic commentaries on them. Frechulf claims he did not have any of these basic books in Lisieux, which may be simply an exaggeration designed to make Hrabanus do what he wanted (Hrabanus, *Epp*. 7–12, 394–400; Ward 7–12, 29–30). When he eventually compiled his *Historiarum libri xii*, he made use of a substantial collection of patristic books. He may have built up a collection of books at Lisieux or simply loaned the books he needed, utilising his networks. In addition to Hrabanus, he was acquainted with Helisachar, the archchancellor of Louis the Pious and abbot of Saint-Denis. Michael Allen, who has edited the *Historiae*, concludes that the imperial court undoubtedly provided bibliographical assistance and that the libraries of Helisachar's many monastic benefices and especially Hrabanus's Fulda probably furnished many of the codices Frechulf made use of (Allen *Prolegomena* 17*, 200*; Allen, "Fréculf" 72–73; Ward 30). The composition of the *Historiae* suggests how Frechulf employed his networks to procure books.

In the case of living authors, it was possible to write to them to request a copy of their works. Thus, we have Abbot Peter of Nonantola writing to Amalarius of Metz (d. *c*. 850), at that time the bishop of Trier, to request copies of two of his works (Amalarius, *Ep*. 4, 245). Councils and synods, as gatherings of literate men, were good places for finding books (Zechiel-Eckes 222). Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (d. 882) had Florus of Lyons's (d. 860) *Rescriptum de praedestinatione* copied at the synod of Bonneuil (855) from an exemplar supplied by Bishop Heribald of Auxerre (Zechiel-Eckes 120, 222 n. 31). He also appears to have obtained a copy of Florus's *De tribus epistolis* at the council of Savonnières (859) (Pezé *Le virus* 90 nn. 284–85). Florus and Hincmar were at this time on different sides of the debate on double predestination, the idea that God has predestined all humans to either salvation or damnation (on the debate see Pezé, *Le virus*). The latter's actions suggest how the works of living authors, to whom one could or would not write directly, might be acquired by employing one's own networks.

The importance of networks is highlighted in the case of Lupus of Ferrières, famous for taking an interest in the Classics and leaving his mark on their textual traditions, as, for example, in the case of certain of Cicero's philosophical works. In his book hunting, exceptionally well-known through his letters, Lupus both bravely forged new connections and resorted to the networks of others.[8] He wrote to Einhard (d. 840), best known as the biographer of Charlemagne, to introduce himself and to borrow books that he knew Einhard had because he had seen a list (*brevis*) of the latter's books (Lupus, *Ep*. 1, 8). He also engaged his friends to loan books from their connections and then covertly lend them to him, such as when in 844 he asked Abbot Marcward of Prüm to borrow a book from the monastery of Fulda and then send it onward to him. In this case, Lupus probably knew about the book because he had seen it at Fulda while he studied there, as he specified that the work he sought had been copied as two small volumes (Lupus, *Ep*. 91, 81). On another occasion, sometime in the early 840s, Lupus requested that Archbishop Orsmar of Tours borrow a papyrus book from the library of St. Martin's Abbey in Tours without mentioning Lupus and then send it onwards to Lupus via the agent the latter had already sent (Lupus, *Ep*. 16, 24).

8. The classic study of Lupus's activities is Beeson; see also Bischoff "Paläographie" 63–68; for his book hunting see Depreux; for Cicero's philosophical works, Rouse in Powell et al. 124–28.

As the case of Lupus of Ferrières indicates, while books were normally borrowed and lent between trusted acquaintances, an ambitious and well-enough networked individual could still find ways to get his hands on the books he wanted. Generally, since books were expensive, their owners would have had good reasons for not wanting to loan them (Depreux 278–80). Because they were valuable, they were vulnerable to theft en route, a possibility Lupus raises in another letter (*Ep*. 76, 70), especially if the courier travelled by foot (*Ep*. 20, 28). Those interested in a book needed to be able to send a courier whom both parties trusted (*Ep*. 6, 18; *Ep*. 91, 81). The trustworthiness of couriers was especially important since communications were slow and uncertain. Alcuin's two letters to Arn in 800 mention two books of Ambrose' works belonging to his monastery that a courier called Hildegar has taken to Salzburg and Alcuin tries to get returned, not knowing if the volumes have arrived in Salzburg or if Hildegar still has them (*Ep*. 193, 320; *Ep*. 194, 322). Practical considerations may also explain why Lupus approached Prüm for books from Fulda, and why he did not want his name to be mentioned to the monks of Tours. It may be that he lacked good connections in Fulda: in 844 his teacher Rabanus was no longer abbot there, having stepped down in 842. Conversely, Lupus seems to have had close connections with the abbot and monks of Prüm (see *Epp*. 5, 105, 10, 91, 68, 117, 123). Finally, while the secrecy in the case of the papyrus volume of St. Martin's may hint that Lupus may not have been able to aks for the book directly from the monastery, it may simply be a security measure: the book was old and probably fragile as well, and the less people knew about where it was taken the safer it would have been.

How could Lupus know that an institution he did not approach directly had the volumes he was after? Since he could describe the volumes he wanted, he had either seen them on a previous occasion, consulted the librarians of the respective collections, or knew them from booklists. At least some booklists circulated: Lupus himself refers to Einhard's *brevis*, and Murbach for example seems to have had a copy of Reichenau's earliest library catalogue (Depreux 277 n. 76; McKitterick *Carolingians* 209). In other cases it is probable that Lupus had seen the books he requested at an earlier occasion. For instance, he may well have learned of the existence of the volumes he requested from pope Benedict III when he had visited Rome in 849 (Depreux 276–77), although the possibility that a list of the books in the papal library also circulated cannot be excluded (McKitterick "Roman Books" 118). The details Lupus gives on the two books in Fulda and Tours – in two volumes, on papyrus – could as well stem from a booklist as from autopsy.

Hunting for copies of patristic works

In addition to building up institutional collections, theological controversies were a central reason to study books and look for more of them. The discussion of contentious or simply difficult questions required research into what individual authoritative theologians really taught. Especially in the case of prolific authorities such as Augustine, it was necessary to track down all of their writings relevant to the topic to be able to reconstruct their thought. In this section, I consider the availability of patristic texts, both generally and then particularly on the basis of Alcuin's discussion of the soul. I then move to consider other obstacles between Carolingian readers and patristic works, related to their difficulty and questions about the authenticity and authority of individual titles.

The works of the late antique Christian theologians, patristic works, comprise a varied collection in terms of types of texts, ranging from practical texts such as monastic rules and sermons to scholarly treatises, from exegesis to speculative theology (see generally Dekkers and Gaar). Some authors and types of text were more popular or regarded as more useful than others; in other words, the variety of patristic texts was likely reflected in their availability. Judging the availability of individual titles at any given moment is challenging and necessarily imprecise, based as it is on the surviving manuscripts, on the use of these works in surviving early medieval texts, and, by the Carolingian period, on library catalogues, all of which only represent small parts of the evidence that once existed. Emanuela Colombi suggests that before the Carolingian period there was especial interest in exegesis, the works of Gregory the Great, as well as trinitarian and anti-heretical theological treatises, especially those that could be used to combat Arianism. More speculative or difficult theological texts seem to have been comparatively rare. This seems to be the case with many of Augustine's texts before the ninth century, and it may be that less complex works on the same subjects by other authors were preferred. However, renewed intellectual ambition and confidence, reflected in the Carolingian period in new theological controversies, created demand for more speculative theological works (Colombi, "La trasmissione" 9–16; "La presenza").

Carolingian intellectual confidence was brought to bear on issues that had remained controversial since late antiquity. The origin of the soul was one such issue (Tolomio; Haverkamp). Alcuin, in his *De ratione animae*, written in the 790s, notes that he will not deal with that difficult question because he does not have the necessary books:

> Thus even the blessed Augustine wrote a letter to blessed Jerome about the origin of the soul, wishing to know what that great scholar might declare on the subject. If that book should be in your library, read it and learn what that most sagacious investigator of nature said about the origin of the soul. […] blessed Jerome replied to him in a very brief but

> most perceptive letter. I read the book in England, but we do not have it here, nor the letter written in reply to it. The same scholar also produced, according to his *Retractations*, other essays on the nature of the soul – *On the Size of the Soul*, one book, *On the Immortality of the Soul*, one book, *On the Two Souls*, one book, and *On the immortality of the soul and its Origin*, four books. These I have not yet come upon. If perhaps they should be in the imperial library, do search them out, read them, and as a kind favour, send them to me to read. (8 86–87; trans. by J.J.M. Curry)

Here we see Alcuin using Augustine's *Retractationes* to see what the bishop of Hippo had written on the topic at hand. He suggests, but does not necessarily know, that the four works he only knows from the *Retractationes* might be found in the book chests at the court.

As far as can be determined, Augustine's treatises on the soul may indeed have been rather rare before the second quarter of the ninth century. *De quantitate animae* is included in the late-eighth-century list of books loaned from Würzburg (Glauche et al. 979), and *De natura et origine animae* (surely what Alcuin cites as *De immortalitate animae et eius origine*) is listed in the catalogue of St. Riquier in 831 (Hariulf 3.3, 90). *De immortalitate* is listed in Reichenau among the books copied during Erlebald's abbacy (823–38), while *De quantitate* was in Reichenau by the later ninth century (Lehmann 264). Of these works, only excerpts from *De quantitate* are listed in the first Lorsch catalogue, written in 830 (Häse 89). One copy each of all four works and a second of D*e immortalitate* are found in the next catalogue, probably from the 830s (Häse 108, item 43; 109, items 44 and 47; 123, item 93) The library catalogue of Murbach from the 840s lists *De immortalitate*, *De quantitate* and *De duabus animabus* as present in the collection but notes as desiderata on the basis of the *Retractationes* several titles, including *De natura et origine animae* (Milde 38, 40).

The library catalogues offer only one part of the picture, but surviving manuscripts of Augustine's treatises on the soul also suggest that there were fewer copies of these works available than in the second quarter of the century. The earliest surviving copy of both *De quantitate animae* and of *De natura et origine animae* is a Corbie manuscript copied before 830 (Paris, BNF, lat. 13369). Fulda prepared a copy of both *De immortalitate animae* and *De natura et origine animae* in the first third of the ninth century (Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 20 Ms. Theol. 30), and another copy of *De immortalitate* was made near the court of Louis the Pious *c.* 830 (Paris, BNF, lat. 2718). From the second quarter of the ninth century, there is one further pairing of both *De natura* and *De quantitate* (Valenciennes, BM, 163 (155)), one copy each of *De immortalitate* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Gud. lat. 184 40) and *De natura* (Paris, BNF, lat. 12205) alone, three manuscripts that carry both *De immortalitate* and *De quantitate* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 236 and Aug. perg. 95; Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Sess. 16) and none of *De duabus animabus*.

It thus seems that the four treatises that Alcuin mentions (and *De duabus* animabus especially) may have been rare enough for him to choose to simply note their existence instead of looking for copies. On the other hand, discussing the origin of the soul would have been perfectly possible based on Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, which Alcuin uses extensively in his treatise. It features a comprehensive, if difficult and ultimately inconclusive, discussion on the question. Alcuin may have hoped that Augustine might have committed to a clear view on the issue in one of the four treatises he did not know. However, the lack of books also freed him for from discussing a difficult question he may not have wanted to adress, likely judging it too complicated for his target audience.

In addition to the rarity of certain titles, there were many obstacles between literate Franks and theological texts that affected the search for books. Some were due to the complexity of many patristic texts. Charlemagne's sister and daughter asked Alcuin to compile for them a commentary on the Gospel of John because they had tried and failed to make sense of Augustine's *Tractatus in Johannem* (Alcuin, *Ep*. 196, 324). Moreover, restriction of access was also ideologically grounded: simple monks and clerics were not supposed to read about nor discuss difficult theological questions (Pezé, *Le virus* 304–07; generally, Steckel 518–27, 535–37). They were to be happy with the simple works bishops selected for their education and use (on these see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven* esp. 52–83). Monastic reading was controlled: in Corbie, monks were questioned about their Lenten reading, and the abbot was charged with judging which book to which reader (Ganz 71). Finally, despite the availability of bibliographical guides and efforts to clarify the matter, uncertainty about what texts had been written by the fathers persisted throughout the Carolingian period and beyond. For example, while Augustine' major works – such as *De ciuitate Dei*, *De Trinitate*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De doctrina Christiana*, and *Enarrationes in Psalmos* – and others appear the surviving library catalogues of major Carolingian houses (Lehmann 71, 74; 244–45; Häse 108, items 31–41; 123, items 81–83, 68 and 90; 124, item 97), many libraries lacked many others of his works or catalogued as his works titles that he had not written. This meant that it was relatively easy to claim for Augustine texts that were not written by him.[9]

9. On Augustine and Ps.-Augustines in the Carolingian period, see the recent discussion by Timmermann 541–42.

The predestination controversy led to intensive study by all parties involved in the debate, also leaving traces in the surviving manuscripts, as Warren Pezé has shown. Hincmar of Rheims clearly commanded a small army of clerics that searched through patristic texts for usable passages and compiled them for the archbishop's treatises (*Le virus* 265, 475–80; Devisse 924–26, 946, 1069–71). Gottschalk of Orbais (d. 868/9), a monk and an itinerant preacher, had taught that God had predestined the faithful to eternal salvation and the reprobate to eternal damnation. Although the idea had clear precedents in Augustine's thought, it was interpreted by many to challenge mainstream Carolingian understanding of Christian society, built on personal responsibility and fear of damnation (Pezé, *Le virus* 275–87; Gillis). While negotiating the challenges of determining what Augustine had in fact taught about this issue, Hincmar was also prepared to exploit these challenges and unequal access to patristic literature. He seized on a text called the *Hypomnesticon*, which argued against double predestination and asserted that it was an authentic work of Augustine. This provided him with a way of claiming that Augustine had in his old age changed his mind on the issue. This confusion may have at first been genuine, but even after Florus of Lyon had demonstrated that the *Hypomnesticon* could not have been authentic, Hincmar persisted and even concocted a predestinationist heresy supposedly combatted by Augustine. The reception of the *Hypomnesticon*, listed, for example, among Augustine's works in the St. Riquier catalogue in 831 (Hariulf 3.3, 90), generally exemplifies the difficulty of telling Augustine's authentic works apart from texts falsely attributed to him. Yet Hincmar's persistence also demonstrates that this was not a community of equal readers, all with access to books and information about them (*Le virus* 374–79).

Such uncertainty about patristic writers and the texts they had written probably affected the search for books. If only good authorities were to be used, how to recognise them? Moreover, texts seen as less authoritative or of questionable orthodoxy may have been rare and as such difficult to find. The letters of Lupus offer examples of the difficulties of locating copies of rarer works and of the use of the Ps.-Gelasian catalogue to define the canon. In 849/50, in the context of the controversy on predestination, he warned King Charles the

Bald (reigned 843–77) that if the latter was confronted with the writings of a certain Faustus of Riez (d. *c.* 490) on predestination, he should know that pope Gelasius and 70 learned bishops had decided that his writings were not authoritative (Lupus, *Ep.* add. 4, 113–14). A few years later, Lupus seems nevertheless to have decided to investigate Faustus's ideas. In August 859 he wrote to Abbot Odo of Corbie and requested the works of the "unfortunate" (*infaustus*) Faustus (*Ep.* 111, 96). It seems that Lupus received the wrong texts or was met with a request for further information, because in a subsequent letter to Odo he specified that he wanted the writings of the Faustus mentioned by Gelasius, not those of the Manichean bishop debated by Augustine (Lupus, *Ep.* 112, 97).

Lupus' difficulties in obtaining the works of the right Faustus seem to reflect the apparent rarity of the works of the bishop of Riez by the ninth century. He may have become retrospectively branded as anti-Augustinian or semi-Pelagian, after the settlement of disagreements over Augustine's teachings on grace and free will at the council of Orange (529) (on which Mathisen). Certainly, his *De spiritu sancto* circulated mostly under false attribution to a sixth-century Roman deacon (Engelbrecht xii–xiii). Furthermore, the single surviving copy of his *De gratia* comes with a notice on the flyleaf by a ninth-century scholar of Corbie, possibly the librarian Hadoard, quoting both Gennadius's short biography of Faustus in *De uiris illustribus* and his condemnation in the Ps-Gelasian *Decretum*, adding that the reader should make up their own mind about how to regard the work (Paris, BNF, lat. 2166, fol. Iv). Corbie, with a particularly well-stocked library (Ganz, *Corbie* 36–67), was a good place for Lupus to inquire after Faustus's works.

Seeking multiple copies of patristic texts for purposes of comparison and editing

While theological problems and controversies often called for searching for books, patristic books were also searched and collected for purposes of textual comparison and for the preparation of compilations and 'editions.' Such endeavours required locating several copies of the same work in search of good texts and perhaps also interesting paratexts. In this section I approach these issues especially through examples drawn from the textual tradition of some of Augustine's major works.

If finding the right book by the right author could be challenging, so could be finding a well-executed copy. Carolingian scholars understood nature of textual transmission in handmade copies, namely that texts circulated in different versions and could be corrupted or altered through careless copying. Thus, Charlemagne famously charged his bishops not only to arrange schooling but also to have books corrected and to take care that competent scribes undertook the copying of new ones (*Admonitio generalis* 70, 224; Brown 19–20; Contreni, "'Let Schools Be Established"). In the same spirit of reform, both Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821) sought to edit the text of the Bible (Fischer 93–95; Lobrichon), and Reginbert of Reichenau sent monks Grimaldus and Tatto to a copy a manuscript of the *Regula Benedicti* copied from St. Benedict's supposed autograph in Montecassino, furnishing it with variants from other copies of the rule (Traube 33; Jebe 329–34). Theodulf also compiled a *Supplementum* to the Roman sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian and known as the *Hadrianum* (Ruffiot). Similarly, the monastic reformer Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) compiled the *Codex Regularum*, collecting monastic rules older than the rule of St. Benedict, and *Concordia regularum*, that sought to demonstrate the similarities of the decrees of these rules with those of the *Regula Benedicti* (Kramer 183–84 with further literature). It was probably such editorial and compilatory projects in his teachers' generation that inspired Lupus's famous projects with Classical texts (*e.g.* Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar" 47–51). In the ninth century, new editions were also created of Isidore's *Etymologies*: two editions were compiled in St. Gall in the latter half of the ninth century, involving the collation of several copies of the work, and there is evidence of further such projects around the Carolingian world (Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions").

One reason behind such projects was the search for a more correct text, and patristic texts were also edited in this way. It is perhaps more widely known that copies of the Classics could be textually deficient. Thus, we find copies in which their scribes have even left empty lines where they expect or know text to be missing, so as to fill in the lacunae when a better exemplar was found (Stover; generally Bischoff, "Paläographie" 56–57). However, even the texts of the fathers were not exempt from textual problems, and these could make editorial interventions necessary. Large works that had originally circulated as sets of multiple volumes could be especially susceptible to accidents such as loss of text. For example, Augustine originally proposed two alternative arrangements of the 22 books of the *City of God*

(*De ciuitate Dei*), into five or two volumes. In practice, the work seems to have circulated in several different arrangements of one to five volumes before the ninth century, when it was often collected into one or two volumes (Colombi, "Assetto librario" 191–201). Certainly, surviving copies of the *City of God* carry traces of all kinds of accidents, some of which may be considerably old. For example, two ninth-century copies of the first ten books seem to descend from an exemplar where the pages had been bound in the wrong order (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 9641 and Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana, 19; Keskiaho, "Copied marginal annotations" 286).

Faulty copies called for editorial interventions and ultimately the search for other copies of the work in order to access the whole text. Surviving Carolingian copies reflect such activities, which could be imperfect and result in a still lacking copy. In one ninth-century manuscript from an unidentified centre in central France, the scribe (or the scribe of the exemplar of this codex) noticed a lacuna where the text of book seven suddenly changes into the text of book ten. A note indicates the lacuna and instructs the reader to find the missing text in book nine (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale (BM), S 15, fol. 91v)! The text of book seven resumes after a few pages (on fol. 93r), and we find the missing passage in book nine (on fols. 117–25r) where it curiously displaces a passage from that book that is completely missing.

Not only was it acknowledged that texts could be faulty by accident or carelessness, but it was also understood that patristic texts were sometimes intentionally altered. In particular, accusations of deliberate falsification and inept interpretation had become a part of doctrinal controversies already in late antiquity (*e.g.* Vessey, "The Forging of Orthodoxy"), and the Carolingians shared in this tradition. Tampering was not only suspected, but long-standing difficult questions, such as questions about the relationship of divine grace and human free will, had in fact left their mark in the texts central to the issue. Carolingian controversies, such as those over Adoptionism and predestination, also led to alterations. For example, during the predestination controversy, Hincmar researched the late-eighth-century discussion over Adoptionism, where Alcuin had accused Felix of Urgell of forging, among other things, a passage in *De Trinitate* by Hilary of Poitiers. The tradition of that text in fact carried a variant, already old by the time of the Adoptionist controversy, with some witnesses, in connection to the incarnation of Christ, referring to the adoption of humble flesh, others to its adoration. Hincmar focused on this variant, amplifying the accusation that it was Felix who had originated the reading *adoptatur* to bolster his case. Pezé argues that Hincmar also corrected a manuscript he had had copied from an old St. Denis exemplar to read *adoratur* instead of *adoptatur* (Pezé, "Un faussaire" 204–08, 220–21; *Le virus* 408–18; Paris, BNF, lat. 12132, fol. 18v).

Apart from traces of editorial activity in early medieval manuscripts of patristic texts suggesting the intent to ensure a reliable and correct text, there are also marginal annotations and other signs of efforts to provide easier access to the more complex patristic works. For example, Augustine's major works are often annotated in Carolingian manuscripts (Gorman, "Marginalia;" Keskiaho, "Annotation of Patristic Texts;" Keskiaho, "Copied marginal annotations"). In comparison to Latin glosses to early medieval schooltexts and vernacular glossing, which usually include a focus on aiding the comprehension of the language and the vocabulary (*e.g.* O'Sullivan 80–101; Schiegg 98–124), these annotations are rarely about the language and mostly concern the ideas presented in the text. Many of these annotations are copies, moreover copied from the same earlier exemplar as the main text. In fact, again in comparison to glosses, which could travel singly or in groups between otherwise unrelated copies of the same text (Steinovà, "Parallel Glosses;" Teeuwen, "The Impossible Task" 197–200; Zetzel 5–6), the annotations to Augustine's works are textually relatively stable: in cases where multiple copies survive with the same set of annotations, all usually have the same series, and there are rarely any additional annotations. Sometimes, these annotations may have been copied simply because they were deemed to be an integral part of the exemplar. However, in other cases the annotations were copied because they were perceived as adding value to the text. This is suggested when annotations have been placed on the page carefully and copied neatly and correctly (see also Teeuwen, "Voices from the Edge" 20–22).

One example of probable Carolingian compilation, which may have necessitated the use of several exemplars, is a copy of *De Genesi ad litteram* copied in either Saint-Amand or Salzburg, when Arn was the abbot of Saint-Amand and archbishop of Salzburg. In this copy, Augustine's text is furnished with neatly copied annotations that closely follow the at times convoluted arguments of the text, providing guidance to the reader. They focus on analysing and interpreting the structure of Augustine's arguments, characterising them (for example, as rash, open, or negative),[10] and identifying their rhetorical character (for example, identifying one as a *comparatio de rebus notis*;[11] another as an *argumentum ad prouocationem*[12]), in order to

10. Keskiaho, "The Chapter Headings" 140: "Hic temerariam adfirmationem suspendit;" 138: "Aperta responsio;" 144: "Comparatio abnutiua."

11. Keskiaho, "The Chapter Headings" 159: "De rebus notis dat conparationem, ut adtendat illas uisiones, aut a corpore, aut ab anima, aut ab spiritu, causas habere, ut sint." ("Provides a comparison from known things, so that [he] might consider these visions to have their causes in the body, in the soul, in the spirit, as they might be.")

12. Keskiaho, "The Chapter Headings" 135: "Argumentum ad prouocationem ex nostro hoc uisu communi et usuali." ("A provocative argument about this our common and usual vision.")

pinpoint the passages that represent the author's views. The text was at times challenging: "I cannot fathom what this indigestible oblivion, as he says, means"[13] (where Augustine suggests that souls may be affected by an oblivion of their pre-existence, but one that is not insurmountable, literally indigestible, but allows recall). Both in clarifying the structure of Augustine's arguments and identifying difficult passages they mediated between the text and the early medieval reader. *De Genesi ad litteram* is in this manuscript also preceded by a short abbreviation of the same work, providing a helpful abstract before the full work. Neither the marginalia nor the abbreviation are necessarily originally Carolingian, but their combination in this manuscript may well be (Paris, BNF, lat. 2112; Keskiaho, "Chapter Headings;" Gorman, "Marginalia;" Gorman, "A Carolingian Epitome"). In Salzburg, the abbreviation and the full *De Genesi* were attentively studied and annotated by the librarian Baldo (*e.g.* fols. 1r, 1v, 2r, 16r, 16v; on Baldo, Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen* 78–82).

13. Keskiaho, "The Chapter Headings" 155: "Indigestibilem obliuionem quod dixit, non mihi elucet, quid intellegi uelit."

In some cases, it is apparent that several copies of a text have been gathered, perhaps even hunted, and compared to produce the surviving copy. For example, one North Italian ninth-century copy of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* carries 108 annotations copied presumably from the same exemplar as the main text (Novara, Biblioteca capitolare, lxxxii; Keskiaho, "Late-Antique"). In addition, it also carries five additional annotations by a different ninth-century hand. The first of these (on fol. 8v) is labelled with a note surrounded by a diamond-shaped outline: "hoc de alio libro additum" (this added from another book). These notes can be distinguished from the others through their layout: whereas the 108 annotations are neatly placed in the margins and often set off by a distinctively shaped bracket, the five annotations added from another book are placed in the lower margin and connected to their place in the text using diverse symbols (Keskiaho, "Late-Antique" 192–93). Thus, not only did the scribe copy carefully the one book they had, but it seems that they also sought out another copy (the *alius liber* of the first of the additional notes), and added the annotations they found there in the surviving copy. The annotations identify topics ("On souls after death, whether they are put in corporeal spaces, and on the burning rich man and poor Lazarus"[14]) and note conclusions and teachings ("those who suppose that souls are created from the parents say that the soul is corporeal").[15] Such topic labels form an index, easing the navigation of the work. The annotations copied by the main scribes also frequently relate what Augustine says to philosophical opinions

14. Keskiaho, "Late-Antique or Early Medieval" 209: "de animabus post mortem, si locis corporeis collocentur, et de divite ardente, et de Lazaro paupere."

15. Keskiaho, "Late-Antique or Early Medieval" 210: "Qui opinantur ex parentibus animas creari corpus dicunt animam esse."

("As natural philosophers supposed about Jupiter;" "As Hipparchus and Heracleides supposed").[16]

16. Keskiaho, "Late-Antique or Early Medieval" 208: "Sicut fisici de Iove senserunt; Sicut Hipatius* et Heraclitus* senserunt."

It is not always appreciated that the Carolingians could use multiple copies of a patristic work to construct a single new copy. Almost forty years ago Michaela Zelzer, for example, could claim that before the eleventh century patristic manuscripts were nearly always copied directly from late antique exemplars (536–37). Certainly, there was contaminating activity also in the eleventh century: the Novara manuscript discussed above also carries a series of annotations that was copied from another manuscript in the eleventh century (Keskiaho, "Late-Antique" 192). However, there is recently uncovered evidence that Carolingian scholars did also 'edit' major patristic texts.

If it were the case that the Carolingians mainly copied patristic works from a single ancient exemplar to one Carolingian apograph, it would be possible to use the same copied annotations found in multiple manuscripts to determine the relationships of the witnesses to the main text that they accompany. I ventured such an investigation recently with copied annotations to Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*. However, while confirming that these annotations were usually copied from a single older exemplar, the investigation did reveal a limited degree of contamination between distinct series of copied annotations, implying contamination also in the textual tradition of the main text these annotations accompany (Keskiaho, "Copied marginal annotations"). Marina Giani has now collated the relevant copies of the *De ciuitate,* and we can see that the annotations were often copied from the same exemplar as the main text.

Moreover, Giani's work has also revealed interesting cases of Carolingian editorial work on the *De ciuitate*. Köln, Dombibliothek, 75, a copy of the first ten books of the work made in Saint-Amand in the first quarter of the ninth century, carries annotations found in several other Carolingian copies of this text, most of which transmit a version of the main text belonging to Giani's γ-family. However, the Köln manuscript was not copied from a witness to the γ-family, but from a contaminated witness of another family. It was subsequently corrected from a manuscript belonging to the γ-family, and the annotations were also copied from this second witness. These annotations label topics, but also issue directions to the reader ("[Augustine] explains above what the indecencies of theatre are, read if you will").[17] The manuscript was subsequently loaned to Cambrai, where a surviving copy (Cambrai, BM, 350) was made in the middle of the ninth century and probably ended up in Cologne already in the ninth

17. Keskiaho, "Copied marginal annotations" 282: "Quid sint scenicae turpitudines supra articulauit, lege si uis."

century, when the manuscript was corrected again against a third manuscript of *De ciuitate*, representing yet another family of witnesses. Here we thus see one particularly well-resourced Carolingian monastic centre, Saint-Amand, comparing (and possibly acquiring) two different copies of *De ciuitate* and producing a comprehensive edition, with a corrected text and helpful annotations, that gets copied and is later compared with a third copy of the same work (Giani).

It may not be a coincidence that this editing of the *De ciuitate* (Cologne, Dombibliothek, 75), as well of *De Genesi ad litteram* discussed above (Paris, BNF, lat. 2112), took place under Arn's abbatial governance of Saint-Amand and his episcopacy in Salzburg. Although all Carolingian centres worked with patristic texts and studied them, they probably did this with different agendas and standards, producing copies for different needs. The active engagement with Augustine's major works in Saint-Amand and Salzburg is comparable with other evidence of activities relating to authoritative texts in court-connected Carolingian monastic houses. McKitterick has highlighted the interest in Roman and early Christian history shown by scholars in Lorsch and St-Amand (*History and Memory* 196–216). Julia Becker has drawn attention to how Lorsch librarians systemised their patristic collection and corrected their books, and Helmut Reimitz has shown how Lorsch scholars rewrote Frankish history (Reimitz).

Like historical texts, patristic texts were collected and curated in St. Amand and Salzburg. Naturally, the difference between history and theology should not be overstated. *De Genesi* with its discussion of the six days of creation and especially the first ten books of *De ciuitate*, with Augustine's critical discussions of Roman history and religion, could also be understood as history, highly relevant to Carolingian understandings of what it meant to have a Christian Roman Empire. Comparing the evidence of the two Augustine copies to that of engagement with history in Lorsch and St. Amand suggests that the scholars working with Augustine's texts applied similar methods to them, seeking to repair and preserve them, striving for textual integrity and aiding understanding, preparing them for study.

Conclusion

Carolingian scholars and librarians studied late antique bibliographical guides to the works of the church fathers, and created and maintained booklists and library catalogues, at times even circulating them. Using these tools, it was possible to determine what potentially relevant works one still lacked, as we saw Alcuin doing in his *De ratione animae*. A different use these bibliographic guides could be put to, exemplified by Lupus's advice to Charles the Bald on the authority of Faustus of Riez, was to distinguish between orthodox and heretical writers.

Despite the existence of such guides and catalogues, however, accessing books was difficult in many ways. Bibliographical guides were not enough to dispel confusion about authentic and pseudepigraphic works, and access to some patristic texts was at least in principle restricted. The ability to borrow books clearly depended on one's status and networks. The extant evidence shows us the Carolingian elite, and even they sometimes had difficulties in obtaining books. Lupus, for example, although endowed with education, connections, and status as abbot, still had to resort to subterfuge and his friends to obtain exemplars, whether because he lacked direct connections with the owners of these books or to safeguard valuable volumes. At the same time his letters demonstrate the strategies a resourceful and well-connected individual could employ to surmount difficulties in the pursuit of books.

Carolingian scholars sought books, among other reasons, for the purposes of scholarship, writing projects, and in theological controversies. They also took effort to obtain multiple copies of a specific text to compare them, and they collated them to ensure that they had reliable copies of important texts. Some of them did this not only to the Bible and some Classical texts, but also some works of the fathers. In Arn's St. Amand and Salzburg interesting annotations were collected to accompany the text of some works of Augustine's, not only to ensure a good copy of an important work but also to bridge the gap between these late antique works and their Carolingian readers.

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AIDAN CONTI

In Search of a Harrowing Tale: Manuscripts of the Latin Translation of *De Christi passione*

Abstract

This paper examines the manuscripts of the Latin translation of Eusebius of Alexandria's *sermo 17* as evidence for medieval text searches. This homily, which treats the apprehension of Jesus, his trial and subsequent descent into hell, is found in four manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343; Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm14540; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a VII 5), which evince two distinct searches for the homily. In the English manuscripts, the homily fills a lacuna in Easter season within the Homiliary of Angers. In the earlier two manuscripts, the homily appears as part of a textual block that served to stock developing library collections. The evidence these manuscripts present for text-hunting help elucidate the influence the work of this obscure Byzantine author had in the Latin world.

Keywords

Eusebius of Alexandria, De passione Domini, Homiliary of Angers, Salzburg, St Emmeram.

Introduction

The composition of medieval books themselves provide rich evidence for the widespread and often anonymous text hunting activity that characterizes manuscript cultures. The processes of identification, selection and production – sometimes undoubtedly haphazard, more often deliberate – evident in books reveal the development, assemblage and dissemination of medieval knowledge. As institutions and individuals built up and maintained manuscript collections, the holdings often comprised libraries within libraries; in particular, the multiple-text manuscript can be fruitfully considered as a single-volume library.[1] As Marilena Maniaci details, many codices are "the product of bringing together under a single cover exist-

1. This approach and its productiveness are outlined in Friedrich and Schwarke.

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ing units and/or others created *ad hoc*, which might have occurred at different times, in various ways for different reasons" (29). In this paper, I will consider the codicological circumstances of Latin manuscripts of the *homelia de passione Domini* to elucidate how closely aligned the two pairs of these four manuscripts are and the evidence they provide for a hunt for this text, even as we remain unable to identify the individuals responsible and the specific details of their hunting activities.

De passione Domini is a short homily for the Easter season that recounts the betrayal of Judas, the trial of Jesus and the despoiling of hell. The piece ends with the speech of the good thief, who explains his presence in paradise to the prophets as they arrive from their previous enclosure in hell. Written in Greek in the fifth or sixth century, the text was thereafter translated into Latin sometime before the 800s. As a matter of convenience, the homily is ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria to whom a corpus of twenty-two homilies on the life of Jesus and ecclesiastical observance are ascribed.[2] This figure appears to be a medieval fabulation, as we will see, and the corpus attributed to him in manuscript tradition need not represent the work of single individual. Nonetheless, the texts, several of which were translated into Old Russian, Old Church Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, Arabic and Syriac, were important in early Christianity.

2. The corpus of this author can be found under Pseudo-Eusebius Alexandrinus in Geerard 356–58 (*CPG* nos 5513–29) with the additions in Noret 10 (*CPG* no 5523).

In particular, the translation into Latin of two Eusebian homilies, *In diabolum et Orcum* (*sermo 15*) and *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*), demonstrate interest in Eusebian works that treat the descent of Christ into hell in the Latin Middle Ages. In this paper, I will examine the books of Latin translations of *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*) to elucidate possible motivations for medieval searches for this text.[3] As a point of departure, I will introduce the figure of Eusebius, as well as modern encounters with his texts which have prompted efforts to identify the author and establish the corpus attributed to him. Thereafter, I will turn to four manuscripts that preserve Latin translations of *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*) and argue that these manuscripts can be fruitfully grouped based on codicological and textual elements into two pairs demonstrating different yet linked motivations for the search and use of this text. In this argument, these witnesses of the Latin translation serve as part of ongoing work to identify the use and influence of Eusebius and his work in the Latin Middle Ages.[4]

3. *De Christi passione* is the name found in Geerard (*CPG* no 5526). In the two Latin manuscripts in which a title is found, one reads *Omelia de passione domini*, which will be adopted when writing of the Latin translation.

4. This paper draws on research that will appear in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk. I have as much as possible drawn on and cite published material and sources, but where necessary I indicate where a topic will be more fully examined in forthcoming publication.

Sermo 17 is relatively short; in manuscripts of the Latin translation, the text comprises approximately 1150 words. However, although short, this homily, among the earliest accounts of the *descen-*

sus ad inferos narrative, includes many of the canonical elements of this story, as noted above. Moreover, in relating these canonical elements, *De Christi passione* frequently parallels the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, one of the most widespread and influential of early Christian apocrypha throughout the Middle Ages.[5] Indeed, work on the Latin reception of Eusebius of Alexandria promises to suggest significant revisions to our understanding of the origin and development of the *descensus* story.

Bringing Eusebius to Light

Early research into Eusebius, which enjoyed significant activity in the middle years of the nineteenth century, endeavored to identify the author, his period of activity and the corpus of this material.[6] The difficulty in establishing an historical author obscures certain fundamental historically oriented research questions such as the intellectual environment and date for the composition of the material. Indeed, the name and attribution of this person comes from a tripartite Greek biography, written by the obscure John the Notary,[7] which claims that Eusebius was a monk living near Alexandria before he was appointed to be successor to Cyril as bishop of Alexandria (412–44) in 444 CE. Although this claim runs afoul of the historical evidence in which Dioscorus, bishop from 444–54, succeed Cyril, a number of scholars, nevertheless, have seen the fifth or sixth century as a likely period in which the corpus came together.[8]

Coming to this tenuous consensus on uncertainty has been a rather long development. Modern interest in Eusebian material can be conveniently traced to the work of Henry Savile (1549–1622) who, in addition to his appointment to the commission responsible for an authorized English version of the Bible, published John Chrysostom's complete works (1611–13).[9] During the course of gathering texts and consulting other scholars, Savile encountered material attributed to Chrysostom in manuscript, but which contradicted his judgment of the corpus of Chrysostom's works. As a result, Savile occasionally opted to print matter under the heading of 'inauthentic writings' but did not systematically analyze the inauthentic material. Among these inauthentic writings is *De passione Christi*, *sermo* 17, in the corpus later attributed to Eusebius.

A similar approach was followed by Bernard de Montfaucon, in his edition of Chrysostom (1718–38), where *sermo 17* and related homilies were printed as *spuria*. In the following century, the effort

5. An exploration of the relation between Eusebius and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is found in MacCulloch (174–91) where the relevant corpus of Eusebius is compared with early accounts of the *descensus*. The relations in light of new evidence are also analyzed by Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Relationships between *De Passione / De Confusione* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Parallel yet different narratives", in Gounelle, Conti, and Izydorczyk.

6. These subjects are laid out in Gounelle, "*Collectio sermonum*" and are updated in Gounelle's chapter entitled, "The genesis of the collection of homilies of Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

7. The biography is designated *CPG* no 5533 in Geerard 75.

8. A full treatment of the debates and difficulties in identifying this figure is found in a chapter by Diane Niquin, "Did Eusebius of Alexandria Really Exist?" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

9. Savile's work on Eusebius is further explored in Gounelle, "The history of research on the manuscript tradition of sermons 15 and 17" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

to define the Eusbeian corpus and identify the author was taken up by prominent scholars of early Christian thought, namely Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti (1772–1841), Johann Karl Thilo (1794–1853) and Angelo Mai (1782–1854). In the 1820s, Augusti published three sermons, attributed them to Eusebius of Emesa and declared it unlikely that more material would come to light (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 250–51). Thilo refuted the attribution in 1832 and proposed a study of the homilies of Eusebius of Alexandria, whom he thought could have been a part of Justinian's entourage (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 251). Thilo established a corpus of sixteen sermons comprising two series, ten on evangelical history and six on Christian life (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 251–52).

However, Thilo's work seems to have been little disseminated and read. As a result, Angelo Mai, who edited Eusebian sermons in publications appearing from 1838–44, developed a rather different, and confusing, sequence for the corpus, placing unrelated homilies together and separating pieces that clearly build and elaborate on one another (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 259). While Mai followed an Italo-Greek manuscript from the turn of the millenium to some extent, he did not hesitate to change the order of items as they appeared therein (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 255–56). Indeed, Mai published the material serially and seems to have become aware of the coherence of the corpus during the course of publication. Moreover, Mai did not publish material that had recently been published in the second edition of Montfaucon's Chrysostom (1838). As a result, Mai's renumbering disrupts the work of medieval copyists and users of the material. The athematic numbering system is reflected in the separation of the thematically and liturgically related *sermo 15* and *sermo 17*. In many Greek manuscripts the opening of *sermo 17* refers obliquely to *sermo 15* as the sermon that was delivered yesterday indicating these two pieces were consecutive. Moreover, as we will see, these two homilies, be it in Greek or Latin translation, could be and were merged into a composite homily.[10]

The disorder was further codified by the *Patrologia Graeca* that merged the work of Augusti, Mai and Montfaucon, but made no effort to reconstruct the original sequence of the texts and establish the coherence of the collection. As a result, the latest edition of the sermons of Eusebius of Alexandria appears in volumes 86/1 of the *PG* which must then be completed with the help of Chrysostom *spuria* in volumes 61, 62 and 64 (Gounelle "*Collectio Sermonum*" 249), a significant impediment to the study of this material. In short, the

10. In one Latin manuscript, this composite Latin translation is referred to as *De confusione diaboli*. See below.

Greek material examined by scholars of the nineteenth century yielded a corpus of twenty-two homilies that circulated together with a tripartite biography of their supposed author, Eusebius, written by one John the Notary, but the entirety and coherence of this corpus was terribly obscured by the publication history of the texts.

