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PHILOLOGY AND ARS ARTIFICIALITER SCRIBENDI:
A PRINTER'S MODEL COPY?
(HARVARD, HOUGHTON LIBRARY, TYP INC. 4390)

Abstract

This paper proves that the manuscript quire bound at the end of Harvard, Houghton Library, Typ Inc. 4390 (Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon*, Venice, Ratdolt, 1483) is not, as it was thought, one of the very few printer's model copy that we know, but – on the contrary – just a manuscript which was copied by the later Henri Estienne edition of 1512.

Keywords

Eusebius Caesariensis; Henri Estienne; incunabula.

1. *Foreword: a printer's model copy?*

Typ Inc 4390 is a copy of Eusebius' *Chronicon* printed in Venice by Erhard Ratdolt on September 13th 1483. In this copy – formerly in the library of the book collector Charles Butler – the tenth leaf of its final quire (X10) has been cut away. A manuscript quire made by six leaves is bound immediately after. This quire is identical to the corresponding text printed in Paris in 1512 by Henri Estienne at the end of his edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (PT). Here is the description of the two editions:¹

Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon*. Tr: Hieronymus. Add: Prosper Aquitanus, Matthaëus Palmerius Florentinus and Matthias Palmerius Pisanus. Ed: Johannes Lucilius Santritter, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 13 Sept. 1483 (ISTC ie00117000).

4°. [π¹²] a-v⁸ x¹⁰

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1 In this paper I am recording just those sections which we are dealing with; for a closer description of Ratdolt's edition see *Bod-Inc Online* datas – which I have adjusted in accordance with Way's description (<http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/record/E-040>); for Estienne's one see BP16 ([http://bp16.bnf.fr: numero de notice BP16_101962](http://bp16.bnf.fr:numero_de_notice/BP16_101962)) and RENOARD 1969), 90-91. On Ratdolt's edition and on Mattia Palmieri *De temporibus* see BERTOLINI 2009.

- [π2r] 'Tabula operis huius.'
 [π12r] C. J. L. H. [i.e. Santritter, Johannes Lucilius: Verse addressed to the reader]
 a1r blank
 a2r [Exhortation to the scribe.]
 Hieronymus: [Introductory letter, addressed to] Vincentius and Galienus [i.e. Gennadius].
 'Praefatio.'
 a3v Eusebius: 'Eusebii interpretata praefatio'. Translated by Hieronymus.
 a6r [Eusebius pseudo-(?)]: 'Exordium libri.'
 b2v [Eusebius pseudo-(?)]: 'Reges gentium diuersarum.'
 b6v Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon*
 n5v Prosper Tiro Aquitanus [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 448]
 o3v Palmerius Florentinus, Matthaëus: [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 1448]
 u1r Palmerius Pisanus, Matthias: 'Opusculum de temporibus suis' [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 1481]
 x9v Santritter, Johannes Lucilius [Verse addressed to the reader.] Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon*.

Tr: Hieronymus. Add: Prosper Aquitanus, Matthaëus Palmerius Florentinus and Matthias Palmerius Pisanus. Johannes Multivallis]. Ed. Johannes Multivallis. Paris, Josse Bade, Henri Estienne, June 13th 1512 (BP16: 101962).
 4°. [20] 1-173 (= 174); a-b^s, c^t, A-X^s, Y^e.

- a1r Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon*
 n[5]v (101v) Prosper Tiro Aquitanus [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 448]
 O3r (107r) Palmerius Florentinus, Matthaëus: [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 1448]
 V1r (153r) Palmerius Pisanus, Matthias: 'Opusculum de temporibus suis' [Continuation of *Chronicon* to 1481]
 y1v (169v) Multivallis Johannes, *Nova additio* [to 1512]
 y5v (175v = 173v) Multivallis Johannes, *Lectoribus salutem*
 Pontanus Michaelis, *Decastichos*
Errata corrige
 y6v [174r] [blank]

As can be seen from these two records, the sole substantial supplement that was added in Estienne's edition is the *Nova additio* written by the humanist Johannes Multivallis (i.e. Jehan de Mouveaux), which brought the chronicle down to the year 1512 and whose text is the same found in the MS quire mentioned above.

In a thirty page paper issued in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* in 2003,² Peter Way maintained that the MS quire must be considered a «model copy» for Estienne's edition. My statement is, on the contrary, that the MS quire was copied from the printed edition. Let us follow Way's own words:³

The copy is in near pristine condition with only a few wormholes and minor damage to the bottom of the first page of the index section ($\pi 2$) [*i.e.* *2r] where an early owner's inscription (only partially legible) dated "Venetiis 1483", has been bleached out. A slightly trimmed note at the top of the first blank leaf ($\pi 1$) [*i.e.* *1r] written in an abbreviated Latin typical of the period appears to refer to the 12-page MS inserted at the end of the volume. The inscription reads: "Eusebii est aliud ibi corpibus" [The other part of the Eusebius is there in the corpus]. [...] The MS duplicates the last quire of the 1512 printed text (PT) in all its details including the page layout, print makeup, along with the red and black letters and decorative initials. The first four leaves of the MS gathering are marked with the signatures Yi, Yii, Yiii, and Yiiii and have been numbered fols. 169-172. Folio 173 is incorrectly numbered "175", as found in the PT. The last leaf (fol. 174), whose verso side is blank, is not numbered.

And again:⁴

With its careful lettering and layout, which mirror all the details of the PT, the MS neither resembles a simple copy of a printed text nor represents a "typical" printer's copy, which is normally written in longhand with estimated lines, paragraphs, and page endings indicated by various printer's marks. The text, as we will see, represents a fair, dummy, and mockup copy all in one. Among the documented printer's copies of the period the only equivalent is the famous autograph copy composed by Hartmann Schedel for his *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle) as printed by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg in 1493. Schedel's MS copy, which establishes the page layout and makeup including the initials and illustrations, was composed for the printer by the author in collaboration with the illustrators. As Janssen has pointed out, there is no technical term for such a combined fair and mockup copy. He proposes the term "model copy".

Thus, the absence of «estimated lines, paragraphs, and page endings indicated by various printer's marks» would suggest to us that the MS quire is a «model copy» rather than a «printer's copy». I wonder if this different label could jus-

² WAY 2003. A first and substantially identical issue of this paper had appeared in WAY 2002, where in the *Notes on contributors* Way is called an «independent scholar». From now onwards I will rely directly on Way's words, trying to assemble together

topics that are often scattered in different sections of his paper and using, for convenience, its same abbreviations.

³ WAY 2003, p. 93

⁴ WAY 2003, p. 106.

tify the presence of the signatures in the lower margin of the MS quire – the sole detail that the compositor did not need at all – and, more surprisingly, in the very same place one can find them in the printed book. Hartmann Schedel's manuscript of the *Liber chronicarum* used as a 'model copy' for Koberger's 1493 printed edition bore, as is well explained by Frins A. Janssen's paper quoted by Way, «precise instructions for the compositor whereabouts within the text area the text should be placed, what initials have to be used for it and where the woodcuts have to be located». ⁵ Everyone would admit that Mouveaux's supplement cannot be compared to the complexity of Schedel's *Liber*, anyway and moreover our MS quire has no trace of instructions.

