

Lyell lecture 4 handout

1. Some figures:—

Author/work	Approx. No. of manuscripts	No. of incunabular editions	No. of textually independent incunabular editions	No. of manuscripts derived from incunabular editions
Ambrose, <i>De fide</i>	73	1	1	1 (but of s. xvi)
Caesar, <i>De bello ciuili</i>		9	1	3
Cato, <i>De agri cultura</i> and/or Varro, <i>De re rustica</i>	48 (and two sets of excerpts)	5	1	3 (also the two sets of excerpts)
Catullus	118	12 (14 edns before 1503)	2	15
Cicero, <i>Pro Roscio Amerino</i> and <i>Pro Murena</i>	144	12	3	2
Curtius Rufus	about 153	6	2	6 (2 only partly so derived)
Cyprian, <i>De ecclesiae unitate</i>	179 (the number of MSS varies from work to work)	5	1	4 (2 only partly so derived)
Dictys Cretensis	77	5	4	1
Leo, <i>Sermones</i> (families, A, B, C, of Chavasse)	90	7	2	5
Livy, books 1–10	202	14 (including a 1501 edn.)	2	8 (also three florilegia deriving ultimately from the same copy)
Porphyrio	24	10	1/2	2
Priscian, <i>Periegesis</i>	47	19	1	11
Vitruvius	84	3	1	2 (both excerpts)

I draw these figures from my own researches. Much of them unpublished, but some published in *A commentary on Livy, books vi–x*, (Oxford, 1997–2005), i. 152–327 (pp. 284–6 on incunables); *Studies in the Transmission of Latin Texts, Volume 1: Quintus Curtius Rufus and Dictys Cretensis* (Oxford, 2020) and Volume 2: *Vitruvius, Cato De Agri Cultura and Varro De Re Rustica, and Priscian Periegesis* (Oxford, 2023); on Priscian's *Periegesis* in R. Hunter and S.P.O. (eds), *Latin literature and its transmission* (Cambridge, 2015), 263–90.

2. L. Hellinga, *Texts in transit* (Leiden, 2014), 244–5.

3. 28,000+ incunabular editions: Hellinga, 2014, p. 20.

4. Hellinga, 2014, p. 42: '[T]he identification of a document (manuscript or printed) as having served as printer's copy can only be based on the presence of compositors' marks alone. When in the absence of marks textual features indicate a close relationship between a source and a printed edition, the possibility of a no longer extant intermediate copy deserves consideration. Conversely, and exceptionally, the presence of marks similar to compositors' marks cannot be taken as decisive evidence if textual features contradict it.'

5. From Bussi's preface to Cyprian: *Conuerti me igitur plurimo incitatus ardore ad sublimis et animi et facundie uirum Dium Cyprianum Carthaginensem Episcopum & eius epistolas in manibus sumpsi. fidentiore ob id conscientia quod olim adolescens famatissimis in scholis parisiensibus agens: quo propter urbis celebritatem: & studiorum feruorem atque animi cultum capessendum concesseram: ex uetustiore exemplari eas manu mea descripseram. ratus quod ita euenit: minus me in eo codice difficultatis & tamen apud tuam sanctitatem & doctissimorum hominum mentes non minus gratie habiturum.*

'Therefore, stirred up with a great deal of enthusiasm, I turned to a man of lofty spirit and eloquence, the godly Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and I took his letters up in my hands, with thoughts all the more confident for this reason: once as a student in the celebrated academies of Paris (where I had taken myself because of the fame of the city and my passion for study and so that I might acquire a cultured outlook) I had transcribed these letters from quite an old exemplar with my own hands. I was expecting what in fact turned out to be the case: I should have less trouble with this manuscript and should acquire no less thanks in the eyes of your Holiness [Pope Paul II] and the thoughts of the most learned men.'