The Latin translation of *sermo 17: De passione Domini*

Despite the relative confusion in the Eusebian corpus in the nineteenth century, E.K. Rand in 1904 recognized a Latin homily, entitled *De confusione Diaboli,* that merged *sermo 15* and *sermo 17* of the Eusebian corpus into a single text (Rand 261–78).[11] Rand's work, based on Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1370 (xi$^{1/2}$), demonstrated that parts of the Eusebian corpus were sought after in the Latin West, but the extent of the interest was relatively little understood. In 1989, Zbigniew Izydorczyk, during the course of his research into the Latin manuscripts of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, published a notice of two more *De confusione Diaboli* manuscripts, demonstrating that the Vienna manuscript was not singular (Izydorczyk 253–55).[12] However, throughout the twentieth century knowledge of the Latin translation of these Eusebian pieces came solely from the composite *De Confusione Diaboli.*

In the early 2000s, a Latin translation of *sermo 17* was noted in two English manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Conti, "Preaching Scripture and Apocrypha"). The recognition of a translation of the individual homily *sermo 17* tentatively suggests that each of the two Eusebian pieces, *sermo 15* and *sermo 17*, were translated individually, but within the same environment and essentially at the same time, but research on the dynamics of the translation process remain open. To date no Latin translation of *sermo 15* as an individual piece has been identified. The following will examine four manuscripts of the Latin translation of *sermo 17*:

B = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm14540, pt. 2, fol. 222r-226r (s. ix$^{2/4}$)[13]
J = Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12, fol. 141b (*c.* 1300)[14]
O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, fol. xvi^{r}-xvii^{r} (s. xii^{2})[15]
S = Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a VII 5, fol. 29v-32v (s. ix$^{1/4}$ and ix^{mid})[16]

11. Shortly after Rand's article, Rand's edited text was also published with an accompanying German article (Rand and Hey).

12. At present, seven manuscripts of *De confusione diaboli* have been identified; these will be treated in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

13. This dating follows Halm et al. 189–90. I am grateful to Stephen Pelle for the identification of *De passione Domini* in this manuscript. My work on this manuscript has been based on the digital files [accessed 21. November 2023].

14. James (82–89 [no 62]) dates the manuscript to the thirteenth century. Wenzel 163 suggests "approximately 1300."

15. The dating is provided by Ker 368 [no 310].

16. For dating, see Bischoff, *Katalog* 288–89 [nos 5424, 5425, 5426]. The translation of *De passione Domini* in this manuscript was identified by Zbigniew Izydorczyk. I am grateful to Sonja Führer, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, for permission to consult this manuscript in 2022.

De passione Domini and the Homiliary of Angers: O and J

The distinguishing characteristic of *De passione Domini* in **O** and **J** is the appearance of the sermon within a collection of short biblical expositions known as the Homiliary of Angers (HA). The character of this homiliary, which was first detailed by Raymond Étaix in 1994 and has since been the subject of sustained interest, merits some attention so that one can place *De passione Domini* in its manuscript context. HA, which in its entirety comprises sixty items covering the gospel and in a few cases epistle readings for Sundays throughout the liturgical year, is preserved in over thirty manuscripts and sets of fragments, ranging from more or less complete witnesses to short extracts for liturgical reading.[17] The earliest known witness, a fragment preserving three HA homilies (nos 28–30), dates from the final third of the ninth century.[18] The latest manuscripts are dated to the fourteenth century.[19] Moreover, there is evidence of items translated into Catalan from *c.* 1200 (Sánchez Sánchez 163–92), Old English from the 1000s (Gretsch 145–93) and Old Church Croatian in the 1500s (Reinhart 471–90). The geographical range of the Latin witnesses of this collection span present-day Spain, Italy, France, England, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Even if one allows for potential revisions in manuscript dating, especially for those dates found in older catalogues, it seems that the homiliary enjoyed a lifespan of approximately six hundred years and circulated rather widely in the Latin Middle Ages.

As Étaix noted, the predominant format of the manuscripts with an absence of divisions into lessons indicates that the collection did not primarily serve to provide readings for the Night Office (177). However, there is evidence that on occasion pieces were used for office readings (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270). Primarily, the homiliary appears to have served as outlines for pastors to convey biblical understanding to their congregants (Étaix 177), a sort of "exegetical primer" (Rudolf, "Angers in England" 185), a hypothesis that has been upheld as more manuscripts have been recognized. For example, Stephen Pelle identified a copy of HA in a mendicant (Dominican) manuscript (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270–71).[20] Moreover, Pelle also examined a manuscript in which items from HA appear as marginal texts, "an archive of biblical quotations, homilies, prayers and other texts" which may well have been "collected and written down for practical, pastoral purposes, perhaps by or for a priest who

17. An updated list of manuscripts is found in Conti, Pelle and Rudolf 140–41, with supplemental information in Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 257–88.

18. This manuscript is Épinal Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 161 (74) (**fE**), fol. 139r–v. First noted in Rudolf, "Angers and St Père" 40.

19. For example, Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, 222 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 196 Helmst.

20. The manuscript, Paris, Les Enluminures, TM 762 is now listed as sold; see web [accessed 20. May 2024].

owned or frequently used the volume" (Conti, Pelle and Rudolf 151). In a similar manner, HA in **O** and **J** suggests a pastoral concern for facilitating biblical knowledge and interpretation to congregants.

O, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 is a manuscript dated to the second half of the twelfth century and written, as best as one has been able to discern at this point, somewhere near but not at Worcester (Irvine lii), which was an important post-Conquest writing center. The manuscript comprises two parts written by two different scribes, both of whom write both Latin and Old English, and is recognized as the largest post-Conquest Old English manuscript (Treharne 14–15). It is not clear when the two parts were bound together, but this did happen before Robert Cotton gave the book as one of eleven in 1602–03 to Thomas Bodley who was refitting the university library at Oxford at the time (Conti, "Common endeavour" 259). Susan Irvine's work on the manuscript has suggested that the circulation of booklets in the eleventh and twelfth centuries played an important role in the material available to the compiler of **O** (Irvine lii). Indeed, the sequence of items in the HA part of the manuscript supports this possibility. In **O**, HA begins with an exposition of the epistolary reading for Quinquagesima (the second part of HA 10) and ends with the exposition of the gospel for the same day (the first part of HA 10). This peculiar beginning and end cannot be readily explained as a faulty collation within the present binding – that is the quires that comprise HA could not be reordered to construct a more regular beginning and end. As a result, it seems possible that the anomalous order could have arisen as the result of the use of booklets in the copying and compilation process (Conti, "New Evidence" 390–91). That booklets were used and available suggests the text-hunting environment that lies behind the creation of this book.

Although efforts to localize the manuscript to a post-Conquest English writing center have not yielded a consensus, an addition in the manuscript associates the book with the Augustinian priory in Stone, Staffordshire which was (re)founded after the Norman conquest in the reign of Henry I (1100–35) on the site of a previous Anglo-Saxon church (Baugh et al. 240). For example, on flyleaf iii, a thirteenth century hand has written a rhymed antiphon for St Wulfhad (Ker 374 [no. 310]), to whom the priory's church was dedicated. Wulfhad's story and legend appear to be "an almost entirely fictional, probably post-Conquest, fabrication" (Thacker 444–45). In this manner, the legend of this saint may have conferred historical, Anglo-Saxon legitimacy to the recent Norman foundation. Interestingly, in addition to the antiphon for Wulfhad, one finds in the originally empty space of the manuscript is a drawing of a bishop with the name of Wolstane, probably referring to Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (who died in 1095) (Ker 374 [no 310]). From these additions, we see the manuscript evokes the idea of an Anglo-Saxon past in a Norman present. Turning aside from the question of the origin of the manuscript, the later, additional material suggests that the manuscript may have been used in a relatively new foundation, Stone, as an authoritative book that boasted Anglo-Saxon roots in the West of England during a period of Norman expansion. In this regard, the manuscript provided reading for both contemplation as well as material that the canons could use in their parish responsibilities, and the compiler(s) looked to both Old English and Latin texts, which included the Homiliary of Angers with supplemental material, such as *De passione Domini*.

As in **O**, the copy of the Latin translation of *sermo 17* in **J** (Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12) appears embedded within HA. This composite manuscript, as Wenzel (163) notes, represents "a collection of material for priests … [and] contains several batches of sermons scattered throughout its quires," including those of the Dominican preacher William Perault (*c.* 1190-1271). Indeed, the appearance of synodal statutes, which priests were required to have in their parishes, indicates "content … explicitly addressed to parochial clergy" (Reeves 48). In addition, the final quire "probably originated from the notebook of a student in a Dominican *schola*" (Reeves 45). Taken together, the final quire, together with the material that served parish priests, suggests that the manuscript was owned by a priest who attended a Dominican school.

However, it is not entirely certain when texts from HA were incorporated in the book. The table of contents by William Crashaw (1572-1626) confirms that HA and *De passione Domini* were part of the book at the time of its donation to St John's College, Cambridge in the 1600s.[21] However, the present binding shows evidence of anomalies. For example, the singleton listed as quire fourteen (James no 62) originally belonged to the first quire. Indeed, Wenzel (163) notes that the "collation is not entirely trustworthy"; the present foliation does not in other words coincide with the tallies of the collation. Moreover, the sixteenth quire, in which HA is found, does not display the divot at the top of the folios in the preceding quires. The items from HA in **J** comprise HA 5–9, part of HA 10, HA 14 and the incomplete *De passione Domini* which ends imperfectly in the middle of the speech of the good thief in paradise at the end of the folio.

21. On the journey of Crashaw's donation to the library, see James (vi–viii).

As a result, one cannot assert definitively that HA and *De passione Domini* were used in the book as it was compiled by or for secular clergy. Nonetheless, parallel evidence in which HA appears in books used by Dominicans and also by regular clergy (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270–72) indicates that the appearance of HA in **J** is entirely consistent with other books of the homiliary. Additionally, the variegated content of the manuscript itself evidences the process of text-hunting and compilation.

Much as the use of HA in these manuscripts indicate searches for pastoral material, the appearance of *De passione Domini* within these copies of HA suggest that this text was sought after to augment the contents of HA. While the homiliary provides sixty items, primarily for Sundays throughout the liturgical year, the collection leaves ample opportunity for compilers to supplement the collection with pieces from other sources for particular seasons and feast days.[22] In his analysis of the homiliary, Étaix (174) noted that the collection did not provide items for Easter or Palm Sunday, and that individual manuscripts filled this lacuna according to perceived need and local tradition. For example, Gregory's *homelia in evangelia 21* is found for Easter in the Angers manuscript (fol. 48r–53r) of the homiliary (Étaix 161). In three other manuscripts, one finds composite homilies that comprise parts of Gregory's homily and other material.[23] Moreover, in at least two of the manuscripts known to Étaix, Easter week was served by homilies that draw heavily on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,[24] suggesting that some compilers and their intended communities desired a narrative account of the events of Easter week. The inclusion of *De passione Domini* seems to be a parallel development, a search for a text to fill in the Easter season that treats in both narrative and exegetical fashion Christ's descent into hell following the crucifixion. That *De passione Domini* could be available to compilers of HA looking to fill this gap is, as we will see, likely due to Carolingian interest in this text.

22. For example, Rudolf, "Angers and St Père" 23 details the interpolation of Rogationtide homilies from the St Père collection into HA.

23. These are Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aem. 39, fol. 48v–49v; Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular 33–1, fol. 117r–118r, where the same homily is acephalous; and Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 481, fol. 12r–14v, which has a different composite homily. See Étaix 164–67.

24. For example, Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 236, fol. 37v–47r and Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 470, fol. 20r–25r.

Carolingian copies of *De passione Domini*: B and S

While the specific routes by which *De passione Domini* was incorporated into two manuscripts of HA remain unknown, two roughly contemporaneous manuscripts written in Carolingian Bavaria present a tentative trace. München, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540, part 2 (**B**) and Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a. VII. 5 (**S**) both preserve *De passione Domini* within similar particular codicological contexts.

B comprises two parts, both written in Carolingian minuscule, and is one of the 943 manuscripts of the Benedictine house of St Emmeram preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The first part, folios 1–158, dates to the second half of eighth century and was written in a script characteristic of Northern Italy, possibly Verona (Lowe 21 [no 1305]). At the beginning of the section, on fol. 1r one finds a colophon that states Louganpertus gave the book to St Emmeram (*Istum librum dedit Louganpertus ad sanctum emmerum pro tutone episcopo et pro remedium animę suę*). It is one of three books that Louganpertus donated to St Emmeram for bishop Tuto (Lerner 245–46), who was abbot and bishop until his death in 930. Moreover, Louganpertus' gift is one of several recorded in the books belonging to St Emmeram and written and donated in this period. There are, for example, two books that Baturich, abbot and bishop from 817–43, and student of Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda (Goldberg 169), had written for the abbey. Although Louganpertus' donations are later, the colophons as a whole attest to an active library-building endeavor through donations at St Emmeram in the 800s and early 900s.

The second part of the manuscript, folios 158–245, dates to the second quarter of the ninth century and was written at St Emmeram. Part 2 is described as Patristic excerpts (Bischoff, *Katalog* 260 [no 3231]) and includes excerpts from or attributed to John Cassian, Cyprian of Carthage, Jerome, Isidore and John Chrysostom. *Omelia de passione domini* begins on fol. 222r and ends on fol. 226r. The translation of the Eusebian homily is preceded by *De miraculis natiuitatis Christi* (f. 219r–222r) and is followed by *Gesta Sanctorum dormientum qui in Epheso dormiunt* (226r–242v). Remarkably, this sequence is also found in another contemporary Carolingian manuscript written approximately 125 kilometers to the east.

S was written in the early 800s, at the Benedictine house of St Peter in Salzburg which also served as the cathedral (the abbot also served as archbishop from 798–987). The manuscript is described as having three parts (1. fols. 1–48; 2. fols 49–119; 3. fols. 120–35) (Bischoff, *Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken* 147 and 163). Indeed, parts 1 and 3 are written in a Carolingian minuscule by a hand of the first half of the 800s, characterized by Bischoff as transitional between the Arno (*c.* 750–821) style and the new calligraphic style of the early Adalram (d. 836) period. The period of Arno's tenure in particular marked the transformation of the bishopric into a metropolitan, the integration of the region into Charlemagne's empire, and the establishment of a library at Salzburg.

On fol. 1r, a mid-ninth century table of contents confirms that the three parts were combined by that time (Bischoff, *Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken* 147 [no 132]). The ninth-century book, which has since been rebound (as is seen in figure 1 below), contains *De passione Domini* on fols 29v–32v. Moreover, *De passione Domini* was preceded by *De miraculis nativitatis* (f. 27r–29r), and succeeded by *Gesta sanctorum septem dormientum* (f. 32v–48r).

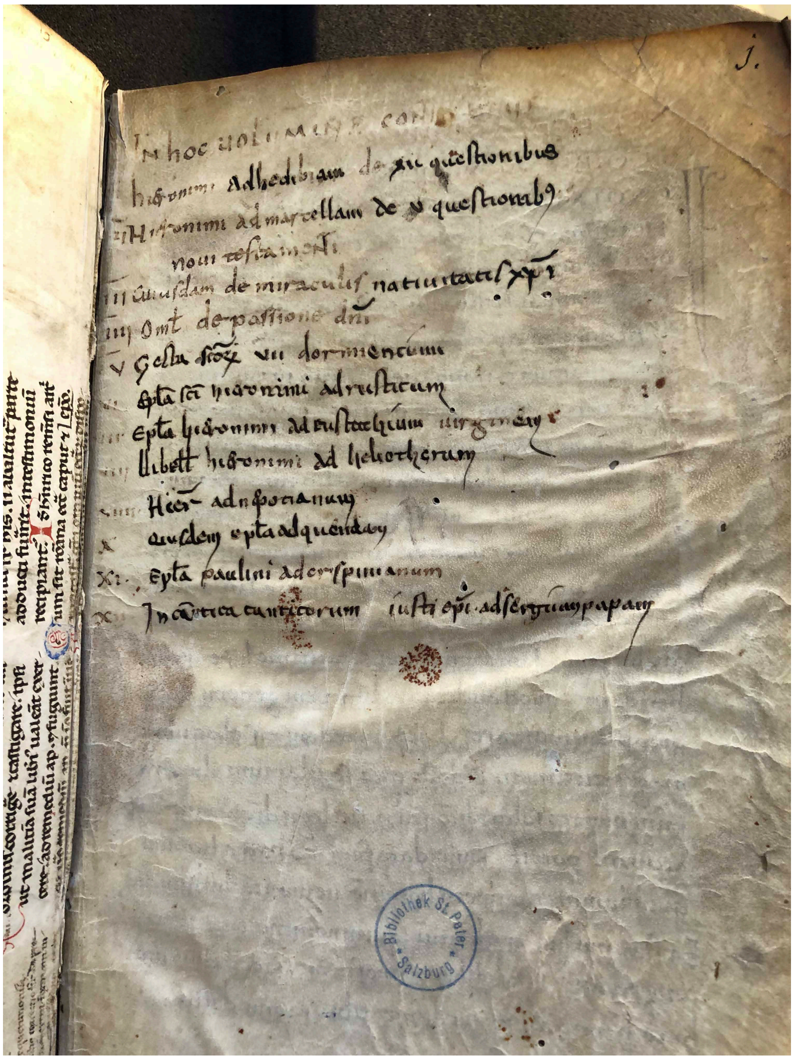

Figure 1. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a. VII. 5, fol. 1r. *Omelia de passione domini* appears as number IIII. Much of the original writing appears to have been worn, especially for items V–X (and to a lesser extent for items I–III). In these places, one sees a darker ink written in a later hand that appears to attempt to reproduce the script of the original scribe.

This sequence of texts, identical to that found in **B**, is suggestive. Given that both St Emmeram and Salzburg were undergoing periods of library building in the early ninth century, it appears that this textual block constituted an authoritative, or at least legitimate set of sought-after texts. It is possible that this text block was found in a book or booklet which served the compilers and copyists of **B** and **S**. Alternatively, **B** and **S** may have compiled this sequence independently from different sources, if one takes a more expansive view of book availability in the region. In either case, the first part of **B** which originates in Northern Italy in tandem with our knowledge on Carolingian searches for authoritative books, hints at a possible link with Italy, where the proximity between Latin and Byzantine religious houses may have prompted the original translation of *De passione Domini*.

Conclusion

Whatever the location and date of the original translation of *sermo 17*, the manuscripts of this text suggest two distinct text-hunting lines for *De passione Domini*. These suggestive, rather than definitive, arguments propose, first, that *De passione Domini* came, likely from Italy, as part of a book or textual block to help build libraries in Carolingian Bavaria. Given the number of identified witnesses, it seems the story of the *descensus* as it appears in *De passione Domini* likely enjoyed limited circulation. However, the story, which was clearly associated with Easter events, was available and known to certain clergy who also used the Homiliary of Angers. These individuals, recognizing that the homiliary lacked material for Easter week, used *De passione Domini* to fill the gap, in a manner similar both to the use of *descensus* narratives in other manuscripts of the homiliary and to the characteristic augmentation of the homiliary overall. In turn, the Homiliary of Angers with *De passione Domini* was sought after by compilers looking for texts for pastoral care in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

While these four manuscripts which contain *De passione Domini* can appear at first glance to be collections of disparate material, a closer examination of their contents in relation to each other allow us to see processes of the medieval hunts for texts that are typical of manuscript cultures. *De passione Domini* likely had a limited circulation, but this tentative text-searching story suggests that the text did enjoy sustained, if relatively specific, currency after its translation and reception into the Latin West. Indeed, though the specific time and place of the original translation remain unidentified and may well remain so for the foreseeable future, nevertheless, the translation of *De passione Domini* and related Eusebian material gestures towards a collaboration and cooperation among Latin and Greek monastic houses in post-Roman Italy, an important reminder of the intersections and text-sharing initiatives within Christian communities often viewed as distinct.

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MATTEO ROSSETTI

Lettori degli *Astronomica* di Manilio tra X e XII secolo

Abstract

Manilius' *Astronomica*, a didactic poem composed in the 1st century CE, remained forgotten for a long time, at least until the end of the 10th century. This paper, therefore, aims to investigate the earliest and uncertain evidence of the medieval reception of the text, beginning with its possible rediscovery. In the first part, the article reexamines the textual evidence of the possible rediscovery of the poem by Gerbert of Aurillac in the library of Bobbio (epistles 8 and 130 Riché–Callou). The second part, however, demonstrates that the interest in Manilius' poem shown by Gerbert of Aurillac was not an isolated phenomenon. Indeed, one of the oldest manuscripts of the *Astronomica* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1465), dating back to the 11th century, contains some interesting marginal glosses and reading marks in the first book. The analysis of the marginal notes thus provides valuable material for better understanding the ways in which the poem was read and helps to explain the erroneous attribution to Aratus of Soli.

Keywords

Manilius, Gerbert of Aurillac, Ancient astronomy, Astrology

Marco Manilio visse tra l'età di Augusto e quella di Tiberio, fu pressappoco contemporaneo di Ovidio, a differenza, però, del suo illustre 'collega' non godette della stessa fama né in vita, né in morte.[1] Gli *Astronomica* non furono oggetto di esegesi grammaticali, non entrarono, dunque, tra le letture della scuola, a differenza di quanto avvenne con i *Phaenomena* di Arato. Sebbene il nome di Manilio non sia mai stato incluso in un canone e si sia perciò presto perduto, non mancarono dei lettori del suo poema, per quanto si possa ricostruire (con i limiti del caso) attraverso lo studio dei rapporti intertestuali.[2] Non mancarono nemmeno lettori colti che tra la fine dell'antichità e l'inizio del medioevo, vollero colmare delle presunte lacune filosofiche del poema intervenendo direttamente nel testo con interpolazioni prontamente riconosciute dagli studiosi (Flores, "Epicureismo"). Rimangono, però, aperte molte questioni relative alla ricezione antica del poema, prima tra tutte il silenzio di Firmico Materno,

1. Per una discussione sulle ipotesi di datazione Monteventi 74–79.

2. Gli studi hanno evidenziato la presenza di elementi maniliani in Lucano (Galli Milić, Tracy), Petronio (Ericksson 71–78), Calpurnio Siculo, Tertulliano (Costanza), Prudenzio (Arrigoni) e Claudiano (Flores "Claudian").

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che, nella *Mathesis*, cela abilmente la sua fonte maniliana.[3]

In questo articolo, dopo aver riesaminato gli scenari legati al primo ritrovamento di Manilio, passeremo a prendere in considerazione una testimonianza, non adeguatamente valorizzata, della prima ricezione medievale del testo maniliano. Considereremo alcune glosse interlineari di un importante testimone manoscritto, il codice Lipsiensis (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1465) di undicesimo secolo, che costituendo il primo, per quanto rudimentale, sussidio esegetico agli *Astronomica*, possono aiutare a svelare gli interessi dei primi lettori del poema.

3. I rapporti tra Manilio e Firmico sono stati per la prima volta messi in luce in Scaligero 4, sul problema anche Housman, *liber quintus,* xliii–xliv, Hübner 516–634, Volk 120–25.

1. Gerberto di Aurillac e Manilio: una riscoperta?

Nell'autunno del 988 Gerberto di Aurillac[4] scrisse da Reims a Reinardo, monaco di Bobbio, con delle richieste librarie. Ecco il testo della lettera:

4. Sulla figura di Gerberto rimando al saggio di Riché, mentre sui suoi interessi scientifici in campo astronomico (oltre alla raccolta di Bubnov) si vedano: Juste, "La sphère" 205–11, Lindgren, *Ptolémée*, Poulle. Sull'astronomia nel basso medioevo McCluskey, *Astronomies.*

> Unum a te interim plurimum exposco, quod et sine periculo ac detrimento tui fiat, et me tibi quam maxime in amicitia constringat. Nosti quanto studio librorum exemplaria undique conquiram. Nosti quot scriptores in urbibus ac in agris Italiae passim habeantur. Age ergo, et te solo conscio ex tuis sumptibus fac ut michi scribantur M. Man<i>lius[5] de astrologia, Victorinus de rhetorica, Demosthenes optalmicus. Spondeo tibi, frater, et certum teneto, quia obsequium hoc fidele et hanc laudabilem obedientiam sub sancto silentio habebo, et quidquid erogaveris cumulatum remittam, secundum tua scripta, et quo tempore jusseris.
>
> (Intanto ti chiedo soprattutto questa sola cosa, cioè ciò che accada senza pericolo e danno tuo e quanto più mi vincoli a te in amicizia. Sai con quanto impegno da ogni parte io ricerchi copie di libri, sai quanti scrittori si trovano qua e là nelle città e nelle campagne d'Italia. Vai, dunque, ed essendone tu solo a conoscenza fa' che a tue spese mi siano copiati M. Man<i>lio *Sull'astrologia*, Vittorino *Sulla Retorica* e Demostene *Oftalmico*. Ti prometto, o fratello, e abbilo per certo, che serberò sotto santo silenzio questo fedele ossequio e questa lodevole obbedienza, e ciò che mi chiederai in cambio te lo farò riavere accresciuto, secondo i tuoi scritti nel tempo che comanderai. *Epistula* 130 Riché–Callou).

5. I manoscritti delle lettere leggono M. Manlius, corretto da Becker 79 in M. Man<i>lius, Riché–Callu 320 invece espungono il *praenomen Marcus*; la loro scelta è discussa più avanti nel paragrafo.

Gerberto, dunque, chiede al monaco di fargli copiare tre opere antiche ospitate presso la biblioteca di Bobbio: un trattato di astronomia di un Manlio/Manilio, la retorica di Vittorino e un trattato di oftalmologia di Demostene Filalete.[6] Dalla semplice lettura dell'epistola possiamo intuire quanto stesse a cuore a Gerberto di Aurillac procurarsi quei libri: il dotto infatti ricorda al monaco gli sforzi profusi durante la permanenza in Italia nella ricerca di manoscritti, tanto nelle città, quanto nei centri più periferici. Singolare, a tal proposito, anche la circospezione con cui si muove il futuro Silvestro II e la rassicurazione del riserbo circa quanto è stato richiesto,[7] indizi che i manoscritti oggetto della lettera dovevano essere materiale particolarmente prezioso, o almeno raro.

A questo punto, se compariamo il breve elenco di Gerberto con l'antico catalogo della biblioteca di Bobbio, compilato tra l'862 e l'896,[8] noteremo innanzitutto la presenza della retorica di Vittorino e di Demostene,[9] mentre di un'*Astrologia* di Manlio non vi è alcuna traccia. A breve distanza, però, dagli altri titoli sono registrati (item 395–98) "Libros Boetii III de arithmetica et alterum de astronomia" ("tre libri di Boezio sull'aritmetica e un altro sull'astronomia"). Non desta particolare sorpresa trovare l'*Institutio arithmetica* di Boezio,[10] (testo piuttosto noto e diffuso) mentre più singolare l'indicazione di un trattato di astronomia. È possibile, quindi, vista la contiguità dei titoli, che Gerberto avesse un'idea molto precisa della scansione e dell'ordine del catalogo dell'Abbazia, che viene qui richiamato alla sua memoria. Per questo motivo, possiamo ipotizzare che il "liber Boetii de astronomia" sia il medesimo testo indicato con il titolo "de astrologia" nella lettera al monaco Reinardo. Tuttavia, il discorso è più complicato di come è stato posto finora e necessita di ulteriori approfondimenti.

Generalmente si ritiene che Gerberto di Aurillac abbia fatto riferimento all'item catalografico appena discusso in un'altra sua lettera, questa volta del 983, proprio da Bobbio dove era abate:

> Historiam Julii Caesaris a domino Azone abbate Dervensi ad rescribendum nobis adquirite, ut quos penes vos habemus habeatis, et quos post reperimus speretis, id est VIII volumina Boetii de astrologia, praeclarissima quoque figurarum geometriae, aliaque non minus admiranda.
>
> (Procuratevi, per ricopiarla, la Storia di Giulio Cesare dal signor Azzone abate di Der, in questo modo possiate avere

6. Di Demostene medico di età neroniana non rimangono che frammenti, qui si fa riferimento probabilmente a una traduzione latina (a sua volta perduta) di Vindiciano, a proposito vd. Genest, 255. Il testo di Demostene è oggetto di una richiesta anche nella *Ep*. 9, a Gisalberto.

7. Riguardo a questo passaggio della lettera vedi Riché 82–83.

8. Becker 69, Tosi 197–223, seguito da Genst nella sua edizione commentata: si segue il testo di Tosi per la numerazione degli item.

9. Item 399 "Liber M. Vi(c)toris de rhetorica" ("Libro di M. Vittorino sulla retorica"); item 409 "Liber I Demosthenis" ("I libro di Demostene").

10. Genest 254 sottolinea che il termine *liber* nel catalogo non sta indicare la partizione interna di un'opera, ma la consistenza del materiale librario, dunque l'item designerebbe "tre esemplari dell'*Arithmetica* di Boezio."

> quello che abbiamo noi e potrete sperare di possedere quanto abbiamo scoperto, cioè gli otto volumi di Boezio sull'astrologia e anche bellissime opere con figure geometriche e altre non meno ammirevoli. *Ep*. 8 Riché–Callou).

Il vescovo di Reims, Adalberone, viene fatto partecipe di una scoperta (si noti il verbo *reperio* nel testo della lettera) singolare e degna di tutte le attenzioni: il *De astronomia* di Boezio.

Arrivati a questo punto i dati a nostra disposizione ci mettono dinnanzi a un rompicapo di difficile soluzione, tanto che pare di essere giunti a un punto cieco. Da un lato (*Ep*. 130) leggiamo una (incerta e isolata) menzione di un autore antico che pareva essere perduto, dall'altro (*Ep*. 8) ravvisiamo la menzione a un'opera di un autore noto e letto, della quale, però, vi è soltanto un riscontro catalografico.

Sono convincenti le posizioni di chi mostra un certo scetticismo nei confronti dell'effettiva esistenza di uno scritto astronomico di Boezio, oppure di una sua traduzione della *Syntaxis mathematica* di Tolomeo, sulla scorta della testimonianza di Cassiodoro (*Variae* 1, 45, 4).[11] Senza dilungarci in una questione che potrebbe risultare eccentrica rispetto al tema di questo contributo, cerchiamo, dunque, di fare chiarezza sulla possibile presenza di Manilio a Bobbio e sulla cosiddetta scoperta da parte di Gerberto. Nel fare ciò occorre innanzitutto cercare di fare chiarezza su alcuni punti: lo scambio onomastico tra Boezio e Manilio, l'indicazione degli VIII *volumina* nella *Ep*. 8, infine le possibili tracce testuali della conoscenza degli *Astronomica* da parte di Gerberto.

A sciogliere il primo punto (assieme a Thielscher 367–68; Gain 129–30; Reeve, "Manilius" 237; Goold, *Loeb* cviii–cix; *Teubner*, v–vi) viene in soccorso la *subscriptio* che, nel codice Matritensis (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 3678) uno dei più importanti per la tradizione di Manilio,[12] è apposta tra il secondo e terzo libro (f. 47 r.): "M. Manlii Boeii astronomicon liber | II explicit feliciter incipit tertius" ("*Astronomicon* di M. Manilio Boezio, fine del secondo libro, inizia felicemente il terzo"). La mano malsicura del copista del Matritensis ("ignorantissimums omnium viventium," "il più ignorante di tutti gli uomini," secondo la celeberrima definizione di Poggio Bracciolini) cela sotto il *monstrum* linguistico *Boeii* il nome di Boezio,[13] con un'interessante sovrapposizione con il nome di Marcus Manilius. Il codice è mutilo dei primi 82 versi, ma dalle sue copie[14] possiamo ricostruire la *subsciptio* del primo libro: "M. (Marci t) Manilii Boeui (*add*. v) astronomicon liber primus foeliciter (*add*. u) in-

11. Sulla questione rimando a McCluskey, "Astronomy and cosmology" 47–50 in part., ma anche a Caldwell 139, Donato 106 e a Stahl 173, n. 6.

12. M (così nelle edizioni di Manilio) è un codice cartaceo, contenente anche le *Silvae* di Stazio, datato attorno al 1417–18. Il codice venne fatto copiare da Poggio Bracciolini dall'antigrafo scoperto durante le sue ricerche in Germania; il manoscritto passò nelle mani di F. Barbaro e di N. Niccoli, per ritornare, attorno agli anni '30 in possesso di Poggio, nella biblioteca del quale rimase fino alla sua morte (Maranini 117–24). A riguardo Housman, "The Madrid MS;" Goold "Observationes;" Reeve "Statius;" per una descrizione Maranini 133–34.

13. Possibile che nell'antigrafo fosse presente la forma *Boetii*, come nel catalogo di Bobbio.

14. Possediamo tre apografi, successivi alla caduta della porzione del testo t (Holkham, Library of the Earl of Leicester, 331), u (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica, Urbinas latinus 667), v (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica, Urbinas latinus 668). Le sigle dei codici sono quelle dell'edizione di Goold, *Teubner*.

cipit." Secondo Goold, *Teubner* xii il nome proprio *Boeui* del cod. v proverrebbe dalla *subsciptio* del libro secondo (non difficile spiegare -*ui* come confusione di -*ii*), anche se è più facile pensare che tale termine fosse anche nel modello. Negli altri due codici, esemplati anch'essi attorno agli anni '70 del '400 (Goold, *Teubner* xxxiv), in un momento in cui già era ampiamente noto il nome di Manilio e in cui si stavano diffondendo le prime edizioni a stampa (la *princeps* è del 1473), il nome di Boezio sarebbe stato eliminato come semplice intervento correttivo.

La testimonianza del codice di Madrid ci suggerisce che la confusione onomastica con il ben più noto filosofo tardo antico non è questione del tutto estranea alla tradizione degli *Astronomica* e, quindi, porta a considerare non isolato il caso del catalogo di Bobbio. Naturalmente la ricostruzione che stiamo affrontando, anche sulla base dei risultati della critica maniliana, presenta dei tratti di incertezza che difficilmente possono essere sanati, tuttavia alla prova degli indizi testuali, non parrà una soluzione insostenibile pensare che nella celebre abbazia, accanto ad altri esemplari rari come il *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio o gli *Argonautica* di Valerio Flacco, vi fossero anche gli *Astronomica*.[15]

E così, proprio la confusione con il più celebre Boezio garantì, forse, la sopravvivenza del testo e indusse Gerberto alla sua ricerca, spinto dalle notizie (forse orali) riguardanti la presenza nell'abbazia di un'opera rara (Maranini 81–82).[16] Occorre, però, domandarsi fino a che punto il dotto abate fosse consapevole di chiedere al monaco Reinardo (*Ep*. 108) l'opera di un autore diverso da Boezio. Anche se non si può escludere a priori che Gerberto avesse richiesto gli *Astronomica* pensando a Boezio (come ipotizza Leonardi 162), tuttavia è molto difficile che possa essere caduto in errore sul prenome di un autore come Boezio a lui così noto. *Ancius*, appunto, non *Marcus*. Dunque, come ritiene Gain 130–31, la richiesta dell'*Ep*. 130 varrebbe come una sorta di rettifica, forse influenzata dalla lettura delle *subscriptiones* del codice e da una più compiuta analisi dell'opera, rispetto all'annuncio dell'*Ep*. 8. Detto ciò, ci si può spingere a emendare, nell'*Ep*. 130, come proposto nel testo stampato in *PL*, il tradito *M. Manlius*, in *M. Manilius*, rigettando la scelta dei più recenti editori di espungere la sigla del *praenomen*.[17]

D'altro canto, oltre alla facile banalizzazione del nome *M. Man(i) lius* / *A. Manlius* ad aver giocato un ruolo nella sovrapposizione dei due autori vi sono anche ragioni più profonde, legate agli interessi astronomici di Boezio, a partire dal *De consolatione*,[18] dove la scienza

15. Di questa idea Reeve "Manilius" e Goold, *Teubner* vi, che denomina *Antiquissimus* l'ipotetico codice di Bobbio ("non l'archetipo, ma il progenitore dell'archetipo").

16. La stessa Maranini, 81–83 porta, a prova della diffusione di 'tradizioni' circa l'astronomia di Boezio, un item dalla biblioteca di S. Bertin a Costanza, che recita "Boethius de geometria et astronomia" (vd. anche Becker 182) e un più tardo item dalla Biblioteca di S. Ulderico, poi confluita nella Herzog-August-Bibliothek di Wolfenbüttel in cui si fa riferimento a un *Astronomicon Boecii,* in realtà un codice tardo del *De astronomia* di Igino, copiato ai ff. 9r.–75v. del manoscritto Wolfenbüttel, Guelf. 65 Aug. 2°.

17. Riché–Callu 321 ritengono che qui Gerberto faccia riferimento a una perduta opera di Manlio Teodoro (di cui non possediamo scritti astronomici). La tesi non ha avuto un grande successo ed è stata accantonata anche dalla più recente critica maniliana (Volk 2 nt. 2).

del cielo è riassunta in un quadro di ricezione del pensiero platonico (cfr. *Cons.* 1, 4, 3 sgg.). Ma forse più degne d'attenzione per il discorso che stiamo intrecciando, sono le numerose riprese puntuali, nei *metra* dell'opera maggiore di Boezio, di elementi stilistici, lessicali, oppure motivi topici, desunti dalla poesia astronomica (cito, a titolo di esempio, *Cons.* 1, M. 2, 15–27; 1, M. 5; 2, M. 3, 1–4; 3, M. 2, 27–38; 4, M. 1, 1–22; 4, M. 5; 4, M. 6, 1–15). Inoltre, ad aver favorito la confluenza di Manilio nell'orbita di Boezio, può aver concorso anche l'impostazione filosofica degli *Astronomica*, dove non è infrequente (specie nei proemi) scorgere riflessioni sul *deus* che sovrintende l'universo, oppure sulle potenzialità conoscitive dell'uomo, nell'ottica di un rapporto simpatetico con il cosmo.[19]

La sovrapposizione ad autori più noti (per il tramite dell'argomento) caratterizza la tradizione medievale di Manilio, che in un catalogo di Lobbes (xi–xii secolo) sarebbe, secondo gli studiosi, confuso con Arato: "Astronomicon lib. vi. T. Claudii Caesaris Arati phenomena. Periegesis Prisciani. Vol I." ("*Astronomicon* 6 libri, T. Claudio Cesare Arato Fenomeni, Periegesi di Prisciano, 1 volume").[20] In questo caso l'indicazione dei sei libri corrisponderebbe probabilmente all'unione degli *Astronomica* e dei *Phaenomena* di Germanico, ben distinti nei titoli dell'item. Confusione che sopravvivrebbe anche nel codice Lipsiensis (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1465), che legge: "Arati philosophi astronomicon liber primus incipit" ("inizio del primo libro dell'*Astronomicon* del filosofo Arato").[21] Difficile, però, dire se le false attribuzioni onomastiche siano segno di una deliberata manipolazione atta a evitare censure o a cautelarsi dal contatto con un'opera ritenuta pericolosa per il suo contenuto astrologico. Lasciando stare ipotesi poco probabili (riportate da Maranini 95–98)[22] bisogna pensare che la situazione qui descritta è l'esito naturale della tradizione del testo di un autore di cui non possediamo dati prosopografici sicuri.

Dunque, a questo punto occorre illustrare un secondo punto, quello forse più spinoso e su cui la critica non solo non ha proposto risultati sempre convincenti. Ci si riferisce alla questione degli "VIII volumina" nell' *Ep*. 8. Si può scartare con una certa sicurezza l'ipotesi di Gain (ripresa parzialmente da Thielscher), il quale ritiene che Gerberto abbia letto il poema in una forma completa, con i suoi otto libri originari. Della debolezza di questa tesi era consapevole lo stesso studioso, motivo per cui la critica maniliana non sembra avergli dato eccessivo peso. Non possiamo, però, non tentare di offrire una spiegazione alla cosa, posto che celati nel numero di otto volumi ci

18. Per una riflessione generale sull'astronomia in Boezio rimando al saggio di McClumskey, "Astronomy and cosmology."

19. Non è facile, però, affermare se e quanto degli elementi astronomici nei *metra* possa derivare da Manilio (sarebbe per altro necessaria un'indagine sistematica): O'Daly 57–60 è sicuro della conoscenza degli *Astronomica* da parte di Boezio, anche se non riesce a stabilire i termini precisi di tale conoscenza, più cauta Maranini 88 nt. 32.

20. Testo in Dolbeau 33; per una discussione compiuta della testimonianza nella tradizione degli *Astronomica* Reeve, "Astronomical manuscripts" 521–22.

21. Secondo Goold, *Teubner* XII anche l'altro codice dell'XI sec. il *Gemblacensis* (Bruxelles, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België [KBR] 10012), dove la *subscriptio* è erasa, avrebbe presentato una dicitura simile.