It could be quite enough to suspect that the MS quire is a simple copy of PT, a hypothesis definitely rejected by Way: ⁶

One could argue that the MS represents a simple copy of the PT meant to bring the 1483 edition down to the year 1512. For a complex of reasons including the date of the watermark (see below) and the fact that Mouveaux's additions were replaced by more accurate materials shortly after they had been printed such copy would most likely have been made before the corrected edition of 1518 or, at the very latest, before Petri's augmented edition of 1529.

At any event: ⁷

to resolve the question whether the MS was copied from the PT or written out independently as a model copy for the printer there are essentially two types of evidence – first, the circumstantial evidence pertaining to the paper, ink, and idiosyncrasies of the handwriting, including the history of the publication; and second, the contextual evidence deriving from a comparison of the printed and the MS texts. As is true of any textual tradition an analysis of the variants in the two versions will reveal the stemma or relative sequence of the copies. In my experience, given a text of sufficient length, one can always determine whether copy A copied from copy B or the reverse and, moreover, whether either version derives from another source. This is the most important element of the argument –

To follow Way's reasoning we have to add that (101) «given his classical education» Mouveaux (who, in his work, was probably helped by Michel Dupont – Michaelis Pontanus – the author of the *Decastichos*) was well acquaint-

⁵ JANSSEN 1991, p. 12. Neither Janssen nor Way is quoted by HELLINGA 2014 (see especially chapters 2, *The Text in the Printing House: Printer's Copy*, and 3 *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*,

record n° 28 on the printer's copy for Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*), possibly because she only deals with fifteenth century books.

⁶ WAY 2003, p. 106.

ed with Greek and Latin, he was able to prepare, to correct, to edit a text and avoid the most common mistakes, thus, we must blame the compositor for that. Mouveaux was not only the copyist (or the overseer) of the MS quire but also the editor of the whole text:⁸

The editorial remarks and colophon at the end of the MS inform us that Iohannis Muvallis Tornacensis (Jehan de Mouveaux from Tournai) and Michaelis Pontanus (Michel Dupont) co-edited the edition for Henri Estienne, who published the book in collaboration with Josse Bade on the Ides [13th] of June [...] Mouveaux, as part of his role as “director”, copied or oversaw the copying of the quire.

I am going to start from Way's «circumstantial evidence». I will assume among them all the main features concerning the Houghton Library copy, trying either to follow, when possible, Way's own steps (and I will have to repeat a few lines quoted above), or to gather them from different sections of his paper when it seemed more suitable to my argument.

2. Circumstantial evidence: inscriptions, page numbering, watermarks

2.1. Inscriptions

As to the provenance and owner's evidence Way's description runs as follows:⁹

to the bottom of the first page of the index section (π_2) [*i.e.* *2r] [...] an early owner's inscription (only partially legible) dated “Venetiis 1483”, has been bleached out. A slightly trimmed note at the top of the first blank leaf (π_1) [*i.e.* *1r] written in an abbreviated Latin typical of the period appears to refer to the 12-page MS inserted at the end of the volume. The inscription reads: “Eusebii est aliud ibi corpibus” [The other part of the Eusebius is there in the corpus]. [...]. As noted, the MS copy of the final gathering for the 1512 edition appears to have been bound with the Butler copy of the 1483 edition since the first half of the sixteenth century. Besides the contemporary note written at the top of the first blank page, which refers to the “Eusebii ... aliud” (the other part of the “Eusebius” – *i.e.* the new section), there are other compelling reasons to believe the association goes back to the time of the MS and the Butler copy was in fact used by Estienne as the model for his edition.

7 WAY 2003, p. 107.

8 WAY 2003, pp. 97 and 108

9 WAY 2003, pp. 93 and 108.

In fact, with the help of the ultraviolet lamp, the first inscription reads as follows: «Ad usum P(atrum) Capucinum He[...]ensium / Venetiis 1483».¹⁰ Meanwhile, «Eusebii est aliud ibi corpibus» is neither Latin nor the text of the second inscription which actually reads: «Eusebius de t(em)p(or)ib(us)» (fig. 1 and 2, PT c. π2r), no less than the Latin title of Eusebius' work, and nothing to do with the final manuscript index.

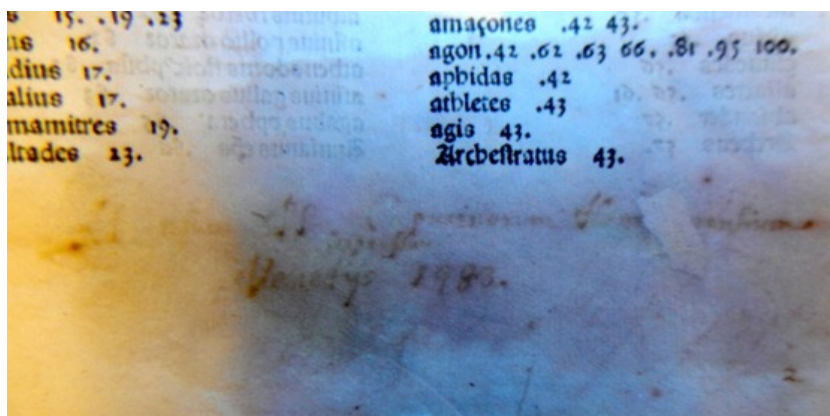


Fig. 1: PT c. π2r.

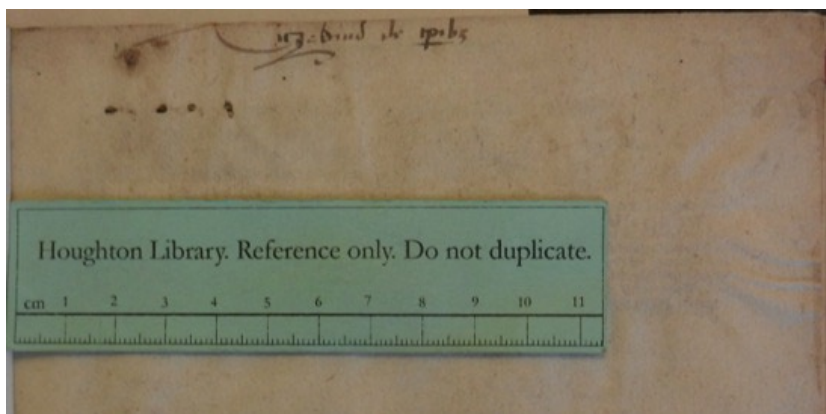


Fig. 2: PT c. π2r.

¹⁰ WHITESELL 2006, p. 65. I notice here that among the two other copies of this edition now at the Houghton Library, Typ 515.12.373 and Inc 4390

(B), the second bears the following inscription «Peregrini Prisciani / nu(mer)o .49». – the well known humanist Pellegrino Prisciani.