6. Immediate sources of incunabular editions: Hellinga, 2014, ch. 3 (pp. 67–101)

7. Sources of incunabular editions of ancient Latin texts (with Hellinga's nos.):
- 2. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* (Subiaco, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1467, istic ia01230000), from Subiaco, Ms. Sublacense xlii
 - 4. Livy (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469, istic il00236000), from Florence, Ricc. 487 (for books 31–40) and Vat. lat. 6803 (*Periochae*)
 - 7. Pliny, *Natural History* (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470, istic ip00787000), from Vat. lat. 5991
 - 21. Rufinus, *Expositio in symbolum apostolorum* (Oxford, Printer of Rufinus, c. 1478, istic ir00352000), from London, BL, Sloane 1579.
 - 25. Augustine, *Opuscula plurima* (Venice, Dionysius Bertochus, 26 March 1491, istic ia01219000), from London, BL, Add. 69793.
8. Add Darmstadt, Hs. 4216 (22) with J. Staub, 'Zwei Fragmente einer Dares-Dictys-Handschrift vom Beginn des xi. Jahrhunderts, der Vorlage für die kölnner Erstdrucke der Autoren', in U. Berschin and K. H. Staub (edd.), *Fragmenta Darmstadiensia* (Darmstadt, 1997), 53–62.
9. Exemplars for Sweynheym and Pannartz editions (add to 2, 4, and 7 above): 3. Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis* and *Correctio librorum Platonis* (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469, istic ib00518000), from Venice, Marc. lat. Z228 and lat. VI. 60; 5. Strabo, trans Guarino (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, c. 1469, istic is00793000), from Perugia, Com. E 47; 8. Leo, *Sermones* (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469, istic il00129000), from a copy of the 1470 Rome edition printed by Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, now in the Biblioteca Marucelliana of Florence (R.a.247). See P. Scappacchi, 'An Example of Printer's Copy used in Rome, 1470', *The library*, ser. 6, 12 (1990), 50–2; 12. Perotti, *Rudimenta grammatices* (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1473, istic ip00300000), from Vat. lat. 6737.
10. *BMC* 5. 499 on my i and j of Porphyrio: 'The page-contents and style of this book [my i] correspond very closely with the edition of Jo. Aloisius, 23 July 1498 [i.e. my j] . . ., and it may be a reprint from this, in spite of the earlier dating of the colophon'.
11. A misprint in Priscian: in v. 81 Priscian wrote *Qua domini*. **g** has a misprint: *Quando mini*, in which the letters are divided wrongly between the two words **ijkmnqs** and a manuscript all have *Quando mini*, which is a self-evidently a progressive corruption of **g**'s reading. This error is not in itself of great significance: it would have been easy to correct, and therefore the fact that **h** does correct it does not disprove its derivation from **g**. On the other hand, the persistence of the progressive corruption *Quando mini* is a good proof that **ijkmnqs** take their text from **f** via **g**. **i**, **j**, **m**, **n**, **s** constitute half of main incunabular chain; and this is a nice illustration of how even minor errors may persist.
12. E. J. Kenney, *The classical text* (Berkeley, 1974), 18: 'the process of transmission had become, at a stroke, unilinear or "monogenous". With remarkably few exceptions the descent of any given text through the printed editions is in a single line'.
13. For manuscripts copied from incunables, see Bühler, *The fifteenth century book*, pp. 15–16, A. C. de la Mare, 'New research on humanistic scribes in Florence', in A. Garzelli (ed.), *Miniatura fiorentina del rinascimento 1440–1525* (Florence, 1985), I, p. 413, and especially M. D. Reeve, 'Manuscripts copied from printed books', in J. B. Trapp (ed.), *Manuscripts in the fifty years after the invention of printing* (London, 1983), 12–20 = *Manuscripts and methods* (Rome, 2011) 175–83.
14. Neapolitan MSS copied from printed editions: Naples Naz. V A 5 (Cato and Varro), VI C 4 (Cyprian) and Paris, BNF, lat. 1659 (Cyprian).
15. M. Davies, M. (2007). "'Non ve n'è ignuno a stampa": the printed books of Federico da Montefeltro', in M. Simonetta (ed.), *Federico da Montefeltro and his library* (Vatican City, 2007), 63–78.
16. Vat. Urb. lat. 427 derives from Urb. lat. 891 and from the *editio princeps*.
17. Leo's sermons are edited by Chavasse in *Corpus Christianorum* 138 and 138a, Turnhout, 1973.
18. Silesian manuscripts of Leo: Krakow, Biblioteka Jagellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1440 (CC V 6) (owned by Meerboth); Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 141.

Incunables mentioned

Ambrose, *De fide* (part of a collected edition of Ambrose's works)

Basel 1492. Printed by Johann Amerbach and Johannes de Lapide (*ISTC* ia00551000; *GW* 1599; *BMC* 3.753)

Cato, Varro, and other agricultural writers

Venice 1472. *Siglum*: **a**; edited by Georgius Merula and Franciscus Colucia and printed by Nicolaus Jenson (*ISTC* no.: is00346000; *GW* M41065; *BMC* 5. 173).