22. Inutile, dunque, appellarsi a ipotetici anatemi contro l'astrologia, anche perché un poema come gli *Astronomica*, dove è centrale il dio cosmico che muove i *fata* dell'universo, non avrebbe destato alcuno stupore in un lettore medievale. Per una discussione aggiornata sull'astrologia nel medioevo, oltre facili semplificazioni, rimando a Burnett, *Magic and divination*; "Traditions and Practices;" Juste, "Horoscopic astrology," in particolare 319–22 sulla circolazione di Firmico e Manilio. Si segnala anche la completa raccolta bibliografica di AstroBibl – History of Western Astrology (ultima visualizzazione 12 maggio 2024).

sono gli *Astronomica*. Una via è stata indicata da Goold, *Loeb* cviii–cix; *Teubner* vi, il quale ritiene che nel novero di otto siano stati compresi tanto i cinque libri di Manilio, quanto i tre libri dell'*Institutio Arithmetica*.[23] Interpretazione ingegnosa e degna di attenzione, se non fosse per il fatto che non sembra attenersi al senso che il termine *volumen* ha tanto nel catalogo di Bobbio, quanto nel vocabolario delle lettere di Gerberto (cf. Bubnov 100–01 nt. 6). Dunque, secondo questa lettura bisognerebbe ricostruire l'item menzionato da Gerberto in tal modo: 3 volumi *de arithmetica* + 5 volumi contenenti ciascuno un libro degli *Astronomica*.[24]

Fermo restando errori, confusioni o modifiche degli item catalografici, si può recuperare l'ipotesi suggerita da Bubnov 100–01 nt. 6 e non adeguatamente valorizzata dagli studi maniliani. Secondo lo studioso l'indicazione VIII *volumina* si rifarebbe alla sequenza che segue, ossia al *de astrologia* (un solo volume), a cui sarebbero uniti i manoscritti con figure geometriche (tre o quattro volumi) e quelli genericamente indicati come "alia non minus admiranda" ("altre cose non meno degne di ammirazione"). In questo modo il problema dell'esorbitante numero di libri/volumi di quello che viene indicato da Gerberto come *de astrologia* va a dissolversi. Dunque, se si accetta tale lettura, occorrerebbe rendere il testo dell'epistola del dotto di Aurillac maggiormente perspicuo con una differente interpunzione che separi *Boethii* da *de astrologia,* così facendo si può provare (con tutte le cautele che questa ipotesi comporta) a mettere in relazione l'item del catalogo con l'indicazione della lettera. Al *de astrologia* corrisponderebbe l'unico volume *de astronomia* lì indicato (item 398), alle *figurae geometricae* i tre manoscritti *de arithmetica* (gli item 395–97), per i quali non parrebbe inopportuno supporre la presenza di schemi grafici. Infine, l'accorpamento alla lista degli *alia scripta* potrebbe derivare una libera iniziativa di Gerberto, eccentrica rispetto all'indice del catalogo a nostra disposizione.

Rimane un ultimo problema per chiudere il cerchio attorno alla scoperta degli *Astronomica*: occorre, infatti, capire se il poema maniliano possa aver lasciato qualche traccia testuale negli scritti di Gerberto. A tal proposito, ha destato una certa curiosità negli studiosi (Bechert 3 nt. 4, Maranini 87) un *elogium* in versi composto per l'amatissimo Boezio (vv. 7–8):

> …gladio bacchante Gothorum,
> Libertas Romana perit: tu consul et exsul,
> Insignes titulos praeclara morte relinquis.

23. Anche Reeve, *Manilius* 237 è dell'idea che il testo degli *Astronomica* e quelli di Boezio fossero accorpati e ritiene che questa possa essere la causa della confusione di Boezio.

24. Tra l'altro, questa lettura si scontrerebbe con la semplicissima constatazione che il *de arithmetica* è formato da due libri.

(sotto la spada folle dei Goti, la libertà romana è andata perduta, tu Boezio, console ed esule, lasci con la tua gloriosa morte insigni onori; *PL* 139 0287A)[25]

25. Su questi *versus* Mohes 342–43.

Merita di essere ripresa in mano la questione, malgrado lo scetticismo della Maranini, che tende a ridimensionare l'apporto fornito dal proemio al quarto libro degli *Astronomica*:

Adde etiam Italicas acies Romamque suismet
Pugnantem membris, adice et civilia bella
Et Cimbrum in Mario Mariumque in carcere victum.
Quod, consul totiens, exul, quod de exule consul
Adiacuit Libycis compar iactura ruinis
Eque crepidinibus cepit Carthaginis urbem,
Hoc, nisi fata darent, numquam fortuna tulisset.[26]

26. Per un commento Housman, *liber quartus* 6–8; Feraboli, Flores, Scarcia, vol. 2, 306–08.

(Aggiungi anche gli schieramenti italici e Roma che combatte contro le sue proprie membra, aggiungi anche le guerre civili e il Cimbro vinto alla vista di Mario e Mario: esule dopo tante volte console e console da esule, giacque relitto pari alle macerie africane e dai bassifondi di Cartagine prese la città di Roma, tutto ciò se i fati non lo avessero reso possibile, la fortuna non l'avrebbe mai prodotto; Manil. 4, 43–49).

Nel passo, fortemente influenzato da moduli declamatori, Manilio porta come esempio delle alterne vicende della sorte, il caso di Gaio Mario, che fu in grado di assurgere ai massimi onori di Roma da condizioni svantaggiate e difficoltose. Al v. 46, attraverso la ricorsività della ripetizione in chiasmo di *consul*, unita al poliptoto *exul… exule* e ai raffinati richiami fonici, Manilio, qui campione di "agudeza" (Feraboli, Flores, Scarcia, vol. 2, 307), riesce a rendere in modo molto vivido l'idea dell'alternanza delle fortune di un *vir magnus*.

Tutto questo per dire che non è difficile che il v. 46 si sia distinto per la sua struttura retorica e possa essere così rimasto impresso alla memoria di Gerberto. Infatti, oltre al contesto vagamente affine (in entrambi i testi si fa cenno a situazioni belliche e a rovesci della fortuna), bisogna segnalare che il prelievo testuale e la successiva rielaborazione interessa una parte sensibile quale la clausola. Infine, penso sia piuttosto importante notare che nella poesia latina l'accostamento dei sostantivi *exul* e *consul* in finale di verso si legge solo in questo luogo maniliano. Dunque, la raffinata costruzione retorica della sequenza e la collocazione in una posizione forte a fine di verso avrebbero favorito la sua memorizzazione e la sua ripresa. Non bisogna poi dimenticare che il luogo è desunto da un contesto proemiale, privo quindi delle asprezze tecniche della esposizione didascalica e perciò più facile a una lettura desultoria. Il possibile richiamo intertestuale al proemio del quarto libro degli *Astronomica* potrebbe essere, inoltre, una prova indiretta della riscoperta e lettura del poema maniliano. Se è vero che Gerberto, almeno per un certo periodo, aveva confuso gli *Astronomica* con un'opera astronomico/astrologica di Boezio, allora possiamo pensare che l'allusione non è casuale o peregrina, come vorrebbero gli studi. Il dotto abate avrebbe, quindi, porto un omaggio all'autore del *De consolatione philosophiae* rielaborando le sue stesse parole. La raffinata costruzione retorica di 4, 46 era destinata non solo a rimanere impressa nella memoria del lettore, ma si adattava anche alla figura di Boezio e al suo sacrificio.

Nella consapevolezza dei rischi che può recare un'analisi basata sulla valutazione dei dati intertestuali, si può forse avanzare l'ipotesi che i *versus* di Gerberto testimonino una ripresa di un luogo particolarmente sensibile degli *Astronomica*. Naturalmente una sola occorrenza non può provare una sistematica lettura e neppure una presenza radicata, è una conferma, piuttosto, della sostenibilità e della verosimiglianza del quadro qui ricostruito. Segno questo che alla fine del x secolo Manilio stava per uscire dal suo secolare oblio, per cominciare, pur limitatamente, a circolare tra gli *scriptoria* europei.

2. Primi lettori e commentatori degli *Astronomica*

La riscoperta gerbertiana di Manilio rischierebbe di apparire un fatto isolato, certamente straordinario per le condizioni e gli scenari che apre, ma fondamentalmente limitato all'esemplarità del personaggio coinvolto. Insomma, si rischia di vedere questo evento come la parentesi di una storia che si esplicherà compiutamente con il vero ritrovamento, quello di Poggio del 1417, che fece da volano e propulsore della conoscenza del poema. Per tale motivo occorre mettere in dialogo i sondaggi maniliani di Gerberto con dati più solidi e concreti: la più antica tradizione degli *Astronomica*, rappresentata dai già citati codici di Bruxelles (KBR 10012) e di Lipsia (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1465), si data all'xi secolo, dunque, relativamente poco tempo dopo ai fatti di cui abbiamo parlato. E probabilmente – osserva Maranini 92 – sono di questo periodo anche alcuni codici perduti, ma variamente attestati, come il *Venetus*,[27] lo *Spirensis* e il *Leoninus*.

La più antica e sicura testimonianza di un, anche se poco articolato, lavoro esegetico sugli *Astronomica* è fornita dal manoscritto lipsiense,[28] un codice pergamenaceo di xi secolo proveniente, come suggerisce Reeve, *Manilius* 236, da uno *scriptorium* dell'Europa continentale (in particolare dall'area di Liegi), oppure secondo Munk Olsen, *Catalogue* 92, dalla Germania occidentale.[29] Nel manoscritto non sono presenti *explicit*, *implicit* o *subscriptiones*, il codice, come abbiamo precedentemente accennato, è intitolato ad Arato (*Arati philosophi Astronomicon*), non presenta elementi decorativi e nemmeno (analogamente a tutti gli altri manoscritti maniliani) illustrazioni o diagrammi astrologici. Gli studiosi (Goold, *Manilius Teubner*, VII) riconoscono che alla prima mano che ha copiato la quasi totalità del testo si sono avvicendate nel libro terzo e saltuariamente nel quinto altre due mani.

Ciò che rende peculiare l'esemplare manoscritto è un discreto apparato, specie per quanto riguarda il primo libro, di glosse interlineari e di *marginalia* (il codice di Bruxelles, infatti, non presenta glosse e il più tardo codice di Madrid, invece, mostra delle correzioni sporadiche agli errori marchiani del copista e degli interventi di due o più mani umanistiche). Tra gli apparati paratestuali vi sono anche *tituli* vergati, nel primo libro, in inchiostro rosso, posti in capo alla sezione testuale che vanno a descrivere (a riguardo Goold, *Teubner* xii–xv; Munk Olsen, *Manuscrits et textes* 218).[30] Nella cosiddetta sezione aratea del primo libro (vv. 255–455) si può notare la presenza di indicazioni marginali (in nero) indicanti i nomi delle costellazioni lì descritte, che affiancano il sistema dei *tituli* in rosso. In questa sezione le indicazioni marginali sono vergate da mani differenti (probabilmente coeve) rispetto a quella che ha copiato il testo, con inchiostri anch'essi diversi. Il sistema dei *tituli* è estremamente discontinuo: solo prima del libro secondo questi sono elencati (pp. 21 r–v) nella forma di un indice (in un carattere più piccolo) e sono della stessa mano del testo. Nel corso dei libri 3–5 i copisti che si sono avvicendati hanno lasciato uno spazio bianco in prossimità dell'inizio delle diverse sezioni testuali, spazio che è stato colmato da una mano "non prima, sed antiqua" (Goold, *Teubner* xii).

Concentrandosi sugli interventi esegetici possiamo distinguere dei *marginalia* di una mano differente e sicuramente successiva rispetto a quelle che hanno copiato il codice: questi interventi, sporadici, sono scritti in una corsiva non sempre di facile lettura (forse suc-

27. Il codice Venetus è testimoniato dalle collazioni di I. F. Gronovius, tramandate in un'edizione maniliana di A. Molinius, conservata a Leida (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 755 H 15).

28. Per una sintetica descrizione codicologica rimando alla scheda di Maranini 111–12.

29. Come il codice di Bruxelles BKN 10012, che arriva dall'antico monastero di S. Pietro di Gembloux.

30. La presenza di un fitto sistema di *tituli*, utile a districarsi nella materia didascalica, accomuna la tradizione di Manilio a quella di altre opere didascaliche come il *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio (Butterfield, 136–202), oppure l'*Ars amatoria* di Ovidio (sui *tituli* nei codici di xi e xii sec. rimando ancora a Munk Olsen, *Manuscrits et textes* 217–25).

cessiva al xiii sec.). La mano è la stessa che, al f. 96 r ha aggiunto, dopo l'ultimo verso del poema (5, 745) il distico: "carmina praeclaras signant caeli regiones / fistula quas cecinit Christiani docta magistri" ("i versi descrivono le splendenti regioni del cielo, / che ha cantato il dotto calamo del maestro cristiano"). A questo lettore è probabilmente ascritta anche (in 1, 684) la correzione *positas* (con una *a* sovrascritta), contro *positos*, esito di una collazione con il codice di Bruxelles o, molto probabilmente, di un altro codice a lui imparentato, come dimostrerebbe (in 1, 105) la correzione *sonitum*, contro *solitum* di tutta la tradizione manoscritta.

Gli interventi più antichi, per lo più coevi al testo, sono attribuibili a mani eterogenee: si tratta, come accennato sopra, di glosse interlineari, saltuariamente esterne alla colonna di testo. Le glosse sono richiamate da appositi segni di richiamo: il più diffuso un tratto verticale tra due punti disposti orizzontalmente (˙|˙), oppure una croce (†), oppure ancora da tre puntini disposti a forma di triangolo (∴); altre volte, invece, gli interventi non sono richiamati.[31] Dal punto di vista contenutistico si possono distinguere note esegetiche di diverso tipo e interventi correttivi, di una mano diversa da quella che ha copiato il testo: questi sono richiamati prevalentemente da un segno a forma di croce. Gli studiosi si sono concentrati prevalentemente sulle *variae lectiones* nel tentativo di stabilire la loro posizione nello stemma *codicum* della tradizione di Manilio. A tal proposito Goold ("adversaria" 97) ha efficacemente dimostrato che questa seconda mano riflette una "interlinear tradition," presente anche nell'archetipo e che negli altri esemplari degli *Astronomica* è stata assorbita nel testo, oppure trascurata.[32]

Gli interventi esegetici, che consistono in larga parte in sussidi alla lettura di un testo complesso, il cui contenuto non sempre risulta perspicuo, si assiepano nel primo libro del poema, mentre sono pressoché assenti altrove. Questo fatto si può spiegare prima di tutto alla luce del contenuto del testo: il primo, infatti, consiste in una introduzione astronomica fortemente influenzata da Arato e dai suoi commentatori. Presenta, infatti, essenziali nozioni cosmologiche (ricordiamo la rassegna di opinioni sulla formazione dell'Universo, la dimostrazione didascalica della sfericità terrestre), che si affiancano a una particolareggiata descrizione della sfera celeste, delle sue costellazioni e dei suoi circoli. Dunque, il testo, oltre a essere più accessibile sul piano del contenuto (più frequenti, infatti, sono le disgressioni), riflette con maggiore agio un quadro scientifico condiviso. Lo scenario è differente, invece, per i libri astrologici (2–5), dove sono

31. Su questi segni Munk Olsen, *Travaux philologiques* 286–87.

32. Secondo Goold, *Teubner*, nel codice di Bruxelles o Gemblacensis (KBR 10012) e nel perduto Venetus (per quello che si può ricostruire dalle collazioni gronoviane), i copisti hanno operato una selezione delle lezioni (dunque, il testo risulta sostanzialmente contaminato), mentre le prime mani del Lipsiensis e quella del Matritensis hanno copiato pedissequamente il testo, senza lezioni interlineari. Nel Lipsiensis, queste sarebbe confluite in un secondo momento.

trattati concetti più complessi e soprattutto estranei a un lettore non specialista: la difficoltà, inoltre, è spesso acuita anche dal livello di astrazione richiesto e dalla crescente (soprattutto nel libro terzo) matematizzazione dei contenuti.[33] Può essere legato a questo spostamento di interesse anche la differente cura formale e grafica che interessa l'aspetto dei libri astrologici, sono assenti i *tituli* in rosso e i capilettera rubricati, così frequenti, invece, nei margini del testo del primo libro.

33. Per una complessiva informazione sulla struttura del testo rimando ai contributi di Romano 21–75, Goold *Loeb*, xvi–cv, Volk, 14–126.

Di seguito, dunque, fornisco alcuni *specimina* testuali nel tentativo di ricostruire, per sommi capi, gli interessi e i connotati che hanno caratterizzato la riscoperta degli *Astronomica* tra la fine del decimo e l'inizio dell'undicesimo secolo. Prima della glossa indico, per comodità del lettore, il luogo maniliano a cui gli interventi marginali si riferiscono.

> nunc tibi signorum lucentis undique flammas
> ordinibus certis referam. primumque canentur
> quae media obliquo praecingunt ordine mundum
> solemque alternis vicibus per tempora portant
> atque alia adverso luctantia sidera mundo,
> omnia quae possis caelo numerare sereno,
> e quibus et ratio fatorum ducitur omnis,
> ut sit idem mundi primum quod continet arcem
>
> (Adesso ti riferirò, secondo un ordine stabilito, le luci delle costellazioni che da ogni parte splendono. Per prime verranno cantate quelle costellazioni che cingono nel mezzo il mondo in obliqua serie e conducono il sole nelle stagioni in successione alterna e le altre stelle che si oppongono al mondo che si muove in direzione contraria, tutte quelle che puoi numerare nel cielo sereno, da cui è possibile dedurre la completa conoscenza dei destini, così che per prima sia quella sezione che contiene la sommità del cielo; Manil. 1, 255–62).
>
> (f. 6v.) 1, 262 "mundi primum] Zodiacus quod principatum in mundo habet, sit primum in numero"
>
> ("lo zodiaco poiché ha il primo posto nell'universo, abbia il primo posto nella trattazione")

Il v. 262 chiude la didascalia introduttiva allo zodiaco e si riferisce alla posizione nel cosmo del circolo delle dodici costellazioni. Il passo presenta alcune difficoltà esegetiche e testuali che sono state variamente risolte (Rossetti 82–89): la soluzione più convincente è quella di Schwarz che vede nel verso un riferimento alla posizione dello zodiaco in prossimità dell'*arx mundi* (la sommità del cielo). Discussa nel verso l'interpretazione di *idem* che alcuni riferiscono allo zodiaco, altri, invece, al segno dell'Ariete menzionato al v. 263. L'interpretazione dell'anonimo (da ora A.) è forse influenzata dal contiguo *titulum* "De xii signis. De Ariete" (a testo, in inchiostro rosso), che marca, prima del v. 263, l'inizio dell'elencazione delle costellazioni zodiacali.

> A tergo nitet Arctophylax idemque Bootes,
> Quod similis iunctis instat de more iuuencis,
> Arcturumque rapit medio sub pectore secum.
>
> (Alle spalle riluce Artofilace, ossia Boote, giacché allo stesso modo di chi incalza, secondo il suo uso, pungola giovenchi aggiogati e trascina, sotto la metà del petto, Arturo; Manil. 1, 316–18).
>
> (7v.) 1, 318 "Arcturumque rapit] stellam in cingulo" ("stella sulla cintura")

L'A. specifica la posizione di Arturo sulla cintura di Artofilace o Boote; la nota è forse influenzata dal *De astronomia* di Igino (3, 3) "habet autem … in zona unam (stellam) clarius ceteris lucentem – haec stella Arcturus appellatur" ("sulla cintura ha una stella che splende con maggiore lucentezza, questa è Arturo").

> At parte ex alia claro uolat orbe Corona
> Luce micans varia; nam stella vincitur una
> Circulus, in media radiat quae maxima fronte
> Candidaque ardenti distinguit lumina flamma;
> Gnosia desertae fulgent monumenta puellae.
>
> (da una parte all'altra vola la Corona con il suo cerchio rilucente scintillando di una brillantezza varia: il suo anello è vinto da una sola stella, che più grande raggia nel mezzo della fronte e con la sua ardente fiamma inframezza le candide luci; Manil. 1, 319–23)
>
> (8r.) 1, 323 "puellae] Ariadnae" ("di Arianna")

Il nome proprio Ariadne glossa il sintagma "Cnosia … puella" ("la ragazza di Cnosso"), protagonista del mito di catasterismo della Corona boreale (cfr. Igino, *De astronomia* 2, 5) che viene adombrato, con gusto alessandrino, al v. 323 ("Cnosia deserta fulgent monimenta puellae" "rifulgono i monumenti della fanciulla di Cnosso abbandonata").[34] La glossa è analoga, per intenzione e impostazione, a quella al v. 417 (9r.) "ales] Corvus." Ai vv. 417–18[35] vengono elencate tre costellazioni contigue dell'emisfero australe: il Corvo, il Cratere e il Centauro. Il poeta esplicita chiaramente i nomi degli ultimi due *signa* (che vengono prontamente riportati anche nei *tituli* marginali), mentre per il Corvo ricorre a una perifrasi di gusto erudito ("Phoebo sacer ales"). Lo scioglimento dell'allusione mitologica può essere stato suggerito all'A. dalla lettura di una fonte mitografica, come il *De astronomia* di Igino (2, 40), dove è narrato il racconto del catasterismo del Corvo di Apollo.

Diversi, infine, i casi delle note al v 315[36] (7v.) "nixa species] Hercules" e al v. 343[37] (8v.) "Iovis ales] Aquila." Qui i nomi delle rispettive costellazioni compaiono nel margine come *titulum*, cosa che può aver comodamente suggerito lo scioglimento della denominazione erudita. Anche qui l'anonimo glossatore poteva attingere senza alcun problema a un patrimonio piuttosto diffuso di interpretazioni mitologiche: l'identificazione dell'Inginocchiato o Engonasi con Ercole rimonta alla tradizione eratostenica (*Cat.* 4) e si ritrova in Igino (*De astr.* 2, 6), ma anche negli *scholia* all'*Aratus latinus* (p. 190 Maass). Discorso analogo si può fare anche per l'Aquila, riguardo alla quale rimando a Igino (*De astr.* 2, 16) e al commento all'*Aratus latinus* (p. 243 Maass).

Sul piano dell'interpretazione mitologica ritengo molto interessante il caso del v. 764[38] (17v.) "illumque] Nestorem," l'unica glossa della digressione sulla via lattea (1, 762–804); il nonsense *iliumque* abbisognava di una spiegazione. In questo caso è difficile dire se l'A. avesse intuito dal contesto il nome del mitico re, famoso per la sua lunga età (nei versi viene fatto un elenco di eroi omerici), oppure avesse a disposizione un codice della famiglia del Matritensis, che recava la lezione *Pylium.* Ad ogni modo è segno di una lettura non certo superficiale del testo, a opera di un pubblico sufficientemente colto da identificare personaggi e temi della letteratura antica.

> Serpentem magnis Ophiuchus nomine spiris
> dividit et toto cingentem corpore corpus,
> explicet ut nodos sinuataque terga per orbes.
> respicit ille tamen molli cervice reflexus
> et redit effusis per laxa volumina palmis

34. Oltre al *De astronomia* di Igino l'interpretazione mitologica della corona era disponibile ai lettori medievali anche negli *scholia* all'*Aratus latinus* (p. 192 Maass) o nell'*Anonymus Sangallensis* (4), a riguardo Santoni, 133–37.

35. Manil. 1, 343–44 "Et Phoebo sacer ales et una gratus Iaccho / Crater et duplici Centaurus imagine fulget" ("e l'Uccello sacro a Febo, assieme il Cratere grato a Iacco e il Centauro risplende nella sua doppia immagine").

36. Manil. 1, 314–15 "Proxima frigentis Arctos boreanque rigentem / nixa venit species genibus, sibi conscia causae" ("Vicino alle Orse freddolose e a Borea intirizzito piegata sulle sue ginocchia, per un motivo che solo lei conosce, si avvicina un'altra figura")

37. "Tum magni Iovis ales fertur in altum" ("allora svetta in alto l'uccello dedicato al grande Giove").

38. Cfr. 764–65 "Pyliumque senecta / insignem triplici" ("e il Pilio Nestore celebre per la vecchiaia di tre generazioni"). *Pylium* è la lezione del cod. M, mentre L, con G, ha *iliumque*, banalizzazione (forse ingenerata per interferenza del vicino *Ithacum*) già presente nell'antigrafo.

(Una costellazione di nome Ofiuco divide un serpente dalle grandi spire, che con il suo corpo ritorto cinge il corpo all'uomo, affinché ne sciolga i nodi, e il dorso incurvato nelle sue spire. Quello, tuttavia, guarda indietro ripiegato sul tenero collo e ritorna, mentre Ofiuco lascia andare le mani sulle ampie volute; Manil. 1, 332–35).

(8 r.) 1, 332 "corpore] ipsius Ophiucus" 1, 333 "explicet] ophiucus" 1,334 "rexflexus] serpentis" 1, 335 "effusis] illum serpentem"

La serie di brevi notazioni ai vv. 332–35 (che contengono la descrizione del segno del Serpentario, Ofiuco) hanno un carattere di didascalia. L'andamento sintattico del periodo di Manilio è volutamente involuto e intende, anche grazie a un sapiente uso del poliptoto (v. 332 "corpore corpus"), riprodurre lo stretto viluppo tra il serpente e la figura astrale dell'Ofiuco. Le sintetiche notazioni, dunque, dovrebbero aiutare a districarsi tra quattro versi di non semplice lettura, dove tra l'altro si annidano anche delle difficoltà testuali (il v. 332 per come è tramandato in L "dividit etiam toto ingentem corpore corpus"). Va da sé che l'indicazione del v. 332 non è corretta, l'ablativo *corpore* si riferisce al Serpente, non a Ofiuco.

Succedit iniquo
divisum spatio, quod terna lampade dispar
conspicitur paribus, Deltoton nomine sidus
ex simili dictum.[39]

39. Stampo il testo stabilito nell'edizione di Rossetti 73–74, per le difficoltà testuali rimando al commento 184–91.

(Succede divisa da un lato diseguale, che si scorge diverso rispetto ai lati pari per le tre sue luci, una costellazione di nome Deltoton, chiamata così per la sua somiglianza alla lettera; Manil. 1, 351–54).

(8 r.) 352 "divisus] triangulus qui duo latera habet aequalia tertium inequalem" ("triangolo che ha due lati eguali e uno diverso")

L'Anonimo glossa la descrizione, invero difficoltosa e problematica, della costellazione del Deltoton. La nota, oltre a fornire una spiegazione dei versi, nei quali viene rappresentato un triangolo isoscele, supplisce all'assenza, nel testo di Manilio, del nome latino della costellazione. La forma del *signum* è chiaramente descritta in Igino (*De astronomia* 3, 18) "(Deltoton) autem in triangulum deformatur, aequis lateribus duobus, uno breviore, sed prope aequali reliquis" ("il Deltoton ha la forma di un triangolo con due lati uguali, uno più breve, ma pressappoco uguale agli altri").

> Ni veterem Perseus caelo quoque servet amorem
> auxilioque iuvet fugiendaque Gorgonis ora
> sustineat spoliumque sibi pestemque videnti"
>
> (… Se Perseo non conservasse anche in cielo l'antico amore e non le portasse aiuto e non recasse il volto della Gorgone dal quale bisogna tenersi lontani, bottino per lui e rovina per chi lo vede; Manil 1, 358–60).
>
> (9v.) 1, 360 "sustineat] contra se quasi scutum" ("davanti a sé, come uno scudo")

La nota glossa l'espressione "sustineat spolium" e si riferisce alla costellazione di Perseo, rappresentata nell'atto del salvataggio di Andromeda dal Mostro marino. L'idea dello scudo è assente in Manilio, dove, piuttosto, bisogna pensare alla testa della Gorgone come strumento di offesa, non di difesa. Il dettato estremamente conciso del poeta può essere stato integrato da un'immagine ispirata dalle fonti astronomiche, dove l'eroe viene rappresentato in modo più particolareggiato, in accordo all'astrotesia della costellazione. Le fonti erudite, infatti, sottolineano la presenza della testa della Gorgone nell'immagine di Perso. Igino *De astr.* 3, 21, ad esempio, afferma che l'immagine stellare dell'eroe è formata "da una stella sulla mano sinistra, quella in cui si crede tenesse la testa della Gorgone" ("in sinistra alteram [stellam], qua caput Gorgonis tenere existimatur").[40]

> Hunc subeunt Haedi claudentes sidere pontum,
> Nobilis et mundi nutrito rege Capella,
> Cuius ab uberibus magnum ille ascendit Olympum
> Lacte fero crescens ad fulmina vimque tonandi.
>
> (Gli stanno addosso i Capretti che rendono innavigabile il mare e, nobile per aver nutrito il re dell'Universo, la Capra, dalle cui poppe quello salì verso il grande Olimpo, crescendo con latte selvatico ai fulmini e alla potenza del tuono. Manil. 1, 365–8)

40. Medesima astrotesia anche nei commenti ai *Phaenomena* di Germanico (vd. a proposito *Scholia in Germanici Aratea* pp. 83, 148, 235 Breysig). A questo si aggiunga anche il commento all'*Aratus latinus* (p. 227 Maass "unde [Perseus] habere videtur et Gorgonis caput" "da qui sembra che [Perseo] tenga la testa della Gorgone). Nota ripresa anche in un catalogo di età carolingia, il *De signis caeli* (riguardo al quale Santoni 61–63), al c. 22: "Perseus qui fertur tenere caput Gorgonis" ("Perseo, quello che si dice tenga la testa della Gorgone" trad. Santoni 71). Sulla testa della Gorgone vedi anche l'*Excerptum de astrologia Arati* (c. 7) e anche il *De ordine ac positione stellarum in Signis* (c. 23). Traduzione e commento di questi testi in Santoni.

> (9v.) 1, 365 "claudentes] quia gravissimas efficiunt tempestates" ("poiché provocano dannosissime tempeste").

La perifrasi poetica "claudere pontum" ("chiudere il mare") non risultava pienamente perspicua, abbisognava, dunque, di un semplice scioglimento. La spiegazione del verso fa leva su basilari conoscenze di 'meteorologia' astronomica: i capretti, infatti, con il loro sorgere nei mesi autunnali segnalano l'arrivo di forti tempeste, che impediscono la navigazione. Non stupisce che tra i materiali di esegesi ad Arato fossero inclusi anche alcuni *excerpta* dal diciottesimo libro della *Naturalis historia* di Plinio, che contengono un calendario astrale, come si può notare nella raccolta degli *scholia Strozziana* a Germanico (vd. a proposito Dell'Era 243–56). Dunque, l'uso calendariale dell'astronomia non era estraneo ai lettori di astronomia e si può presumere facesse parte di quel basilare corredo nozionistico utile alla lettura della poesia astronomica.

> Quis credat tantas operum sine numine moles
> Ex minimis caecoque creatum foedere mundum?
> Si fors ista dedit nobis, fors ipsa gubernet.
>
> (Chi potrebbe credere che la mole di un'opera così grande esista senza un dio e che il mondo sia stato creato dall'aggregazione di atomi mediante un cieco patto? Se il caso ci ha dato tutte queste cose, allora il caso stesso le governerà. Manil. 1, 492–94)
>
> (11v.) 1, 493 "minimis] athomis" ("atomi")

La postilla chiarisce il significato dell'aggettivo sostantivo *minimum*, che riprende l'espressione *semina minima* del v. 487. Oggetto dei versi di Manilio è una critica al determinismo materialista e, dunque, all'atomismo di marca lucreziana (nel passo sono stati evidenziati numerosi prestiti dal *De rerum natura* vd. a riguardo Feraboli, Flores, Scarcia, vol. 1, 246–47, Volk 194–96). Scopo del poeta è la difesa dell'impianto provvidenzialistico della sua cosmologia: l'universo degli *Astronomica*, infatti, non consiste in una casuale aggregazione di atomi, ma è esito del disegno razionale di una divinità cosmica. Dalla brevissima nota possiamo, quindi, affermare che la formazione e gli interessi scientifici dell'anonimo toccassero non solo il versante astronomico, ma anche quello latamente cosmologico/filosofico. Il contesto maniliano risulta così efficacemente compreso nella sua generale impostazione filosofica. Che l'anonimo possedesse, però, una semplice infarinatura su questi temi è evidente in una glossa di simile tenore a un altro passo cosmologico del primo libro.

All'inizio del libro il poeta elenca le δόξαι circa la formazione dell'universo e tra queste include anche le teorie di Democrito, Epicuro e Lucrezio. Al v. 128[41] il lettore glossa in questo modo l'espressione "principium individuum" ("atomo"): p. 3v. "sive individuis… principiis] in simplicibus iiii elementis" ("nei quattro elementi semplici"). Secondo l'anonimo il poeta si sarebbe riferito alla dissoluzione della natura negli elementi fondamentali di cui è composta la materia: terra, fuoco, aria e acqua. Evidente che il lettore non sia riuscito a ricondurre l'aggettivo *individuus* al lessico dell'atomismo[42] e, anzi, lo abbia travisato assieme a tutto il contesto discorsivo nel quale era inserito. La confusione è stata forse ingenerata dal fatto che Manilio ai vv. 132–39 passa in rassegna le teorie cosmologiche ilozoistiche, a partire da quella del fuoco di marca eraclitea, per poi toccare quella dell'acqua e dei quattro elementi di Empedocle (per un commento si veda Feraboli, Flores, Scarcia, *volume 1*, 205–06).

41. Manil. 1, 128–31 "sive individuis, in idem reditura soluta, / principiis natura manet post saecula mille, / nec paene ex nihilo summa est nihilumque futurum, / caecaque materies caelum perfecit et orbem" ("sia che la natura continui ad esistere dopo mille secoli nei suoi atomi, una volta disgregata e destinata a tornare a uno stato originario, e la cieca materia abbia creato il cielo e l'universo").

42. *Individuus* è calco del greco ἄτομος, a riguardo cfr. *ThLL* 7, 1, 1208, 22–1210, 57.

3. Conclusioni

Sebbene le glosse che abbiamo brevemente illustrato non ci dicano nulla sul piano critico testuale (ed è il motivo per cui sono state trascurate dagli studiosi e siano rimaste sostanzialmente inedite) ci possono aiutare a comprendere gli usi e le modalità di circolazione degli *Astronomica.* In primo luogo, completando quanto abbiamo accennato sopra, occorre sottolineare che le glosse si concentrano nella sezione dedicata alla sfera e ai segni celesti, che è il luogo testuale in cui è più viva l'imitazione dei *Phaenomena* di Arato. Questo fatto è da mettere senz'altro in dialogo con l'intitolazione del manoscritto, che abbiamo visto attribuire gli *Astronomica* ad Arato, eccezionalmente definito *philosophus.* Constatando, dunque, il largo impiego scolastico, tanto nel mondo antico, quanto nel medioevo, delle traduzioni di Arato di Cicerone e Germanico dei relativi paratesti, possiamo spingerci a ipotizzare che, marginalmente, anche gli *Astronomica* siano stati apprezzati come introduzione allo studio del cielo. A riprova di ciò l'osservazione che le note si fermano a livello assolutamente basilare, chiarendo perifrasi poetiche ritenute complesse o aiutando nella comprensione di passaggi non perspicui. L'anonimo postillatore dimostra così una buona perizia nel riconoscere i nomi delle costellazioni e i miti astrali ad essi connessi, forse esito di pregresse letture non solo dei *Phaenomena* latini, ma anche dei loro paratesti e di manuali quali il *De astronomia* di Igino. La ricerca sulla tradizione medievale di Manilio, dunque, dovrebbe indirizzare verso l'analisi dei contatti e delle relazioni con il mondo degli *aratea* che, dall'età carolingia, hanno goduto nell'occidente latino di un rinnovato interesse, come dimostra la produzione di manoscritti illustrati e corredati di esegesi (Le Bourdellès 90–99, Santoni 24–54).

Detto questo, si può forse confermare, in attesa di maggiori approfondimenti, l'idea già espressa da Maranini 87–88, di un uso (limitatissimo) di Manilio in ambito educativo, uso che sarebbe continuato nel tempo, come appare dall'analisi delle mani *recentiores* che hanno vergato altre e più fitte glosse marginali. La complessità del poema e l'assenza di commenti, *scholia* e materiali isagogici ha fortemente limitato questo impiego contribuendo in tal modo alla sua marginalizzazione. Questa modesta circolazione scolastica può essere anche alla base della ricerca del testo degli *Astronomica* da parte di Gerberto, che, è risaputo, spese molte energie nell'insegnamento (Lindgren, *Quadrivium)* dell'astronomia, fino alla progettazione di complessi e articolati planisferi celesti (Dekker 194–207). Se questa attività di *spheropoia* sia poi stata influenzata da Manilio (il sistema dei circoli celesti dell'astronomia gerbertiana ricalca anche quello del primo libro degli *Astronomica*), oppure da una fonte intermedia (Macrobio, Igino) è difficile dirlo (a proposito ancora Dekker 198). Resta il fatto che le sparute testimonianze in nostro possesso ci consentono di gettare una tenue luce su un testo raro e relativamente poco noto.

L'esempio della riscoperta di Gerberto di Aurillac e le anonime postille del codice di Lipsia ci dimostrano, in modi differenti, come gli *Astronomica* uscirono gradualmente dall'oblio tra le fine del decimo e l'inizio dell'undicesimo secolo. I dati a nostra disposizione ci consentono solo di formulare ipotesi e di ricostruire possibili scenari, che, come già detto, devono essere ulteriormente vagliati da attenti studi testuali.

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SAMU NISKANEN

Stocking a Library at the Turn of the Eleventh Century: the Case of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich

Abstract

This article asks how Bishop Herbert Losinga († 1119) obtained books and other material for the library of his new cathedral at Norwich. The bulk of the evidence comes from Herbert's correspondence, which survives in a letter-collection put together under his supervision. The essay interprets the hints available in his letters alongside other relevant bibliographical evidence. Extant manuscripts certainly or possibly at Norwich during Herbert's incumbency are also surveyed. It is suggested that Herbert regarded the creation of the library as one of his foremost achievements in office, and it is one for which he deserves to be remembered.[1]

Keywords

Herbert Losinga, Medieval libraries, Manuscripts, Textual transmission, Medieval letters.

This essay asks how Herbert Losinga († 1119), bishop of Norwich, obtained books and furnished a library, a question that previous scholarship has only posed in a piecemeal fashion.[2] What follows is in essence a commentary on Herbert's letters, which provide the bulk of the evidence. Extant manuscripts identifiable as having certainly or possibly belonged to Norwich during Herbert's years will be surveyed at the end.

A man who seldom features in modern scholarship, Herbert needs a brief introduction. He was born at Exmes in Normandy around the middle of the eleventh century.[3] He entered monastic life at the abbey of Fécamp at an unknown date. Promoted to the office of prior, he was soon transferred to England at the request of the new King, William II Rufus († 1100) and appointed as abbot of Ramsey (Cambs) in 1087. Within three years or so, he was preferred to the

1. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 716538 (MedPub, Medieval Publishing from *c.* 1000 to 1500). I express gratitude to James Willoughby, Nicholas Karn, Tommi Suomalainen, the two anonymous assessors, and the editors of this journal for their perceptive comments. All errors of fact or judgement that may remain are mine.

2. The most extensive previous commentary is found in Alexander 170–79, interspersed by observations on other subjects. See also Dodwell, "The Muniments and the Library" esp. 333. As for Herbert's name, Losinga was previously taken to be a toponym, hence the spelling "of [or de] Losinga" often found in previous research. Most medieval sources do not put "de" into his name, and it is now held that Losinga may not be a toponym.

3. For the most recent biography, see Harper-Bill.

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bishopric of Thetford; his consecration took place in January 1091. In paying for that preferment, he committed the sin of simony. The case attracted public attention, such that an anonymous poem disparaged Herbert, mentioning his family by name (Licence, *Miracles of St Edmund* xcvi–cix and 352–55). In 1094 he left for Rome to seek absolution, which Pope Urban II granted him.[4] Herbert's greatest achievement in office was to oversee the transfer of his see from Thetford to Norwich, more conveniently situated for a grand ecclesiastical institution.[5] The relocation was a major operation, instigated soon after Herbert's return from Rome, apparently in 1095. For a period, Herbert was designated in documents as bishop of either place, Norwich or Thetford, suggesting that the transfer was a step-by-step project in progress for years. The process reached completion by 1103, or at least that year saw the establishment of the priory of St Mary in the church at Thetford under the auspices of Roger Bigod, one of the wealthiest men in England and Normandy.[6] Much of the construction project in Norwich was undertaken at Herbert's personal cost. An integral part of the development was the creation of a well-stocked library, the focus of the discussion below. Herbert died in 1119.

An elevated but not preeminent churchman in early Norman England, Herbert received occasional attention in the (near-)contemporary historical record. One aspect we are offered several glimpses of is his achievement in stocking with books the library of the new cathedral priory. He often gave attention to that business in his correspondence, and many of his related missives are included in a subsequently published letter-collection. This comprises sixty pieces, mostly out-letters and all from his years as bishop.[7] It has been persuasively demonstrated that Herbert was responsible for bringing the main body of the letters together and arranging them, although it is unclear to what extent he might have supervised their copying and potential editing (Wahlgren-Smith). We can take it for granted that a copy, prepared with his oversight and now lost, was made for the library of Norwich.[8] Be that as it may, Herbert intended the letter-collection as an instrument to shape his public persona.[9] One of its recurring motifs was his concern to create a library for the new cathedral at Norwich.

It should be emphasised that what Herbert established was a cathedral priory, whereas Thetford had been a secular cathedral. The former was staffed by monks, the latter by canons. Customs to be followed by the members of these two churches, within and without their precincts, were quite different, with more thorough discipline

4. For this move and Herbert's related machinations, see Licence, "Herbert Losinga's trip."

5. For the history of the foundation, see Dodwell, "The Foundation of Norwich Cathedral" and "Herbert de Losinga and the Foundation." See also Edgington 266–74.

6. Archbishop Anselm referred to Herbert as Bishop of Thetford as late as 1108, Anselm, *Ep*. 464 (ed. Schmitt). Cf. Dodwell, "Herbert de Losinga and the foundation" 40–41.

7. Their printed edition, by Anstruther, is substandard. Several corrections are provided in Goulburn and Symonds vol. 1, 418–23. A new edition is being prepared by Nicholas Karn.