2.2. Page numbering

A second step concerns the handwritten numbers marked on the Houghton's copy:¹¹

The first six leaves of the index section have been numbered in the lower right hand margin by a hand identical to that of the MS. The writer uses the same older forms for 4 (𐌲) and 5 (𐌺). The numbers mark the first six signatures of the 12-folio quire, which are printed without signatures. A slightly different contemporary hand has foliated the 168 leaves of the text itself beginning on the second leaf of the first quire (a2). The foliation 1-168 does not begin on the first blank leaf, as it should, but rather on the first page of the prologue (a2). As a consequence, the foliation does not correspond to the folio numbers listed in the index section. The only coherent explanation for both series, which do not serve the needs of a reader, is an editor wrote them into the copy to calculate the length and structure of the two sections and to coordinate the folio numbers with those found in the 1512 edition. [...] The idiosyncrasies of the script and the older form of 4 (𐌲), 5 (𐌺), and 7 (𐌷) along with the shape of the paragraph marker are not at all characteristic of the Ile de France region during the period. They are, however, typical of the lower Rhine region including Picardy and Flanders. Either Mouveaux or Dupont, who came respectively from Tournai and Samer, could have written out the MS. [...] The form of 4, 5, and 7 point to either Mouveaux or Dupont, who came from Picardy and the lower Rhine region.

As Way himself admits, the hand that foliated the 168 leaves is different from the one that foliated the MS quire. A fact that sounds curious, as it is supposed that the model copy, once assembled, would have been foliated sequentially by the same hand (but, again, compositors didn't need those instructions at all). Looking closer, it is not true that this foliation could not «serve the needs of a reader». If we take into consideration Ratdolt's initial *Tabula operis* (i.e. the *Index*) cc. [π2r-12r], it is easy to notice that it does not follow our modern pagination. The entry «Labdon», for instance, is located at c. 39, but it is really at c. 38v in our way of numbering; «Quadratus» is at c. 89, which corresponds to our 88v; «Archilla» is at c. 104, which corresponds to our 103v; «Bernardinus senensis» at c. 153 (= c. 152v); «Lando» at c. 128 (= c. 127v), and so on. In short, the printer's index follows the openings and not the recto verso order as we do now; the hand that foliated the incunabulum strictly applied its way of numbering and intended, exactly, to «serve the needs of a reader».

¹¹ WAY 2003, pp. 100, 108-09.

This has nothing to do with the second hand that foliated the MS supplement, and nothing to do with a model copy.

2.3. Watermarks

The third argument concerns the watermarks:¹²

Each of the three folded half-sheets, which make up the MS quire, carry the watermark 'caput bovis' with a serpent coiled around a stick. An identical watermark is documented and dated between 1506 and 1510 by both Piccard and Briquet. The particular form of the Ox-head and serpent indicate it is French. Moreover, the same 'caput bovis' is found with a T above the serpent, indicating that the paper came from Troyes, which was the center of the paper industry in France at the time. Briquet dates the watermark to 1506, 1507, 1510. The watermark clearly points to the Ile de France region during the period 1506-1512. Either Estienne or Bade could have used this paper.

Actually Estienne's 1512 edition shows two watermarks, the first one is identical to Briquet 8090, a small 'b' surmounted by a cross, that has been found at Troyes in 1501 and in 1510-12 (fig. 3, c. 70); a second one I was not able to identify, but is certainly not a 'tête de boeuf' (fig. 4-5, cc. 114 and 167). It seems to me more likely that, if the MS quire was prepared in connection with (or inside) Estienne's printing office, Mouveaux would have used the same paper to copy it. Moreover, the watermarks recorded by Way are just similar to Briquet's and Piccard's, not identical (fig. 6, c. [176 = Yvi]), and they could have been used later as well.¹³ It must be remembered that early imprints had a wide and relatively fast circulation, as is proved by the purchasing note in Houghton Library's copy of Rolewinck *Faciculus temporum* we will soon deal with, printed in Paris by Jean Petit in 1512 (c. M6v) «Et Io(hannes) Pe(trus) Viceco(mitis) prep(ositus) Mediol(anensis) emit eum p(retio) libr(arum) 3 imp(erialium) MDXVIII».

¹² WAY 2003, pp. 108-09.

¹³ At any event watermarks would rather indicate the characteristics of the paper than a trademark. Printers bought reams of paper with a certain wa-

termark because it had to meet certain requirements (consistency, size, etc.). The possibility of referring it to a specific paper maker is therefore not guaranteed (see on this topic ORNATO et alii 2001).

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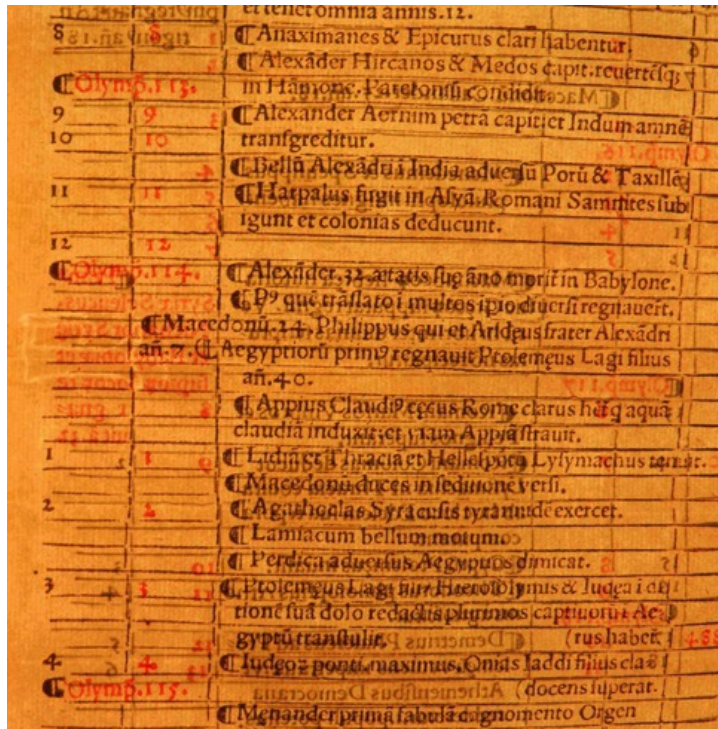


Fig. 3: Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1512, c. 70 (watermark)

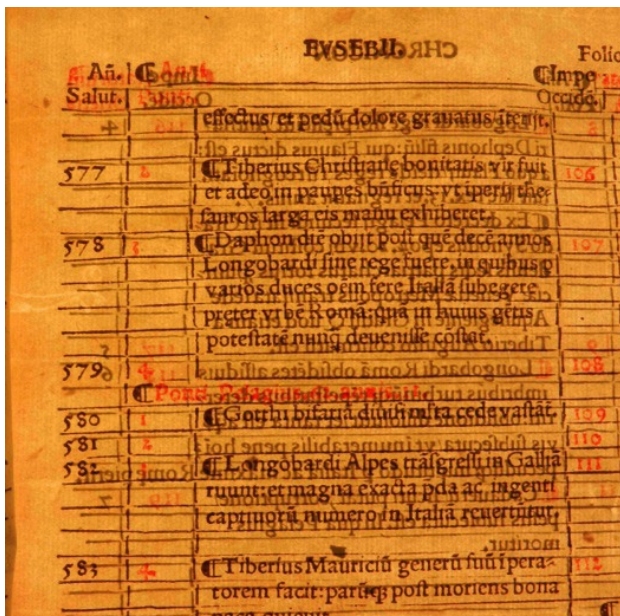


Fig. 4: *ibid.*, c. 114 (watermark). Fig. 5: *ibid.*, c. 167 (watermark).