Reggio Emilia 1482. *Siglum*: **b**; edited by Merula and Colucia and printed by Bartholomaeus de Bruschi (*ISTC* no.: is00347000; *GW* M41059; *BMC* 7. 1086).

Bologna 1494. *Siglum*: **c**; edited by Philippus Beroaldus after Merula and Colucia and printed by Benedictus Hectoris (*ISTC* no.: is00348000; *GW* M41051; *BMC* 6. 841–2).

Reggio Emilia 1496. *Siglum*: **d**; edited Philippus Beroaldus after Merula and Colucia and printed by Dionysius Bertochus (*ISTC* no.: is00349000; *GW* M41055; *BMC* 7. 1090–1).

Reggio Emilia 1499. *Siglum: e*; edited Philippus Beroaldus after Merula and Colucia and printed by Franciscus de Mazalibus (*ISTC* no.: is00350000; *GW* 41062; *BMC* 7. 1089).

Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino* and *Pro Murena*

Rome 1471. *Siglum: a*; edited by Iohannes Andreas Bussi for Sweynheym and Pannartz (*ISTC* ic00541000; *GW* 6761; *BMC* 4. 13, 12. 1).

Venice 1471. *Siglum: b*; edited by Ludovicus Carbo for Christophorus Valdarfer (*ISTC* ic00542000; *GW* 6765; *BMC* 5. 183).

Venice 1472. *Siglum: c*; edited by Adam de Ambergau (*ISTC* ic00541000; *GW* 6766; *BMC* 5. 189).

Bologna 1475. *Siglum: d*; printed by ‘Printer of Barbatia, *Johannina*’ (*ISTC* ic00541600; *GW* 6764);

Milan 1478. *Siglum: e*; printing ascribed to Antonius Zarotus (*ISTC* ic00544000; *BMC* 6.75; *GW* 6762).

Venice 1480. *Siglum: f*; printed by Nicolaus Girardengus, de Novis (*ISTC* ic00545000; *BMC* 5.273; *GW* 6767).

Venice 1483. *Siglum: g*; printed by Johannes de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, and Jacobus Britannicus (*ISTC* ic00545500; *GW* 6763; *BMC* 5. 340).

Venice 1493. *Siglum: h*; printed by Philippus Pincius (*ISTC* ic00546000; *GW* 6768; *BMC* 5. 495).

Venice 1495/6. *Siglum: i*; printed by Bartholomaeus de Zanis (*ISTC* ic00547000; *GW* 6769; *BMC* 5. 432).

Milan *Siglum: j*; edited by Alexander Minutianus, printed by Guillelmus Le Signerre (*ISTC* ic00498000; *GW* 6708; *BMC* 6. 790).

Venice 1499. *Siglum: k*; printed by Bartholomaeus de Zanis (*ISTC* ic00548000; *GW* 6770; *BMC* 5. 433).

Bologna 1499. *Siglum: l*; edited by Philippus Beroaldus for Benedictus Hectoris (*ISTC* ic00549000; *GW* 6771; *BMC* 6. 845).

Curtius Rufus

Venice c.1471. *Siglum: a*; printed by Vindelinus de Spira (*ISTC* ic00998000; *GW* 7871; *BMC* 5. 163).

Rome c.1470–2. *Siglum: b*; printed by Lauer, edited by Pomponio Leto (*ISTC* ic00999000; *GW* 7872; *BMC* 4. 37)

Milan 1481 (26th March). *Siglum: c*; printed by Antonius Zarotus for Johannes de Legnano (*ISTC* ic01000000; *GW* 7873; *BMC* 6. 717)

Verona 1491 (18th August). *Siglum: d*; printed by the ‘Augurellus-printer’ (*ISTC* ic01001000; *GW* 7874; *BMC* 7. 954)

Venice 1494 (17th July). *Siglum: e*; edited by Bartholomaeus Merula and printed by Johannes Tacuinus, (*ISTC* ic01002000; *GW* 7875; *BMC* 5. 528)

Venice 1496 (2nd December). *Siglum: f*; edited by Bartholomaeus Merula and printed by Johannes Tacuinus (*ISTC* ic01003000; *GW* 7876; *BMC* 5. 531)