8. See note 17 below.

9. This was a well-established function, deployed in Christian Latin literature since the late antique period (Sogno and Watts 394) and acknowledged as a premise in modern medieval scholarship (*e.g.* Engen 375–418).

at Norwich. A point of variance was that reading was part of the discipline of a monk's life. The *Rule of St Benedict* enjoined brothers to read one book a year at minimum. It was, in theory if not necessarily always in practice, a heavier literary diet than secular clergy were given. And yet monks owned no property and therefore a corporate collection of books was a necessity for the fulfilment of this chapter of the Rule. Secular clerks, on the other hand, were bound to their churches by statutes and not by a rule of life. They owned property in their own name and could therefore buy, sell, and bequeath books from their own private collections. Corporate collections were slower to form in secular cathedrals as a result. Benedictine communities of substantial means in Norman England could in general boast fine libraries, even if Benedict's injunction might have been treated as something of a dead letter on occasion (Sharpe 271). So, what Herbert sought to achieve with the library at Norwich was in all likelihood something rather more ambitious than Thetford's collection of books, an entirely unknown entity today. What books and how many might have been brought from Thetford to Norwich cannot be known, but many more had to be acquired. For another contributing factor was the Normanisation of the church in England, which came with the imposition of new literary tastes from the late eleventh century onwards and a standardised view of what a library ought to contain (see Thomson, *Books and Learning*). The Fathers and canon law came to new prominence, a reorientation to which Herbert's letters, with their concern for securing copies of patristic literature, bear witness. The piece that opens his letter-collection explicitly states the same thing in reference to the Fathers. Citing a lost letter from his addressee and *Genesis* 1, Herbert wrote:

> You indeed say that canonical books and commentaries by illustrious men of the holy church are an absolute requisite. Most true. These are those lights that God set in the firmament, the greater light to enlighten the day, the lesser light to enlighten the night.[10]

To gain a sense of his task in context, it might be compared with the situation at Lincoln, a secular cathedral. Lincoln, like Norwich, was a Norman foundation, one transferred to a prestigious, old Roman site from a smaller place, in this case Dorchester on Thames in Oxfordshire in the far south of the diocese, removed in the latter half of the 1070s or soon after. Although Lincoln emerged as a prominent intellectual centre in the course of the twelfth century, its library re-

10. Herbert, *Ep.* 1: "Dicis inquam canonicos libros et illustrium tractatus virorum sanctae ecclesiae omnino esse necessarios. Nihil verius: hii sunt ea luminaria quae Deus in firmamento posuit, luminare maius ut illuminet diem, luminare minus ut illuminet noctem."

mained small in comparison with those of monastic cathedrals, of which Christ Church, Canterbury and Rochester are the best recorded cases for the early twelfth century, the period relevant to this essay. In a league of its own, discussion of Christ Church, the seat of the primate, should be put to one side here. But for Rochester, a catalogue of the library from 1122 or 1123, which lacks one folio at the beginning, records ninety-nine items (*English Benedictine Libraries* 471–92). By the 1140s, Lincoln's library housed, by way of contrast, a communal collection of forty-nine (*Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals* 428–40). The first fifty-one volumes in the Rochester list mainly contain works by the Fathers, suggesting that these were of especial importance to the community (*English Benedictine Libraries* 470). The library Herbert made is unlikely to have been a match for contemporary Rochester's (*English Benedictine Libraries* 465). Rochester's institutional connexion with Christ Church – its bishop was the archbishop's chorepiscopus – would have been of particular benefit to the library.[11] A more instructive analogy would be with Lincoln's library in the 1140s, when patristic volumes numbered around twenty. That might be taken to represent the sort of number Herbert could have achieved by the time of his death in 1119, given that his new cathedral was of similar size and age to Lincoln's. It is also worth noting that no volume extant or attested for Lincoln can be shown to have come across from Dorchester. The collection was built up *ex novo*.

11. The adaptation of the famous angular Christ Church script at Rochester suggests some sort of scriptorial collaboration or at least influence.

The Provision of Books

What follows discusses the evidence pertinent to Herbert's library-related activities. The first case comes from *Ep*. 10, which he addressed to *Ricardus abbas*, identifiable as the abbot of St Albans. Some contextualization is needed. The letter can be securely dated to 1097 × 1114. The termini are, respectively, the recipient's abbatial preferment, and the end of his subsequent epistolary exchange with Herbert.[12] With an acceptable degree of uncertainty, the opening terminus can be brought forward to *c*. 1109. That proposition rests on a reminder in *Ep*. 60, which Herbert sent to the same Richard in spring 1109 at the earliest, that certain books which Herbert requested in *Ep*. 10 had still to be dispatched to Norwich. It is unlikely that Richard would have failed to oblige over a period of several years.

12. Herbert, *Epp*. 59 (from Richard) and 60 (to Richard). The exchange must be later than *Ep*. 10 because *Ep*. 60 reminds Richard of his promise to send a copy of Augustine and a lectionary. This same note would imply my propositional *c*. 1109 terminus.

Although these secure termini have been suggested in previous scholarship, their validation must be restated here (see *e.g.* Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans* vol. 1, 16). The reason is that a study that serves as a central point of reference for modern commentary on Herbert's correspondence misidentifies *Ricardus abbas*, maintaining that the best candidate is the abbot of Ely, and that the abbot of St Albans is a less likely possibility.[13] Herbert's *Ep*. 59, an in-letter from the same Richard, champions Herbert as worthy of succeeding the deceased Archbishop Anselm to the see of Canterbury.[14] That letter must have been written sometime during Canterbury's five-year vacancy, starting with Anselm's death on 21 April 1109 and ending with the appointment of Ralph d'Escures in April 1114. Abbot Richard of Ely in fact died before Anselm, in 1107, so Herbert's correspondent must instead have been Abbot Richard of St Albans, who died later, in 1119.[15] The identification receives further corroboration from the fact that although Herbert was not Richard's diocesan, they collaborated when St Albans created new churches. Herbert officiated at the dedication of six churches belonging to the abbey and at a general ordination (*ordines generales*) conducted in the abbey's new monastic cell at Langley (Herts), all planted under Richard's auspices (Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum* vol. 1, 148–49).[16] What is more, our only witness of Herbert's letter-collection was copied from a lost St Albans manuscript.[17] Given his prominence among Herbert's correspondents, it is natural to regard *Ricardus abbas* as having been part of the collection's target audience. It would explain how St Albans came to possess a copy.

We may now scrutinize *Ep*. 10. It ends with the following entreaty, obviously connected with Herbert's mission to obtain books for the library of his new cathedral in Norwich.

> Please, send me the Josephus for which you have made repeated excuses on account of the unbound nature of the book. Since the book is now corrected and bound together, there remain no grounds for making excuses. Please, lend me the letters of Augustine and the letters of Jerome, one or both. I fervently beseech you to do so, and even more that you lend me one of the [two] lectionaries that your diligence recently commissioned. In order to implement this, I send to you Gregory, your son and servant, who will also inform you of certain things about which my letter is silent and pass your response to me.[18]

The first of the quoted requests to the abbot of St Albans is for Josephus, which aligns with a wider literary sentiment at the time. As im-

13. Goulburn and Symons vol. 1, 250 and 266–70. Their mistaken Ely identification is adopted in Harper-Bill.

14. Herbert, *Ep*. 59: "Pia mater erigatur ecclesia, ut quae orbata fuerat Anselmi patris ad coelos emigratione, Herberti episcopi corroborata suffragio equipollenter vigeat, eius munita defensione, ut quemadmodum supernis civibus admiscetur Anselmus, sic in coelesti requie, si non sede pontificali, Anselmus succedat Herbertus."

15. On whom, see Loyd.

16. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans* 1, 16 points out that Abbot Richard of Chester would be a possibility if not eliminable on account of Herbert's especial connection with St Albans.

17. Herbert's letter-collection survives in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 7965–73 (cat. 3723), f. 243r–78v. The manuscript is datable to the seventeenth century, possibly to the 1630s. At the head of the letter-collection, there are the insertions "Ex ms. S. Albani" and "Habemus etiam autographum codicem signatum ms. 73 pag. 108."

18. Herbert, *Ep*. 10: "Mittite mihi Josephum, de quo frequenter fecistis excusationem propter dissolutionem libri. Nunc autem correcto et ligato libro, nulla vobis relinquitur excusationis compositio. Epistolas Augustini et Epistolas Hieronimi vel alteras vel utrasque accommodate mihi: hoc magnopere ut faciatis obsecro; sed obnixius, ut alterum de lectionariis quos noviter vestra diligentia ordinavit, accommodetis mihi. Ad haec exigenda mitto vobis Gregorium vestrum et filium et servum, qui et quaedam in litteris meis tacita indicabit vobis et mihi vestram reportabit responsionem."

plied by the survival of a number of manuscripts from early Norman England, Josephus was an author of importance to that age's readerships (see Vincent 65–66). Although Herbert provided multiple details about the volume he was after, the case demonstrates the explanatory challenge the reader of medieval letters faces: how to merge epistolary witness with other pertinent sources, given that our evidence often comes in fragmented and ambiguous forms. We may begin with Herbert's primary designation for the work, *Josephus*. Did it embrace *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, *De bello Iudaico*, or both of them? The extant Josephus manuscripts from early Norman England are too diverse in content to provide a straightforward answer. Cambridge University Library (CUL), Dd. i. 4 and Cambridge, St John's College, A. 8 are twin volumes from Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury, bearing the *Antiquitates Iudaicae* and the *De bello Iudaico*. Durham Cathedral, B. II. 1, from Durham cathedral priory, conveys both works in a single volume. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, 4, from Herefordshire with a later medieval provenance at Monkland Priory, has only the *Antiquitates Iudaicae*. The two-volume set now London, British Library (BL), Royal 13 D. vi and Royal 13 D. vii, which carries both works, may at first seem to offer conclusive evidence since the manuscripts come from St Albans. Whether they might have constituted the copy Herbert had in mind, however, is a complex question.

The St Albans Josephus has been dated to *c.* 1125 and more broadly *c.* 1120 × *c.* 1140 by an eminent manuscript scholar (Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans* vol. 1, 99 and 23 respectively).[19] The copy would, then, belong to a surge of book production under Abbot Richard's immediate successor, Geoffrey de Gorron, abbot of St Albans from 1119 to 1146. If so, Herbert's reference to a Josephus would not have been to the extant St Albans copy but to one now lost. However, the dating cannot be taken as conclusive for the reason that it rests on palaeographical evidence, which is perforce relative and approximate, and which in this case has recently been contested. To begin with, the date-frame of *c.* 1120 × *c.* 1140 has been applied to a number of St Albans manuscripts on the grounds that several of the hands found in them resemble each other and in certain cases are identifiable as the same. Reliable indications of date have been sought and believed to be found in one manuscript of that group, the so-called St Albans Psalter, famous for splendid artwork and now Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St. Cod. 1. Importantly, hands in the St Albans Josephus have been identified in manuscripts produced by the Alexis

19. See also Thomson, "Monastic and cathedral book production" 142, which is in agreement with the dating proposed below.

Master, responsible for several illuminations in the St Albans Psalter, and his team (Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans* vol. 1, 23–25). On the basis of certain interpolations in its calendar, the Psalter has frequently been dated to various points in the course of Abbot Geoffrey's years in office, often to the first half of his incumbency, *c.* 1120–30. Earlier and later date-frames have also been put forth, however.[20] The most recent sustained discussion of which I am aware argues that the likeliest candidate for the Psalter's commissioner was in fact Abbot Richard, Herbert's correspondent. In this scenario the writing was begun in about 1117, stopped after Richard's death, and was resumed in about 1124 (Morgan 48–58).

The current scholarly disagreement on the Psalter's dating has the corollary that the St Albans Josephus cannot be confidently assigned either to Richard's or his successor's abbacy. Furthermore, the making of the Josephus volume may have preceded the Psalter's; that is to say, even if Abbot Geoffrey commissioned the Psalter, Abbot Richard may well have contracted out the Josephus. Richard is known to have set up a campaign of book production within specifically allocated premises. The copyists were not professed monks of the abbey but professional scribes, for they did not eat with the brethren. The project was to last some time, for it was endowed with a steady income, diverted from the tithes belonging to the house (Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum* vol. 1, 76).[21] The collaboration between the Josephus scribes may have been part of that undertaking (Matthew 409).

Herbert remarked also that previously in a state of *dissolutio*, the St Albans' *liber* of Josephus was now *correctus* and *ligatus*. The most natural reading seems to be that the manuscript was intentionally left unbound to more easily allow its text to be corrected, and that Richard had not wished to release the book for copying in loose quires, which might easily have become disordered in transit to Norwich. An alternative reading would be that the binding was damaged, and after its disordered quires were set right ("correcto"), the book was rebound ("ligato") (see Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans* vol. 1, 16). This interpretation would understand the noun *dissolutio* to denote the result of breaking up, which is its literal sense. It relates the particle "correcto" to the binding, whereas the former, and my preferred, reading associates it with the text. Upon examining the British Library's digital reproduction of the St Albans Josephus, I did not detect codicological irregularities hinting at physical disintegration or confusion in the past about the sequence of leaves or quires. Be

20. For the debate up to 2002, see *St Albans Psalter: The Debate*. For a subsequent suggestion of an early date (in or before 1121), see Matthew 405–6 and 415–16. For criticism of Matthew's proposition and a new potential *terminus a quo*, August 1129, see Thomson, "St Albans Psalter." See also Geddes 126–27, proposing the termini of *c.* 1129 and 1136.

21. For the most recent discussion on the arrangement, see Pohl 221.

that as it may, the odds must be that St Albans did not produce two hefty copies of the same text for its library. Herbert's articulations would, then, imply that the extant St Albans Josephus was the copy he requested Richard to lend.

Given the difference of opinion about the making of the St Albans Psalter, that identification has a bearing on scholarly understanding of the project at St Albans to restock the library. In my reading, the texts of BL, Royal 13 D. vi and Royal 13 D. vii had been copied but stood in need of correction a little before Herbert sent *Ep*. 10 to Abbot Richard. In other words, the set was completed *c.* 1109 × 1114. The date can be used as a provisional benchmark for the work of hands, found here, who have been identified as having collaborated with the Alexis Master, the famous artist of the St Albans Psalter. That team's inception, so it would seem, was Abbot Richard's achievement and was realized by the said date-frame, *c*. 1109 × 1114.[22] The proposition aligns with the fact that Richard is documented as having established a professional set-up for the production of books outside the monastic precinct.

Herbert's next request in the letter quoted above is for the letters of Augustine and those of Jerome, commonplace authors in medieval ecclesiastical libraries throughout the Latin west. Several manuscripts survive from early Norman England, but none can be linked with St Albans or Norwich. The extant booklists from the two houses are likewise silent. Not complete catalogues, they only record fractions of the collections, and as such cannot evidence the absence of individual titles from the said libraries.[23] The *Registrum Anglie*, a union catalogue compiled by Oxford Franciscans probably in Oxford in 1320 or thereabouts, reports Jerome's *Epistolae* at St Albans, but the book has left no other traces (*Registrum Anglie de libris* 90). The catalogue makes no mention of Augustine's letter-collection. Herbert's final request concerned two St Albans lectionaries of very recent making, of which he wished to borrow one. Apparently, they were identical in content. The pertinent volumes from St Albans and Norwich are not known to survive.

The final letter of Herbert's collection, *Ep*. 60, discloses that Abbot Richard, the recipient, had not fulfilled Herbert's entreaty on two accounts: Augustine's letters and the lectionary. Richard was reminded of his commitment to dispatch the two books to Norwich.[24] The silence on Josephus and Jerome's letters suggests that those books had been delivered as requested.

On both occasions, Brother Gregory was to act as the courier. In

22. The manuscripts in question, identified by Thomson, constitute Group 1 in his scheme. While associating that group with Abbot Geoffrey's time, Thomson likewise suggests that members of the Alexis Master's team may already have arrived at St Albans during the years of Abbot Richard (*Manuscripts from St Albans* 1, 24).

23. A list of borrowers and books borrowed from St-Albans datable to 1420 × 1437 itemizes a volume that included *excerpts* from Augustine's letters among other works; *English Benedictine Libraries* 556 (B87. 4).

24. Herbert, *Ep*. 60: "Mittite mihi libros sicut promisistis, Augustinum et lectionarium, per servum et monachum vestrum Gregorium." In a forthcoming paper I argue that a paratextual phrase used in some of Herbert's letters must have been picked up from a copy of Augustine's letters, implying that Richard finally obliged.

his first letter to Richard, excerpted above, Herbert also entrusted to Gregory a confidential message to deliver by word of mouth; the man was apparently a reliable servant. Gregory was probably a monk of St Albans, rather than Norwich, or so Herbert's references to him would seem to indicate. In the first letter, Gregory is called Richard's "son and servant" and in the second his "servant and monk."[25] The slight uncertainty about Gregory's affiliation is due to the fact that such articulations might also be read as representing monastic politesse, stressing unity between the correspondents. In any case, Gregory must have sojourned at Norwich for a longer period or periods, an implication from his repeated service as Herbert's messenger and Herbert's words in the first letter to Richard: "I send to you Gregory." One factor behind monastic relocation was occasional liturgical reform. To implement perfectly the practices of one house in another, not only were service books required but also knowledge of how to administer the rites in accordance with the new manuals. Herbert's borrowing of a lectionary from St Albans implies that liturgical norms from there were to be instituted in his recently planted community at Norwich, and it may be that Brother Gregory had been sent to provide expert assistance.

25. See notes 18 and 24 respectively.

However, in establishing communal practices for Norwich, Herbert drew primarily on the orders at Fécamp, where he had first embraced the monastic life. A monk from that monastery, named Baldwin, went to Norwich to advise, as is noted in a letter Herbert sent to Abbot Roger of Fécamp. Additionally, Herbert expressed a desire to dispatch "one or two brothers to Fécamp" to gain fresh first-hand exposure to communal life there.[26] Although the letter makes no mention of such texts of practical instruction, it can be seen that at least one was brought to Norwich: a thirteenth-century Norwich Ordinal, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 465, often aligns with Fécamp's practices; the similarities are so striking that they betray direct transmission.[27] Based on Herbert's correspondence with Abbot Roger, it has been inferred that the source text came from Fécamp rather than any of the various monasteries reformed under the influence of William of Volpiano, Fécamp's renowned eleventh-century abbot (Chadd 318–24).

26. Herbert, *Ep*. 34: "[…] unde frequenter proposui unum vel duos fratres mittere Fiscanum, qui ipsis discerent rebus quae nostri fratris deferenda elegissent."

27. For an edition, see Tolhurst. Note that his categorization for the text, "customary," is somewhat misleading.

Herbert also obtained at least one library book from Fécamp. In another letter to Roger, datable to 1108 × 1119, he solicited Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum*, a rare text. Having failed to find it in England, he requested that Roger have a new copy made for him. The book was then to be consigned to Dancard the priest, presumably a brother of, or a secular priest affiliated to, the cathedral priory, soon to return to Norwich from Normandy. Should that arrangement for some reason come to nothing, any suitable messenger would do.[28] Interestingly, the two surviving medieval booklists itemizing works in Fécamp's library are silent about Suetonius. The earlier, from the eleventh century, does not embrace Latin textbooks, in which class Suetonius would have been found. The later, from the twelfth century, lists 176 titles, some patently used in Latin instruction, such as Virgil's *Aeneid* and Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (Nortier 128 and 132). These silences cannot evidence Suetonius's absence from Fécamp. Booklists, as said, were seldom comprehensive catalogues of the holdings, a detail that applies especially to texts used in Latin teaching. Rather, Herbert's close relationship with Fécamp and straightforward instructions imply an informed conviction that the text was available in the abbey. It may be added that two Norman booklists of the twelfth century, both from Bec, record Suetonius.[29]

Herbert's observation that copies of Suetonius could not be found in England appears to be accurate. There is no evidence for the presence or influence of *De vita Caesarum* in England before his letter and two manuscripts from around the same time, which will be discussed below. The first English author to cite Suetonius was William of Malmesbury († *c.* 1143), possibly a novice at the time that Herbert was writing. A keen student of classical literature, William referred to Suetonius in several of his works, including the *Gesta regum*, *Gesta pontificum*, and his collection of ancient military writings, now Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 100 (Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* 57–58). William's engagement with Suetonius reflects the beneficial impact of the search for books by Herbert and his generation.

Herbert's request holds significance for understanding the broader dissemination of *De vita Caesarum* during the Middle Ages. Key moments in its reception history in preceding medieval centuries may be highlighted to illustrate this (Winterbottom 399–405). The work experienced a resurgence during the Carolingian period after a hiatus following Isidore of Seville's use of it in the seventh century. Einhard fashioned his *Vita Karoli Magni* after Suetonius, while Lupus of Ferrières attempted to procure a copy from Fulda. Heiric of Auxerre probably extracted passages from the manuscript of Lupus, who had been his instructor. A Carolingian manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6115, originating from Tours and dating back to the first half of the ninth century, has survived.

28. Herbert, *Ep*. 5: "Suetonium, quem in Anglia inuenire non possum, facite transcribi, et transcriptum mittite mihi per Dancardum presbyterum vel per alium quem volueritis servientem."

29. Cleaver 193 and 204 and Nortier 131. One is a mid-twelfth-century catalogue of Bec's library holdings; the other is a list of the books that Philip de Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, donated to the house, including two copies of Suetonius. One of these is known to survive. This is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5802, datable to the mid-twelfth century and subsequently owned by Petrarch; Lecouteux, "À la recherche des livres du Bec" 269, note 13. For Italian humanists' admiration for the libraries of Bec and Fécamp, see Lecouteux, "Fécamp pendant la période ducale" 74. For a comprehensive discussion of the two booklists from Bec, see Pohl 29–31 and 237–41.

The trail then goes cold. A gradual resurgence began in the eleventh century, with two to four extant eleventh-century manuscripts (depending on how one takes the evidence, which is palaeographical). One manuscript originated in Germany while the others came from centres closer to Herbert's sphere of influence.

It will be seen that the known circulation of copies is sufficiently narrow as to beg the question whether any of the remaining manuscripts could be considered candidates for Herbert's copy. Indeed, two of the three may be in consideration.[30] Durham Cathedral, C. III. 18 has been dated variously to the end of the eleventh century and, more cautiously and probably more wisely, to the turn of it (Kaster 146 and Gameson 271 respectively). The volume is of Norman manufacture, from either side of the Channel, to judge by its script. Durham provides its later medieval provenance, as is shown by an inscription on the front flyleaf verso, which evidences the book's presence there in 1484 × 1494 but Durham need not be its place of origin or its first owner. Next, BL, Royal 15 C. iii has a fifteenth-century provenance from St Paul's cathedral, London, as is evidenced by an entry in a catalogue of 1458 (*Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals* 706). Its origin is less certain; suggestions include the early twelfth century in London and the late eleventh century in Normandy (see Gameson 563, Kaster 145; Gullick 93). It should be emphasized that neither manuscript can make a strong claim to have been Herbert's copy; his ownership merely remains a possibility that cannot be ruled out at present.[31] None the less, their divergent physical aspects may be cited here as the basis for further speculation concerning the copy Herbert would have received from Fécamp. From a palaeographical standpoint, the Durham Suetonius is at best of mediocre quality, a judgement which applies also to its parchment. Annotations in a near contemporary hand, primarily consisting of historical glosses, are interspersed in its margins.[32] The overall impression suggests a textbook designed for, and deployed in, a classroom setting.[33] The London manuscript is, by way of contrast, a library book of fine quality. There is a temptation to think that the abbot of a prosperous community would be more inclined to gift a bishop - particularly one who was an important collaborator - with a refined volume suitable for a library rather than a dishevelled schoolbook.

Herbert's response to a scribe identified only by his initial "F." introduces an assistant almost certainly employed in various projects related to the library. According to the letter, the recipient had requested that Herbert either return a psalter he had crafted or make

30. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1904, from France, perhaps Flavigny, and apparently dating from the first half of the eleventh century, is not Herbert's copy and hardly Fécamp's.

31. Suetonius being a rare text at the time, Herbert's book is likely to be closely related to these two manuscripts textually, which represent the b transmission, a constellation embracing English and French manuscripts, in the stemmatic scenario of Kaster 145–159.

32. For instance, where Suetonius notes that Caesar married Calpurnia, his fourth wife, the annotator inserts in the margin: "Uxores Caesaris. Cossutia. Cornelia. Pompeia. Calpurnia." Durham Cathedral, C. III. 18, p. 6.

33. It measures 295 mm × 190 mm, web.

the agreed payment of three *solidi*. Preferring to retain the book, Herbert opted to pay for it. However, he did not send money, since "monks are not to possess" it, but instead dispatched "wood and ink." Previous scholarship has attributed to Herbert a lapse of memory in that the letter's last words "to give a scorpion to one who asks for a fish" mix two scriptural clauses together (Goulburn and Symonds vol. 1, 199).[34] Luke 11: 11 and 12 contrast a fish with a snake, and a scorpion with an egg. The mixing may well have been deliberate, for Herbert was making an exegetical joke, and a learned one at that. He construed F's petition by allusion to Matthew 17: 26, or more precisely its medieval gloss; it is of course possible that Herbert's word-game was already played out in the missive he had received from F. The relevant matter of Matthew 17: 26 reads: "that *fish* which shall first come up, take: and when thou hast opened its mouth, thou shalt find a *stater*." The emphases, which are mine, are key: a fish yields an ancient coin. Medieval glosses of the quoted passage valued a stater at three *solidi*. (*Glossae Biblicae* 79 and 291).[35] So, as implied by Herbert's last words, "piscem petenti," F had either asked for a fish or a stater. In other words, F had jokingly pretended to be a professional scribe seeking payment and Herbert responded in kind. Compensation in "wood and ink" hints that the man was engaged in another scribal commission from the bishop, either ongoing or forthcoming. Ink was for the words, wood for the boards of the binding. It has been suggested previously that the wood was for tablets, a writing surface. However, this explanation seems inadequate as tablets would not have been necessary for copying books, which is the subject of the letter.[36]

The recipient, identified as "F.," was in all likelihood Brother Felix, who received two other letters from Herbert and is known to have written martyrologies, breviaries, "furtiva scripta," whatever those may have been, and, importantly, psalters.[37] Felix had previously been engaged in copying an unidentified work of Augustine's without having completed the task. Herbert's instruction was for Felix to resume copying Augustine and focus on his grammatical studies, thereby relinquishing his other scribal projects. Failure to do so would result in his remaining "the scribe of follies of our whole house."[38] Patristic literature is here juxtaposed with practical liturgical books to an almost absurd effect; the latter were indispensable tools for proper monastic conduct. Amicable jesting seems to have been applied also here. The joke betrays that a patristic collection was absolutely central to Herbert's vision for the library.

34. Herbert, *Ep*. 46: "Mandas tuum psalterium vel pactum pro tuo psalterio reddi tibi; at ego non psalterium, sed pactum pro psalterio reddo tibi, tres videlicet solidos, in ligno et atramento, quos etiam in nummis reddidissem tibi, sed non est monachorum habere argentum, et non est patris nato porrigere scorpionem piscem petenti."

35. The evidence comes from two manuscripts, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 24 and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 79 sup., datable to *s*. ix^{ex} and xi$^{4/4}$ respectively.

36. Goulburn and Symonds 1, 198 translate "ligno" as "tablets," a writing surface. Their suggested allusion to Juvenal, *Sat*. 16, 40–41 is of interest, although all the details do not perfectly match.

37. Herbert, *Epp*. 23 and 43, of which the latter makes mention of his copying. Anstruther, the editor of Herbert's letters, was first to propose that identification, for which see his notation to *Ep*. 46 at p. 83.

38. Herbert, *Ep*. 43: "[…] totius nostrae domus fatuitatum scriptor […]."

One other case in which Herbert sought to obtain books seems to have incited a breach of monastic conduct. The details, known from a letter from Herbert to Prior Ingulf of Norwich, are few and not entirely clear. Brother Alexander had moved around, something of which Herbert did not approve, holding Alexander accountable for desertion of the Benedictine commitment to *stabilitas*. In the course of his expedition, Alexander had offered scribal services, although we are not informed whether these had to do with the production of documents or books. He duly denied Herbert's charge that money had been paid for that work. Alexander also maintained that it was his superiors' neglect, or *ignavia*, that had caused his failure to live up to the monastic rule. The context is hard to construe precisely. One explanation would be that Alexander had been sent to other churches to make copies for Norwich, but, not having been sufficiently well provisioned - at least by his own estimation - he had also worked for external parties.[39]

In addition to all these cases, Herbert's letters make other remarks pertinent to books and texts. He asked for boxwood tablets, which were used to teach boys to read and write (*Ep*. 54). He held Prior Ingulf and his other obedientiaries responsible, accusing them of indolence, for several thefts of books and other valuables from the cathedral (*Ep*. 52). Often advising his brethren on what to read, his letters mention several authors by name such as Pompeius Trogus, Sedulius, Donatus, Servius, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Aesop, Ovid, Boethius, Virgil, and Aristotle (Herbert, *Epp*. 6, 9, 28, 30, 32, 39, 49). In his sermons, Herbert seldom pointed out his non-biblical sources; the exceptions include Ambrose and Gregory the Great (Goulburn and Symonds vol. 2, 70, 310, 352). In addition to those two fathers, Augustine and Bede are identified as his major influences in the sermons' printed edition.[40]

Herbert's own books also included "a bible that he left to the church of Norwich." The quotation is from Henry de Kirkestede, the celebrated fourteenth-century librarian and bibliographer of Bury St Edmunds abbey (Suff), who copied into a commonplace book, now BL, Harley 1005, a short added text that he had found in Herbert's bible.[41] Herbert's bible is not known to survive, but the text copied by Henry de Kirkestede has recently proved to be of notable historiographical interest. Testifying to Herbert's schemes to take over Bury for his own bishopric, the account is suggestive of a character more complex than that of a penitent simoniac (Licence, "Herbert Losinga's trip" 155–63). The writing of such a text into his bible evidences

39. Herbert, *Ep*. 51: "Opponebam ei girationes et suae vagationis circuitus, sed ipse in suorum ignaviam praelatorum huius criminationis reserabat invidiam. Arguebar solidos quos pro suarum scripturarum laboribus expostulaverat; at idem hoc abnegans, in nostro victuum claustro solo cibo et vestitura se contentum fore confirmavit."

40. See Goulburn and Symonds vol. 2, 465–66, and for Bede also vol. 1, 27. While the index of the edition lists a variety of classical, patristic, and medieval authors, these refer almost entirely to the editors' annotations. These usually introduce potential allusions, often transmissions of allocutions or concepts, in a speculative manner that is now outdated.

41. Licence, "Herbert Losinga's Trip" 164 note 73: "Ista narracio inuenta fuit scripta in biblia quam Herebertus episcopus reliquit ecclesie Norwicensis …"

a conception within his circle of how books could be used. Bibles held special prestige as they carried the central corpus of Christian texts. A bible belonging to a bishop is likely to have been an object of fine or remarkable workmanship, that is, a book that would not have been carelessly disposed of. The party responsible for writing down this account, perhaps Herbert's amanuensis working at his behest, would have considered the bishop's bible the surest and most authoritative vehicle to transmit to posterity what was an important claim by Norwich.

Extant books identifiable as having belonged to Norwich certainly or possibly at Herbert's time are very few, four volumes altogether, of which two constitute a single set.[42] The bulk of the library's earliest collection was lost to fire and looting in 1272, the climax of a grievous disagreement between the priory and the townsfolk (Bartholomew Cotton, *Liber de archiepiscopis* 146–47).[43] None of the survivors can be securely connected to Herbert personally. However, it can be supposed with varying degrees of probability that these books were made or arrived in Norwich during his incumbency.

The strongest case is a two-volume set consisting of CUL, MSS Kk. 4. 13 and Ii. 2. 19, datable to the turn of the eleventh century. The volumes bear Norwich pressmarks "A. viii" and "A. vii" respectively. The main text is an augmented version of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon (Guiliano 277).[44] Copies of the homiliary survive from various churches in early Norman England: Durham, Rochester, Lincoln, Salisbury, Worcester, Norwich, Bury St Edmunds, St Augustine's (Canterbury), and Glastonbury.[45] The impression one gets is that Paul the Deacon's sermons, in various notably large compilations, were available possibly in all cathedrals and the largest monasteries. A selection of Herbert's sermons was copied in a roughly contemporary hand on folios 217–240 of the latter volume, CUL, Ii. 2. 19, which is their only witness and evidences proximity to our bishop.[46] It is possible that his sermons were appended to the manuscript on his instructions. Their chances of survival would certainly have been better when lodged within a book carrying patristic homilies than on their own as a separate booklet. Association with Paul the Deacon might also have been intended to add prestige to Herbert's sermons. The second volume of Goulburn and Symonds' study of Herbert, published in 1878, is dedicated to his sermons and its heavily annotated notes make no mention of Paul the Deacon.[47] It might prove fruitful to compare Herbert's sermons with Paul's, an undertaking which falls outside the remit of this study. The conflagration of 1272

42. The foundational study of the extant Norwich manuscripts is Ker.

43. For commentary, see Dodwell, "Muniments" 333–4.

44. For the manuscript, see Binski and Zutshi 14–15; Ker 255–56; Gameson 42 and 31 (and Plate 11) .

45. Gameson 31, 42, 110, 111, 211, 216, 285, 340, 438, 442, 460, 893, and 921–3. Richards 96–110 is a study of the English transmission of the sermons, providing a slightly different list of provenances, which is now outdated.

46. A note in a fifteenth-century hand on f. ii^{v} reads "In fine huius voluminis est sermo Herberti episcopi fundatoris huius ecclesie."

47. See note 40 above.

seems to have been so destructive that the manuscripts' survival would suggest they were then being held not in the claustral library, but somewhere else within the precinct.

Next, Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 34 carries a heavily annotated *Institutiones grammaticae* by Priscian. The volume, datable to the early twelfth century, has a Norwich pressmark "L. iiii" at folio 189v, and, according to one of the most authoritative modern book historians, it "is, no doubt, a Norfolk, if not a Norwich, book" (Ker 255). The most recent description of the manuscript is more cautious, maintaining England as the origin and Norwich as a provenance (Binski and Zutshi 16–17). Priscian was one of the most frequently used authors in medieval Latin education. In that one of Herbert's epistolary leitmotifs was the need for proper instruction in Latin, a modicum of coincidence between his intentions and the manuscript's existence at Norwich can be argued for.[48]

48. Herbert, *Epp*. 9, 20, 29, 30, 32, 39, 41, 43 (following Anstruther's numbering which has "xlii" twice and skips "xliv"), 49, and 53.

Our last volume, Lincoln Cathedral, 220, is a very uncertain, perhaps dismissible case. This is a composite manuscript consisting of three booklets, of which the first two are from the early twelfth century and the third from its second half. The manuscript apparently had a later medieval provenance at one of the Norwich houses, as is hinted by surnames in fifteenth-century inscriptions found at folios 2r and 69v; these leaves belong to the first and the third booklet respectively (Thomson, *Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral* 180–81). It is probably on this evidence that the first two booklets have been identified as potentially coming from Norwich (Gameson 345 and 346). The contents are medical. Folios 1–44 convey four texts: a Latin commentary on the Hippocratian *Aphorismi* (see Kirbe 259), an extract somehow related to the *Aphorismi*, an extract representing Pseudo-Soranus's *Quaestiones medicinales* (see Fischer 31), and an unidentifiable medical excerpt. The second booklet, folios 45–61, carries a work titled *De diversis medicinis* sometimes misattributed to Pliny the Younger and a fragment of a sermon on St Patrick. No bearing on Herbert's career or expressed interests can be demonstrated.

To end with, a brief missive addressed to Prior Hugh, possibly of Thetford, offers telling testimony to the degree to which Herbert paid attention to the creation of his new cathedral's library and valued his achievement (Herbert, *Ep*. 4). The letter, which makes an order for ink and parchment, is a note of only a few words.[49] But it serves as a demonstration that Herbert was prepared to intervene at the micro-managerial level for the benefit of the library. His decision to furnish his letter-collection with several pieces attending to relat-

49. Herbert, *Ep*. 4: "Mittite nobis encaustum et unam sive duas pelles de pargomento; plura dixissem, sed sufficit amanti dicere amato quod necessarius est."

ed affairs, even when his concern was in a humdrum matter, as in this letter, shows that he wished to be remembered for his commitment to the undertaking. A pastoral letter sent to the brethren at Norwich puts in a nutshell why the matter was so important. Herbert asserted, with a degree of hyperbole, that the brethren's foremost obligation was to the study of scripture.[50] The bishop's efforts bore fruit. His brethren at the cathedral priory long remembered his contribution in stocking the library. A Norwich chronicler active in the late thirteenth century summed up that Herbert had "enriched the episcopal church that he had founded with possessions, books and various types of ornaments."[51]

Because the library almost completely perished in 1272, Herbert's achievement can no longer be grasped other than in the sporadic glimpses offered almost exclusively in his correspondence. The situation is rather different for the two other English cathedrals transferred at about the same time, Lincoln and Exeter. Surviving manuscripts and in Lincoln's case also a twelfth-century booklist provide for a solid comprehension of what titles were acquired. However, even though Herbert's epistolary snapshots do not constitute a full picture of his efforts to create a library, they remain important. Such miniatures, capturing so many instances in time, are rare from the Anglo-Norman realm in this period. Only Anselm's letters, especially those prior to his relocation from Normandy to England in 1093, provide richer testimony.[52] In that sense, Herbert is among our chief correspondents for a literary reorientation that profoundly reshaped intellectual landscapes in England in the wake of the Norman Conquest.

50. Herbert, *Ep*. 57: "Agite gratias quod non nisi in deliciis scripturarum Deo servire cogimini."

51. Bartholomew Cotton, *Liber de archiepiscopis* 391: "[…] ipsa episcopali ecclesia quam ipse stablierat possessionibusque, libris et diversi generis ornamentis ditaverat."

52. Anselm, *Epp*. i. 10, 19, 21, 31, 32, 35, 51, 57, 61, 62, 63, 64, 99, 127, 130, and 132 (ed. Niskanen). For Anselm's interlibrary loans, see Pohl 240–43.

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PIETER BEULLENS

The Quest for Text. Greek Manuscripts and Medieval Latin Translators

Abstract

Medieval translators from Greek had to face an important challenge in getting hold of high quality model texts on which their works could rely. Documentary evidence on the subject is limited: it suggests that the acquisition of Greek manuscripts was often realised as the marginal effect of diplomatic activity. However, the reports of exchanges between monarchs and their envoys likely represent only a fraction of the transfer process of Greek texts and books to the Latin world. The article surveys the available evidence regarding Latin translations of philosophical, theological, and scientific texts from Greek sources from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. Although our knowledge is often tentative and incomplete, the study of the translators' models is rewarding for the insight that they give into the availability of exceptional Greek manuscripts and rare texts in that period.[1]

Keywords

Translations, Greek manuscripts, Philosophy, Medicine, Astronomy.

Introduction

In the second half of the thirteenth century, readers of Latin poetry could rejoice in the unexpected appearance of an unknown work under the title of *De vetula* by the ancient poet Ovid. Any potential surprise that this piece by the famous author had remained hidden until then was conveniently countered in the introductory verses: the book had only recently been recovered from the poet's grave where it had been buried with his mortal remains (Klopsch 193).[2]

De vetula would have been an astonishing discovery, had the work not been a clever forgery. The text in three books of hexameters not only deals with the love life of the complaining old biddy from the title: chance reckoning, mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy are also among its topics. The work was clearly written by a scholar from

1. The research for this article was carried out as part of my postdoctoral fellowship project *Mind Your Words! The Role of Medieval Translations in the History of Concepts*, funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders (12W5722N). The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading and useful suggestions.

2. "… inque suo secum iussit condire sepulchro …;" for the story of the book in the grave and others with a similar narrative, see Klopsch 22–34.

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the time of its supposed discovery: recently it was suggested that Roger Bacon is probably to be identified as that author (Haynes).

Many questions can be asked about the motivation to forge the attribution of the hexametric poem to Ovid. Some strains of a justification are supplied by the backstory outlined in the prefatory lines: medieval scholars were eager to retrieve information lost since Antiquity and the hypothetical possibility to incorporate a supposedly lost work by Ovid into the Christian intellectual framework of their own time was too good a chance to be missed.

The narrative describing the origin of *De vetula i*s not a unique piece: earlier in the same century, British scholar Alexander Nequam had provided an analogous explanation in similar words for the impossibility to access many of Aristotle's works in the Latin world. According to Nequam, Aristotle had arranged that his most important writings were put with him into his tomb in order to prevent that his successors had access to them (Wright 337).[3] As a further precautionary measure toward that goal, Aristotle acquired the ground that surrounded the grave so that, either by legal provision or due to magical intervention, no one could approach the burial site. Nequam's disbelief regarding these alleged and disproportionate arrangements led him to conclude his report of the matter with the obvious question: why did Aristotle write the works at all if he did not want others to read and use them?

3. "… philosophus subtilissima scripta sua jussit in sepulcro suo secum recondi, ne utilitati posteritatis suae deservirent … ;" the correspondences in word choice between Nequam and pseudo-Ovid seem to have remained unnoticed in earlier scholarly publications.

Although these stories obviously were mere fabrications, they at least show that thirteenth-century scholars considered it an acceptable line of thought that ancient authors were jealous enough of future generations to defend their own writings with their lives … and even with their deaths!