3. Contextual evidences: significant mistakes, *fautes à faire* and the role Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum*

3.1. Significant mistakes and *fautes à faire*

Once more, let us begin with Way's own words:¹⁴

The fact that ten printer's errors involving various dates and titles found in the PT, are all correctly written in the MS text also implies the text was not copied from the PT.

First of all, it is necessary to distinguish different kinds of mistakes. Some of them are easy to make and easy to correct or, better, to accommodate (the so-called *fautes à faire*), while underhand mistakes are more difficult to recognize and to correct.

In the first category I place the following errors in the manuscript, as listed by Way: «on page 339 [*Yiir*] under 1492, "Pope eius nominis 8", is mistakenly printed for "Pontifex Alexander eius nominis 6",»¹⁵ and this last one is the correct number of the manuscript. Now Alexander VI Borgia was a pope well known by everyone (this is more likely if we suppose that our copyist was a clergyman or a friar), so much so that in the Regensburg Staatsbibliothek's copy of the 1512 Estienne edition of Eusebius's *Chronicon* the number 8 is corrected in 6 by a second hand. In the same way (*Yiiv*) pope «Pius 2» was mistakenly printed for «Pius 3», but it could have been easily corrected as it happened in the MS quire, above all if we consider that our copyist had in front of him the right form «Pio tertio» just eight lines below and in red ink: he probably wrote all the *rubricae* together and in a second stage, thus he read both the lines at the same time, and corrected the first one. On the same page «the date of the Creation 6691 has been shifted so it is incorrectly facing the year 1491

¹⁴ WAY 2003, p. 110.

¹⁵ WAY 2003, p. 110. On his own initiative Way (WAY 2003, p. 100) established a correspondence between fols. 169-174 and pages 337-348, following his page numbering; which is pretty confusing (so that page 339 corresponds to f. 170 = *Yiir*, and so on): I indicate in italic and between parenthesis the folios numbering. Clearly the compositor did not disassemble the page layout at anytime. Instead he

changed only the parts of his text that he was compelled to change. The heading in red were printed separately by passing each sheet a second time through the press. I suspect that a careless compositor, typesetting both headings («Ponti. Alexander eius nois 8» and «Ponti. Innocētig eig nois 8») at the same time, took from his case the number 8 he had just used for Innocentius, and inserted it in the line for Alexander.

rather than 1492». Yet looking at the structure of the chronological table it is evident that both the date of Creation and the Western Emperor's years (52, 53) have been mis-registered and they should face the corresponding numbers of the pontificate (4, 5) both in red. The kind of correction that every writer would have realized by himself, mainly if we remember he had to write down and to fill in the chronological table line by line (fig. 7, a-b).¹⁶

IOANNIS MVVALLIS ADDITIO. Fol. 170.

Ab. Anni.	Impator. Anni	Salutis. Pontif.	Occidētis. mundi
1487	1	48	48
Regnū Beticū qd & Granatē dicitur virtute bellica a rege Hispanie obtinet/ egregiū laudabile & CHRISTIANVM facinorū decusq; Hispanorum imortale.			
Pontif. Innocētus eius nois. 8. sedit ānis. 5. mē. 11.			
1488	1	49	49
1489	2	50	50
1490	3	51	51
Venetos Innocētus potifex/ ab interdico ecclesiastico & cēlura/ i eos a suo pdecessore fulmiata: liberavit & absoluit.			
1491	4	52	52
1492	5	53	53
Pontif. Maximus Innocētus (āno sui potificali 12. ferme pacto morit/ & apud sanctū Petrū magna funeris pompa sepelitur.			
Pontif. Alexander eius nois. 8. Hispan. añ. 11. die. 8.			
1493	1	54	54
Frederico. 3. iperatore mortuo: Maximilianus eius filius qui iā cū patre ānis. 7. regnauerat rex Romanorū solus regnat. añ.			
Maximilianus Romanorū rex. añ. 7.			
1494	2	55	55
Carolus rex Frācie: Parnigiacū & Rossillonē restituit regi Aragonie.			
Ordo penitentiu mulierū ex mulierib; publice peccatricib; Parisius cepit/ per pdicationē fratris Ioānis Tisseranti ordinis minorū inchoatus.			
Hermolabus Barbarus Venet; patriarcha Aglicē. nō sine graui bonarū iactura Rome moritur.			
Frater Hieronymus Ferrariensis/ qui a Florentinis ppheta credebatur: aduentū Gallorū in Italiam p̄dicat.			
Carolus eius nois octauus: paulo post exercitū per Italiā ducens Neapolim petit.			
Angelus Politianus vir eloquentissimus & lingue latinę vindex: atq; illustrator Florentie moritur.			

Y.ij.

Ioannis Mvualis Additio. Folio. 170.

Ab. Anni.	Impator. Anni	Salutis. Pontif.	Occidētis. mundi.
1487	1	48	48
Regnū Beticū qd & Granatē dicitur virtute bellica a rege Hispanie obtinetur/ egregiū laudabile et christianū sanctū/ decusq; Hispanorum imortale.			
Pontif. Innocētus eius nois. 8. sedit ānis. 5. mē. 11.			
1488	1	49	49
1489	2	50	50
1490	3	51	51
Venetos Innocētus pontifex/ ab interdico ecclesiastico et cēlura/ in eos a suo pdecessore fulmiata: liberavit et absoluit.			
1491	4	52	52
1492	5	53	53
Pontif. maximus Innocētus (āno sui pontificali 12. ferme pacto moritur/ et apud sanctū Petrum magna funeris pompa sepelitur.			
Pontif. Alexander eius nois. 8. Hispan. añ. 11. die. 8.			
1493	1	54	54
Frederico. 3. iperatore mortuo: Maximilianus eius filius qui iā cū patre ānis. 7. regnauerat rex Romanorū solus regnat. añ.			
Maximilianus Romanorū rex añ. 7.			
1494	2	55	55
Carolus rex Frācie: Parnigiacū et Rossillonē restituit regi Aragonie.			
Ordo penitentiu mulierū ex mulierib; publice peccatricib; Parisius cepit/ per pdicationē fratris Ioānis Tisseranti ordinis minorū inchoatus.			
Hermolabus Barbarus Venet; patriarcha Aglicē. nō sine graui bonarū iactura Rome moritur.			
Frater Hieronymus Ferrariensis/ qui a Florentinis ppheta credebatur: aduentū Gallorū in Italiam p̄dicat.			
Carolus eius nois octauus: paulo post exercitū p Italiā ducens Neapolim petit.			
Angelus Politianus vir eloquentissimus et lingue latinę vindex: atq; illustrator Florentie moritur.			