Cyprianus

Rome 1471. *Siglum: a*; edited by Iohannes Andreas Bussi and printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz (ic01010000; *GW* 7883; *BMC* 4. 12)

Venice 1471. *Siglum: b*; printed by Vindelinus de Spira (*ISTC* ic01011000; *GW* 7884; *BMC* 5. 159)

Deventer c.1477; c; printing ascribed to Ricahrdus Pafraet (*ISTC* ic01012000; *GW* 7886; *BMC* 9. 43)

Venice 1483. *Siglum: d*; printed by Lucas Dominici F. (*ISTC* ic01013000; *GW* 7885; *BMC* 5. 281)

Stuttgart c.1486. *Siglum: e*; printing ascribed to the printer of ‘Erwählung Maximilians’ (*ISTC* ic01014000; *GW* 7887; *BMC* 3. 675)

Dictys Cretensis

Cologne c.1471. *Siglum: a*; printing ascribed to Arnold Ther Hoernen (the ‘Dictys-printer’) (*ISTC* is00184000; *GW* 8324; *BMC* 1. 210). Starts with the prologue and does not contain the epistle.

Mondovi 1472 or 1473. *Siglum: b*; printing ascribed to Antonius Matthiae and Baltasar (*ISTC* id00184500; *GW* 8325). Starts with the epistle and does not have the prologue.

Milan 1477. *Siglum: c*; printing ascribed to Simon Magniagus (*ISTC* id00185000; *GW* 8326; *BMC* 6. 735). Starts with the epistle and does not have the prologue.

Messina 1498. *Siglum: d*; edited by Franciscus Faragonius and printed by Guilelmus Schonberger (*ISTC* id00186000; *GW* 8327). Starts with the epistle and does not have the prologue.

Venice 1499. *Siglum: e*; edited by Franciscus Faragonius and printed by Christophorus de Pensis, de Mandello (*ISTC* id00187000; *GW* 8328). Starts with the epistle and does not have the prologue.

Leo, *Sermones*

Rome 1470. Edited by Iohannes Andreas Bussi; printing ascribed to Iohannes Philippus de Lignamine (*ISTC* il00128500; *GW* 17804; *BMC* 4.29).

Rome 1470. Edited by Iohannes Andreas Bussi and printed by Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz (*ISTC* il00129000; *GW* 17800; *BMC* 4.11)

Basel c. 1474–5. Printing ascribed to Michael Wenssler; contains Bussi’s preface (*ISTC* il0010; *GW* 17797)

Cologne c. 1475. Printing ascribed to Bartholomaeus de Unkel, c. 1475; contains Bussi's preface (*ISTC* il00128500; *GW* 17803; *BMC* 1.241)
Chelmo (?) c. 1477–8. Printing ascribed to an anonymous Polish printing house, perhaps in Chelmo, c. 1477–8 (*ISTC* il00133500; *GW* 17796)
Venice 1482. Printed by Lucas Dominici filius; contains Bussi's preface (*ISTC* il00134000; *GW* 17805; *BMC* 5.281)
Venice 1485. Printed by Andreas de Soziis Parmensis; contains Bussi's preface (*ISTC* il00135000; *GW* 17807; *BMC* 5.398)
Venice 1505. Printed by Bartholomaeus de Zanis; contains Bussi's preface.

Porphyrio's Commentary on Horace (these editions also contain Horace himself, and sometimes other commentaries)

Rome 1472, 1474, or 1475. *Siglum: a.* (*ISTC* no. ih00472000; *GW* 13471; *BMC* 12. 4)
Treviso 1481. *Siglum: b;* printed by Michael Manzolus (*ISTC* no. ih00451000; *GW* 13457; *BMC* 5. 315)
Milan 1485. *Siglum: c;* printed Antonius Zarotus, for Augustinus Maria Conagus (*ISTC* no. ih00452000; *GW* 13461; *BMC* 12. 51)
Milan 1486. *Siglum: d;* printed by Antonius Zarotus for Alexander Minutianus (*ISTC* no. ih00453000; *GW* 13463)
Venice 1490/1. *Siglum: e;* printed by Georgius Arrivabenus (*ISTC* no. ih00454000, *GW* 13464; *BMC* 5. 384)
Venice 1492/3. *Siglum: f;* printed by Philippus Pincius (*ISTC* no. ih00455000, *GW* 13465; *BMC* 5. 494)
Venice 1494. *Siglum: g;* printed by Bonetus Locatellus (*ISTC* no. ih00456000, *GW* 13466; *BMC* 5. 443).
Venice 1495/6. *Siglum: h;* printing ascribed to Philippus Pincius, for Benedictus Fontana (*ISTC* no. ih00458000; *GW* 13467; *BMC* 5. 496–7).
Venice 1498. *Siglum: i;* printing ascribed to Philippus Pincius (*ISTC* no. ih00459000; 13470; *BMC* 5. 498–9)
Venice 1498. *Siglum: j;* printed by Johannes Alvisius (*ISTC* no. ih00460000; *GW* 13469; *BMC* 5. 572)