In this article, I will discuss the process of text acquisition in a particular field and in view of a specific purpose. I will attempt to survey some of the circumstances that assisted or obstructed the availability of Greek philosophical, theological, and scientific treatises to medieval scholars who translated into Latin. Within the short space of this article, it is impossible to provide a full overview of all aspects that could influence the transfer process. Some recurring framing elements suggest that they at least facilitated the access to coveted Greek texts, yet in many other instances the exact circumstances under which the models in the source languages arrived on the translators' desks remain shrouded in uncertainty. Even in those cases, or maybe even more emphatically in those particular cases, many Latin translations preserve valuable evidence for the medieval circulation of ancient Greek texts and the manuscripts that contained them.

Books as gifts

The protecting attitude to texts and the knowledge that they convey was not only ascribed to esteemed ancient individuals like Ovid and Aristotle. It was also spotted within whole contemporary cultural or religious communities that had preferential access to ancient sources or scientific insights. Recurring references to the same opinion are recorded in numerous late-medieval introductions written by translators of philosophical, theological, or scientific texts: in the narratives of these prefaces, the theme was identified as the 'bellic' topos (Forrai). The accusation of confrontation was usually targeted at nations with a different religious background, like Jews or Muslims.[4] Their ultimate motivation to keep texts hidden from the Christian world obviously was not to provide them with information that might turn out to be useful in potential situations of conflict. Yet also the Greeks, who were usually seen as the guardians of the venerable earliest Christian tradition, were often accused of jealousy and secretiveness. As signs of good will to counter that negative impression, both parties considered books particularly suitable diplomatic gifts, both for their value as exquisite objects of art and as evidence that Greeks were open to share their background and heritage with fellow Christians.

4. It is a matter of discussion whether the stories about requests from the Arabic world to supply learned texts for the purpose of translation into their own language are reliable (Di Branco).

A striking example of the gift of a precious manuscript is preserved in the form of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 200, a lavish copy of the Greek Gospels sent by Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos to king Louis IX of France in 1269. The book was handed over by a diplomatic envoy as a token that the emperor approved of the intention to re-unite the Greek and Roman Churches. It is no doubt significant that the gift arrived at a time when Michael needed all available support in his struggle against other contenders to the Byzantine throne and against Louis' own brother Charles of Anjou, who held serious claims on the Latin imperial crown of Constantinople (Lemerle).

The Greek Gospel manuscript was only one example in a long list of donations of precious manuscripts aimed at boosting diplomatic endeavours. The background information regarding the circumstances often comes to us through the prefaces that were written by translators who directly profited from the events as they got access to the newly arrived books. Since they so clearly benefitted from the content of the presents, they obviously focused on the importance and usefulness of the texts that the manuscripts contained rather than on their potentially exceptional material appearance. We can get a sense of the excitement that the manuscripts caused from the hyperbolic preface that an anonymous translator of Ptolemy's *Almagest* wrote around 1160. "I was studying medicine at Salerno, when I heard that one of the ambassadors sent by the king of Sicily to Constantinople, Aristippus by name, had received these books thanks to the generosity of the emperor and had conveyed them to Palermo. Fired by the hope of 'obtaining' something so long and ardently desired, I did not shudder at the thought of howling Scylla, I passed through Charybdis, I negotiated Etna flowing with lava, as I sought out the man, who, I hoped, would furnish me with the object of my desires." (Angold and Burnett 506).[5]

Two centuries later, in 1335, Nicholas of Reggio, a famous translator of medical works, documented that he was able to translate a particular text by Galen using a manuscript that the Greek emperor Andronicus had selected personally "as a special gift" for Nicholas' patron Robert of Sicily because he knew about the interest and experience of the Norman monarch in medical matters (Beullens, *Why* 532).[6]

Henry Aristippus, whom the anonymous Salernitan student mentioned in his preface, was not only a diplomat but also a distinguished translator of two Platonic dialogues, the *Meno* and the *Phaedo*, and of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (Minio-Paluello, *Meno* and *Phaedo*; Rubino). Apparently, Aristippus' proficiency in the Greek language made it a natural decision for his patron to have the occupations of diplomat and of translator merged in his person. Being a diplomat brought him to Greek territory, where he got access to the manuscripts that served as the sources for his work as a translator.

A similar diplomatic context is documented for the two most influential translators of philosophical texts, and in particular of Aristotle's works, from the twelfth century. James of Venice and Burgundio of Pisa were listed as interpreters on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople in 1136, where a theological debate took place between representatives of the Latin and Greek Churches.[7] We are not informed how the two translators filled their spare time in the imperial city, if they had any: did they go on a manuscript hunt in the libraries of palaces and monasteries in the Greek capital before or after the debates? We do know, however, that Burgundio returned to Constantinople on another mission on behalf of his home town from 1168 to 1171. He describes in his own words how he used his stay to acquire a manuscript of John Chrysostom's commentary on the Gospel of

5. "Hos autem cum Salerni medicine insudassem audiens quendam ex nuntiis regis Sicilie quos ipse Constantinopolim miserat, agnomine Aristipum, largitione susceptos imperatoria Panormum transvexisse, rei diu multumque desiderate spe succensu, Scilleos latratus non exhorrui, Caribdim permeavi, ignea Ethne fluenta circuivi, eum queritans a quo mei finem sperabam desideria" (Angold and Burnett 520).

6. "… pro quodam speciali munere …" (Beullens 538).

7. For a report of the mission and the content of the debate, see *PL* 188, 1139B–1248B. Whether James of Venice was an Italian resident of the imperial city, a possibility that was first put forward by Minio-Paluello ("Iacobus Veneticus" 269), remains an undecided question. Recent and as yet unpublished PhD research by Tilke Nelis and by Justin Winzenrieth seems to confirm with circumstantial evidence that he must have acquired his Greek models from Constantinopolitan sources.

John. Due to his diplomatic duties, Burgundio was not able to translate the work on the spot, but he arranged to have a copy prepared that he could take home with him: "… having received two exemplars that I could borrow from two monasteries, I handed the book to be transcribed by two copyists, one starting from the beginning, the other from the middle, and having it thus soon in my hands I faithfully emended it, as I listened to it being read, day and night, whenever the opportunity arose" (Burnett 493).[8] Burgundio eventually translated the Greek text on his journey back to Italy and continued the work after his return on Pisan soil.

8. "… duobus exemplariis a duobus monasteriis in commodatum acceptis, duobus scriptoribus, uno a capite altero a medietate incipiente, librum tradidi transcribendum, et eum brevi ita adeptus nocte ac die cum vacabat diligenter auscultans fideliter emendavi" (Angold and Burnett 510).

Obviously, a diplomatic status was not the exclusive option to acquire interesting Greek manuscripts. When Pope Eugene III asked Burgundio of Pisa to make a complete translation of Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew's Gospel, which the Holy Father had come to know through the intermediary of defective Latin versions, the request to supply a complete copy went out to the patriarch of Antioch, the very city where the saint had held those sermons at the end of the 4th century (Flecchia 121). Although important translation activity can be traced back to the city, the choice was somewhat unexpected. It may find an explanation in the fact that the Pisans had a strong commercial foothold in Antioch and accordingly could use their business contacts there: economic relations trumped diplomacy as a means to obtain Greek texts in this particular case.

The manuscript that Burgundio got from Antioch is no longer extant. Yet codicological and palaeographical evidence proves that he had a remarkable collection of preserved Greek manuscripts at his disposal for his translations of philosophical and medical texts. They date from the twelfth century, which means from Burgundio's own time, although they were probably not produced at his personal request. The quality of the texts that they contain is excellent, the result of scholarly efforts based on older copies (Degni). Interestingly, the manuscripts preserve traces of preparatory work for Burgundio's translations in the form corrections and annotations, written in the translator's own hand and possibly in that of at least one anonymous collaborator. These notes demonstrate that the codices were Burgundio's source texts for his translations of philosophical works by Aristotle and medical treatises by Galen (Vuillemin-Diem and Rashed; Fortuna and Urso).[9] The literary writings in the same collection, however, like Attic tragedy or Homeric epic, hardly bear any traces of interest from Burgundio or his team: in contrast with the humanists from a few centuries later, Burgundio and his contempo-

9. For his Aristotle translations, Burgundio had Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 81.18 and 87.7 at his disposal; for Galen, he used Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 74.5, 74.18, 74.22, 74.25, 74.30, and 75.5.

raries were only interested in the transfer of hard knowledge from Greek antiquity, not in the joys of sophisticated literature.

The parallel tracks that combine diplomatic occupations with translation work can help us tentatively fill in the gaps in the biographies of other translators. In the thirteenth century, William of Moerbeke was the absolute giant among his peers: he produced Latin versions of virtually all works considered genuinely written by Aristotle and of numerous Aristotelian commentaries from late Antiquity (Beullens, *The Friar*). Unfortunately, William's biography contains many blanks and hard information about his life and work is often limited to the colophons of his translations that explicitly mention date and place of their completion. The oldest reference to his activity is found at the beginning of his Latin version of Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's *Meteorology*. William finished the work on 24 April 1260 in Nicaea. If Nicaea is to be equated with the city in Asia Minor – although Gauthier (93*–94*) went to great lengths to deny the identification, but his reasoning is rather far-fetched –, William's presence there makes it possible to build a hypothesis about his underlying objectives for being there.

Obviously, it is conceivable that William visited the city just for its libraries and the learning that had made it famous. Yet, Dominican friars like William of Moerbeke were often charged with diplomatic missions. During the period of the Latin reign in Constantinople, Nicaea was the capital to which the Greek imperial court had withdrawn. One need not look far for a reason to explain the presence of diplomats from the Latin world at the Greek imperial court. In the previous year 1259, the feudal lord of mainland Greece, William of Villehardouin, had been made prisoner by Greek forces after the battle of Pelagonia. It took more than two years of negotiations and a considerable ransom before he was released from captivity – and not before Constantinople had fallen into Greek hands again. Is it unthinkable that William used the breaks between his diplomatic duties for scholarly work in the well-stacked libraries of the capital city? One can easily imagine that his status as a foreign envoy came with a library card for the emperor's collection.

Exceptional Greek books

Apart from their diplomatic activities, a parallel can also be drawn between Burgundio's attitude towards the ancient Greek legacy and that of his younger fellow translator William of Moerbeke. After his business in the East, William returned to Italy to be appointed papal *penitentiarius*, an official who holds the power to grant absolution for sins that fall under the exclusive authority of the pope. As a consequence, when pope Clement IV died on 29 November 1268, William's ecclesiastical work came to a necessary standstill. It took the cardinals nearly three years to elect a papal successor under the name of Gregory X. The period of forced inactivity as *penitentiarius* gave William ample time for scholarly work. We are lucky to have exceptional evidence that illustrates his main project during that period: the translation of the works of Archimedes in combination with the commentaries written by Eutocius. From the annotations that were preserved in William's autograph version (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 1850), we know that he could look at two different Greek manuscripts, which he used for comparison whenever doubt about the correct reading of the text or the interpretation of a diagram arose (Clagett). They were both in a bad material condition when they were described in the inventory of the papal library in 1311 (Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem 165). One of them vanished without a trace shortly afterwards, the other was the model for a large number of Renaissance copies before it eventually also disappeared during the 16th century. If we disregard the famous Archimedes palimpsest, which already before Moerbeke's times had its leaves erased and covered with the writing of a prayer book (Netz, Noel, Tchernetska and Wilson 81), William was as well informed on the Greek text tradition of Archimedes as modern editors of Archimedes are. Where his precious manuscripts came from is just as unclear as where they ended up. But some Greek books that went through William's hands are preserved and can provide evidence for potential supply lines.[10]

10. For a list of still (partially) preserved or once documented Greek manuscripts that were used by or at least passed through the hands of William of Moerbeke, see Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem 217.

For his Latin versions of Aristotle's natural philosophy, William mainly relied on Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 100 (*J*), a manuscript that even in his days had a venerable age: it had been produced in the late ninth or early tenth century in Constantinople (Golitsis). It reached its present location, Vienna, in 1576, when it was bought in the city that had become Istanbul by Ogier de Busbecq, who – no surprise there! – acted as a diplomat for the Austrian emperor. Previously, in the thirteenth century, William had most probably acquired it in Nicaea. From there, William took it with him to Italy: other Italian owners are documented after his death. It means that the manuscript journeyed through various hands from

Constantinople and Nicaea to Italy between the 9th and the thirteenth century, and back again afterwards (Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem 157).

The history of William's Aristotelian codex has a puzzling connection with another manuscript that was in South Italy in the same period, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 276 (*V*). It must have been at least temporarily in William's hands. The manuscript from the eleventh or twelfth century is a partial copy of the collected works of Hippocrates, one of the oldest copies of this author's texts that is still extant. As far as we know, William did not translate any of the medical treatises in it, but he copied a list of Hippocrates' works that it contains into the margins of an unused leaf of his own Aristotle codex *J*. The list contains more titles than the content of the Vatican codex *V*. William must have noticed the inconsistency and compared his list with the works in its source since he indicates with a cross next to the titles which texts he actually found in *V* (Vuillemin-Diem).

The Hippocrates manuscript can be traced back to South Italy and Sicily where it had been previously used by another famous translator of Aristotelian and medical texts, Bartholomew of Messina. The information about his life is even more scarce than what we know about William's biography: colophons in the manuscripts of some of his Latin versions state that he worked under the patronage of Manfred, king of Sicily from 1258 to 1266. Bartholomew translated several Hippocratic treatises on the basis of the Greek manuscript *V*, and at least one for which he found the Greek source text elsewhere (Fortuna, "Hippocrates' *Law*" and Fortuna, "La tradizione latina"). Was it the hypothetical twin volume that contained the other treatises from the list that the Vatican manuscript *V* preserves and William of Moerbeke copied into *J*? Their use of the same manuscript, although not simultaneously, might suggest that the two translators knew each other, but there are no sound reasons to suppose direct contact or even collaboration between William and Bartholomew, as some argue (Rashed 514, n. 7).

William certainly considered one other manuscript, Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 258 [668], a personal belonging. He wrote his name and his title of *penitentiarius* as an ex libris in it, which he could obviously only do if it was his private property. The manuscript, which is as old and authoritative as the same translator's copy *J* of Aristotle's works, contains – among other texts – the treatise *On Fate* by the ancient philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias, which William translated into Latin. Although the editor of

William's translation claims that his Greek model must have been a lost uncial manuscript (Thillet 14–19), there are clear indications that William used his own manuscript, at least as a second source (Vuillemin-Diem 148 n. 40).

The manuscript of Alexander of Aphrodisias, like a few others to which William also had access, once belonged to a book collection of mainly Neoplatonic texts produced at the end of the 9th century in Constantinople on the basis of what were then the most reliable available models in the city. Although the manuscripts initially may well have formed a coherent collection, it had already been dispersed in William's time. William could only consult a few of these manuscripts, but the fact that they were available shows that the Latin translator had access to philosophy books of the highest quality that the Greek world could offer.

The later fortune of some of these Greek manuscripts of exceptional value leads us to the two inventories of the books in the papal library that were drawn up in 1295 and in 1311 (Acerbi and Vuillemin-Diem 132–42). The description of some bindings as being covered with tartar silk and golden embroidery arguably suggests that those books previously belonged to a Byzantine imperial library (Rashed 527–30). The telling detail about the luxurious decoration of the Greek manuscripts, which the compilers of the inventory were probably unable to read, can therefore be interpreted as further circumstantial evidence for their unique pedigree and for the outstanding importance of diplomatic relations for the propagation of Greek book wisdom in the Latin world.

Recovering lost Greek books through Latin texts

Apparently, imperial and other Byzantine book owners had no objections to giving Westerners access to superior manuscripts. They were usually even willing to part with the codices so their visitors could take them home – only Burgundio reports that he had to have a copy made since the monasteries were prepared to lend but not to sell the manuscripts of Chrysostom's sermons that they owned. Obviously, not all of these Greek manuscripts survive today, and it can therefore be anticipated that in some cases the Latin translations preserve texts that are no longer extant in their original version, and if they are, only in some partial or altered form.

An all but complete list gives an idea of the wealth of Greek scientific knowledge and philosophical insight that we owe to the sagacity of the late-medieval Latin translators. In the twelfth century, Burgundio rendered sections from a treatise about wine-making, which was possibly written around 600 by Cassianus Bassus, into Latin. The original text in Greek was deficiently preserved as part of a collection of *Geoponica*, a handbook on agriculture probably compiled during the reign of emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus in the tenth century. My preliminary study of the translation, based on the transcriptions of two fourteenth-century manuscripts (Buonamici) confirms that at the core of the transmitted text lies Burgundio's translation, while different additional sections of a more practical nature and without a link with the Greek source text created divergent branches in the manuscript tradition. A detailed study of all extant manuscripts of the treatise is needed to correctly assess the content of Burgundio's lost Greek manuscript.

Latin translators from the thirteenth century, who so far remain unidentified, have also contributed to our knowledge a late-antique Greek texts. A commentary on Hippocrates' sixth book of the Epidemics, attributed to the 7th-century medical author John of Alexandria, survives in a few Latin manuscripts (Pritchet). Substantial passages of the original Greek commentary are preserved in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 300, a codex written in the twelfth century in South Italy or Sicily, but the Latin translation remains our only access to the complete text of the commentary (Duffy).

A philosophical-astrological work by a further unknown author from the same city and period is preserved in the Latin version by an unidentified translator (Steel). The unique witness for this *Introductorius ad astrologiam* by a certain Cosmas of Alexandria is the fourteenth-century Latin manuscript Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (28). Quotations from Greek authors and texts that have come down to us provide a *terminus post quem* for the original date of composition of Cosmas' treatise, but the Greek source text itself has not been recovered.

Not surprisingly, the highest scorer on the inventory of ancient Greek textual pearls preserved in Latin translations is William of Moerbeke. Through his Latin versions, we can still read a short treatise on the annual flooding of the Nile attributed to Aristotle. Only an indirect fragmentary witness of its Greek source is preserved on papyrus (Beullens, "*Facilius sit*"). We further owe William the survival of lost works by Ptolemy, John Philoponus, and Proclus. Moreover, his Latin versions of Simplicius's commentary on Aristotle's *On the*

Heavens and Proclus's commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* are more complete than what is preserved in the extant Greek manuscripts (Beullens, *The Friar* 151–57).

In all these instances, the Latin translations preserve the key to unlock our access to manuscripts of ancient Greek texts that were lost after the completion of the Latin versions. Others guide us to unsuspected witnesses that can boast an exceptional pedigree and an unconventional history. The Greek manuscripts used by Robert Grosseteste in thirteenth-century Britain, far from any direct contact point with Greek culture, form remarkable examples. Some of the models that Grosseteste used for his Latin translations still survive (Dionisotti 36–39). There is scholarly consensus that the notes from the *Suda* that he rendered into Latin were based on Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus gr. F 2, dated to the second half of the twelfth century (Dorandi). How and where Grosseteste acquired it and had it brought to Oxford, remains shrouded in mystery, yet there are no indications that Grosseteste had access to diplomatic channels to obtain his precious source material. In the case of one particular text, the *Testamentum XII patriarcharum*, a fellow British scholar, John of Basingstoke, is reported to have been instrumental in pointing out the existence of the Greek work to Grosseteste and in acquiring a manuscript as the model for his Latin translation. The Greek manuscript from the tenth or eleventh century is still extant as Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.24 (Dionisotti 29 and 37).

Some of the other Greek manuscripts used by Grosseteste had a less propitious fate and were not preserved, like the model for his translation of Simplicius' commentary on the four books of Aristotle's *On the Heavens*. Grosseteste apparently interrupted his translation work after the first chapter of book 3 and never resumed it. To make the history of Grosseteste's translation even more problematic, book 1 is no longer extant in Latin. The rest of the translation, the whole of book 2 and a chapter of book 3, is preserved in a unique manuscript and a few newly discovered fragments (Beullens, "Robert Grosseteste's Translation"). In spite of its incomplete survival, Grosseteste's translation is arguably the witness of an important branch of the Greek text tradition – for which, obviously, our knowledge was hitherto limited to the available passages of Grosseteste's Latin.

Yet following a previously unverified suggestion (Dionisotti 30), I could establish that the late-fifteenth-century Greek manuscript of Simplicius' commentary Oxford, Christ Church College, 109, is a direct copy of the lost Greek model that Grosseteste had used. Through the complete Greek Oxford manuscript we now have acquired another and more complete point of access to the model that lay on the translator's desk around 1250. That lost manuscript was older than any of the surviving Greek codices of this lengthy and philosophically important commentary. The evidence supplied by the incomplete Latin translation decisively demonstrates the neglected importance of the Oxford manuscript, which was formerly considered an insignificant *codex recentior* without value for the constitution of the text.

Conclusion

Diplomatic relations, and in a few cases also economic ties, are documented as important backdrops that enabled the transfer of books from the Greek to the Latin world. The availability of those books as model texts stimulated the translation process from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. Yet in many more instances, the exact source from which translators into Latin obtained their Greek books remains unclear. Numerous examples show that the Latins had access to models of superior quality, which often significantly improve our view on the original state of the Greek texts. Obviously, the translations must be considered even more valuable when they preserve Greek works that were subsequently lost in transmission. As our survey shows, the quest for a more detailed understanding of the transmission of Greek books and texts that went through the hands of Latin translators is still open …

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MARIANNE PADE

Supplementing Gellius in Fifteenth-Century Italy: the Problem of the Greek

Abstract

The article discusses an important aspect of fifteenth-century textual scholarship, the restoration of Greek passages in Latin texts. Focusing on Guarino Veronese's work on Gellius, it shows the difficulties fifteenth-century textual critics encountered in their endeavours to procure exemplars from which to work. Analysing both his letters and the evidence of the manuscripts connected to him, it also shows how Guarino, in theory at least, was a conservative editor of classical texts.

Keywords

Greek studies, Textual criticism, Florilegia, Aulus Gellius, Plutarch.

Gellius' Renaissance *fortuna*

In a famous article on "Aulus Gellius in the Renaissance," Hans Baron cited many examples of the vivid interest in Gellius' work shown by Renaissance humanists, but he also declared that "Aulus Gellius does not belong among the ancient authors who shaped humanistic culture by their personality, artistic perfection, or profundity of thought" (196). While this is not completely untrue, more recent scholarship has shown that he was a much used source for Renaissance encylopedias, and I have myself been able to demonstrate how Gellius' preface-epilogue was used as a hypotext by Niccolò Perotti in the preface to his *Cornu copiae seu linguae latinae commentarii*, a hypotext Perotti undoubtedly expected his readers to recognize ("Le *Noctes Atticae*" and "Intertextuality" 38–39). The *Noctes Atticae* were also cherished enough to be copied in luxury manuscripts with precious illuminations, such as Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 10/28 (Bologna, a. 1448) which has as initial a miniature showing a group of writers, statesmen and orators, interlocutors in the work, sitting in an urban space that is supposed to be *civitas Athenarum*, as a banner says, but looks remarkably like the Piazetta of Venice (Bar-

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on 199–200, Codex 53, and Scipioni 73–74). However, the popularity of Gellius' *Noctes* in the Renaissance is in marked contrast to what had been the case in previous centuries. Though his work was often quoted by ancient Latin writers, with the collapse of Antiquity it disappeared. In the Carolingian period a renewed interest in the *Noctes* can be seen, but the work was now transmitted in two parts, Books 1–7 and 9–20 which have separate traditions. There was then a stable but not overwhelming interest during the following centuries, but from the end of the fourteenth century interest in the *Noctes* surged, and we have preserved hundreds of manuscripts containing all surviving books (Reynolds 176–80).

It seems that there was a confusion about the correct form of Gellius' name from an early period: when the Christian writer Lactantius referred to a passage in the *Noctes*, apparently he gave the author's name as *Agellius*.[1] This confusion continues: Servius Donatus knew the correct form of the name, *Aulus Gellius*; but in both Augustine and Priscian we find the form *Agellius* which continues to be in use well into the fifteenth century.

1. "huius [Chrysippi] sententiam interpretatus est A. Gellius [*Agellius* cod.] in libris Noctium Atticarum sic dicens …" ("in the *Noctes*, A. Gellius [*Agellius* cod.] explained what Chrysippus said in the following words …" Lact. epit. 24.5). For ancient Latin texts I use the abbreviations of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.

In what follows, I shall discuss one aspect of Gellius' *fortuna* in the Renaissance, namely the restoration of the Greek passages in *Noctes*. As was the case with the texts of other ancient Latin authors, quotations from Greek authors had either been rendered illegible or simply disappeared over the centuries, leaving perhaps blank spaces in the Latin text or a note saying that here should be some Greek. The restoration of Greek passages in writers such as Cicero, Quintilian, Suetonius, and Gellius, was one of the major efforts of humanist philology and an important result of the 'return of Greek' to the Latin West (Weiss; Maisano and Rollo). A central person in this endeavor is one of the greatest Greek scholars in fifteenth-century Italy, the humanist educator Guarino Veronese (1370–1460). In order to elucidate Guarino's method, I shall follow the textual tradition of one Greek passage in *Noctes*, the exchange of letters between Alexander the Great and his teacher Aristotle (Gell. 20.5.11–12, see Texts 1 and 2 below), but with special focus on the letter of Alexander (Gell. 20.5.11).

Text 1

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει εὖ πράττειν. Οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς <u>ἀκροατικοὺς</u> τῶν λόγων. τίνι γὰρ δὴ διοίσομεν

> ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ᾽ οὓς ἐπαιδεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί; Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν διαφέρειν. Ἔρρωσο.
>
> (Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroatic doctrines; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein I have been trained are to be all men's common property? For I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. Farewell).

Text 2

> Ἀριστοτέλης βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εὖ πράττειν. Ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τῶν <u>ἀκροατικῶν</u> λόγων οἰόμενος δεῖν αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις. Ἴσθι οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκδεδομένους καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένους· ξυνετοὶ γάρ εἰσιν μόνοις τοῖς ἡμῶν ἀκούσασιν. Ἔρρωσο, Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ.
>
> (Aristotle to King Alexander, greeting. You have written to me regarding my acroatic lectures, thinking that I ought to have kept them secret. Know then that they have both been made public and not made public. For they are intelligible only to those who have heard me. Farewell, King Alexander). (Tr. Rolfe)

In my transcription of the Greek, I have underlined the adjectives ἀκροατικοὺς/ἀκροατικῶν which, as we shall see, are the tell-tale words that will lead us through the vicissitudes of the textual tradition.

The medieval tradition

An important branch of the medieval tradition dates back to the Carolingian period. I have examined two manuscripts belonging to that branch, and both have the Greek text of Alexander's and Aristotle's letters, incl. the adjectives ἀκροατικοὺς/ ἀκροατικῶν (see Texts 1 and 2 above). The two MSS are O = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Reg. lat. 597, f. 199r, saec. ix, written in France, with corrections in the hand of Lupus of Ferrières; and Π = BAV, Reg. lat. 1646, f. 129v. a. 1179, same family as O (Pellegrin II.1, 86–87 and 335–36 respectively).

However, what we find in other twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts is more typical. In the Gellius vulgate of the late Middle Ages, the passage would most likely look as in V = BAV, Vat. lat. 3452, sec. xii, written in France (Pellegrin III.2, 308–09), which has "[…] in utriusque epistula breuitatis elegantissimae filum tenuissimum GR.a.b. Hoc ego uerbum GR. quaerens uno itidem uerbo dicere aliud non repperi […]" (f. 131v, "[…] in both letters the slender thread of elegant brevity GR.a.b. Looking for something to express GR. with a single word, I found nothing better than […]," Gell. 20.5.10–13). Here "GR.a.b." indicate the two letters, and the following "GR." the repetition of ξυνετοὶ γάρ εἰσιν from the letter of Aristotle. Opposite the passage just above, where Gellius renders the content of the two letters in Latin (20.7.7–9), a fifteenth-century reader noticed "Epistola Alexandri Regis ad Ar(istotelem) ph(ilosophum) et illius ad eum" ("King Alexander's letter to Aristotle, the philosopher, and his to him"), showing the interest in the letters during the Renaissance period, an interest we shall encounter again (for the medieval traditions, see Reynolds 176–79 and Martinelli Tempesta, "Guarino" 346–53).

Guarino Veronese

Guarino Veronese was a prominent educator, as well as a prolific translator from the Greek and a meticulous textual scholar. As a young man he studied Greek with Manuel Chrysoloras in Constantinople during the years 1403–08, and his successive schools in especially Venice and Ferrara became important centres for Greek studies. He began his career as translator in Constantinople, where amongst other things he translated Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* into Latin. He would eventually produce Latin versions of eleven Plutarch Lives, as well as of Lucian, Herodotus, and Strabo , amongst others (Pade, *The Reception* 165–77 and 183–218, *Vita Dionis* 3–14).

As early as 1422, Guarino wrote to Ugo Mazzolato about the copies of Gellius and Macrobius in his library, stating that "I think it would be a shame that authors who daily improve my mind should remain unimproved in my house."[2] Mazzolato, a close friend of Guarino's, was chancellor of the Marquis of Ferrara and, as we shall see, keenly interested in Guarino's textual work (Guarino, *Epistolario* III, 41). Guarino was sincere about his intentions to emendate the texts of the authors he studied, and for about ten years, during the 1420s

2. "Indignum enim censeo ut qui me in dies meliorem faciunt, ii apud me inemendati maneant," Guarino ep. 224 and Baron 205. Whenever possible I use the sigla listed in Ramminger's *Neulateinische Wortliste* for Neo-Latin texts. The first fundamental remarks on Guarino's work on Gellius are in Sabbadini, *La scuola* 118–19, but it is now superseded by Martinelli Tempesta, "Guarino" 367–85. In the following I shall revisit some of the ground covered by Martinelli Tempesta, but with special attention to passages in which we get glimpses of Guarino's editorial method.

and 1430s, he worked on an edition of Gellius, collating manuscripts from all over Northern Italy and bestowing special attention on restoring the corrupt Greek passages. In 1432, at Ferrara, Guarino finished his edition. His manuscript has not been identified, but already the same year a copy was made of it by Niccolò Pirondolo, a Ferrarese lawyer and old friend of Guarino's (Bertoni 39). Unfortunately Pirondolo's copy is also lost, but, as we will see, it is to some extent possible to reconstruct the *fortuna* of Guarino's edition.

Codicum vel ingenii ope?

We can follow aspects of Guarino's work on Gellius through his letters. He had owned a copy of the *Noctes* from the time he taught at Florence (1410–13/14), but it probably remained there when Guarino left the city (Sabbadini, *Codici latini* col. 416). It might seem that Guarino had his copy with him when in 1418 he answered Niccolò Pirondolo who had asked him about his translations of Plutarch's Lives and the *incipit* of Gellius. Guarino explained that it was "Plutarchus in libro quem scripsit" ("Plutarch, in the book he wrote").[3] However, he could have quoted that from memory, as perhaps indicated by the word *scripsit*; the copies of the passage I have been able to see with this version of the *incipit* have *scribit* or *conscripsit*.[4]

In October 1422, Guarino again wrote to his friend, Ugo Mazzolato, who had apparently asked him to correct his own copy of the *Noctes*. Guarino answered: "I got your Gellius, but I do not know what I hoped to be able to do with him, as I am so stressed for time. But if I shall be able to snatch a few moments, I'll do what you ask, or I'll send you my copy, if you prefer, so that you can correct yours from it."[5] Again it might seem as if Guarino had his copy with him, but he could also have been planning to have it sent to Mazzolato from Florence.

The letter to Mazzolato also shows that they discussed the text of other authors. Guarino admits that "with regard to Suetonius there is very little of what is written in Greek that I can understand, unless I happen on an older copy. Ours are so corrupted."[6] The Greek in Suetonius comes up again in another letter to Mazzolato of 1425 where Guarino complained: "I send you Suetonius, with whom I could do very little, as there is nothing in Greek where 'I could be Oedipus.' I might have been able to make out what he wanted to say by conjecture, but it seemed better not to, lest I should be rash and

3. "Principium libri A. Gellii Noctium atticarum post tabulam, quam omnibus libris praemisit, hoc est: "Plutarchus in libro quem scripsit" <1418> ep. 95.

4. Modern editions, and many humanist manuscripts, have a different wording in Gell. 1.1, but two MSS closely related to Guarino, BAV, Vat. lat. 3453 and Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S XVI 4 have "Plutarchus in libro quem scribit." For these two manuscripts, see "The tradition of Guarino" below.

5. "Aulum Gellium accepi, de quo quid sperem nescio, nam undique distringor negotiis ut nullum supersit tempus; tamen si quod furari labori tempus fas erit, 'tibi morem aliquando geram' (Ter. Heaut. 5.1.74), vel meum ad te mittam, si malueris, quo tuum emendes," <1422>, ep. 217.

6. "De Suetonio pauca sunt quae graece scripta possim interpretari, nisi antiquius volumen nactus sim: adeo nostri depravati sunt," <1422>, ep. 217.

assuming by composing rather than copying. I shall send Gellius another time, when I have been through the text."[7] The two passages on Suetonius afford us an important insight into Guarino's editorial method: if at all possible, he preferred to have solid textual evidence for emendations, he worked *codicum* rater than *ingenii* ope; but as we shall see, it was not always possible.

In December 1422, Guarino wrote to Giovanni Casate (for whom see Guarino, *Epistolario* III, 112) about the library of Giovanni Corvini of Arezzo, a well-known diplomat and bibliofile: "They say that he has both Macrobius, *De saturnalibus* and Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* – as well as many other books. I have one (*i.e.* the *Noctes*) myself, but as I hope to correct it, I would ask you to act as go-between and get his for me."[8] Again it might seem that Guarino had his copy with him, but it could also be Mazzolato's, which we know was in Guarino's house only in October that year in order that he could correct it.

Only a month later, Guarino again wrote to Mazzolato. A common friend, Filippo Camozzo, had hinted to Guarino that Mazzolato had been unhappy because he had not translated the Greek passages in Mazzolato's copy into Latin. Guarino claimed that he had not been aware that Mazzolato wanted him to do so, thinking that Mazzolato had simply sent him his Gellius, so that Guarino would not be without a copy. As it were, Guarino had sent his own copy to Mazzolato – from Florence.[9] Maybe it had actually remained there since he left Florence almost ten years earlier. However that may be, this is the first time in Guarino's correspondence that we read explicitly about Gellius' Greek – but the question is not whether it was correct, or there at all. Mazzolato wanted it translated into Latin for a reader with no or limited Greek (for examples of this, see "The Malatestiana Gellius" below). In March, Guarino wrote that he had sent Mazzolato the Suetonius long ago and begged him to confirm that he had received it. He was working on Gellius and tried to free himself for the work.[10]

In a letter of 1425, we read that Guarino's Gellius is in the library of Cosimo de' Medici (did Mazzolato maybe lend it to him?). Guarino expresses himself very cautiously, saying that if it is of any use to Cosimo, it can of course stay, but if not, he would like it back.[11] Apparently it took awhile before he received it. In a couple of letters to Mazzolato, from August the same year, the subject is again their respective manuscripts of Gellius. Niccolò Pirondolo had written to him about a Gellius that Guarino would finish in a few days. This must be Mazzolato's copy, which Guarino had promised to emen-

7. "Suetonium mitto, cui parum mederi potui, cum nulli adsint graeci characteres, in quibus 'Oedipus esse possem' (Ter. And. 1.2.23); nam licet quid dicere velit coniectura possem consequi, tamen ut abstinerem potius visum est, ne in scribendo magis quam transcribendo temerarius et arrogans essem. A. Gellium alias mittam, cum volvero," <1425>, ep. 304.

8. "Is ut multos alios, ita Macrobium de Saturnalibus <at>que Aulum Gellium de noctibus atticis habere dicitur; quos et ego habeo, sed cum eos emendare cupiam, illos te interprete ab eo habere velim," <1422>, ep. 224. For Giovanni Corvini, see Guarino, *Epistolario* III, p. 145 and now, with newer discussions of his identity, Martinelli Tempesta, "Guarino" 369, n. 4.

9. "Aliud quiddam adiecit, tacitam videlicet accusationem tuam de mea tuis in rebus negligentia, quod scilicet tandiu A. Gellium aliqua ex parte graece loquentem latine loqui non fecerim […] At illa verissima est, per immortalem deum: nunquam scisse me ut id percuperes; cumque Gellium initio abs te suscepi, nullas tuas accepisse litteras quibus tuae certiorem me faceres voluntatis. Quin arbitrabar illum abs te mihi demissum ne sine Gellio mea studia manerent, cum meum ad te ex Florentia dimitti iussissem," <1425>. ep. 305.

10. "Dudum Suetonium ad te misi, quem ubi acceperis certiorem me reddas oro. A. Gellium inter manus verso, cui omnes occupationes cedant faxo," <1425>, ep. 310.

11. "Sentio A. Gellium meum apud te hospitem esse: siquid apud te agit, iubeo quandiu velis maneat; sin otiosus est, eum reverti iube," <1425>, ep. 315.

date; Guarino asked where he should send it.[12] Some days later Guarino was able to send Mazzolato the Gellius in which he had corrected many passages. Guarino's own copy had not been returned from Florence, and he was afraid that it had gone astray. Its absence, Guarino complained, would be a great inconvenience. Mazzolato would receive the chapter headings to the *Noctes* separately, from Andrea Zulian, the Venetian humanist and nobleman.[13] From a common friend Guarino then heard that the manuscript had reached Mazzolato, and he asked eagerly if his own copy had been sent from Florence.[14]

In a letter dated by Sabbadini to March 1426, we read that Guarino had received a Gellius from Martino Rizzon, one of his favourite pupils (Guarino, *Epistolario* III, 188–89). Maybe Rizzon had annotated the copy, because Guarino says that in the Gellius "I also hear you reading."[15] The same year, Guarino asked Rizzon to remind Filippo Camozzo of Dion, perhaps hinting at a copy of his own translation of the Plutarchan *Life* (modern edition in Pade, Vita Dionis), and of the chapter headings of the *Noctes*.[16] The last request must have been for Guarino's friend Mazzo dei Mazzi, because shortly afterwards he could write to Martino that he had been pleased to hear that a gathering had been produced with the chapter headings, as it would please Mazzo.[17]

For a few years, we do not have any letters preserved on the work on Gellius, but then in a letter to Giacomo Zilioli, a Ferrarese notary, of 1430, Guarino mentioned some books in his library which had not been emendated, as he did not have access to a corrected copy he could use for this. "I talk about Curtius and Gellius," he continued, "whom I possess 'maimed and cruelly mutilated.' To restore these two, as the rest, so they can be useful for my studies, one must find a different method."[18] Guarino, it seems, despaired of acquiring a corrected copy of the *Noctes*, but two years later, that changed. He already possessed a copy with at least some of the Greek, but in the summer of that year, he was waiting to receive a copy belonging to Ugulino Cantello, lawyer, well-known bibliophile, and the year after *podestà* at Ferrara (Guarini, *Epistolario* III, 306). Apparently Cantello's copy was known to contain also the *graeca*. In the letter, Guarino complained that although he had asked Cantello to send him Gellius, he had received neither an answer nor the book. However, Guarino continues, "you should have hastened to do it of you own accord, as it is of common interest. For, as I wrote to you from here, I have no means of inserting the Greek passages which are either lacking because of the copyists' ignorance or have been omitted. It will be a work worthy of immortality; if I finish it, this *exemplar* will then

12. "Dominus Nicolaus Pirondulus scripsit ad me super A. Gellio, quem paucis absolutum diebus fecero; tu iube quo mitti eum iubes et cui," Ex Verona VIII augusti <1425>, ep. 321.

13. "Remitto tibi A. Gellium eodem nuntio, quem, ut credo, emendatiorem multis in locis habebis […] Meus nondum ex Florentia rediit; vereor ne angues reformidans aberrarit: incommodo mihi magno erit eius absentia. Tabulam in A. Gellio habebis ex cl. viro Andrea Iuliano …," <1425>, ep. 322.

14. "Gratum etiam feceris si Gellium illum Florentia missum significaveris," <1425>, ep. 324.

15. "A. Gellium ipsum diligenter conscriptum libenter accepi, quia in eo te quoque legendo audio," <1426>, ep. 351.

16. "Philippum meum salvere iubeo utque meminerit Dionis etiam atque etiam roga et tabulae in Aulum Gellium," <1426>, ep. 363.

17. "Gratum est quod de ta<bula in A. Gellium>quinternum factum esse scribis, ut cl. viro Madio nostro satisfiat …," <1426>, ep. 365.

18. "Reliqui sunt libri quos antea inemendatos habebamus. Idcirco siquem ad exemplar repertum emendare liceret, minus esset laboris: de Q. Curtio et A. Gellio dico, quos truncatos habeo et laceros crudeliter ora [Verg. Aen. 6. 495]. Ad hos etiam duos ad nostra studia redigendos alia quaeretur via," <1430>, ep. 578.

be my work, as there have been none or few during these years. So hurry up and make Gellius come here quickly."[19]

Guarino finished his edition in 1432 in a now lost manuscript. His colleague Niccolò Pirondolo made a copy of it, now also lost, but Guarino acknowledged the feat in a poem of twenty-six hexametres. He congratulates Pirondolo for having brought forth a son without a mother, *i.e.* the Gellius, a son that does not resemble him physically but is a picture of his intellect and a monument to his craft. But Guarino will enhance Pirondolo's offspring; the son whom he sent to Guarino as Latin he will get back speaking also Greek.[20] So Guarino supplied the *graeca* in Pirondolo's copy.