Y.ij.

Fig. 7.a: PT, c. Yiir

Fig. 7.b: MS, c. Yiir.

16 The same thing could be said about Yiiiv (Way's page 342), where 2504 is printed for 1504 and the

following 1505 and 1506 are printed as 1495 and 1496 (WAY 2003, p. 110 n. 33).

The following examples are much more interesting. «On page 343 [Yiiiiir] under 1509 the MS correctly reads “obtinētur” i.e. “obtinentur” in place of “optinetur”» in the 1512 edition.¹⁷ The Latin text of the 1512 edition tells us that «Veneti instructis utrinque aciebus cum Ludovico Francorum rege confligunt a quo optinetur in campo et Bartholomęus Dalvianus dux exercitus eorum captus primum ducitur Mediolanum, deinde in Galliam». This is a famous episode of the War of the League of Cambrai, when the Venetian armies were defeated at Agnadello by Francis I, and the famous chieftain Bartolomeo d’Alviano was held by the French armies on the field of battle and subsequently brought to France, where he remained in prison for four years.¹⁸ The passage is controversial, because it is possible to read both «a quo optinetur in campo et Bartholomęus Dalvianus» [by whom, Francis I, also Bartolomeo d’Alviano, was captured on the field of battle], and also (interpreting «Veneti» as subject of both the verbs and adding an ‘n’ to the second one) «a quo optine[n]tur» [by whom, Francis I, the Veneti were captured], as the MS reads and as Heinrich Petri’s 1529 edition did, correcting the previous text. The second option, although less likely (all the chronicles report Alviano’s capture), could have been spontaneously inserted in the text by analogy with the previous plural verb «confligunt» (‘they fight, they were captured’).

On the following page Estienne’s text reads «Rex etiam Hispaniae Brundisium, Tarentum et alia ab eisdem [i.e. the *Venetians*] detenta, suę ditionis recuperat loca”. The words «suę ditionis» must be referred to «loca» [The King of Spain recovers Taranto, Brindisi and other regions of his rule, which once belonged to his jurisdiction, held by the Venetians],¹⁹ but the passage is difficult due to the distance between «loca» and the previous «alia». The writer, ill at ease, added the conjunction «-que,» referring it to the previous participle «detenta» (and reading ‘held by the Venetians and previously belonging to his jurisdiction’, or, as Way translated, ‘also under his rule’), which is unnecessary, the passage being clear as it is.

At c. 175 [= *rectius* 173] verso Michel Dupont’s poem reads, in the printed text, «lubet» (line 1), where the MS has «Iubet», which is a misunderstanding

¹⁷ WAY 2003, p. 110.

¹⁸ PIERI 1960.

¹⁹ These territories, the so called ‘Porti pugliesi’, were taken by the republic of Venice in 1496 and were recovered by King Ferdinand II in 1509. Livy’s

quotation (*Hist.* XXI 60, and also 53) is not correct as «suae ditionis facere» means ‘to conquest, to reduce under someone’s rule something that before was not, to gain property of something’.

ing of the writer who apparently did not know the archaic form of ‘libet’ and therefore changed it to the more familiar ‘Iubet’. At line 7 the poem reads «Hic legere est brevibus quę mille volumina tangunt» [‘here, reader, you can find a summary of what is written in thousands of volumes’], while the MS has «nulle» instead of «mille,» which makes no sense and is unacceptable from a metrical point of view (the verse scan requires a dactyl «mīllē vōlumina», vs. «nullae vō-»). But during the transcription process, which is often mechanical, «nulle» could have been conveyed by the previous «quę,» a neutral plural interpreted as a feminine.²⁰ This last case presents a considerable obstacle to Way’s reconstruction. In order to bypass it Way is compelled to say that Mouveaux «would have copied Dupont’s poem and errata list from a MS copy most likely written in Gothic script».²¹ This is a rather far-fetched conjecture which leads us to think that Mouveaux, notwithstanding «his classical education», was not carefully overseeing or didn’t know Latin well enough to recognize a couple of errors like these– the same errors that a tired writer, who had reached the end of his quire, might have committed by temporary lapses in attention (fig. 8.a-b).

3.2. *Mouveaux’s Nova additio and Rolewinck’s Fasciculus temporum*

One of Way’s strongest results, on the other hand, is his discovery that Mouveaux’s supplement in Estienne’s edition drew on Werner Rolewinck’s *Fasciculus temporum*, which was also printed in Paris in 1512 by Jean Petit. It is likely that Estienne had decided to enrich his edition by drawing additional items from Rolewinck’s work, and asked Mouveaux to arrange his addition and to bring it down to the year 1512, but was compelled to rush the printing in order to publish his book close to Petit’s. Charged with preparing Estienne’s supplement, Mouveaux (who, we must remember, is capable of mistaking «Iubet» for «lubet», and «nulle» for «mille»):²²

²⁰ A third mistake Way attributes to the *Errata* of Estienne’s edition which – Y[5]v l. 3 of the *Errata* – should read «legendum» instead of «scribendum» of the MS. This is actually Way’s misreading (WAY 2003, pp. 111 n. 36 and 112 n. 41), who reports that some printed copies, one of which he owns, read «scribendum» too. As a matter of fact the two copies I could examine at the Houghton Library

(*MGC Eu77C E512 and Typ 515.12.373) both read «scribendum,» like the one belonging to the Regensburg Staatsbibliothek (Patr. 637) and digitized by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of München. Way’s «legendum» is a ghost taken from line 4 (Y[5]v l. 4 «Agarini legendū Agareni»).

²¹ WAY 2003, p. 111.

²² WAY 2003, p. 114.

Philology and ars artificialiter scribendi: a printer's model copy?