Priscian, *Periegesis*

a = editio Veneta 1470 ([Vindelinus de Spira]); *ISTC* ip00960000;
b = editio Romana, c. 1470–1 ([Ulrich Han]); *ISTC* ip00960500
c = editio Veneta, 1472 ([Vindelinus de Spira]); *ISTC* ip00961000
d = editio Mediolanensis, 1475 or 1476
e = editio Veneta, 1475 or 1476 (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen); ip00964000
f = editio Veneta, 1476 ([Jacobus de Fivizzano, Lunensis] for Marcus de Comitibus and Gerardus Alexandrinus); *ISTC* ip00965000
g = editio Veneta, 15.12.1481 (Michael Manzolus); *ISTC* ip00966000
h = editio Veneta, 18.7.1482 (Erhard Ratdolt); *ISTC* im00452000; contains Mela followed by the *Periegesis*
i = editio Veneta, 22.9.1485 (Hannibal Foxius et socii); *ISTC* ip00967000
j = editio Veneta, 4.12.1488 (Georgius Arrivabenus); *ISTC* ip00968000
k = editio Veneta, 20.6.1492 (Philippus Pincius); *ISTC* ip00969000
l = editio Vindobonensis, c. 1494–5 (Johann Winterburg); *ISTC* id00258000; contains only the *Periegesis*
m = editio Veneta, 20.10.1495 (Philippus Pincius); *ISTC*; ip00970000
n = editio Veneta, 21.2.1496 or 1497 (Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus); *ISTC* ip 00971000
o = editio Romana, 1497/8 ([Johann Besicken]; 'per Pomponius [sc. Laetus] correctus; entitled 'DIONYSIVS LATINE INTERPRETATVS PER FANNIVM'; contains only the *Periegesis*). *ISTC* id00259200
p = editio Coloniensis, 31.8.1499 ([Cornelis de Zierikzee]); *ISTC* id00259300; contains only the *Periegesis*
q = editio Deventerensis, 1499/1500 ([Jacobus de Breda]); *ISTC* id00259100; contains only the *Periegesis*
r = editio Deventer, c. 1499–1500 ([Richardus Pafraet]). *ISTC* id00259400; contains only the *Periegesis*
s = editio Veneta, 19.3.1500 (Philippus Pincius); *ISTC* ip00972000
t = editio Mediolanensis, 1.11.1503 (Alexander Minutianus).

Vitruvius

Rome, c. 1486/7. *Siglum: a;* edited by Iohannes Sulpicius of Veroli, with printing ascribed to Eucharius Silber. Vitruvius is coupled with Frontinus' *de aquis*. The range 1486–92 has traditionally been offered for this edn, but it must have been printed before 16. 8. 1487. See *ISTC* no. if00324000 and iv00306000; *GW* M51000; *BMC* 4. 124.
Florence and Venice 1495/6. *Siglum: b;* edited by Johannes Supicius of Veroli and printed by Christophorus de Pensis; coupled with Frontinus (as above) and the Panepistemon and Lamia of Politian. The Vitruvius is dated and localized to Florence 13th Nov. 1495, the Politian to Venice 1496. See *ISTC* no. iv00307000; *GW* M50994; *BMC* 5. p. xlii (on the confusing double dating) and 474
Venice 1497. *Siglum: c;* printed by Simon Bevilaqua; coupled with the texts in the preceding edition and also with Cleonides *Harmonicum introductorium*. See *ISTC* no. ic00742000; *GW* 6. 730–1; *BMC* 5. 522.