Guarino was evidently at the centre of the study of Gellius' text. He probably did receive Cantello's copy (see above and n. 16), for in a letter, probably from 1433, we read that he had lent Cantello his new edition – and now would like to have it back: "I thank my Gellius, who has helped me achieve something you approve of. Therefore I would like you to pay him back in the following way: as soon as he has done what you wish him to, take care that he can return home to his patron, or rather his client. He often looks after me, and helps me, defending me and assisting me in my work."[21] In 1434 Ludovico, count of S. Bonifazio, had asked him whether he possessed a copy of the *Noctes* and Guarino answered proudly: "I have a filthy copy, in ragged clothes and dressed in a cotton tunic. However it is so true and for a large part corrected that I would not change it for the riches of Croesus or for Midas' gold."[22]

The tradition of Guarino

1. The copy of Giovanni Lamola

The earliest copy we do have of Guarino's edition, at least with regard to the Greek, has the date 31 October 1432 and was written by his friend and collaborator Giovanni Lamola (1404–49). It is now BAV, Vat. lat. 3453 (Pellegrin III.2, 310, Sabbadini, *La scuola* 119, Baron 207, Scipioni No. 100. On Lamola, see Arbizzoni). On f. Iv we find the ex-libris of Lamola: "Iste liber est mei Iohannis Lamolae quem propria manu transscripsi" ("this book belongs to me, Giovanni Lamola; I copied it with my own hand"); and on f. 159r "Auli Gellii Noctium Atticarum liber uigesimus et ultimus feliciter explicit M.CCCC.XXXII. pridie Kalendas Nouembrias [!]" ("The twentieth and last book of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* happily ends here 31 October 1432").

19. "Superioribus diebus unas ad te litteras dedi, ut A. Gellium mitteres; nihil aut verbis aut re, quod equidem mallem, respondisti; quam ad rem vel sponte tua properare debuisti, cum res communis ageretur. Nam, ut hinc ad te scripsi, delata est mihi facultas et copia textus inscribendi graecos, qui librariorum ignoratione intercepti vel omissi fuerant Opus igitur immortalitate dignum futurum est; si id perficio, tum futurum est mea opera exemplar, qualia vel nulla vel pauca visa sunt per hosce annos. Accelera igitur et Gellium ipsum advolare facito," <30 June 1432>, ep. 631.

20. "Guarini Veronensis ad Nicolaum Pirundulum iurisconsultum doctissimum super scriptione A. Gellii. 'Gratulor atque omni capio nunc gaudia mente,/ Quod tibi tam florens hac tempestate novellus/ Filius in lucem veniat sine matre, tuos qui/ Non vultus aut membra refert, sed viva vigentis/ Ingenii simulacra tui et monumenta tuarum ./ Fit manuum [...]/ Ergo progenitum nonnullis partibus ornem:/ Quem nostras italum lingua demittis ad aedes,/ Accipe et eloquium fundentem ex ore pelasgum.'" <1433> ep. 639, vv. 1–6 and 21–23.

21. "Gratias ago Gellio meo, cuius ope atque opera rem tibi gratam fecisse contingit mihi; quibus pro meritis hoc illi praemii reddas volo, ut cum primum voluntati tuae morem gesserit, reditum ipsi pares in patriam ad patronum suum vel clientem potius, nam saepe numero me tuetur me iuvat et causam meam defendit ac studiis meis praesentem affert opem" <1433>, ep. 639. For the date, see Guarino, *Epistolario* III, 310.

22. "habeo quidem sordidum, veste pannosa et bombicina indutum tunica, sed adeo veridicum et magna ex parte emendatum, ut eum pro Croesi opibus et auro Midae mutaturus non sim," <1434>, ep. 649.

Lamola was himself an accomplished textual critic who often worked with Guarino on his editions (Pade, "Guarino and Caesar" 74). For this reason it has been suggested that we cannot be sure how far his text reflects that of Guarino (Baron 207). However, neither Baron nor Sabbadini, who also commented on the relationship of Lamola's copy with that of Guarino's finished edition (Guarino, *Epistolario* III, 307–08), kew of the Malatestiana Gellius which I am going to discuss below, and with the help of which we can show that Lamola's Greek actually does reflect Guarino's work.

On f. 155r space was left for the letters of Alexander and Aristotle – but too little and the Greek spills into the margins.[23] This could indicate that Lamola copied the Latin before he had access to Guarino's finished version, or before it was indeed finished, and misjudged how much space would be needed for the insertion of the Greek here. This would solve the problem of how Lamola could have managed to copy the entire work between the late summer of 1432 – the *terminus post quem* is the letter to Cantello of 30 June (see above note 19) – and 31 October of the same year, if that is indeed the *terminus ante quem* also of Lamola's insertion of the Greek passages. As Martinelli Tempesta pointed out, compared to the Malatestiana Gellius, Lamola omitted many of the *graeca* in Books 1–7, whereas they are mostly there in Books 9–20. It is highly likely that by the time Lamola used Guarino's edition, the work of emendating the Greek passages had not yet been completed ("Guarino" 375–76). Moreover, in Books 1–7 Lamola often indicates that some *graeca* are missing either by just a 'g.' written in the same ink as the text, or by an uppercase 'G' in red ink, but I have not found any instances of this in Books 9–20. Whether this means that he did not expect to be able to fill in the missing *graeca* in the first part of the manuscript, I cannot say, but it could be an explanation.

The transcription of the two letters has the forms ἀκροατικοὺς/ἀκροατικῶν (see Texts 1 and 2),[24] but in Aristotle's letter, in the final greeting to Alexander, the words Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ are missing – as they are in the Malatestiana Gellius (for which see below). Moreover, in 13.7.2 (f. 94v) Lamola's manuscript has the same unusual long version of the quote from Herodotus which we shall see in the Malatestiana Gellius, but without Guarino's Latin translation, and the same is the case with two quotes from Homer's *Iliad* in 17.7.4–5. In both cases the quotes are longer than those found in the Gellius vulgate.

In the lower margin of f. 155r, Lamola added an interesting note:

Text 3

23. Sabbadini, *La scuola* 119, and Baron 213, quoting his description, maintain that the Greek text of the letters was written in rasura, but as far as I have been able to see upon close inspection of the manuscript, this is not the case.

24. Baron 213 mistakenly maintains that Lamola has ἀκροαματικοὺς in Gell. 20.5.11 – but that is the reading of the Plutarch passage quoted in the lower margin. However, this is yet another reason why he questions the relationship between Lamola's copy and Guarino's edition.

> Apud Plutarchum in uita Alexandri epistola haec ad Aristotelem extat. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει εὖ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροαματικοὺς τῶν λόγων· τίνι γὰρ δὴ διοίσομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ’ οὓς ἐπαιδεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί; ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο. (Plut. Al. 7.7).

The letter is basically the same as in Gellius, with one difference, namely the adjective ἀκροαματικοὺς instead of ἀκροατικοὺς. This is a variant we shall meet again.

3. The Malatestiana Gellius

Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, MS S xvi has the coat of arms of the library's founder, Malatesta Novello (f. 2r), and was copied at the beginning of the 1450s for him at Ferrara. The chapter headings are on a separate leaf at the beginning of the volume and written by a different hand from that of the main text (ff. 2r–142r). The scribe of the chapter headings who also occasionally corrected the main text has been identified by de la Mare as Jean d'Épinal (de la Mare 40–43). She also identified the hand that inserted the Greek as well as the marginal translations of it as that of Guarino, obviously working some ten to twenty years after he finished his edition of the *Noctes*.[25]

25. de la Mare 36 and note 9; for a recent description of the manuscript, see Martinelli Tempesta, "Qualche osservazione" 253–54. For Guarino's Greek hand, see also Eleuteri and Canart, entry LXII.

Here again we are looking at a volume in which the original layout does not leave enough, or indeed hardly any, space for the Greek. From the digital copy of the manuscript made available by the Biblioteca Malatestiana, it seems that the various signs and letters inserted by Guarino in the text itself, making it possible for the reader to identify the correct Greek word or passage in the margin, are *in rasura*; originally there may have been something like 'G' telling the reader that some *graeca* were missing (for examples of this, see "The medieval tradition" above).

Space is left blank on f. 140v where Alexander's and Aristotle's letters should be, but they are transcribed in the lower margin of f. 140r with the forms ἀκροατικοὺς/ ἀκροατικῶν, *i.e.* following the Gellius vulgate, and as in Lamola's copy, in the final greeting to Alexander, the words Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ are missing.

Another point in which the Cesena manuscript resembles Lamola's copy, is the length of some quotes from Greek authors. In 13.3.4–5 the vulgate has two quotes from the *Iliad* about lions, *Il.* 17.133–35 and 18.318–20. Guarino inserts the two passages in a different order, transcribing first the verses from Book 18, but quoting a longer passage than that found in the Gellius vulgate, *i.e.* vv. 318–22, and then the three verses from Book 17. In Lamola's copy the Greek in 13.3.4–5 is almost identical with what we find in the Malatestiana Gellius, but whereas the verses from Book 18 are in the text itself, the passage from Book 17 is in the margin. Another instance is the quote from Herodotus in Gell. 13.7.2 (f. 86r). Here the Gellius vulgate has Ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας ("being very strong and bold, the lioness gives birth only once in her life, and then only one cub; for when she has given birth she throws out the uterus with the cub," Hdt. 3.108 – this is e.g. the length of the Greek quote in O, for which see "The medieval tradition" above). In both Lamola's copy and the Cesena MS the quotation continues for several more lines until … λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν ("nothing of their uterus is left whole"). On f. 86v in the margin, Guarino translates the passage – as we read Mazzolato had wanted him to do (see note 10 above): "Fortissimum et audacissimum semel in uita parit unum. Pariens enim uná cum nato matricem eiicit. Haec huius causa est. Cum catulus in matrice existens moueri coeperit, habens omnibus beluis ungues longe acutiores matrices laniat. Crescens multo amplius scalpit. Iam prope partus adest et omnino nulla illarum pars sana relinquitur."[26] In the first half of the fifteenth century, few scholars in Italy were as familiar with the text of Herodotus as Guarino who had owned a copy from 1427 (Sabbadini, *La scuola* 119; Baron 212; Looney, "The Reception" 169–71).

26. The Malatestiana Gellius is unique in containing so many translations by Guarino of the graeca. On the Latin translations of the *graeca* in humanist manuscripts of Gellius in general, see Martinelli Tempesta, "Qualche osservazione."

We find traces of Guarino's work on the *graeca* in Latin authors also in texts not so closely connected with his name. In a copy of Cicero's *Familiares*, BAV, Pal. lat. 1501 (Pellegrin ii.2, 158), there is again a Greek passage which is longer than what is found in the modern vulgate. In *fam.* 6.18.5 the *textus communis* reads "Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore 'τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα' et cetera" ("your sweet boy should learn Hesiod by heart and always repeat 'Sweat before excellence' and so forth," ff. 62r–v, cp. *Erga* 289), whereas the Palatinus adds the rest of v. 289 and vv. 290–92, omitting "et cetera." A rather Gothic hand made an interlinear translation of the passage, but in the margin of f. 62r, a different hand, slightly resembling that of Guarino, wrote

Sudorem prae se fert uirtus mente Deorum
est ad eam longus rectusque per ardua callis
asper et inprimis, ubi in alta cacumina ventum est!
Mollis adest quae uisa fuit durissima quondam.
Eos sic uertit Guarinus Veronensis.
(excellence requires sweat, by decision of the gods. The path

that leads to her is long and steep and it is rough at the beginning; but when one has reached the top, then she is easy to reach, though she once seemed very hard. Guarino Veronese translated the verses thus.)

Guarino quoted the first line of the passage as early as 1418 in a letter (ep. 125) to Antonio Corbinelli (1376/77–1425), bibliophile and scion of an influential Florentine family, and the lines are also vv. 4–7 of one of his poems (carm. 63).[27]

27. The passage from Hesiod in Cicero's letter attracted the attention of other humanist scholars. Daniela Gionta discussed some examples of transcriptions longer than that found in the textus communis of the letter and accompanied by Latin translation in Gionta, "Graeca" 307–08. For Corbinelli, see Molho.

3. The Newberry Gellius

Hans Baron was the first to draw attention to Chicago Newberry Library 90. It was written by one Milanus Burrus, of the Milanese branch of the Borri family, in 1445, and probably never left Northern Central Italy before it was bought by the Chicago Library. As already mentioned, Baron was not aware of the existence of the Malatestiana Gellius, but on the basis of Sabbadini's work on Guarino's edition and his description of Lamola's copy, he inferred that the Newberry Gellius is a very early descendant of Guarino's text. (Baron 207–13).[28] One of his arguments was that the Newberry Gellius has the same long quotation from Herodotus as Lamola's copy – a quotation which Sabbadini attributed to Guarino, as we have read (see "The Malatestiana Gellius" above). Another was that it had the forms ἀκροατικοὺς/ ἀκροατικῶν at Gell. 20.5.11–12 which he mistakenly maintained that Lamola's copy did not (see note 24 above). I could add that, as in Lamola's copy and in the Malatestiana Gellius, in the final greeting to Alexander, the words Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ are missing.

28. I would like to thank Dr. Suzanne Karr Schmidt of the Newberry Library in Chicago for her invaluable help in getting electronic reproductions of the Gellius.

There can therefore hardly be any doubt that the *graeca* in the Newberry Gellius reflect Guarino's lost edition. However, there is one aspect in which it differs from the other copies I have examined so far. Whereas the *graeca* in both Lamola's copy and in the Malatestiana Gellius were often copied in the margins, because sufficient space – if any at all – had not been left by the scribe of the Latin text, Milanus Burrus clearly had an *exemplar* in which the Greek was already there, so that he could judge how much blank space he needed to leave for it.

*

My examination of Guarino's statements regarding his editorial principles in correcting the *graeca* in Gellius and other Latin authors showed that he preferred to rely on the medieval tradition (see above "Codicum vel ingenii ope?"). However, the examination of the descendents of his lost manuscript clearly reveals that Guarino did not always manage to follow that principle: very often he 'corrected' or completed Greek passages consulting the direct tradition of the Greek authors quoted by Gellius.[29]

29. On Guarino's editorial method, see also Martinelli Tempesta, "Qualche osservazione" 252. In a recent article, "Il Gellio," Martinelli Tempesta examined Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 3178 and concluded that it, too, belonged to the Guarinian tradition. The hand of the scribe even resembles that of Milano Burro – although it is not actually his.

Other branches

I shall now discuss a few other fifteenth-century copies of the *Noctes* which present a different picture. BAV, Vat. lat. 1532 was produced for Niccolò da Cattaro, Bishop of Modrus (*i.e.* Krbava, in Croatia, *c.* 1427–80) as is shown by his coat of arms (f. 11v), and written by Giovanni da Itro (fl. *c.* 1470), cp. "Hoc opus scripsit Iohannes Nardi Fusci de Itro feliciter etc" (f. 139r, cp. Pellegrin III.1, pp. 106–7). The Greek is by Andronico Callisto (1/4 s. xv–before 1487).[30]

30. Rollo, "Sulle tracce" 86–92 and "Interventi" 367–77. For a first overview of the tradition of the graeca in humanist manuscripts of Gellius, see Martinelli Tempesta, "Qualche osservazione." In Rocchi and Holford-Strevens there is an interesting discussion of the state of the graeca in Gellius' preface in most recentiores, and the work done to restore them in the princeps and the early vulgate.

In the text of 20.5 (f. 136 v) there is just a sign for Greek where the letters of Alexander and Aristotle should have been, but in the upper margin we find the Greek text of Alexander's letter, however with ἀκροαματικοὺς, the reading in Plutarch, Al. 7.7, instead of ἀκροατικοὺς as found in the *textus communis.* Then, surprisingly, in the left margin, Aristotle's letter to Alexander, with ἀκροαματικῶν instead of ἀκροατικῶν – surprisingly, because Plutarch does not render the actual text of Aristotle's letter, he only gives a summary of its content, and it does not include the word ἀκροαματικῶν. The text is thus clearly from Gellius – though the adjectives ἀκροαματικοὺς/ ἀκροαματικῶν come from the Plutarchan tradition.

The Greek is written in rather light red ink and in a hand that has a different ductus than that of the main text. Also in the left margin there is a translation of the two letters, written in darker red and not by the scribe of the main text. I have not come across this translation elsewhere:

Text 4

> Alexander Aristoteli felicitatem. Abs te haud recte factum est quod disciplinas <u>audibiles</u> edideris. Nos enim qua iure ceteris prestabimus, si doctrine, in quibus eruditi sumus, he uniuersis communes esse reperiuntur? Ego uero optima rerum peritia quam potentia malim excellere. Aristoteles Alexandro felicitatem. Ad me scripsisti de disciplinis <u>audibilibus</u> eas existimans inter arcana obseruari oportere. Scito igitur illas editas et non editas esse. Nam solis illis intelligibiles erunt quibus nos audiuisse contigeret (*sic*!). Vale

The two hands, *i.e.* the Greek and that of the translations, are seen together elsewhere in the volume (for the *graeca* and the Latin translations in this manuscript, see also Martinelli Tempesta, "Qualche osservazione" 268–69).

We have another witness to this contaminated tradition in BAV, Reg. lat. 1626, now in the Vatican Library (Pellegrin II.1, 330–31). The manuscript contains a collection of mainly Cicero's letters, but followed by a small collection of other Latin letters, and then, almost at the end of the volume and written by a different hand, the Greek text of Alexander's letter and a translation which differs from that printed above. It is followed by Aristotle's answering letter, both in Greek and in Latin translation. Like in Niccolò da Cattaro's copy, Vat. lat. 1532, the Greek text of the two letters is quoted directly, which points to the Gellian tradition, but with the Plutarchan ἀκροαματικοὺς/ἀκροαματικῶν. The translations are not like any I have seen elsewhere:

Text 5

> Alexander Aristoteli sal. Haud recte fecisti qui auscultatorios libros edideris. In qua enim re a caeteris nos item praestabimus, si disciplinae, in quibus eruditi sumus, omnium omnino sint communes? Equidem malim in rerum usu optimarum quam in facultatibus anteire. Vale. Aristoteles regi Alexandro Sal. Scripsisti ad me de libris auscultatoriis inter arcana illos condi putans oportere. Sed tu eos et esse editos et minime editos scito. Cognobiles enim iis tantum erunt qui nos audiverint. Vale (f. 190v, cp. Pellegrin II.1, 330).

The Latin tradition for rendering ἀκροατικός / ἀκροαματικός

The role of Plutarch in the transmission of Alexander's letter to Aristotle is also seen in a number of anthologies with model letters which contain Guarino's Latin translation *Alexander* 7.7:

Text 6

> Alexander Aristoteli felicitatem. Haud abs te recte factum est quod speculatiuas edidisti disciplinas. Qua enim in re ceteris

iam nos ipsi praecellemus, si ea quibus eruditi sumus, studia omnibus coeperunt esse communia? Mallem enim singulari disciplina quam potestate praestare.

I have found the letter in Guarino's translation in twelve fifteenth-century manuscripts with letter anthologies, and it was of course also found in the many manuscript copies of Guarino's translation of the entire life, of which I have identified 53;[31] the popularity of the letter will have helped to disseminate one Latin version of the concept of ἀκροατικός /ἀκροαματικός but there were in fact several others.

In the passage in the *Noctes* in which Gellius explains about the two parts of the Aristotelian corpus, he says : "Libros quoque suos … seorsum diuisit, ut alii 'exoterici' dicerentur, partim 'acroatici'" ("He also divided his books up, so that some were called exoteric while a part was for hearing only"). Though Gellius thus established a practice of simply transcribing the Greek technical terms, this is not what we encounter in humanist Latin renderings of Alexander's letter. As we have seen, Guarino rendered Plutarch's ἀκροαματικοὺς with *speculatiuas … disciplinas* in his translation of the Alexander from *c.* 1408. The word is found only in late Latin, in writers such as Boethius and Cassiodorus.

In BAV, Vat. lat. 1532, Niccolò da Cattaro's copy of the *Noctes*, Alexander's letter and Aristotle's answer are transcribed with the Plutarchan variant of the adjective, ἀκροαματικοὺς / ἀκροαματικῶν and with a Latin translation added in the margin in which it is rendered with *disciplinas audibiles* (see above Text 4). Again this is a word found only in late Latin; the earliest occurrence of the word recorded by the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* is in Priscian.

We saw yet another version in the translation of the two letters – rendered in Greek with the Plutarchan ἀκροαματικοὺς/ ἀκροαματικῶν – in BAV, Reg. lat. 1626. Here the books are called *auscultatorii* which is not a word found in ancient nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in medieval Latin. However, in his magisterial *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, Henri Estienne explained ἀκροαματικός with "ad auditionem pertinens; vel in auditione consistens, q. d. auditorius, *auscultatorius*," referring to Plutarch's *Alexander*, and to Gellius. Trying to explain why the books were called so, Estienne suggested that it must be because students could only get to apprehend their contents by listening to the teacher. In the much shorter lemma ἀκροατικός, Estienne does not refer to Gellius, explaning the word as "auditorius; ad auditionem pertinens."

So Estienne used *auscultatorius* to render ἀκροαματικός, as we also saw in Text 5, the anonymous translation of Alexander's letter and Aristotle's answer in BAV, Reg. lat. 1626. This is probably not for-

31. Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A vii 3, f. 94v; Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1, f. 59; København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. S. 134 8o, f. 59v; Dresden, LB Depositum Bezirksbibl. Karl-Marx-Stadt 57, f. 70v; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 14634, f. 239; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, pal. 262, f. 27v; Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 303, f. 73v; BAV, Barb. lat. 42 (a. 1466), f. 54; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2010, f. 72v; BAV, Vat. lat. 5131, f. 38v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 199, f. 31; Wells, Holkham Hall, 487, f. 42. The excerpt is listed in Bertalot, *Initia humanistica Latina*, No. 8513. For this see also Pade, "Plutarch" 57–58. For the manuscript of Guarino's *Alexander*, see Pade, *The Reception* ii, 134–35.

tuitous, because the neologism actually had quite a fortune in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Latin, as we can see in the lemma *auscultatorius* in Johann Ramminger's *Neulateinische Wortliste*:

> **auscultatorius**, -a, -um – 1) *zum Hören dienend o. darauf bezüglich:* ALBERTI *aedif* 5,3 percommodissimae quidem tyrannis sunt occultae et latentes intra crassitudinem parietis fistulae auscultatoriae […]– 2) *in der Einteilung der Schriften des Aristoteles:* PICO–GF *vita* p.76 […] HOLDSWORTH (1590–1649) *praelect* p.350 Opusculorum Aristotelis decantata est et nota omnibus distributio, quòd duo librorum genera conscripserit: unum eorum quos vocavit ἐξωτερικοὺς extraneos, seu populares, quòd ad vulgi captum accommodati essent; <u>alterum eorum quos ἀκροαματικοὺς appellant Interpretes, quasi quis dicat auscultatorios</u>, quia et à Discipulis maiori cum attentione audiendi, et à Magistro maiori curā et intentione erant enarrandi.

Whereas the earliest meaning recorded by Ramminger, with an example form Alberti, "which helps to hear or has to do with hearing" (the only meaning listed in Hoven) is less interesting in our context, the second section of the lemma is highly relevant. The long quote from Holdsworth, who wrote before Estienne published his *Thesaurus*, describes the two parts of the Aristotelian corpus, of which the second consists of the ἀκροαματικοὺς *libros*, *i.e.* the *auscultatorios libros*.

Conclusions

Guarino's letters show that, in theory at least, he was a conservative editor of classical texts. They also show the fifteenth-century textual critic's difficulties in procuring exemplars from which to work – even if that *exemplar* might belong to the editor himself: Guarino's personal copy of Gellius which for some years was left behind in Florence proved very difficult for him to get hold of again.

Though Guarino's own manuscript with his corrected text of Gellius is lost, we have some descendants of it which show that he knew a branch of the tradition which contained at least some of the *graeca* as they appear in the more valuable medieval manuscripts, like O and Π (see "The medieval tradition" above). However, quite often Guarino had to resort to the indirect tradition when restoring the *graeca* in Gellius, inserting passages directly from the authors Gellius quoted. This led to variant readings and often to the insertion of Greek passages far longer than those found in the *textus communis*.

It seems paradoxical that although Guarino apparently had access to a manuscript with ἀκροατικός of the Gellius vulgate in the letter exchange between Alexander and Aristotle, the ἀκροαματικός of the Plutarchan tradition sometimes sneaked in, not least in what appears to be excerpts from Gellius in various florilegia.

In manuscripts of the tradition going back to Guarino, *graeca* were often accompanied by a Latin translation. Gellius himself was no help in rendering the rather rare ἀκροατικός /ἀκροαματικός, since he simply transcribed the term. As we saw, there is a series of suggestions for a satisfactory Latin rendering, some using terms taken from late Latin writers, but also one which is actually a neologism, namely *auscultatorius*, a word that enjoyed a discreet fortune in early modern Latin.

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Searching for Manuscripts and Running a Business: Printing and the Search for Texts in the Fifteenth Century

Abstract

This contribution seeks to examine how the commercial production of printed books interacted with the search for manuscripts of texts not otherwise known to survive, during the first fifty years after the European invention of printing. Searching for manuscripts is thus considered from the perspective of it being an economic activity. Producers of manuscript and of printed books alike had to locate and acquire a text to work from. This could range from the easy acquisition of a local exemplar, the acquisition of exemplars from known but distant locations, to the search for texts whose location was unknown, and all the way to the search for exemplars of texts whose survival was uncertain. By exploring the most ambitious types of search within this broader context, we will seek to understand better the circumstances under which the commercial production of printed books could enable a business model, one amongst many, that not only made such a search possible but even required it. We will seek to establish when the associated direct and indirect cost of an ambitious search could be a worthwhile investment, or at least could seem to be. In doing so we also aim to understand more clearly why this could be a potential path towards profit for commercial producers of printed books, while it would have been unviable for commercial producers of manuscript books.

Keywords

Locating manuscripts, Cost recovery, Printers, Businesses models, Profit.

Scholarship on the search for manuscripts that aims to locate texts not otherwise known to have survived has rarely sought to place this activity within the context of the subsequent production of the newly located text. In this contribution I will seek to examine how the commercial production of printed books interacted with this search

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during the first fifty years after the European invention of printing.

This type of search for manuscripts – the one that aims to locate very rare or otherwise unknown texts – was the most ambitious manifestation of a more general process: producers of manuscript and of printed books alike had to locate and acquire a text to work from. This could range from the easy acquisition of a local exemplar, the acquisition of exemplars from known but distant locations, to the search for texts whose location was unknown, and all the way to the search for texts whose survival was uncertain. By exploring the most ambitious types of search within this broader context, we will seek to understand better the circumstances under which the commercial production of printed books could enable a business model, one amongst many, that not only made such a search possible but even required it. We will seek to establish when the associated direct and indirect cost of an ambitious search could be a worthwhile investment, or at least could seem to be. In doing so we also aim to understand more clearly why this was a potential path towards profit for commercial producers of printed books,[1] while it would have been unviable for commercial producers of manuscript books.

Searching for manuscripts was an economic activity in the sense that it had to be paid for, although the costs may have been opaque even to the participants. Senior administrators could spend time looking for manuscripts when on a journey undertaken in the course of their duties, which ensured that their costs were indirectly covered. Thus Petrarca (1304–1374) could search for manuscripts in France and Flanders while on diplomatic missions undertaken for the Colonna family (Rico and Marcozzi, "Petrarca" passim). The importance of this indirect support is implicitly brought out by Remigio Sabbadini in his foundational work on the discovery of Latin and Greek codices in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: he devoted a chapter each to the discoveries made during the councils of Constance (1414–18) and of Basel (1431–37/49) (Sabbadini, *Le scoperte* chapters 4 and 7). But not all could travel like that. Gasperino Barzizza (*c.* 1360–1431) for instance, a brief stint at the Council of Constance apart, did not have the means to leave his job as a grammar teacher in Padua, and thus he could not play a role in locating far-flung manuscripts, although he was keenly interested in new discoveries (Martellotti, "Barzizza").

Most often we know little or nothing about costs or how they were covered. This is largely because, for many people, it was not a topic that merited attention. Indeed, scholars might wish to distance

1. A number of nouns were in use for those who printed books, especially in Latin. But there was no noun for people who undertook functions that were akin to those that we now ascribe to publishers. Nor was there a word for a distributor of books published and printed by others although people undertook those activities. Those who acted as publishers might also act as printers or distributors, and the other way round. Their engagement with the production of books might also be only one aspect of wider business activities. I have sought to avoid using words which fix distinctions which were not fixed then although, on occasion, it is too cumbersome to avoid the words publisher, printer, and distributor.

themselves from the inevitable financial implications of their activity. The case of Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459) illustrates how important it was for the economic underpinning of learning to remain opaque. He acquired books on his diplomatic travels in the eastern Mediterranean and to the Council of Basel, many of which he sold with a degree of business acumen that caused consternation. Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) described him disparagingly as a trader, and highlighted the social difference between the two of them, the sordid dealer and the noble scholar for whom money was of no interest. He wrote to Aurispa: "You are completely devoted to the selling of books; I would rather you read them. That would be much better for you and for learning. For what good comes of now buying now selling, but never reading? I have no books for sale. I prefer buying, when I can afford to."[2] Filelfo claimed that he valued books so highly that he would buy an important book even if it reduced him to the level of poverty of a slave. In fact, he ran no risk of that, as he went on to boast of his financial security: "So write and tell me what books you have and how much they cost. If you do that, you will learn that I do not suffer hardship. For I am in the service of the prince [Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan] under whom nobody suffers any want." Filelfo emphasised how the money available for him to use had an origin that he could leave suitably intransparent. Thus he could distance himself from the social opprobrium of trade, even as he engaged with the trade in books by performing the essential role of a buyer.

The reluctance of men of the social groups who had the skills to identify suitable manuscripts to engage with the economic and financial aspect of their activity is part of the background for our understanding of that very theme in the context of the business of producing printed books. The costs of acquiring exemplars or having them copied would have been known or at least knowable to those who made business decisions, but they are rarely mentioned in the books themselves. In dedicatory and other introductory letters associated with published editions scholarly and intellectual aspects of the work nearly always take precedence over the business underlying its production. Details of expenditure would rarely have been suitable a topic in letters designed to evoke the benevolence of a person of superior social standing or of a scholarly or clerical reader.

After printing had become an important part of commercial book production, the search for manuscripts of texts that had disappeared from view continued as before, and it still had to be paid for

2. Filelfo, *Collected letters* vol. 1 228, PhE–03–43, 8 July 1440: "Franciscus Philelfus Iohanni Aurispae salutem. Totus es in librorum mercatura, sed in lectura mallem. Quod si faceres, longe melius et tibi et Musis consultum esset. Quid enim prodest libros quottidie nunc emere, nunc vaendere, legere vere nunquam? Ego quos vaendam, habeo libros nullos. Emerem potius, si pecuniis abundarem. Quinetiam in hac pecuniarum difficultate, siquod opus ostenderis quod pretio dignum censeam, enitar emere, etiam si servire me oporteret. Declarabis igitur per literas qui libri tibi et quales sunt vaenales. Quod si feceris, intelliges me nulla premi inopia. Sum enim apud eum principem, apud quem egere potest nemo."

in one way or another. The outstanding example of this is the discovery of manuscripts in Bobbio in 1493 by Giorgio Galbiate (*fl.* 1490–97), probably the last great Humanist find of manuscripts, which he made while working as an assistant to Giorgio Merula (1430/31–94) on preparing a history of Milan.[3] Similarly, the at best indirect relationship between the search for manuscripts and commercial production of manuscript books was in many ways unchanged in the early years of printing. Producers of printed books could not – any more than commercial producers of manuscript books – abandon their businesses to go looking for exemplars, and it is doubtful whether most would have had either the required skills or the social capital to get access. Yet some engaged in the search for manuscripts, directly or indirectly, and this may have happened more often than our documentation suggests. As we shall see, our fullest information about printers and publishers engaging in the search for manuscripts, and specifically the types of expenditure that it required, derives from surviving business correspondence, on occasion supplemented by other archival sources.

3. See Morelli, "Le liste." The first printed book based on these manuscripts was Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris*, 1497. The Bobbio manuscript no longer exists, and the 1497 edition is therefore our only witness to the text. *Bod-Inc* T-020.

I. Using the most easily available manuscript

Producers of manuscripts and printed books alike needed exemplars to work from, be they manuscript books or, increasingly often, copies of earlier printed editions (Reeve, "Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books" 175–77). Karl Schottenloher suggested that the choice of manuscript made by printers was entirely left to chance, unless they benefitted from expert advice (Schottenloher, "Handschriftenforschung" 74). They would print from the copy of the text that was most easily available. In this respect producers of printed books were probably no different from most – personal or commercial – producers of manuscripts. In many cases the most easily available copy was geographically close. Albinia de La Mare found that this was the case even for Vespasiano da Bisticci, the upmarket commercial producer of manuscript books, who preponderantly relied on manuscripts available in Florence (De la Mare, "Vespasiano" 206–07).

An illuminating example of the reliance of printers on local manuscripts is provided by the numerous anonymous elementary Latin grammars. Here we find a situation where one could have significant interregional variation, while one could have a relatively stable local environment for specific textual traditions, probably often relying on personal copies rather than commercially produced ones, although there must also have been quite a market in second-hand copies. The manuscript production of copies of this type of text could be translated into a business model for the commercial production of printed editions that equally relied on local traditions. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* groups together under the known fifteenth-century editions of this type of text the heading 'Grammatica.' Even within the same text group there are significant variations, often with grammatical examples tailored to specific localities, which the *GW* describes as "Lokalbezüge" (*GW* IX (1981) cols 657–770, at col. 658, and the individual entries *passim*). It made commercial sense to use a locally available manuscript that contained a version of a text that was familiar and appropriate to the intended group of buyers. It would have been commercially unwise for a printer to seek to locate a 'better' version of the text from far away.

The inclination to use an easily available exemplar from which to work was not limited to small grammar books. The earliest printed edition of the Bible, the Gutenberg Bible from around 1455, was based on a local textual tradition. Directly or indirectly, it was in turn used as exemplar for all subsequent fifteenth-century uncommented editions, with one exception (*Biblia latina,* 1476; Quentin, *Mémoire* 93–4; Schneider,"Der Text der 36zeiligen Bibel" 68). A copy of one of the printed editions became the easiest and most easily available exemplar for a printer to work from. There is no evidence to suggest that either Gutenberg or later fifteenth-century printers sought to locate the best biblical manuscripts, nor that they benefited from external expert advice. But from this we cannot conclude that Gutenberg and his staff chose indiscriminately among more or less locally available manuscripts. Schotttenloher's statement can therefore usefully be made more precise by saying that, whether they had access to expert advice or not, producers of printed books would use the most easily accessible, acceptable manuscript to work from, acceptability being determined both by its textual quality and its suitability for typesetting.

Choosing the most easily available manuscript would have meant very different things according to where you were. Producers based in cities with well supplied libraries would often have relatively easy access.[4] It is obvious that a printer based in Rome would have easy access to more manuscripts than a printer based in Cracow, for example. On the other hand, a printer may have the best possible manuscript for a text delivered free of charge, but judge that the prod-

4. Manni, *La tipografia*, especially at pp. 35 and 70, brings out the importance of the numerous Milanese libraries for printers there. The use of libraries by early printers in the German cultural area is explored by Halporn, "Libraries."

uct will not find buyers, as Rogerius Sycamber found when he, in vain, sought to persuade Johann Amerbach to publish thirty works of his (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* I 79–82, no 72, 5 January 1498). Accessibility and acceptability are both flexible, relative parameters which inevitably interact with a third, an assessment of the marketability of the text in question. When you have to decide whether to invest in producing an edition and which exemplar to use, you will assess these parameters jointly.[5]

5. This is true even where a sponsor ensured that all copies of an edition were sold in advance. Here marketability scores very highly in a notional decision making process, potentially so highly that it can outweigh other considerations.

Because of the flexible interaction between these three parameters – anticipated marketability of the text, availability of an exemplar, and its acceptability – we should not expect to be able to create neat classifications of the ways in which producers of printed editions acquired the exemplars from which they worked. Rather we encounter a continuous spectrum, and in the following pages we seek to outline that gradual progression. Moving on from the more or less critical selection of an easily available local exemplar, we will look at the situation where the most easily available manuscript was one prepared and provided by people from outside the trade in books. Next we shall examine sourcing of manuscripts in distant but known locations, undertaken by producers of printed books. Following that we will look at examples of producers organising searches for manuscripts of texts known to exist but without advance knowledge of where they could be acquired. Finally we shall look at an example of a commercial producer financing and leading a highly ambitious search for texts which were known to have been written but not known to have survived.

II. The most easily available manuscript is provided by people from outside the trade

Sometimes the most easily available copy of a text would be one which people from outside the world of commercial book production brought to a printer. This would be either a pre-existing exemplar or an exemplar which they had created on the basis of a more or less extensive search aiming to establish a good text, what ever good might mean in their context.

Missals, breviaries, and other liturgical texts with important local characteristics form a significant group of publications that nearly exclusively depended on exemplars being prepared for a printer by people who were alien to the book trade and who had a strong interest in a specific version of a text becoming predominant. The close involvement of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in establishing the correct, that is to say the approved, text is expressed for instance in the colophon of the *Missale moguntinum* printed in Würzburg in 1482 by Georg Reyser (active 1468 to 1503): "This Missal was printed according to the Ordinary of the Mass and the Registrum of our Archdiocese of Mainz and according to the corrections and current practice of experienced and expert priests."[6] When religious and hierarchical concerns determined what constituted textual correctness, producers of printed editions rarely played a role in the search for manuscripts to print from.

We also know of editions that the producer himself financed but where he depended on manuscripts brought by people from outside the book trade environment. The first and second editions of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* respectively from about 1476 and 1483 printed by William Caxton (born 1415–24; died 1492), provide an example. In his preface to his second edition Caxton recounted how a young gentleman had claimed that his father had a manuscript far superior to the one used for the first edition, which he could make available for a second edition. Caxton did not benefit from expert assistance in identifying what might be a good textual tradition, if such an expertise were even imaginable for an English vernacular text. It would therefore have made little sense for him to instigate a search for the best manuscript. Instead he seems to have relied on, and to have expected the prospective buyer to rely on, the hierarchical validation of his second manuscript by the social status of its gentleman owner. This does not mean, however, that Caxton and his readers failed to perceive an importance of textual adherence to the author's original text. Caxton claimed that his second manuscript "was very true and according unto his [*i.e.* Chaucer's] own first book by him made" and went on to describe it as a moral obligation to produce a text that was identical with that which the author had written, "to satisfy the author, whereas tofore by ignorance I erred in hurting and defaming his book in diverse places in setting in some things that he never said nor made, and leaving out many things that he made, which had been requisite to be set in it."[7]

A similar example of an edition based on a manuscript brought to the printer is constituted by the edition of Lucretius prepared by Girolamo Avanzi and printed in 1500 by Aldus Manutius (*c.* 1450–1515). Aldus played no role in commissioning the exemplar prepared by Avanzi, who had apparently first offered it to Giovanni Taccuino (*c.* 1482–1541), another Venetian printer.[8] Differently from Caxton's

6. "Hic vero liber missalis secundum ordinarium et registrum metropolis nostre maguntine et peritorum expertorumque presbiterorum correcturam et praxim impressus est." *Missale Moguntinum* 1482, sig. [a]1 recto. Also quoted by Engelhart,"Die frühesten Druckausgaben" 95, note 153, a study of importance beyond its stated geographical area that brings out the close involvement of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in determining the correct text. Broadly the same point is made by Nowakowska, "From Strassburg to Trent," an article marked by the author's polemic against long superseded views of the involvement of the Church in early printing.

7. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* [1483] sig. aii verso. For a detailed discussion of the manuscripts used, with previous literature, see Lotte Hellinga's entry on the second edition in *BMC* XI 131–33. The second edition was set from a copy of the first edition but, based on another manuscript: Caxton inserted lines and excluded others, and made a small number of textual corrections, only in part based on his new manuscript.

8. See *BMC* V 562 on Lucretius, *De rerum natura*. Venice: Aldus Manutius 1500.

Chaucer editions, however, the *De rerum natura* was a text for which there were tools available for judging correctness, however inadequate we today may think those tools to be. Yet Avanzi had not based his edition on a search for better manuscripts and Aldus explained in his introductory letter how improvements to the text were based on Avanzi's deep familiarity with the work of Lucretius, which enabled him to correct corrupt passages. This nearly anticipates the observation by L. D. Reynolds that Italian manuscripts of Lucretius have "no value except as a repository of conjectures" (Reynolds, "Lucretius" 221).

An early example that did involve a significant search for appropriate manuscripts is provided by the first edition from around 1466 of a part of the *De doctrina christiana* by Augustine (354–430), known as *De arte praedicandi*, the *Art of preaching*.[9] Judging from his introductory letter the anonymous editor was a person of significant religious authority, and he has been tentatively but plausibly identified as Stephan Hoest (died 1472), a Heidelberg theologian and canon in Speyer (Baron,"Der erste Druck"). He explained that the rhetorical aim of sermons is different from that of other speeches: it is not enough for the listeners to learn what is theologically correct; they must be motivated to change their actions, to mend their ways. Augustine's text would help preachers with achieving that.

> Therefore great attention must be given by all who wish to teach or preach in the schools of Christ [*i.e.* in church] that they thoroughly learn not only that which should be taught or said there, but also the way of speaking that is appropriate to the task of preaching and is fitting for a clerical teacher or instructor. That is because it is often not so much that which is said as the way in which it is said that moves the listeners, and this is of chief importance in church where it is not enough just to teach but where one should also move the listeners to act on what is taught.[10]

Establishing a good text was of importance for the promotion of the faith and for the salvation of souls and thus the editor's wish for a philologically sound text was closely associated with his wish for theological correctness.