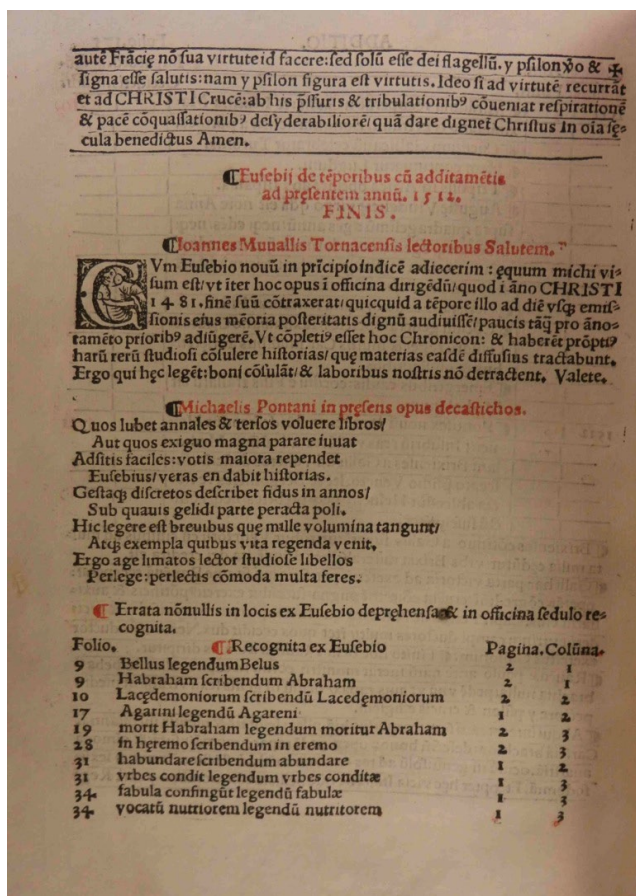


Fig. 8.a: PT, c. Y[5]v.

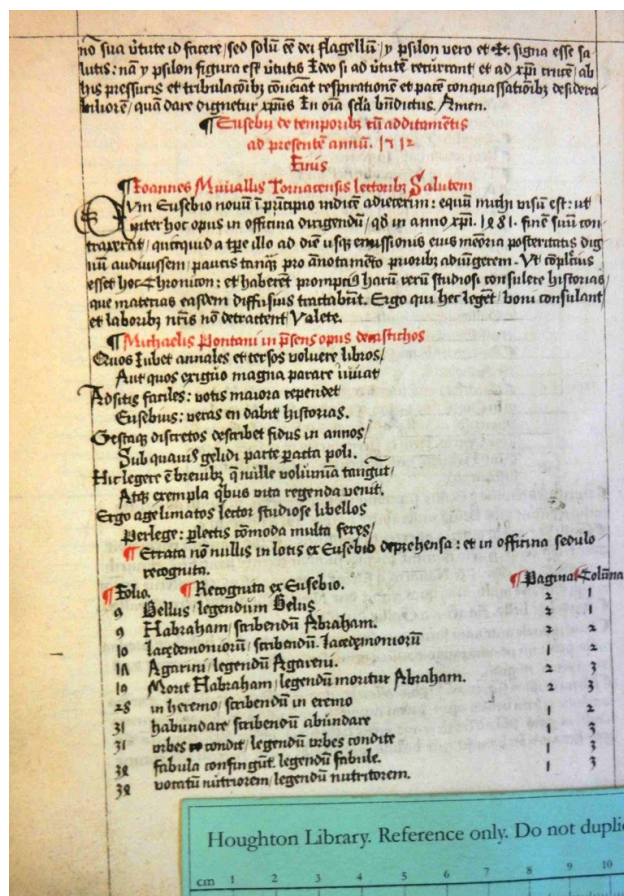


Fig. 8.b: MS, c. Y[5]v.

corrects the faulty Latin and some errors of fact found in Petit's text. He emends "terromotus" to "terremotus"; "dirupitur" to "diripitur"; "assistantibus" to "assistentibus", and "obtinetur" to "obtinetur", and correctly changes the number of days of Pius III's papacy from 17 to 27 days

On the other hand:

many of the idiosyncrasies of usage and spelling found in Petit's edition are duplicated in the MS but altered in the PT [...]. The above correlations along with the fact that all the printer's errors found in the PT have been corrected in the MS text, except those deriving from the 1512 edition of the *Fasciculus*, clearly demonstrates that the MS was not copied from the PT but rather composed independently in consultation with Petit's text

Hence, Mouveaux did not make a mistake but in those passages he drew from Petit's text (or another source that is not indicated). Following are some examples that I have gathered here according to their nature, adding some new ones to Way's list:²³

On page 339 [Y*iiir*] just before the year 1494 the printed section title in red ink reads: "Maximilianus Romanorum rex annis 1", which makes no sense. The title should mark the duration of the imperial rule through 1512 when the Chronicle ends. The MS has "Maximilianus Romanorum rex annis 5" (1494-1498), which implies that Mouveaux initially ended his narrative in 1498 or, more likely, one of his sources did. The above errors are not corrected until Petri's edition of 1529, which prints "annis 19" (1494-1512). Maximilian remained emperor until his death in 1519. It is highly unlikely that a copier, who left other obvious errors unchanged (see below), could have selectively corrected all ten printer's errors without introducing any of his own.

But Mouveaux, whom Way assumes to be the author of our MS, knew very well that in 1512 Maximilian had been Emperor for 19 years, and correctly indicated this at Y[5]r in the fourth column «Imperatorum Occidentis,» which goes to its 19th year. Therefore, if he knew what he was writing, he did not have any reason to write 5 instead of 1. To justify it, as we have seen, Way supposes «that Mouveaux initially ended his narrative in 1498 or, more likely, one of his sources did». But he is not able to find out this source and explain why Mouveaux could have written 5 instead of 1 or 19; thus his statement remains unproved. I believe either that in the 1512 edition the compositor had forgotten to insert a 9 after the number 1, or, much more likely, that the line should be read «Maximilian(us) Romanor(um) rex an(nus) 1» (the first year of Maximilian's rule as Emperor), because in 1512 he was still alive, his reign – as Mouveaux knew very well – was not concluded and its final length could not be indicated. Therefore it was not the compositor who misread the MS quire, but the writer of our MS, who, as we have seen, was used to drawing a "5" in a shape very similar to our number "1," who misread the printed text and mistook a "1" for a "5", and wrote a nonsensical statement (fig. 9.a-b).²⁴

23 WAY 2003, p. 110.

24 WAY 2003, pp. 100, and 110 n. 34.

IOANNIS MVVALLIS ADDITIO. Fol. 170.

Ab. Anni.	Impator. Anni	Salutis. Pontif.	Occidētis. mundi
1487	1	48	
Regnū Beticū qd & Granatę dicit virtute bellica a rege Hispanię obtinetur / egregiū laudabile & CHRISTIANVM facinorū decusq; Hispanorum imortale.			
Pontif. Innocenti⁹ eius nois. 8. sedit ānis. 7. mēsi. 11.			
1488	1	49	
Primo & scdo ipi⁹ pōtificat⁹ āno isclxi / multisq; bellis vexatur Innocentius.			
1489	2	50	
Venetos Innocenti⁹ pōtifex / ab interdicto ecclia- stico & cēlura i eos a suo p̄decessore fulmiata liberauit & absoluit.			
1491	4	52	
1492	5	53	6693
Pōti. Maxim⁹ Innocenti⁹ (āno sui pōtificat⁹ 12 ferme pacto morit⁹ & apd sanctū Petrū magna funeris pompa sepelit⁹.			
Pontif. Alexander eius nois. 8. Hispan⁹. añ. 11. die. 8.			
1493	1	54	
Frederico. 3. iperatore mortuo: Maximilian⁹ eius fili⁹ qui iā cū patre ānis. 7. regnauerat rex Romanorū solus regnat. añ.			
Maximilian⁹ Romanorū rex. añ. 1.			
1494	2	2	
Carolus rex Frācię: Parpigniacū & Rossilionē restituit regi Aragonię.			
Ordo penitentū mulierū ex mulierib⁹ publice peccatricib⁹ Parisius cępit / per p̄dicationē fratris Iohānis Tisserani ordinis minorū inchoatus.			
Hermola⁹ Barbar⁹ Venet⁹ p̄riarcha Agleicē. nō sine graui bonarū s̄p̄arū iactura Romę morit⁹.			
Frater Hieronym⁹ Ferrarēnsis / qui a Florētinis p̄pheta credebatur: aduentū Gallos in Italiam p̄dicat.			
Carolus eius nois octau⁹: paulo post exercitū per Italiā ducēs Neapolim petit.			
Angelus Politianus vir eloquentissimus & lingue latinę v̄index / atq; illustrator Florentię moritur.			

Y. ij.

Ioanis Mvualis Additio. Folio. 170.

Pontif. Anni	Impator. Anni	Occidētis mundi.
1487	1	
Regnū Beticū (qd et Granatę dicit) virtute bellica a rege Hispanię obtinetur / egregiū laudabile et christianū facinorū decusq; Hispanorum imortale.		
Pontif. Innocenti⁹ eius nois. 8. sedit ānis. 7. mēsi. 11.		
1488	1	69
Primo et scdo ipi⁹ pontifatus āno isclxi / multisq; bellis vexatur Innocentius.		
1489	2	70
Venetos Innocenti⁹ pontifex / ab interdicto ecclia- stico et cēlura / in eos a suo p̄decessore fulmiata liberauit & absoluit.		
1491	4	72
1492	5	73 6693
Pontif. maxim⁹ Innocenti⁹ (āno sui pontifatus 12. ferme pacto morit⁹ / et apud san Petrum magna funeris pompa sepelitur.		
Pontif. Alexander eius nois. 8. Hispan⁹. añ. 11. die. 8.		
1493	1	74
Frederico. 3. iperatore mortuo: Maximilian⁹ eius fili⁹ qui iā cū patre ānis. 7. regnauerat rex Romanorū solus regnat. añ.		
Maximilian⁹ Romanorū rex añ. 7.		
1494	2	2
Carolus rex Frannc Parpigniacū et Rossilionē restituit regi Aragonię.		
Ordo penitentū mulierū ex mulierib⁹ publice peccatricib⁹ Parisius cepit / per p̄dicationē fratris Iohānis Tisserani ordinis minorū inchoatus.		
Hermola⁹ Barbar⁹ Venet⁹ p̄riarcha Agleicē. nō sine graui bonarū s̄p̄arū iactura Romę moritur.		
Frater Hieronym⁹ Ferrarēnsis / qui a Florētinis p̄pheta credebatur: aduentū Gallorū in Italiam p̄dicat.		
Carolus eius nois octau⁹: paulo post exercitū p̄ Italiā ducēs Neapolim petit.		
Angelus Politian⁹ vir eloquentissim⁹ & lingue latinę v̄index / atq; illustrator Florentię morit⁹.		

p. v.

Fig. 9.a: PT, c. Yiir. Fig. 9.b: MS c. Yiir.

The following example concerns Rolewinck's text under the year 1494:²⁵

in place of "Ordo penitentium mulierum ex mulieribus publice peccatricibus Parisius cepit per predicationem fratris Iohis (sic) Tisserani ordinis minorum inchoatus circiter annum mccccxciiii" (The Order of penitent women took in (novitiates) from among the public prostitutes of Paris – begun through the preaching of brother Iohannes Tisseranus of the Order of Minors around the year 1494) found in Petit's text, he [i.e. *Mouveau*] writes

²⁵ WAY 2003, p. 113.

“Ordo penitentium mulierum ex mulieribus publice peccatricibus Parisius cepit per predicationem fratris Iohannis Tisserani ordinis minorum inchoatus” dropping the final clause with the date, which is found in the *Anni Salutis* column above the entry. The elimination of the clause leaves the past participle “inchoatus” (begun) hanging, which in turn causes Estienne’s compositor to incorrectly read “cepit” (took in) as “coepit” (started) [...]. The compositor was clearly working from a printer’s copy without diphthongs, which contained “cepit”.

Actually Jehan Tisserand, hailing from Bourgogne, started his preaching in 1492, and founded the Order of Penitent women only two years later. That’s why Rolewinck’s *Fasciculus*, which situated Tisserand’s record under the year 1492 (c. M[4]r: «Circa hec tempora fuit frater Iohannes Bourgeois ordinis sancti Francisci honeste vite qui sua con[v]ersatione multos instruxit»), must specify that his preaching started in 1494. Mouveaux’s text, as Way states, omitted this part of Tisserand’s biography and records only the foundation of the Order of penitent women, consequently just beneath the year 1494. Moreover Rolewinck’s compositor never used diphthongs and invariably printed *cepit* ‘to begin’ for *coepit*, of no concern to him (see the following page, M[5] verso l. 24 «cepit in Gallos conspirare,» and l. 38 «Turcus de bello cogitare ceperit»). The passage should be translated as follows (and as Estienne’s compositor or Mouveaux himself correctly interpreted it, marking the diphthong): «The Order of penitent women arose from the public prostitutes of Paris, founded by the preaching of brother Iohannes Tisseranus of the Order of Minors around the year 1494». It’s clear, as it was to Mouveaux, that the text stands perfectly well under the year 1494, without the last sentence. The writer of our MS simply found this sentence cut as shown, and copied it from Estienne’s supplement.

At «page 345 [Y[5]r] under the year 1512» Estienne’s edition reads: «Galli hac parta victoria ad exercitum Pontificis, qui se prope Ravennam receperat, properant, congregiuntur, cruenta committitur pugna; succumbit exercitus Pontificis» (‘Once they had won, the Galli pursue the Pope’s army, which retreated to Ravenna; here they gather and they engage in a bloody battle; the Pope’s army succumbs’). The MS quire has the third person plural form «recepterant» (‘they retreat’) instead the singular «recepterat»: ²⁶

26 WAY 2003, p. 113.

At first sight it might seem to be an error given that it was the Pope's army (*exercitus*), which retreated to Ravenna after its defeat at Brixia. But, both Livy and Vergil use the third person plural form of the verb with the singular "exercitus" (a collective substantive). The compositor, who prints "recepert", must have been unaware of the classical parallels or felt the usage was pretentious.

A curious choice, because in the following sentence both Rolewinck's *Fasciculus* (c. M[6]v l. 25) and the Estienne edition (Y[5]r l. 27) seem to consider «exercitus» a singular form («succumbit» 'succumbs'). It is much easier to imagine that the writer of our MS quire, misled by the previous plural subject «Galli», by the following plural form of the verbs («properant» and «congre-diuntur», as occurred above in the case of «obtinetur» / «obtinentur»), and maybe by the relative pronoun «qui,» which in Latin could be a plural one as well, wrote, as if by reflex, «properant». Copyists used to transcribe their texts memorizing them through pericopes, that is committing to memory a small number of lines. In a sequence of plural verbs it was easy to convert the only singular form, too.