He tells us that to get the best text, he searched through libraries in the University of Heidelberg, in Speyer, in Worms, and finally also in Strasbourg. In the process, he established that copies of the *De arte praedicandi* were rare. Furthermore, when he found a copy, it was most often of poor textual quality (*rarissime correctus aut emendatus*).

9. Augustinus, *De arte praedicandi* (Strasbourg): Johann Mentelin (not after 1466); and (Mainz): Johann Fust (and Peter Schoeffer, not after Mar. 1467). ISTC ia01227000. It has been debated if the Strasbourg or the Mainz edition was first. I follow the ascription of priority to Mentelin in *BMC* I 52, which is also implied by the numbering of *GW* 2871–72. For the opposite view see Householder, "Pirate."

10. Augustinus, *De arte praedicandi* [not after 1466]: sig. [a1] recto: "Ideo magnopere curandum est omnibus ibidem [in scholis Christi] docere siue predicare volentibus quomodo ipsi perdiscendo noscere queant non solum ea que in dictis Christi scholis docenda sunt siue dicenda. Sed eciam modum ipsum dicendi operi predicacionis congruentem et qui ecclesiasticum decet doctorem siue informatorem. Cum tamen sepe non tam illa que dicuntur quam modus ipse quo dicuntur ipsos auditores moueat et attendat, quod utique in dictis scolis Christi maxime necessarium est, ubi non sufficit solum docere sed eciam oportet auditores ad agendum que docta sunt mouere."

He also noted that libraries were reluctant to lend their books *ad rescribendum*. By this he may have meant "for copying by hand," but it seem more likely that he meant that they were reluctant to lend their books to be used for printing,[11] for he tells us that as a result of their unwillingness he prepared his own copy, which Johann Mentelin (*c.* 1410–78) could use for printing "according to my copy, now as correct as I could achieve it with my studious labour." It even seems possible that the editor entered into some sort of financial arrangement with Mentelin, potentially subsidising the publication. He said that he used all means (*modis omnibus*) to persuade Mentelin to take on this labour, possibly choosing his words carefully to avoid the embarrassment of being openly associated with a financial transaction. He was also very concerned that readers should buy copies of Mentelin's edition. Interestingly he neatly outlined the two other options available to a person who might want this text. They could write it out for themselves, but then they would be as good as certain to end up using an inferior exemplar. Alternatively, they could go down the commercial route but, even if they had already commissioned a copy to be made, they would not only have to pay for the copy; they would also have to pay as much again for having their copy corrected – presumably against the printed edition – if they cared at all about the work: the correction on its own would cost them as much as buying a copy of Mentelin's edition.

> God be my witness, I have taken great pains to get it correct, to the extent that, to that end, I have carefully examined all exemplars which I could find in any library, in the University of Heidelberg, in Speyer, in Worms, and finally also in Strasbourg. In the process, I established that this book of Augustine's is rarely found, even in great and valuable libraries and even more rarely can be had from any of these libraries for copying out [*printing?*], and also, which is worse, that it can very rarely be found correct and free of error. Consequently I decided to work with great dedication so that said book in a short span of time could be multiplied so that it might be useful for a great number of people for the shared advancement of the church, on the basis of my copy now as correct as I could achieve it with my studious labour. ... I urge each and everyone who desires to have this work to choose to buy it from the above mentioned magister [Mentelin], because of its correctness, rather than copying it out elsewhere from an exemplar which undoubtedly will be less

11. For the use of "exscribere" for "printing," see the colophons of the de Spira brothers, *e.g.* Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares.* 1469; Plinius, *Historia naturalis.* 1469; and Augustinus, *De civitate dei*. 1470. It is also found *e.g.* in the Roman edition of Sixtus IV, *De futuris contingentibus*. 1473: sig. [a]1 recto: "Feceram Sanctissime pater tue Sanctitatis de Sanguine Christi et de potentia dei libellos fere trecentos impressorio artifitio exscribi." (I have had about three hundred copies printed ...). Also the use of *transcriptus* and *scriptus* for "printed" quoted by Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico* 75.

> correct, no matter wherever it was lent from. I inform each and everybody that in case he has already commissioned it to be written for him, were it even from a copy in a library, if he is such a great lover of this work as it deserves to be, then he will have to pay as much again just for his copy to be corrected, as he will have to expend by buying it from Magister Mentelin.[12]

Thus, while the printer had no involvement in the search for manuscripts nor in the creation of an acceptable exemplar to work from, there was an intimate relationship between printing and the search for good manuscripts to establish a correct text: the significant effort involved in the search was worthwhile to the religiously motivated editor, exactly because he felt that the printing of multiple copies ensured that a good text for a religiously important work could be more widely communicated. This reminds us how commercial and ideological parameters for decision making are intrinsically interconnected.

A broadly similar relationship between editor, manuscript, and producer can be found in the Parma edition from 1491 of Augustine's *opera minora*.[13] In his letter to the reader, Severinus Chalcus (1431?–96), rector general of the Lateran congregation of canons regular (Morisi,"Calco"), explained how Eusebius Conradus (1447–1500) (Walsh,"Corrado"), a fellow Austin Canon, had searched for manuscripts in "nearly all libraries of Italy." Chalcus highlighted both the philological and the religious credentials of those involved in locating the manuscripts, and presumably in copying them. The result of this work was handed to Angelus Ugoletus (before 1449–1503) (Canova,"Ugoleto, Angelo"). The submitted exemplar was then collated with several "very ancient codices," under the supervision of Conradus, by Thadeus (Mariani,"Ugoleto, Taddeo"), the printer's brother who was a scholar with excellent hierarchically confirmed credentials, as former tutor to the son of Matthias Corvinus (1443–90), the learned king of Hungary.

> He was introduced to Angelus Ugoletus of Parma, who is not constrained by poverty nor by the desire for money, who wishes to print only books of resplendent honour and utility for future generations, and who deplores it that many have perverted the art of printing, worthy of invention as it was, to ungodly and shameless purposes. He has a brother, Thadeus Ugoletus, learned in Latin and Greek, to whom Matthias Corvinus, the most serene King of Hungary, entrusted the education of Joannes, his son, and who often made use of

12. Augustinus, *De arte praedicandi* [not after 1466]: sig. [a2] verso: "Feci ergo deo teste magnam pro eius correctione diligenciam ita quod omnia exemplaria que in studio heidelbergensi nec non in Spira et in Wormacia atque tandem eciam in Argentina in ullis librariis reperire potui diligenter proinde respexi. Et cum inter hec experimento discerem quod idem liber Augustini raro inuenitur eciam in magnis et preciosis librariis. Et adhuc rarius de ullis ex eisdem librariis ad rescribendum poterit haberi. Atque eciam, quod peius est, rarissime correctus siue emendatus inibi queat reperiri. Idcirco permotus fui ad hoc studiosius laborare ut secundum exemplar meum tanto nunc studio et labore quantum saltem potui correctum dictus libellus sic et taliter in breui tempore mutiplicari posset ut ad plurimorum usum et ad communem profectum ecclesiasticum facile et cito perueniret. Qua propter cum nullo alio modo siue medio id expedicius fieri posse iudicarem discreto viro Johanni Mentelin incole argentinensi impressorie artis magistro modis omnibus persuasi quatenus ipse assumere dignaretur onus et laborem multiplicandi hunc libellum per viam impressionis exemplari meo pre oculis habito. … [[a3] recto] Suadeo autem unicuique hunc libellum habere desideranti ut propter correccionem pereligat a dicto magistro eum comparare quam aliunde de exemplari haut dubium minus correcto undecumque accommodato rescribere. Certificans unumquemque quod etsi iam ordinasset sibi rescribi eciam ex aliqua librariia (sic) si tamen ipse talis amator huius libelli fuerit qualis merito esse debebit tum pro sola eius correccione dare deberet quantum pro empcione apud eundem magistrum exponere habebit."

13. Augustinus, *Opuscula*. Parma, 31 March 1491, copied in the edition of Peregrinus de Pasqualibus in Venice, 10 November 1491.

> him for this and other purposes. Knowing him to be very learned, Eusebius, a fellow Austin canon of ours, asked him to correct these choice books, by collating several very ancient exemplars. By comparing with that which normally is in circulation anyone will appreciate that this was achieved, with the support of Eusebius, who day and night saw to it that they were made as perfect as possible.[14]

The reader could be confident that Angelus Ugoletus was a reliable printer/publisher because he was not motivated by greed, *cupiditas*, but only by his wish to produce books of use for future generations, while deploring those who abused printing for impious purposes. This praise mirrors the frequent complaints that greed – a concept which has a great deal of overlap with our notion of profit – was a cause of textual error, a cardinal sin thus being closely associated with the deplorably commercial nature of book production.[15]

Ugoletus's and Conradus's edition had a mission. It only contains works included in the *Retractationes*, a work written by Augustine towards the end of his life where he critically assessed all his works in chronological order. This must be seen in the context of a controversy between the Austin Friars – in Europe often known as Augustinian Hermits – and the Austin Canons (Farenga,"La controversia"). The Canons sought to refute the claim that Augustine had been a friar and had founded the order of the Austin Friars; this claim had been underpinned by the numerous pseudepigraphic texts that had been included in previous editions of Augustine's *opera minora*. Several of these texts had obvious Pelagianising tendencies and some were even by Pelagius (*c.* 350–*c.* 418) himself, whose belief in the perfectibility of human life had been denounced as heretical by Augustine (Jensen, "Reading Augustine"). The search for manuscripts was integral to the claims of historical and philological correctness that underpinned the theological aims of the Parma edition. In our context it is important that the edition was initiated and managed by a person who acted without the previous involvement of the producer of printed books and who organised and presumably financed the search through his ecclesiastic position, and only afterwards made arrangements with a printer/publisher for the publication of his manuscript. But it is equally important that Chalcus, like Mentelin's editor, perceived that the process of multiplication of books by printing helped them achieve their pious aim and thus made it worthwhile to undertake the effort and to finance the search for manuscripts.

14. Augustinus, *Opuscula.* Parma, 31 March 1491: sig. [*2] verso:"Cui oblatus est Angelus Vgoletus ciuis parmensis qui nulla egestate aut lucri cupiditate coactus eos dumtaxat libros imprimi censet in quibus splendeat cum posterorum nostrorum utilitate honestas, dolens plerosque imprimendi artem inuentu dignissimam ad impia et impudica detorsisse. Est huic frater Thadeus Vgoletus utriusque linguæ eruditus cui Serenissimus Mathias rex Hungariæ Ioannem Coruinum filium erudiendum commisit et cum in hoc tum in aliis negociis illius opera frequenter usus sit. Hunc doctissimum cognoscens nostrates Eusebius rogauit ut hos elegantissimos libros collatis pluribus uetustissimis codicibus emendaret. Quod factum fuisse intelliget quicumque conferret cum his qui passim habentur, Eusebio tamen adiuuante qui diu noctuque ut obsolutissimi [*for absolutissmi*] fierent curabat."

15. Thus Theophilus de Ferrariis Cremonensis in the letter of dedication in Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis*. 1492: sig. a1 verso: "Nam impressores quidam sola cupiditate ducti: iterum omnia ipsius [Thomae] commentaria in Aristotelis libros absque ulla mendosorum exemplarium castigatione impressioni tradere volebant: ut sic error errori adderetur." ("For some printers, motivated by greed alone, wanted to republish Thomas's commentaries on Aristotle's books without correcting the errors of the corrupt exemplars, thus piling error on error.") Or Lucas Panetius in his letter of dedication, to his edition of Ficinus, *De christiana religione*. 1518: sig. A1 verso: "Marsilium de christiana religione [...] quem impressorum venetorum avaritia mendosum excusserat, in pristinum candorem a me restitutum, tibi muneri mittimus." ("I send you Marsilius on Christianity, which the avarice of the Venetian printers had produced full of errors, now brought back to its pristine state by me.") Sebastiani, *Froben* 78, quotes several examples of this attitude, mainly from Erasmus.

III. The required manuscripts were in distant but known locations

However, there were circumstances under which it might make sense for producers of printed books themselves to seek competitive advantage by producing important texts that were not otherwise easily available. This could justify investment in the sourcing of manuscripts, even if they were located in very distant places. Thus the required manuscript was not all that easily available. Compared with using locally available exemplars, or using exemplars sourced by others, this was a more costly and more risky type of activity. Not all could contemplate this, because of the costs involved in acquiring manuscripts, because of the inevitably longer period between the first outlay of capital and the first return on investment, and because of the greater risk that a text for which there was no pre-existing market might not be successful. But if the upfront investment was significant, the return on investment slow, and if there was an ever present risk of failure, there was at least a commensurate potential for a return on investment. Here we see producers of printed books engaging in a search for manuscripts in order to create a competitive product that would stand out in an increasingly crowded market, following a business model which would have made no sense for a commercial producer of individual manuscripts.

In 1475 the Roman printer/publisher Simone Cardella (*c.* 1440–after 1479) paid fourteen *bolognini* in customs duty for importing a "book called the Archdeacon" (Modigliani, "La tipografia" 116). Two years later he published the result, a large volume of canon law, consisting of 406 leaves (Baysio, *Rosarium decretorum*). The length of time between the arrival of the manuscript in Rome and the publication of the printed edition, may suggest that he did not simply typeset from this one manuscript, but that he may have used several others for preparing a text to work from. Unfortunately we do not know. Nor do we know where the manuscript came from, but we can conclude that he chose to invest in paying for a manuscript from elsewhere despite the extraordinary riches of libraries in Rome.

Between 1473 and 1478, Adolf Rusch (about 1435–89), the well-connected and well-financed Strasbourg printer, produced all three parts of the *Speculum maius* by Vincent of Beauvais (died *c.* 1264). This is a core text for our understanding of medieval learning but only three manuscript copies exist that can be said to be complete sets of the entire work, and Johannes Vorbij has suggested that, apart from the complete copy that Vincent himself presumably made, only a few ever existed (Vorbij, “Purpose” 42–43). Unsurprisingly, therefore, Rusch had to cast his net very widely when he set out to locate manuscripts for this ambitious commercial product. The three Parisian manuscripts, which are now the only surviving manuscripts of the whole *Speculum doctrinale* (Albrecht and Vorbij,“The manuscripts;” Brun,“Speculum doctrinale”), may not have been available and may not even have been known to Rusch.[16] By contrast *GW* reports 444 surviving fifteenth-century printed copies of the *Speculum doctrinale*, 743 copies of the Latin *Speculum historiale* and 522 copies of the *Speculum naturale*.

The last part of *Speculum maius* was the *Speculum doctrinale* from around 1478.[17] We happen to know that Rusch had a manuscript at his disposal that came from very far away. The Lübeck Dominicans had lent Hans Biß, a Lübeck bookbinder, a copy of the *Speculum doctrinale*, or perhaps more plausibly of a part of it. Biß died and the Dominicans wanted their book back, only to find that – against the loan conditions – Biß had sent it to Strasbourg, either to Rusch or to Johann Mentelin, Rusch’s father-in-law. The council of Lübeck intervened, writing on 11 February 1478 asking the council of Strasbourg to put pressure on Rusch and Mentelin to return it (Dziatzko,“Der Drucker” 16–17). It is unknown if they did.

Google Maps calculates the walking distance between Lübeck and Strasbourg as 712 km. We know from Anton Koberger (*c.* 1440–1513) that it would take a carrier five weeks to travel some 840 km, the approximate walking-distance of a return trip from Basel to Nürnberg and back, presumably via Strasbourg, Koberger’s regular route for his conveyances to Basel.

> Concerning the first part of [Hugo de Sancto Caro]. It will probably be five weeks before the carrier comes back. He must have that time to travel from Basel to Nürnberg and back to Basel. In that period you can comfortably complete the first part. If that is not going to be possible, let it wait until the second journey later on and, in the mean time, don’t load anything with Claus Wernlein, so that you do not rush things.[18]

This provides us with a way of gaining a very rough impression of the time a carrier might have needed to convey the manuscript of the *Speculum doctrinale* from Lübeck to Strasbourg, namely about thirty days. This required connections, logistics, and money. Hans Biß

16. Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum doctrinale.* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6428, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16100, and Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, 53.

17. ISTC follows *BMC* in recording two editions by Rusch of Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum doctrinale.* (Strasbourg: The R–Printer (Adolf Rusch), between 1477 and 11 Feb. 1478). ISTC iv00278000. And (Strasbourg: The R–Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1478). ISTC iv00279000. They are however found mixed and may better be considered one edition, as does *BSB-ink*.

18. Hase, *Die Koberger,* pp. xvii–xviii, no 15, 16 November 1498: “Item mittdem ersten teyll im Hugonem hatt es woll pitt vncz der furman wider kumpt 5 wochen muβ er haben ee vnd er von bassel auff Nurmberg fert vnd wider gen bassel kumpt in der czeit mogtt ir das erst teyll woll fertigen mitt guter muβ ob es aber nicht sein mocht So last es stan pis auff die ander reiβ dar nach vnd durffend in mittler czeit nichtz dem Classen wernlein laden Domit das ir nicht vber eyllt wertt.”

had connections with the book trade in Frankfurt and elsewhere in the Main-Rhine area (Dziatzko,"Der Drucker"). All this suggests that the Lübeck manuscript was identified and procured within the book trade; the Strasbourg Dominicans appear to have had no involvement, for instance. This thus seems to be an occasion where a producer of printed books himself sought out a manuscript of a text of which he deemed it to be commercially viable to produce several hundred copies[19] although, in a manuscript environment, the scale of the work had made the creation of even just a single complete manuscript a nearly insurmountable challenge. There is no suggestion of any philologically based preference for the distant Lübeck manuscript; it only suggests availability – even if it had to be acquired from a distant place and in an underhand way.

19. Of Rusch's two practically identical editions of the *Speculum Doctrinale*, the *GW* counts 191 surviving copies.

As it happens, this is not our only insight into Rusch's easy way with borrowing manuscripts. Some ten years later, in 1485, he sent Johann Amerbach (*c.* 1440–1513) a manuscript of the *De institutis coenobiorum* and the *Collationes patrum* by Cassianus, asking him to return it before 11 November. By then he would have to hand it back it to its owner, to whom he had promised to keep it at home for "rescribere," whether this means copying by hand or printing. He also pleaded for it to be undamaged for him not to lose credibility with the lenders. Furthermore he seems to ask Amerbach to obscure which exemplar he used, telling him to avoid one form of the title of the work, and proposing another.

> Worthy magister, I look out each day for a carrier by whom I can send you paper. Likewise I send you an excellent exemplar (in my view) which contains both the *Instituta* and the *Collationes*. I would like you to keep it very clean, for if it is impressed with any form of mark in any way, I will loose credibility. For I have promised that I would only have it at home to print it/to have it copied. Therefore, also, send it back promptly, please, for it may not be used beyond the feast of Martin. Nor should you make the title like this 'Instituta monachorum Cassiani etc.' but like this: 'Instituta antiquorum patrum Cassiani etc.' incipiunt.[20]

20. *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 19, no 14, 24 September 1485:"Honorande magister, video singulis diebus pro vectura qua habita mittam vobis bapirum. Item mitto vobis exemplar optimum (ut mihi videtur), quod continet Instituta ac simul Collaciones. Hoc velim mundissime teneatis, quia si quocunque modo macula infigeretur, ego incredulus appellarer. Pollicitus sum namque, quod tantum domi retinere atque rescribere velim. Illicet etiam expedito remittatis, quia ad festum Martini et non amplius eo vti permissum est. Neque titulum facite hoc modo 'Instituta monachorum Cassiani etc.' sed 'Instituta antiquorum patrum Cassiani etc.' incipiunt." If he used this manuscript for his edition at all, Amerbach seems to have followed the former part of this request: see Johannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum*. 1485. According to a note by Hartmann in *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 19, Amerbach had borrowed a manuscript of the *Collationes* in 1483 and again in August 1485 from the Carthusians in Basel. It would seem that this manuscript did not contain the *De institutis.* Some of the letters in *Amerbachkorrepondenz* are translated in Halporn, *The correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, but regrettably the translation is not reliable and I provide my own.

The content of the letter strongly suggests that Rusch was the publisher of this edition and Amerbach his printer. This would explain why Amerbach did not sign this edition that was published in 1485. This possibility is strengthened by Rusch's statement that he will provide Amerbach with paper if he takes on the printing of Augustine's

De civitate dei. If that is indeed the case, we are confronted with an example of a publisher taking on the responsibility for procuring manuscripts for his printer, something which we shall soon encounter again. Even if it was not a straightforward publisher-printer relationship, Rusch had an interest in ensuring that Amerbach kept up a good rate of production, as he was a paper merchant– indeed he sent the manuscript with a shipment of paper. This may have been enough in the way of financial recompense for his rather risky procurement of the manuscript.

IV. The locations of the required manuscripts are unknown

In contrast to the previous examples we are extraordinarily well informed about the work involved in procuring manuscripts for the edition of the *Postillae* of Hugo de Sancto Caro (*c.* 1200–63), financed by Anton Koberger in Nürnberg and printed between 1498 and 1502 by Johann Amerbach in Basel, seven volumes coming to a total of 2506 leaves, or 5012 pages (*Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis.* 1498–1502). Here we encounter a publisher engaged in an even more ambitious form of search for manuscripts. Koberger knew that the texts that he wanted to publish existed, but he did not know in advance where to source them. The complex effort to acquire the manuscripts for the whole corpus is documented through Koberger's business letters to Amerbach, where issues around the procurement of manuscripts for this edition are touched upon in a total of 29 surviving letters. In contrast to many prefatory and dedicatory letters in published editions, these are the letters of a man who was concerned with the practicalities of running his business and who had no qualms about addressing them. Koberger's letters to Amerbach were published as an appendix to Hase, *Die Koberger* in 1885 and were not included in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz*.[21]

An unusual insight into the overwhelming nature of producing something like this is provided by a five-volume manuscript (Oxford, the Bodleian Library, Canon. Bibl. Lat. 65–69) of the Pentateuch with the postils of Hugo. It was copied from Koberger's and Amerbach's edition so no time had to be spent on sourcing manuscripts, and the exemplar was highly legible and easy to copy. Yet, it took five years to complete the – admittedly sumptuous – five manuscript volumes, although the five manuscript volumes, in total 1073 leaves, only

21. Hartmann only included brief summaries of Koberger's letters to Amerbach in *Amerbachkorrespondenz,* while being highly critical of Hase, *Die Koberger*, frequently correcting individual readings and interpretations in his notes. As we shall see Koberger's and Amerbach's relationship did not end happily. Amerbach's sharp practice carried a good deal of responsibility for this and it is hard to avoid an impression that Hartmann sought to protect Amerbach's reputation, both through the omission of Koberger's letters and through some of his interpretations. Sebastiani, *Johann Froben,* seems to be among the few scholars who have made good use of Koberger's letters.

cover the Pentateuch, which constitutes only the first 186 leaves out of the 464 leaves of the first volume of Koberger's/Amerbach's seven-volume edition (Needham, "Book Production on Paper and Vellum" 262–63).

The easy availability of this text after the late fifteenth century may shape our understanding of the situation before it was printed but, in her work on Hugo, Patricia Stirnemann did not locate a single manuscript of the *Postillae* covering all of the Bible (Stirnemann,"Les manuscrits de la Postille" 38).[22] Koberger had the same experience and, as a consequence, he had to provide a large number of manuscripts for Amerbach to work from.

In his letter to Koberger printed in the first Hugo edition, Amerbach underlined how the work, previously split up in geographically distant places, was only now brought into one sequence.

> Therefore, most painstaking of men, you can be seen to have completed successfully the remarkable task of bringing together at the greatest expense so many volumes of such size, sought out throughout Germany from many different libraries, so that this noble treasure should no longer dwell in darkness, scattered far and wide. Had you yourself not on your own invested so much money and then so much effort, it is unlikely that anybody else would have been wise enough to have thought to publish the very large work of Hugo. Everybody knows that nothing can ever be done that is better, worthier, more blessed than your undertaking. Indeed, from your act of service the parts of the books which were previously split up in separate places, will be brought back into one sequence, and a full and complete exposition of both Testaments will be established. The Old Law will become manifest and the New will become clear to all. Now finally opened up, the faith in Christ will have an unshakable future.[23]

In a surviving manuscript version of the letter Amerbach specified that Koberger had incurred great expenditure both in seeking out (*perquisiuisti*) and in transporting (*comportasti*) the manuscripts.

> You sought out and brought together the numerous and noble works of the wise cardinal from many different libraries throughout Germany, at great cost and expense and with an enormous exertion and effort, so that this noble treasure

22. See also Morard, "Le projet Glossae.net": "Les postilles d'Hugues de Saint-Cher prirent de telles dimensions que le texte biblique intégral n'y fut plus reproduit. Victime de leur ampleur, elles furent peu copiées." Also Morard, "GLOSSEM."

23. *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis* [1498–1502], letter from Amerbach to Koberger, sig. [a1] recto: "Quare, virorum accuratissime, egregiam nauasse visus es operam, quod sapientissimi cardinalis volumina tot et tanta per uniuersam illam Germaniam percontata e multis et diuersis hincinde bibliothecis grandissima impensa comportasti, ne nobilissimus ille thesaurus passim dispersus longius in tenebris versaretur. Nisi enimuero tu solus ipse tantum aeris deinde uero operae impertitus esses, uix alius sagacior cogitasset tam amplissimum Hugonis opus in lucem aeditum iri. Quo tuo instituto quid melius, quid honestius, quid beatius fieri unquam potuit nemo est qui nesciat. Siquidem ex hoc tuo officio partes librorum quae locorum intervallis seiunctae in ordinem unum redigentur, utriusque instrumenti plena perfectaque extabit interpretatio. Lex praeterea vetus clarescet, at nova denique cunctis mortalibus innotescet: Christi religio nunc demum aperta solidissima futura est." The letter is edited in *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 88–90, no 83, but Hartmann omits a crucial negation so it is here quoted from Amerbach's edition.

> should no longer subsist in darkness, scattered everywhere. Had you not spent so much of your own money and so much effort, another person, more efficient, would hardly have conceived for Hugo to be published.[24]

In a laudatory letter to Koberger included in the second Hugo edition from 1504, Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) similarly noted that due to the size of the work, manuscripts of its totality were rarely, if ever, found.[25]

In his letter addressed to Koberger, both in the published and in the unpublished versions, Amerbach repeatedly acknowledged the enormous expense, *grandissima impensa*, *tantum aeris*, that Koberger had incurred in getting hold of manuscripts but, at the same time, he went to extreme lengths to make it clear that Koberger had done this to strengthen Christianity, *i.e.* not for profit, and that as a reward he, his dependents, and his children deserved to be granted the heavenly paradise by Christ.

> To be sure, if I assess your services to the Christian religion, I judge that you are its most assiduous lover. For you print books that are neither offensive nor wanton, nor full of drollery. No, you produce books which are seemly and replete with weighty sayings, not full of error but correct and perfect. [...] Therefore, illustrious Anton, may it come about that you will make the good and great Christ favourably inclined to the extent that he will grant the heavenly paradise to you, your dependents and your children.[26]

There is no doubt that both Koberger and Amerbach were Christian believers, and one should not underestimate the importance of this as part of their decision making, but it is worth noting that service to religion and heavenly rewards do not get mentioned in Koberger's business letters. There his concern to make a profit, and increasingly to minimise his losses, comes through very clearly. Even the most pious act needs a financial footing: May the great God be glorified, and may the publisher make money as it says in a Lyonnais colophon from 1498.[27]

It was Koberger's responsibility to ensure that Amerbach had manuscripts for all parts of the *Postillae* to work from, although he asked Amerbach, apparently in vain, to contribute to the vast and expensive search (Hase, *Die Koberger* vi, no 2, 4 May 1495; quoted in note 30 below). Even on an occasion where Amerbach knew that certain relevant manuscripts were in Esslingen, he did not try to get hold

24. Hase, *Die Koberger* xi–xiii, no 10, 28 September 1498: "Hęc tanta, tam nobilia sapientissimi cardinalis opera ex multis et diuersis per vniuersam germaniam bibliothecis, magno sumptu, magnis expensis, maximo molimine atque conatu perquisiuisti et comportasti: ne nobilissimus thesaurus passim dispersus diutius in tenebris uersaretur. Nisi enim tuipse tantum ęris tantamque operam impenderes, vix alius efficacior cogitasset Hugonem in lucem ęditum iri." This letter was not included in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, but in his note to his edition of the printed version, quoted above, Hartmann confirmed it as being in Amerbach's own hand. Hartmann was undoubtedly right that Amerbach's Latin letters to his sons suggest that he could neither have written the published letters in literary Humanist Latin unaided, nor the version of the letter preserved in his own hand. However, the Humanist literary style in the autograph letter suggests that Amerbach was nonetheless somehow closely involved in the drafting of the Latin letters that were published under his name in his editions, and that they can therefore be taken as witness for his views and attitudes.

25. *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis.* 1504. Vol. 1 sig. a1 recto:"tam magnum, tam excellens, tam certe necessarium opus quod pene pro sui magnitudine nulla vel certe rarissima bibliotheca integrum possederat."

26. *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis* [1498–1502]. Letter from Amerbach to Koberger, sig. [a1] recto "Equidem si beneficiorum tuorum in christianam ipsam religionem aestimationem facio, te illius studiosssimum esse arbitror amatorem. Imprimis etenim libros non osbscenos non ludicros nec facetiarum plenos verum pudicos et grauissimis sententiis refertos non mendosos sed castigatos atque consummatos. ... Quo fit Antoni clarissime ut Christum optimum maximum adeousque conciliabis ut te etiam omnes necessarios et charissimos liberos tuos coelesti paradiso condonabit."

27. "Sit optimo maximo deo gloria et mercatori pecunia" in Juvenalis, *Satyrae.* 1498. The unusual phrasing of this colophon differs from the more conventional "Sit omnipotenti deo gloria, et gratiarum actio," which appears in Persius, *Satyrae*. 1499. While both were printed in Lyon by Nicolaus Wolf, the former was published for Etienne Gueynard, the latter apparently by Wolf on his own behalf. This suggests that the "mercator" of the Juvenal colophon refers to Gueynard.

of them himself, but asked Koberger to procure them. This occurred late in the production phase and Koberger sent his nephew to Esslingen in the hope that he would be allowed to borrow them. If he could, he was to bring them to Bassel personally (Hase, *Die Koberger* liv–l, no 48, 14 February 1502).

The publication of Hugo's *Postillae* was already under consideration in October 1493, five years before the publication of the first volume. We learn of this in a letter from Johannes Petri (1441–1511) to Amerbach, where Petri warned Amerbach, that the books would be hard to sell because of their enormous size. He suggested that Amerbach should buy a horse and come to Nürnberg, so that the three could decide on the matter together, and so that he could be sure that he acted as Amerbach wanted. It seems that Petri did not give Koberger the same warning that he gave Amerbach.

> So Koberger has talked to me about my opinion, after you had written to me what I should do with him, so that you would be satisfied. You must know, dear master Hans, that the thing will be hard to sell, for the book is heavy and big. So take care to be circumspect and bear that in mind. Also, Master Hans, I will do no business without you.[28]

Nor does Amerbach seem to have passed on the warning from Petri, for Koberger's decision to go ahead was at least in part informed by Amerbach's opinion that Hugo's *Postillae* were of such importance that the edition would sell well. "I had hoped that it would be a work that would sell well, after you had praised it so highly. But it cannot be shifted."[29]

In deciding to undertake this project Koberger's positive assessment of the commercial potential of the text – however misguided it may have been – outweighed the patent difficulties in locating exemplars to print from, not least exemplars which were acceptable to Amerbach. Perhaps influenced by Petri's advice, Amerbach limited his role to that of printing for Koberger, thus ensuring that it was Koberger who carried all the risks associated with the project. However, Amerbach also took charge of the editorial process, which, as we shall see, was complicated.

The first letter from Koberger which mentions a shipment of manuscripts is dated 4 May 1495, eighteen *volumina* in one barrel. Koberger, in other words, began incurring costs for manuscripts seven years before he could get a return.

28. *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 36–37, no 27, letter from Johannes Petri to Amerbach, 23 October 1493: "So hatt der Koberger mit mir gered, waβ mein meininch sye, noch dam alβ ir mir geschriben habet, waβ ich mitt im machen, daβ syt ir wol content. Wysset, lieber meyster Hanβ, daβ dy dinch schwer zu handel syn, dan daβ buch is schwer und groβ. Dar vmb dutteβ nath, daβ man sich wol vor see vnd dar auff bedenchk. Auch, lieber meyster Hanβ, ich handel nith an euch."

29. Hase, *Die Koberger,* xcvi–xcvii, no 79, 17 June 1504: "Ich hett gehofft es solt ein gutt kwfflich werk gewest sein vnd nach dem ir im so groβ lob geben Aber es will nicht von stat gann.

> Hereby I send you with Ruprecht of Basel a small barrel with the same mark as on the outside of this letter. And in the barrel are eighteen *volumina*. Those should serve you for a while. I hope shortly to get hold of more. I am sure that you can also get some in your locality. Ask for them. I will do the same here, so that we have exemplars. I had it complete from somewhere else and have had to return it to the same monastery, for they did not want to be without it any longer; nor would they permit that one wrote or corrected in it. But I still hope to get hold of it.[30]

Such a long lead-in time poses special risks for a publisher: others might rush out competing editions. Already by June 1494 Koberger's undertaking was known by a printer in Lyon.[31] Knowledge of Koberger's project may have motivated the decision of Stephanus and Bernardinus de Nallis in Venice to take out a privilege on 18 August 1496 for all works by Hugo and Alexander de Hales not yet in print (BMC V 349, IB. 21119, with a reference to Fulin, *Documenti,* no 54). The only result of this broad privilege was the *Postillae* on the Psalms printed for the de Nallis brothers by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis in November 1496 (Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Postilla*, 1496). In this edition the *Postillae* were first assigned to Alexander, but this was changed during production with the result that in most copies the text is anonymous. In January 1498, Koberger himself copied the edition of the de Gregoriis brothers, ascribing it to Hugo (Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Postilla*, 1498). He did this while he was preparing the edition of the complete *Postillae,* a surprising decision which must be understood as an attempt to limit the damage caused by a product that would compete with his yet-to-be-published giant work. As we shall see, an even more damaging competing product was being prepared, avoiding the costly search for manuscripts by using Koberger's edition while it was in production.

In a letter of 4 May 1495 Koberger told Amerbach that he had borrowed but had had to return a complete manuscript. By this he may have meant a complete manuscript for the postils on all of Genesis, which on its own came to 92 leaves in the printed edition. He had had to hand it back, however, because the religious house that owned it would neither allow it to be corrected nor to be otherwise written in (Hase, *Die Koberger* vi, 4 May 1495, no 2, quoted in note 30). That is to say, that they would not let it be used as printer's copy. This is a recurrent problem: owning institutions were often reluctant to entrust their books to printers. One can understand why. Their

30. Hase, *Die Koberger*, p. vi, no 2, 4 May 1495. "Ich schick euch hie mitt Ruprecht van bassell ein feβlein mitt diesem czeichen wie aussen auff dem brief stat vnd inn dem faβ sind 18 volumina mitt den wellet euch ein weyll wehellfen Ich hoff in kurcz mer zw überkomen Ich versich mich ir mogtt in ewer gegentt auch ettliche wekomen wollet frag dar nach haben desgleichen will ich hie auch thon Domitt das wir exemplaria haben Ich hab in gancz bey ein ander gehabt vnd hab in müssen wider geben in das selb kloster wan sie wolten sein nicht lenger geraten wolten auch nicht gedulden das man dar ein Corrigirt oder schrib Aber ich hoff in noch zw wegen bringen."

31. See Jodocus Badius Ascensius's letter to Guilhermus Totani, prior of the Dominicans in Lyon, in Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones quadragesimales.* 1494, sig. viii verso: "Ut etiam domini Hugonis cardinalis domus istius lugdunensis alumni memoranda sapientie et sanctitudinis monumenta atque supra totam bibliam elucidamenta que propediem coimpressa videre speramus tangere formidem." ("Nor dare I mention [...] Hugo's memorable monument of wisdom and sanctity and his postilla on the entire Bible which we hope to see printed together soon.")

property was often not treated the way they could reasonably expect.

On 31 December in 1497, Koberger noted that some long sought Hugo manuscripts had arrived "clean and well" from Maulbronn, a Cistercian Abbey some 200 kilometres west of Nürnberg. The Abbey made the loan – on unknown conditions – to Koberger and he was responsible for their return. One cannot help thinking that it was from bitter experience that he proceeded to plead with Amerbach to treat them well and keep them clean and neat. It would be deeply embarrassing, Koberger wrote, if a complaint reached the member of the Council of Nürnberg through whose offices he had gained permission for Amerbach to use the manuscript.

> I have been informed by the servant whom I sent to you and also by your letter that you sent to me with the same servant that you have received the books from Maulbronn and that they have been entrusted to you clean and well. God be praised. I kindly ask you, master Hans, to keep them clean and neat, so that we can return them and that no misfortune occurs. As my Lord an honourable councillor has written rather strongly in my support, it would be very difficult for me, if a complaint about the books were to be written to my Lord.[32]

One cannot but hope that they came back in good condition, but we are entitled to doubt for in July 1502 we learn from Koberger that the monks of Cistercian abbey of Heilsbronn had been informed that manuscripts were in such a state that they were no longer of any use, after they had been through the hands of the printers.

> Also, dear master Hans, I have written asking you to include in the shipment the exemplars that are finished which you no longer need, for people will not lend me further exemplars until I bring or hand over some which are completed. The lords of Heilsbronn have been informed that one treats the exemplars so badly that they are no longer good for anything.[33]

The second volume, with the *Postillae* on the Psalms, was produced without any trouble in 1499,[34] unsurprisingly as Amerbach could use Koberger's own edition from 1498, albeit with a different lay-out. It also seems plausible that for the production of volume six, Amerbach used a copy of Bernhard Richel's edition of the *Postillae* on the four gospels from 1482, although substantial editorial work on the part of Amerbach and his team must have gone into a different presentation of the text.[35] Otherwise Koberger's letters to Amerbach highlight how

32. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xix, no, 17, 31 December 1497: "Ich bin wericht durch den Diner So ich zw euch gesant hab auch in eweren brieff so ir mir mit demselben diner zw gesantt hand das ir die bucher von mawlbrunn enttpfangen hand vnd euch sawber und wol geanttwort worden sind gott hab lob. Bitt ich euch freundlich lieber meyster Hans das ir die sawber vnd schon halten wolt Do mit das wir die wider vber anttworten mogen das kein misβfallen dar an gehabt werd wan mein Hern Ein Erber ratt ettlicher moβ hoch fur mich geschriben haben wer mit fast schwer solt klag der bucher halb mein hern geschriben thon werden." I have incorporated the corrections to Hase's transcription made by Hartmann in his note to his summary of the letter in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 77–78, no 69. I also follow Hartmann's dating of the letter to 31 December 1497.

33. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xxxiii–xxxiv, no 30, 30 July 1500: "auch lieber meister Hans hab ich euch geschriben Die exemplaria mitt zw schicken die do auβ sind der ir nicht mer dürfft wan man will mir nicht weitter exemplaria leichen ich bring oder vberanttwort vor etliche die auβ sind, man hat den Hern zw Heylβbrunn zw verstan geben wie man die exemplaria So boβlich halt daβ sie nichtz mer dogen."

34. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xxiv, no 22, 18 May 1499; xxv, letter no 23, 13 June 1499; and xxviii–xxix, letter no 26, 31 December, at which point Koberger received the first 239 copies of vol. two.

35. Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Postilla super evangelia*. 1482. See Hase, *Die Koberger*, xviii–xl, no 35, 26 May 1501; here Koberger suggests that Amerbach should move onto the production of vol. 6 while manuscripts for vol. 5 were being sourced. Manuscripts for vol. 6 are not mentioned anywhere.

piecemeal the manuscripts were: it took one manuscript to cover Hugo's *Postillae* on Daniel and the minor prophets, one to cover Isaiah and the Song of Songs,[36] and one to cover the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse. The search for a manuscript for the postils on the Acts seems to have especially difficult, it being mentioned as problematic in three separate letters (Hase, *Die Koberger* lv–lvi, no 49, 21 March 1502; lvii–lviii, no 50, 20 April 1502; lxii–lxiii, no 52, 13 May 1502).

When on 13 May 1502 Koberger could finally send a manuscript of Hugo's *Postillae* on the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse, he pleaded for it to be kept clean and neat.

> And I ask you kindly to keep said book clean and neat when you deal with it. Thus, please do not disbind it, so that it is less damaged.[37]

When he specifically asked Amerbach not to disbind, it would suggest that Koberger had experience of Amerbach doing just that. That would evidently make it easier to typeset from them. In this Amerbach was not unique: the surviving Greek manuscripts salvaged from Aldus Manutius's workshop are now often a disorderly gathering of leaves. The idea that the manuscripts ought to survive the process of printing was explicitly rejected by Aldus, as he told Albertus Pius in volume two of his Aristotle edition (Manutius, *Aldo Manuzio editore* 16; and Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben*). However, it seems extraordinary that Amerbach repeatedly failed to act on the insistent requests of his senior business partner to return borrowed manuscript in good order, or to return them at all.

If books were not returned, it became difficult to get hold of more. One religious house, reasonably, refused to lend more until outstanding books had been returned (Hase, *Die Koberger*, xxxiii–xxxiv, no 30, 30 July 1500, quoted in note 33). In the longer run, this made it more expensive to acquire manuscripts to print from: if you could not borrow you had to pay for copies to be made.

The distribution of responsibilities between Koberger and Amerbach meant that Koberger ran the risk of incurring costs for manuscripts which Amerbach would reject. In 1496 Koberger paid three scribes to copy out a manuscript, presumably still to be used for the first volume of Hugo de Sancto Caro.

> In Frankfurt I gave you the first 'quinterni' of Hugo. Now I send you the next gatherings, so that you have the whole first part written out. I also send the exemplar from which it has been copied, and ask you politely to begin correcting from it.

36. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xxvii–xxviii, no 25, 8 November 1499: "Item lieber meister Hans ich hab überkomen 2 bucher Die schick ich euch hie mit Steffan Clim furman von Straβburg, Die halten in postilla Hugonis in Danielem et Super duodecim prophetas vnd Super issayam prophetam und Super cantica canticoum waβ euch mer mangels wirt sein last mich Wissen will ich allen fleiβ an keren Das ich es über kom." (Also dear master Hans, I have acquired two books. I send them here with Steffan Clim, carrier of Strasbourg. They contain Hugo on Daniel and on the twelve prophets, and on Isaiah and on the Song of Songs. Let me know what else you need. I will apply all my effort to get hold of them.)

37. Hase, *Die Koberger*, lxii–lxiii, no 52, 13 May 1502: "vnd Bitt euch freundlich Solch buch Sawber und schon zw halten So ir es vmb gien mögtt So wollet die nich auβ binden Domit das sie dester minder weschedigt werden."

> The next parts that follow are also copied out daily. I will shortly also send them to you. I have three good scribes who each week write six 'quaterni.' So I hope that it will get finished soon and I fear that you will not be able to correct as fast as they write every day.[38]

He could, however, at the same time send the manuscript from which the scribes had worked, the intended procedure presumably being that Amerbach would use the exemplar for correcting the work of the scribes and then print from the manuscripts which they had produced. But Amerbach rejected the manuscripts produced by Koberger's scribes. Koberger summarised a letter from Amerbach thus:

> [I understand that] the exemplar which has been copied out is so wrong that nobody can make headway, were it even the case that you take part in the work all the time. I have therefore come to the opinion that you print this work yourself at your own expenditure and that we come to an agreement about the expenses.[39]

Koberger had spent money on having the manuscripts made, and he took the financial consequences of Amerbach's rejection of them so seriously that it lead him to suggest that they needed to reformulate their business relationship. He proposed that in the future Amerbach should print Hugo on his own behalf. Koberger seems to have envisaged a model where he would limit his role to that of distributor, buying the finished product from Amerbach, thus taking on a still large but controllable and, importantly, knowable financial risk.

Koberger's wish to establish a new business relationship highlights some of the risks arising from producing editions that relied on sourcing manuscripts in dispersed and distant locations. But perhaps because Amerbach heeded Petri's advice of caution, the proposed change to the business relationship came to nothing, and Koberger had to incur further costs in sourcing manuscripts elsewhere, probably in Maulbronn. This time he sent the originals for Amerbach to work from (Hase, *Die Koberger,* no 17, p xix, no 17, 31 December 1497, quoted in note 32). His requests for Amerbach to complete the printing soon reveals his growing concern that the time by which he could begin to recover his investment was ever receding.

Not only was it costly to acquire and transport manuscripts. When you seek to locate a distant manuscript you may end up wasting your money. As late as 1502 Koberger sent Amerbach manuscripts for Daniel and for Maccabees, which he had sourced in Lübeck. But

38. Hase, *Die Koberger,* p. vii no 4, 17 May 1496: "Ich hab euch zw franckfurt geanttwort ettlich erst quintern im Hugo. So schick ich euch hie mitt Die andern quintern darauff also das ir das erst teyl gancz habt geschriben. Auch schick ich euch Da mitt Das exemplar dar auss men geschriben hatt vnd bitt euch feundlich Das ir Da mitt anfangen wolt Corrigiren Die andern teyll die darnach follgen werden teglich auch ettliche außgeschriben will ich euch in einer kurcz auch schicken Ich hab gutter schreyber drey Die schreyben alle wochen 6 quatern Also das ich hoff es sol flux von stat gan vnd wesorg ir kundt nicht souil Corrigiren als sie teglich schryben." I incorporate a small correction to Hase's transcription made by Hartmann in his summary note of the letter, *Amerbachkorrespondenz* 1 54, no 44. Further parts were sent 3 June 1496; see letter no 5, vii–viii.

39. Hase, *Die Koberger,* viii, no 6, 20 October 1496, letter from Koberger to Amerbach: "Das geschriben exemplar sey so gancz falsch Das niemand Dar auß komen moeg es wer dan sach Das ir selber stetz da bey mochten sein vnd dar vmb hab ich die meinung furgenomen Das ir solch werck selbs druckt in ewerm kostung vnd ich mit euch über kom vmb die selben kostungen."

Koberger received a letter from Amerbach "through which I have learnt that the exemplars on Daniel and on Maccabees which I have sent to you and which have been lent to me from Lübeck are useless."[40] The manuscripts would have travelled about 1000 km from Lübeck via Nürnberg to Basel and, one hopes, another 1000 km back, some 85 days of transport. The cost for this was wasted and furthermore, as we have mentioned, Koberger had to source other manuscripts, this time in Esslingen, some 175 kilometres from Nürnberg. In the process he would not only have wasted money but also drawn in vain on the good-will of his connections.

40. Hase, *Die Koberger*, liv–lv, no 48, 14 February 1502: "… ein brieff von euch … Dor in ich venomen hab wie euch Die exemplaria nicht Dienstlich sinch So ich euch gesantt hab und mir gelichen sind worden zw lubeck Super Danielem und machabeorum …"

It is not clear exactly what Amerbach meant by describing the Lübeck manuscript as being unfit for use, but it is possible that, in the known two cases where he rejected manuscripts, Amerbach was confronted with the situation described by Stirnemann, who has said that inexpensive manuscripts of the *Postillae* are hard to read, without initials, running headings, rubrics, paragraph marks, and often even without chapter divisions (Stirnemann, "Les manuscrits de la Postille" 38–39). So we have to have some sympathy with Amerbach, but it must have been a cost concern for Koberger that he more than once spent money on procuring manuscripts which Amerbach turned down.
In 1501 Koberger was getting very worried about the ever later completion date and he sought manuscripts in Lyon and Paris, "in dire emergency." If they could not be found there, he told Amerbach, he had given instructions for them to be searched for in other places, even if this might mean that he would end up having to pay for getting a text more than once.

> Also, in dire emergency, I have written to Lyon and Paris concerning exemplars, and also if they are not found there then they should spare no cost to seek them in other towns and places [presumably religious houses outside towns], even if some were to be had twice. I am optimistic that they can be acquired.[41]

41. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xxxviii–xl, no 35, 26 May 1501: "Item Der exemplaria halber hab ich auff lion und auff paris geschriben nach aller nottdorfft auch ob man sie nicht Do funde So sullen sie kostung nicht Sparen vnd Die an andern ortten und Stetten suchen vnd ob man jettlichs czwifach zw wegen möct bringen bin in gutter Hoffnung Die zw uber komen."

We hear nothing about Hugo manuscripts being rejected for the poor quality of their text and there is no reason to believe that Koberger or Amerbach sought to create something which we would consider a critical edition based on several manuscripts. That would probably have been neither feasible nor desirable. Martin Morard, the editor of an online edition of the text, says that it is impossible to edit it according to modern philological principles (Morard, "Le projet Glossae.net"). Hugo de Sancto Caro's commentary was a text in continual development. We do learn of a process of correcting both in Koberger's business letters and in a letter from Amerbach to Koberger printed in the last volume of the first edition of Hugo. By "correcting" Koberger and Amerbach referred to the correcting of a copy against its exemplar, the work of one type of "corrector;" possibly it also referred to correcting *ope ingenii,* the work of more expert scholars.[42]

The main editorial task was a different one, however. Hugo de Sancto Caro had envisaged his *Postillae* as a separate work, not as part of a glossed Bible, and with very few exceptions, manuscripts of the *Postillae* do not contain the biblical text (Stirnemann,"Les manuscrits de la Postille" 38 and Morard, "Apparatus ad Glosam"). Koberger not only offered for sale a textual corpus that had hardly existed previously, and which was often hard to read in manuscript. He and Amerbach had created a body of texts which had not existed before, namely Hugo de Sancto Caro's *Postillae* on the entire Bible presented jointly with the Biblical text. In the Koberger/Amerbach edition the commentary is printed in two columns framing the Biblical text on all four sides, which is likewise printed in two columns. Achieving this unprecedented integration of text and postils must have been a major intellectual and technical challenge for Amerbach and his team, not least if he used manuscripts like the ones described by Stirnemann. The novelty of the corpus is given visual expression in the use of a lay-out that traditionally had been used for law texts, but one already used by Adolf Rusch in the edition of the Bible with the *Glossa ordinaria*, which he had printed for Koberger in 1480 (*Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria* [not after 1480]). The complexity of this editorial task is indirectly confirmed by several of the introductory letters accompanying the second Hugo edition, from 1504, which suggest that changes from the first edition were to do with the introduction of a system that sought to clarify the complex interrelation between commentary and text, by using a series of symbols keying individual postils to the relevant passages of the text, a system that Amerbach and Wimpfeling repeatedly and proudly explained.[43]

Koberger paid Amerbach for his work, so it was Koberger who had carried the risk of not getting a return on his investment, including the "grandissima expensa" in procuring manuscripts. It is therefore easy to understand that Koberger was distressed when he learnt that a group of printers was planning to prepare a second Hugo edition even before the first edition was completed (Hase, *Die Koberger,* lxxiii, no 61, 24 October 1502). He asked Amerbach to assure him that he was not

42. Letter from Amerbach to Koberger, in *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis* [1498–1502], vol. 7, sig. [et]5 verso, the last text page before the *Registrum* (not included in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz*): "Verum ad huius venerabilis viri operis castigationem, meum dumtaxat (quod sentio, quam sit exiguum) vix suffecisset ingenium, si non accessisset peritorum consultatio, et ferula discretæ directionis, quorum suffragio nixus in compluribus confragosis locis, cooperatores habuisse profuit, ad enavigandum hoc mare magnum, sirtes, scylleamque vitando rabiem ad portum descenderem optatum." ("My own abilities – I feel how slight they are – would not have sufficed to correct the work of this venerable man, if it had not been supplemented with the advice of learned men and the rod of discriminating guidance. It was beneficial in sailing across this large ocean to have colleagues relying on whose recommendations in numerous hard passages I could arrive in the longed for harbour avoiding the Syrtes and the fury of Scylla.") On the role of *corrector* in the production of printed books see Rizzo, *Lessico filologico* 275, with reference to earlier literature, and on *correctio ope ingenii* passim.

43. *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis.* 1504. Especially the letter of Conrad Leontorius at the beginning of vol. 2, sig. [g1] recto. Also Leontorius' letter in the beginning of vol. 1 and Wimpfeling's own letter at the end of vol. 6.

part of this enterprise, but the second edition was a project of Amerbach's jointly with Johannes Petri and Johannes Froben (1460–1527). In one letter Koberger says that the copies of the first edition would now not be sold in his lifetime, although Amerbach had led him to believe that this work was so important that it was bound to sell.

> My cousin has recently been with you as he rode from the Frankfurt Fair to Lyon. He tells me that you will complete [the second edition of] Hugo by Michaelmas (29 September). I would have preferred if you had delayed it a year to two, as it truly is not a sellable work, and I have still not yet sold half my work, which you have copied, and it is to be feared that I will not sell all the Hugos in my lifetime. I had hoped that it would be a work that would sell well, after you had praised it so highly. But it cannot be shifted.[44]

Koberger nevertheless agreed to act as distributor for the second edition of Hugo, possibly the only way open to him to cover some of his losses. He wrote to Johannes Petri about a deal that he had struck in Frankfurt with Amerbach and Froben, paying 1000 Rhenish Guilder upfront for an unspecified number of copies of the second edition of Hugo, with further payments to come. A letter from Froben to Amerbach, undated but written at a Frankfurt fair at least two years later, suggests that Koberger had failed to make a payment due for Hugo, claiming that he was unable to sell them: 1000 copies were still unsold.[45] Koberger's goodwill towards Amerbach and the two other Basel printers must have been significantly diminished, and he might have been less energetic in selling copies of the second edition as a way of reducing the economic damage which it had caused him. In fact the first edition survives in substantial numbers, which does not suggest that it was a complete financial failure.[46]

Paying for locating, borrowing, transporting, and copying manuscripts was a significant additional investment in a risky business environment where anybody could fast reproduce your work, benefitting for free from your long-term investment, but evidently the hope for a return was sufficient for Koberger to accept the significant risk associated with producing a print-run of this enormous work large enough to enable for him to recoup his outlay.

Undoubtedly others acted similarly, but without leaving us documentary evidence. This type of investment in searching for and bringing together manuscript exemplars would not have been imaginable in the context of commercial manuscript production. The

44. Hase, *Die Koberger*, xcvi–xcvii, no 79, 17 June 1504: "Mein vetter ist in Newlicheit bey euch gewest als er auβ franckfurter meβ auff lion geritn ist Sagtt mir wie ir Den Hugonem auff michaelis vermient zw enden mocht ich woll leyden Das ir noch ein jar oder czwey da mit verczogen hett wan es warlich ein vnkewfflich werk ist und noch mein werk So ir am nachsten gedruckt habt noch nich halbs verkaufft hab und ist zw wesorgen ich mög Der Hugones mein lebtag nich verkauffen. Ich hett gehofft es solt ein gutt kwfflich werk gewest sein vnd nach dem ir im so groβ lob geben Aber es will nicht von stat gann."

45. A letter from Froben to Amerbach, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I 347–48, no 378, the letter is dated only "fritag vor palmarum." Hartmann's suggested 14 April 1508 as most likely, but also that it could be from a later year.

46. ISTC ib00610000 records copies surviving in 245 institutions, and *GW* 4285 in 246 institutions. Not all institutions have all volumes.

hoped for return on the investment could only be achieved through the sale of hundreds of copies of an edition.

Koberger had indisputably undertaken a major task when he decided to get hold of suitable manuscripts of all the parts of the *Postillae* of Hugo de Sancto Caro, but it may not have been the first time he did so. It is highly probable that Koberger and Rusch had to source several manuscripts from various locations well beyond Strasbourg for the enormous edition of the text of the Bible with the *glossa ordinaria*, in or shortly before 1480.[47] This may well have been a task of a complexity which matched that of the Hugo edition.

The Hugo edition was exceptional because of its sheer bulk, and it is certainly exceptional because of the detailed insight we get into the procurement of manuscripts and the associated business issues. But it seems that this approach, even if on a smaller scale, was often needed when creating a single corpus out of texts that in manuscript had largely been transmitted separately. This type of publication becomes a feature of printing from very early on. In 1469 Andrea Bussi (1417–75) wrote in his prefatory letter to the works of Apuleius that as far as he could – given how few manuscripts there were – he "brought together Apuleius the Platonist [...] into one body, sourced limb by limb from various places and handed this over for our printers to typeset."[48] Similarly in his letter prefatory to his edition of Cicero's speeches he wrote that he had recently brought together into one corpus as many of Cicero's orations as he could.[49] We do not know the economics of this, although Bussi himself tells us that it was he who undertook the creation of this textual corpus and then brought the resulting copy to the printers, suggesting that the role of the printers in procuring the manuscripts was limited.

By contrast Amerbach's scholarly editor Johannes Heynlin de Lapide (*c.* 1430–96) made it clear that Amerbach was responsible for the procurement of multiple manuscripts for his 1492 edition of the *opera omnia* of Ambrosius (339–97).

> Of this I am certain, that many will honour you with outstanding praise, because you have brought together and unified nearly all the works of the acclaimed doctor Ambrosius, the exemplars of which were scattered over the whole world and nowhere existed together but only piecemeal, and they will praise you because you have assembled and pressed them together into one, so to speak, copious and ambrosiac

47. *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria* (not after 1480). Froehlich, "An Extraordinary Achievement,"suggests that perhaps Amerbach assisted Rusch. While this is conceivable, there is no evidence to support it. Given what we know about Koberger acquiring manuscripts for Amerbach, it is perhaps more plausible that, also in this partnership, it was Koberger's responsibility as the publisher to ensure a flow of exemplars to print from.

48. Apuleius, *Opera*. 1469. Sig. [a1] verso, Bussi, letter to Paul II: "Lucium igitur Apuleium Platonicum [...] ut in exemplariorum penuria licuit, redegi in unum corpus, variis in locis membratim perquisitum, eumque impressoribus nostris tradidi exarandum."

49. Cicero, *Orationes*. 1471. Sig. [a1] recto. Bussi's letter to Paulus II: "Tulii quot potuimus orationes ... unum in corpus nuper congregauimus." ("We have recently brought together into one body as many of the Orations of Cicero as we could.")

> work, while at the same time you have ensured that there is a large number of them.[50]

50. Ambrosius, *Opera*. 1492. Vol. 1 sig. a3 recto. De Lapide's letter to Amerbach: "Hoc unum teneo certum quod plurimi admiranda te laude prosequntur quia cuncta fere probatissimi doctoris Ambrosii opuscula quorum exemplaria nullibi simul sed diuisim per uniuersum orbem dispersa habebantur, tu pariter congregueris, coadunaueris et in unum ut ita dicam liberale et Ambrosianum opus coegeris compresseris simulque in magnum numerum augeri feceris." This part of the letter is not included by Hartmann in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz*.

Aldus Manutius's use of manuscripts for his Greek and Latin editions is famous. The largely fragmentary survival of Greek manuscripts used by him has received especially detailed attention. On the other hand, Aldus has left us few insights into how he sourced his manuscripts. But we get some useful insights from his five-volume edition of the complete works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, at 1851 leaves his most voluminous publication. In a prefatory letter addressed to Alberto Pio he alludes, with decorous indirectness, to the significant costs which sourcing manuscripts could involve. He made the issue of money more acceptable by comparing himself to a very distinguished precursor from the ancient world, and also by highlighting money and greed as a source of error:

> Peisistratus, famous for his services to literature, proposed a reward to those who brought in part of a poem by Homer. In that way the promise of gold made it easy for him to bring together the dispersed poem. Indeed – such is the power of money – in the hope of a substantial reward many brought him spurious verses, which Aristarchos of Samothrace subsequently severely assessed, noted, and struck out using a small dagger sign. I wish I were in the same position, most benevolent prince. I would spare no expense in gathering and correcting all the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Peisistratus does not exceed me in ambition but in wealth.[51]

51. Aristoteles, *Opera*. 1495–98. Vol. 2, sig. *1 verso, letter to Alberto Pio: "Proposuerat enim uir ille [Pisistratus] de re litteraria optime meritus dignum praemium iis qui Homeri carmen aliquod attulissent. Qua re facile fuit dispersum carmen colligere aurum promittenti. Quin immo (tanta est uis nummorum) maioris spe muneris quamplurimi dati sunt subdititii uersus. Quos postea Aristarchus graui iudicio notauit atque obelisco transfixit. Vtinam mihi idem liceret, iucundissime princeps. Colligendis enim corrigendisque accurate omnibus Aristotelis et Theophrasti operibus parcerem certe nulli impensae. Non me uoluntate et studio superauit Pisistratus, sed diuitiis." On the manuscripts used by Aldus see Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben*. 46.

Whether organised by the printers/publishers or by people who worked with them, locating and bringing together manuscripts was often a necessity for producers of printed books who sought to constitute large corpora where the typical manuscript distribution pattern had been in parts. In other words, a business model which could support the production of large collected editions both stimulated the search for dispersed manuscripts and depended on it.

V. Seeking manuscript for texts that may not have survived

It is in the context of this business model that we find the only example from this period known to me of a printer/publisher who engaged in a highly ambitious search for texts which had fallen into oblivion, and whose survival or even existence was unknown. Amerbach's edition of the *opera omnia* of Augustine was printed in eleven volumes and published in 1505–1506, but preparatory work had already begun in the fifteenth century (Augustinus, *Opera omnia.* 1595–06). Victor Scholderer has provided an excellent overview of the production of this edition and it is at the centre of an article by Barbara Halporn (Scholderer,"Saint Augustine;" Halporn, "Libraries and Printers"). I can therefore here concentrate on issues specifically related to the economics of the procurement of the manuscripts.

Differently from Eusebius Conradus, whom we met above and who in his single-volume edition included *only* works listed in the *Retractationes*, Amerbach set out to find manuscripts for *all* works listed there. Used like this the *Retractationes* was not only an advantage, but also a challenge. Also differently from Conradus, Amerbach included works not listed in the *Retractationes*, all spurious. They are kept separate, in the last two of the eleven volumes, but they are not explicitly rejected. For that we have to wait until Erasmus's edition of 1528–29 (Augustinus, *Opera omnia.* 1528–29). Amerbach may have judged that he could not afford to lose the custom of the large section of potential buyers whose view of Augustine was shaped by the pseudepigraphic works, notably the Austin Friars, but also a wider group of people for whom the fifteenth-century emphasis on personal devotion was important (Jensen, "Reading Augustine"). While Conradus had a theological aim with his limited search for manuscripts, Amerbach's search and his final edition was much more intellectually ambitious, aiming for completeness but, simultaneously, in its inclusion of texts which we now consider pseudepigraphic, it was motivated by commercial considerations. His edition was not sponsored by an outsider who had the backing of a major religious organisation.

The *Contra Gaudentium* constitutes an example of the challenge that Amerbach's aim for completion must have posed. Only one manuscript survives today, a twelfth-century manuscript now in the British Library. It bears the signs of having been used as printers copy by Amerbach's team, who had possibly located it in Park, the Premonstratensian Abbey in Brabant, some 500 kilometres from Basel (Augustinus, *Contra Gaudentium*. London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 17291; Folliet."Les éditions du "Contra Gaudentium"").

It must have taken considerable effort and it must have cost significant sums especially to look for works that in the end could not be found. In volume five Amerbach referred to the time and effort consumed in looking, in vain, for the *Contra quod attulit Centurius a Donatistis*.

> From this volume, the fifth, is wanting the book which is called 'Contra quod attulit Centurius a donatistis,' which could not be found after a long search, despite the care taken. Therefor the gathering signed "G" has been omitted.[52]

Whenever he could not, in the end, find a manuscript for a text listed in the *Retractationes*, Amerbach omitted a letter from the alphabetical sequence of the gatherings, so that readers could insert the work if they should find it. In other words, he left a notional space without incurring the expense of leaving a physical lacuna of expensive blank paper. Thus, in volume three Amerbach told the reader that he had not been able to locate the work called *Contra epistolam Donati haeretici*. Therefore he left out from the sequence of gatherings the one which should have been signed "i." As a measure of how thorough Amerbach's search must have been, we note that, of the eleven works for which he was unable to locate a manuscript, only one has subsequently been located, the *De gestis Pelagii*, for which Amerbach left a notional space in the sequence of gatherings of volume eight.[53]

Already in 1494 Amerbach had begun paying Augustinus Dodo, an Austin canon in Basel, for preparing manuscripts to be used to print from, and soon also for travelling to locate manuscripts, mainly along the Rhine, and later further afield. At this stage the search for manuscript was not for the *opera omnia* but for the 1494–95 edition of sermons (Augustinus, *Sermones*. 1494–95), both genuine works by Augustine and pseudepigraphic ones. In a letter to Amerbach Dodo described some of the complexities of redacting this diverse and dispersed body of texts into one corpus.[54]

Dodo continued working, at Amerbach's expense and directed by him, on sourcing manuscripts for the *opera omnia,* first in Germany.

> Many learned men endorsed this plan of mine, promising advice and help, and set about burdening my shoulders with this enormous task, as a person totally concentrated on the works of Augustine. Having sought with great care, I found a person whom I could send to all libraries with the purpose of tracking down books of Augustine. It was a diligent Austin canon, Augustinus Dodo Frisius, of the monastery of St Leonard in Basel, who took up this task. Accordingly I sent

52. Amerbach's letter to the reader, in Augustinus, *Opera omnia*. 1505–1506, vol. 5, sig. [a1] verso: "Deest autem huic quintae parti libellus qui intitulatur 'Contra quod attulit Centurius a donatistis' qui post longam inquisitionem habita diligentia inueniri non potuit. Propterea littera signatoria G. intermissa est."

53. The following are the works listed in the *Retractationes* but not located by Amerbach vol. 3: *Contra epistolam Donati haeretici;* vol. 4: *Contra partem Donati libri duo* and *Contra Hilarium tribunicium;* vol. 5: *Contra quod attulit Centurius a donatistis*; vol. 6: *Probationum et testimoniorum contra donatistas liber unus*, *Contra nescio quem donatistam liber unus, Admonitio donatistarum de maximianistis liber unus*. *Expositio epistolae sancti Jacobi apostoli liber unus,* and *De maximianistis contra donatistas*; vol. 8: *Ad emeritum donatistarum episcopum liber unus,* and finally *De gestis Pelagii liber unus,* the only of the works not found by Amerbach that has been located subsequently.

54. *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 43–44, no 33, convincingly dated by Hartmann to the end of 1494.

this monk out to search through all libraries in this Germany of ours and to bring into one body Augustine, whose work is divided limb by limb throughout them.[55]

Two letters to Amerbach give us some insight into how it worked economically. A letter from Walaramus, the prior of the Austin Canons in Bödingen is exceptionally detailed in this respect (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 68–70, no 61, 15 August 1497). We learn that Augustinus Dodo did not work on his own but had the help of assistants – this is the only place we hear of them. They too had to have their living costs covered somehow. Walaramus told Amerbach that Augustinus Dodo and his assistants had all been well looked after: this probably suggests the cost to the Abbey of food and lodging for the visitors. At their insistence Walaramus had borrowed eleven volumes from the neighbouring Benedictine Abbey of St Michael in Siegburg, for which he had paid half a Rhenish guilder. Canons at Bödingen had taken part in copying the Siegburg manuscripts. In return, Dodo had promised Walaramus all the works of Augustine which Amerbach had printed in the past and would print in the future, and the works of Ambrose or alternatively of Panormitanus. That must be remuneration for the board, lodging, and the cost of the copying by the local canons, given that Dodo had promised Walaramus a copy of the *De scriptoribus ecclesiaticis* specifically as reimbursement for the half Rhenish guilder that he had paid to the abbey in Siegburg. Walaramus now politely asked for what was due to him. We must hope that he got it.

In 1497 Wimpfeling (1450–1528) wrote to Amerbach about the one Rhenish guilder, which he himself had paid a scribe for copying out some sermons by Augustine at Dodo's request. He asked for his direct cost to be reimbursed, but he had also incurred other, unspecified costs which related to his own work on Amerbach's Augustine project. He distanced himself from the scribe, who demanded money, by saying that he himself did not want cash, but wanted to be paid in paper. This was decorously not money but it was a commodity that Wimpfeling could easily have sold on, if he should have wanted to do so (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 77, no 68, 23 December 1497).

For Walaramus the practice of being paid in kind may also have been a means of distancing himself from the handling of money, but for him it was certainly practically useful: his Abbey had little money for buying books.

Amerbach himself was, unsurprisingly, well aware of the monetary worth of copies of his edition. As late as 1510, he accused Wimpfe-

55. Augustinus, *Opera omnia*. 1505–1506. Letter to the reader in vol. 1, sig. a3 verso: "Hoc animi mei institutum multi doctissimi uiri consilio et auxilio promisso confirmauerunt atque ut totus in Augustini opera mente et intentione conuersus humeros meos huic ingentissimo operi submitterem institerunt. Perquisitum ergo magna cura quem per omnes bibliotheas transmitterem Augustini libros gratia investigandi: repperi religiosum fratrem laboriosum, uirum dominum Augustinum Dodonem Phrysium ordinis diui augustini monasterii sancti Leonardi basiliensis canonicum qui hanc prouinciam subiret. Ipsumque proinde fratrem per me sufficienti pecunia munitum bibliothecas omnes Germaniae nostrae perscrutaturum dimisi ac membratim Augustinum per eas diuisum in unum corpus collecturum." This is confirmed by Tritheim; see *Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 58, no 48, 14 September 1496: "Gratias ago tibi et habebo immortales, operam meam (si vmquam volueris) in comportandis Augustini libris pollicens. Ceterum debitorem me tibi agonosco, dilacionem, donec ipse ad proximas nundinas veneris, peto, soluturum me omnia fideliter promitto. Augustinum illum Frisium ad nos descendisse tuis impensis audio." ("I thank you forever, and promise you my help, if you should ever need it, in bringing together the books of Augustine. Also, I acknowledge that I am in debt to you, and seek deferral until you come to the next fair yourself. I promise to absolve all faithfully. I hear that Augustinus Frisius [Dodo] has arrived with us, at your expense.")

ling of having monetised two sets of the *opera omnia* of Augustine some five years previously. Wimpfeling defended himself, in great detail and in understandably upset tones, saying that he had paid for one set and that he had undoubtedly dealt with the other books as Amerbach had requested: he had certainly neither sold them nor pawned them: he had learnt from his earliest boyhood not to cheat anybody of as much as a penny (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 403–05, no 437, 15 June 1510).

Managing a complex project like the Augustine edition had its challenges. In 1504 Bruno and Basil, Amerbach's sons who were studying in Paris, sent home copies of the *De vera innocentia* and *Sextus musices* that had been written out by Wilhelm Kopp, one of Amerbach's paid collaborators (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 223–25, no 238, 27 October 1504). In reply Johann Amerbach complained that he already had four copies of these works (*Amerbachkorrespondenz* i 230–33, no 246, 2 January 1505). He instructed Bruno and his brother to spend less time and money on enjoying themselves in Paris and instead to concentrate on their father's project and warned them that he would withdraw their allowance or even call them home if they did not sharpen up. He wanted nothing that was not on his list of desiderata, an indication that Amerbach sought to manage the procurement of manuscripts tightly, knowing exactly what he already had and what he wanted his paid assistants to look for. After he had been so demanding of Koberger, necessitating the acquisition of several copies of the same works, Amerbach was now himself faced with the cost of acquiring manuscripts that he was not going to find useful.

It is instructive to compare Amerbach's *opera omnia* of Augustine with the manuscript volumes prepared for Cardinal Bessarion by Vespasiano da Bisticci, which he described as Augustine's *opera omnia*. When on 26 November 1472 he learnt of the death of Bessarion, Vespasiano wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici, through whom the work had been commissioned and to whom nine volumes had already been delivered (Cagni, *Vespasiano* 159–58, no 30 and Vespasiano, *Lettere*, no 31).[56] The tenth volume was not yet illuminated nor bound. Vespasiano suggested that Lorenzo should retain all ten volumes for himself, for there was nothing more noble to be had in Italy; it had taken three years and the greatest of effort to create them. To do this again would not only be difficult but impossible. The private rather than public nature of the volumes is brought out by Vespasiano's explanation of the omission of the *De civitate dei*: Lorenzo already had a very beautiful copy of this.[57] The emphasis on luxury, uniqueness,

56. "This morning I was informed through your brother of the death of Cardinal Bessarion, and on your behalf, that I should do nothing about the books of his Lordship without you being notified. There are ten volumes, as I have said to you on a previous occasion, in which are all the works of Saint Augustine. Of those ten volumes, commissioned by your Lordship, I have consigned nine as instructed by you to Niccolò Michelozzi. Volume ten is still with me, as the decoration and the binding are still outstanding. I will not give this book to anyone without your knowledge. I would like you to take all action to ensure that the said books do not leave your custody and that they remain there, for in all of Italy there is nothing more noble than them. I have spent three year on them and I have undergone great labour to bring them to conclusion, so that having to do them a second time would not only be difficult but impossible. If you have these ten volumes, only the *De civitate dei* is wanting, of which you already have a very beautiful copy."

57. This may imply that an eleventh volume had been planned for the *De civitate dei*, but that this would not be required if the books were retained by Lorenzo, as suggested by Vespasiano.

and irreproducibility could not be more different from the aim of multiplication and widespread access, as expressed so clearly by de Lapide when he explained the benefits of Amerbach's edition of the complete works of Ambrosius.[58]

58. See note 50 above.

It seems that Lorenzo passed Vespasiano's volumes on to Bessarion's estate, as they are now in the Biblioteca Marciana, and their content can thus be established.[59] We do not know how Vespasiano acquired the exemplars from which he worked but, as we have heard, Albinia de La Mare has suggested that he sourced his classical manuscripts locally (De la Mare, "Vespasiano" 206–07). There is no reason to suppose that he sourced his Augustine differently and we have no reason to believe that Vespasiano searched extensively for the best manuscripts or for full systematic coverage of Augustine's output. The splendid volumes that he produced suggest an absence of the stringent editorial control and of the imposition of an order, which Amerbach achieved by following the *Retractationes*. Although described as *opera omnia*, a substantial number of important genuine works is not included.[60]

59. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat Z. 57, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70 and Lat. II 3. I have consulted the digital facsimile of the printed catalogue of manuscripts of the Marciana.

60. Thus apart from the *De civtate dei* a first examination shows the following genuine works, and possibly more, are not included in Vespasiano's set of Augustine's "opera omnia": *De beta vita; De duabus animabus; Contra doctrina arianorum; De bono viduitatis; De continentia; De correptione et gratia; Contra Cresconium; De spiritu et littera; De fide et operibus; Contra Gaudentium; De gratia et libero arbitrio;* and *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*.

While each title page in Amerbach's edition indicated the chronological segment of Augustine's life covered by the volume, there is no evident principle for the organisation of the contents of Vespasiano's ten volumes, an absence which is documented by repetition: thus the *De agone christiano* appears twice even within in the same volume (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Lat Z. 68). In volume four of Amerbach's edition this work takes up ten leaves or five sheets of paper. Including this short work twice would have meant a waste of 8000 sheets of paper, with a print run of above 1600 copies, as indicated by Koberger in a letter to Johannes Petri (Hase, *Die Koberger* cxvii, no 93, 13 April 1506). One copy of all eleven volumes required 2783 sheets, so a waste of 8000 sheets would have been highly significant. If nothing else, the economics of printing enforced strict editorial control on Amerbach, which evidently was not needed for Vespasiano. There was no critical buying public to satisfy and repetition would only cost the parchment of one copy of the individual text.

Vespasiano was undoubtedly right that in the world of manuscript production his Augustine volumes were outstanding, a high-end luxury product, a one-off which had two of the richest and most influential men of his contemporary world as its clients. Its very singularity highlights how different it is from the Amerbach edition, where the investment in a comprehensive and systematic search for manuscripts could be justified by the number of copies produced and, it was hoped, sold.

Typically the requirements for financing the production of printed books were different from those for the production of manuscript books. Printing needed significant upfront investment. This includes the acquisition of a press and the acquisition of expensive type material. There were costs for the tools for composing, for inking, for printing, and for the printers' ink. Two very significant costs were paper and wages for staff. It required the purchase or hire of space not only for production but also for storage for large amounts of printed paper. Finally, distribution was expensive. All these costs were incurred before any outlay could be recovered through sales. If an edition was sponsored some or all of the edition-specific costs were covered by someone other than the printer, which changed the risk incurred by him while not altering the overall need for upfront investment.

Not only were the upfront investments different; so was the rate at which you might hope for a return on your investment. This was in part due to the quantity of books which you had to produce to recover your investment. Producers of manuscripts could typically manage the ratio between production and demand with a great degree of accuracy. This was most obviously the case when a manuscript book was produced by somebody for their own use, as a student might do. But it was also the case for commercially produced manuscript books, where a workshop would typically not produce more than a few copies of the same text, even if there was a bookseller as an intermediary in the supply chain.[61] Where Vespasiano da Bisticci produced copies "on spec," with no known buyer in mind, they were by comparison few in number, apparently mainly aimed at foreigners, who presumably did not have the time to wait for a copy to be written on their request. A relatively small number of books produced on spec represented a limited outlay of capital at risk, if no buyer were to appear (De la Mare, "Vespasiano" passim but esp. 201).

61. Johnston and Van Dussen, "Introduction" 7 suggest that manuscript books available "on spec" at bookshops tended to be second hand books that had been produced on demand originally: "From a production standpoint, bespoke trade does account for the majority of manuscript books at their inception and first exchange as commodities." But see *e.g.* De la Mare, "Vespasiano" . In their discussion of second hand manuscript books, Johnston and Van Dussen probably underestimate the similar trade in second hand printed books. They also do not take into account manuscript books produced for personal use.

This was not the case for books printed in relatively large numbers. Even under normal conditions, it could take a long time to recoup your upfront investment through sales, enabling you for instance to pay back potential loans. Copies of Greek texts produced by Aldus Manutius (1449/50 to 1515) were apparently still for sale as new in Paris in the 1540s, some thirty to forty years after their production (Hobson, *Humanists and bookbinders* 267–71 and Hobson, "Italian fifteenth-century bookbindings" 130). By then Aldus, long dead, no longer benefitted from sales. A printer might have misjudged the market; or perhaps someone had seen your finished product and immediately produced something very similar. The reasons why you might not reach the sales you had expected could be entirely external to your business. Especially for works which took a long time to produce, external events such as wars or epidemics could have an impact that would be greater the more capital you had bound up in unsold goods.[62] Searching for manuscripts would add a significant further need for upfront investment, and allocating time for it would extend the gap between investment and return, and the longer the production period the greater the risks for adverse events to occur. Not all had both the intellectual ambition and the financial means to support it.

62. For instance, see the chronology of the repeated impact of war and plague on Koberger's business in Hase, *Die Koberger* 259–267.

While our information about the costs associated with acquiring manuscripts is scarce and uneven, the cases that we have examined might suggest that while all printers needed something on which to base their editions, a printer or publisher would be more inclined to invest in undertaking an ambitious search for a manuscript if the text in question was of substantial length. Recouping the cost of an extended search for a text for a small volume would be more likely to require either an unrealistically high print-run or on an unrealistically high unit price. However, when the text in question was very substantial it was possible for a business model to emerge which depended on the ability to invest in the production of very large units for which a substantial retail price could be anticipated. This in turn meant investing capital which one could not hope to recover for a significant amount of time, so that this was a road to profit reserved for solidly established printing/publishing businesses.

Many of the more voluminous publications of the fifteenth century brought together texts which in manuscript form had typically circulated separately. This obviously necessitated a more complex search for exemplars. Koberger's Herculean work on acquiring manuscripts for Hugo's *Postillae* is our best documented example of this. It was this type of publication that could lead to the very unusual situation we saw with Amerbach's Augustine edition, where it seemed to be commercially viable to invest in a search even for texts which were not known to have survived. The mechanical multiplication of texts had created a situation where, under very specific circumstances, it was a commercially viable proposition for a printer or publisher to engage in a highly ambitious and costly search for exemplars of texts which might not even have survived.

Appendix on terminology

The meaning of 'volumen,' 'quaternus' and 'quinternus' as used by Koberger; cf. notes 30 and 38.

It is unusual for Koberger to use Latin words. One would expect 'volumen' to mean a volume, a book, but 24 manuscript volumes seems an unlikely large quantity in this context. They were sent in a 'feβlein,' the diminutive probably being meaningful as Koberger did not regularly use this form and Koberger said that what he sent was intended as a stop gap, enough for Amerbach to get on with.

It is possible that he used 'volumen' for the German 'Buch' as used in the paper trade. A 'Buch'(a 'quire') is a 20th of a 'Ries' (a 'ream'). A 'Ries' consisted of 480 (or 500) sheets, so a 'Buch,' would have 24 sheets. If this was what Koberger meant, he sent some 432 manuscript sheets. That too may be rather more than one would expect from the context.

He may have used 'volumen' to mean 'gathering.' It would thus mean the same as 'quintern' and 'quatern,' as he used the words in a letter of 17 May 1496, quoted in note 38. While this is plausible, it still does not afford us a very precise understanding of how many manuscript sheets he sent, but possibly something in the order of 120 sheets. Rizzo, *Lessico* 42 says that humanists used the terms 'quaternio,' 'quaternus,' 'quinternio,' 'quinternus' and 'sexternus' indifferently in the sense of fascicle or gathering. This follows a long-established usage. Preisendanz,"Quaternio" 847 quotes a sixth century marginal note: "Iste quaternio quinque folia habet." Rizzo also noted that usage was more precise in a commercial context. This is borne out by many printers who in their 'registra' use the words 'quinternus,' 'quaternus,' and 'ternus' to indicate the number of sheets in each gathering; *e.g.* Johann Reger in Ulm from 1496: "abcdefghiklm omnes sunt quaterni excepto f qui est ternus" (Caorsin, *Stabilimenta*. 1496). However, often Koberger's registra were not that precise; *e.g.* he used 'quaterni' for gatherings of which all but two had three not four sheets: "Registrum secundum quod quaterni huius libelli ordinari debent." (Alphonsus de Spina, *Fortalitium*. 1485).

Finally we should consider if 'volumen' might mean 'sheet.' In a letter to Amerbach from about 1483, using the words 'codices' and 'quinterni,' Adolf Rusch disputed how much paper a Rhenish Florin would buy Amerbach in terms of printed books, measured in paper. Hase, *Die Koberger* 65 summarised the letter and assumed that both words meant 'sheets,' in which he was followed by Hartmann in *Amerbachkorrespondenz* I 8, no 7, 26 November [1483?] note 3. Preisendanz "Quaternio" 848 provides a single reference to 'quaternio' being used by Anselm to mean a single sheet. I have not encountered this elsewhere. If 'codex' could mean 'sheet' so might 'volumen' but, as I have seen no examples of 'codex' used to indicate single sheets, I am not yet convinced that Hase's and Hartman's interpretation is right.

I am thus inclined to believe either that Koberger used 'volumen' for 'Buch' as used in paper-trade or, more plausibly, that he used 'volumen,' 'quaternus,' and 'quinternus' more or less indifferently as referring to a gathering consisting of a not very precisely indicated number of leaves but probably not much more than five sheets.

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