In Rolewinck's *Fasciculus* (c. M4v) the length of Innocentius VIII's pontificate is not reported at the beginning of its entry – just as right above in Maximilian's entry (where there is only a circle on the right, surrounding the words «viii. Inocentius annis» – but rather is set below it, under the year 1492 (c. M5r): «Innocentius [...] vitam exalavit anno sui pontificatus octavo die xxvi. Iulii anno Christi M.cccxcii». Both in the MS and in Estienne's edition the rubric of this entry is erroneously completed (Y2r): «Pontifex Innocentius eius nominis 8 sedit annis 5 menses 11» (actually 7 years and 11 months, August 1484 – July 1492);²⁷ but what is noteworthy is that they both roughly missed the length of his pontificate: «Pontifex Maximus Innocentius (annos sui pontificatus 12 ferme pacto) moritur». It is hard to explain how Mouveaux, who was supposed to work «in consultation with Petit's text» which clearly stated the pontificate's length, could have made a mistake twice in just a few lines, contradicting himself. It is much easier to explain if we assert that the MS quire is just a copy of Estienne's edition.

Finally, under the year 1501 Rolewinck's *Fasciculus* (M[6]r l.14] reads «In Germania multis in locis livores instas dominice crucis [...] apparuerunt,»

27 WAY 2003, pp. 114-115.

where «instas» clearly stands for ‘instar’ (‘like, in the shape of a Dominican cross’). Estienne’s compositor, who, as we have seen, probably relied on Rolewinck’s text, either mistook or tried to emend a word he did not know and printed (Y[3]v ll. 4-6) «iustas,» which makes no sense but is grammatically correct. The MS quire clearly reads «iustas» in spite of the absence of the overwritten ‘u’ which is often present to distinguish vowel groups as ‘iu’, or ‘ui’.²⁸ If it had been Mouveaux’s hand, we would be compelled to claim that he did not know the Latin word ‘instar’, although he knew that Livy and Vergil used «exercitus» as a plural form.

A closing example seems to me emblematic of the relationship between Ratdolt’s and Estienne’s editions on one side, and the MS quire on the other, which is why I have decided to discuss it here. This was possibly one of the starting point for Way, who could not explain to himself why the scribe would have copied in his MS quire the last lines of Palmieri’s supplement that he had already had, printed on the last folio of Ratdolt’s edition:²⁹

the first page of MS, which is marked “folio 169” with the signature Y.i., re-sets the texts of Ratdolt’s fol. 169 (marked 168). The finale 39 lines of Ratdolt’s text have been incorporated onto the recto side of the folio. The page terminates with the rubric “Hactenus Matthiae Palmeri Pisani opusculum in Eusebium de Temporibus”. The verso side of the MS folio is entitled in red letters “Sequitur Ioannis Muvallis Tornacensis in Eusebium de Temporibus nova additio”. [...] The possibility the MS was simply added to the 1483 edition to bring the chronicle down to the year 1512 raises several questions. Why did the writer meticulously copy out the last two pages of Ratdolt’s text and not begin on the verso side of fol. 169, where the rubric “Sequitur Ioannis Muvallis Tornacensis in Eusebium de Temporibus nova additio” announces a new section? The recto side of the folio, which begins in mid phrase, repeats the text on the 1483 edition. Moreover, why did he copy the lengthy errata section along with Estienne’s colophon, carefully correcting his own copy errors? The two pages are meaningless outside the 1512 edition. Also the wordbreak *clas/se* between lines 19-20 in the MS, which is found in the 1483 text, but not in the PT, implies the copier was working directly from Ratdolt’s text. One might argue the scribe was simply instructed to copy the quire and dutifully did so without attention to the meaning of the materials. However, a comparison of the two texts reveals just the opposite. The MS consistently “corrects” the printer’s errors found in the PT except, significantly, those errors deriving from the source materials used by Mouveaux.

²⁸ WAY 2003, p. 113 n. 44.

²⁹ WAY 2003, pp. 99-100, 109.

This is not the case. Our copyist (who may as well be the first owner of our Typ Inc. 4390 or someone appointed by him),³⁰ was not «working directly on Ratdolt's text» and he did not draw the last two pages of Palmieri's supplement from there, but from Estienne's edition. It is curious to note how Way, who, as we will see, relies on orthographic elements to prove the derivation of Estienne's edition from the MS quire, overlooks the fact that the MS quire itself, which copied Mattia Palmieri's last section from Ratdolt's edition, as he assumed, totally neglected its orthography (for instance Ratdolt used the classical form «Phedericus», while both the MS and Estienne have «Fredericus»). At any event, a much better proof can be drawn from the comparison between the texts. At Yir of Estienne's edition Palmieri quotes «Ludovicus Sfortia» who «Bonam Ioannis Philippi matrem ad fines Viagrassae custodiendam mandavit». Actually the town of «Viagrassa», where Bona Sforza was banished («custodiendam mandavit») by her great-uncle Ludovico il Moro, does not exist;³¹ indeed the correct sentence, which can be found in Ratdolt's edition, reads (X9r): «fines biagrasse» (fig. 10, a-c):

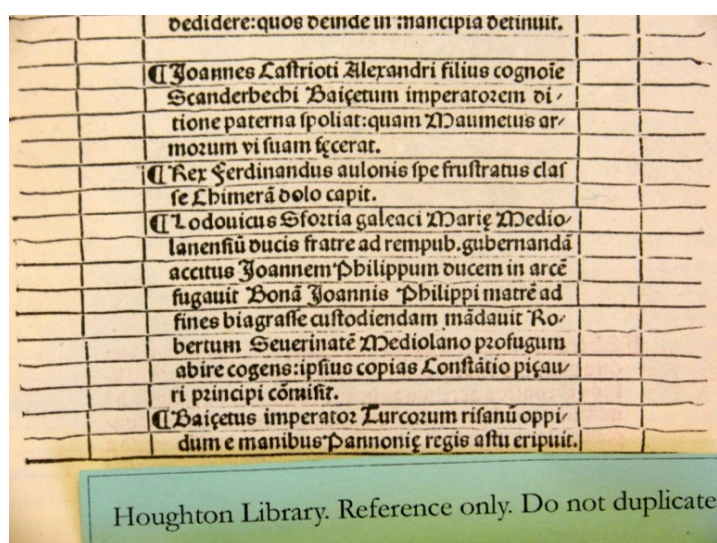


Fig. 10.a: Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. E. Ratdolt, Venice, 1483, c. X9r.

³⁰ But not necessarily, as in my opinion his hand is different from the one which, in the lower right hand margin, numbered the first six leaves of the index section of Houghton's copy of Ratodolt. It

means that the book could have been annotated at different times, and that the MS supplement could have been written later.

³¹ See Gino BENZONI 2007.

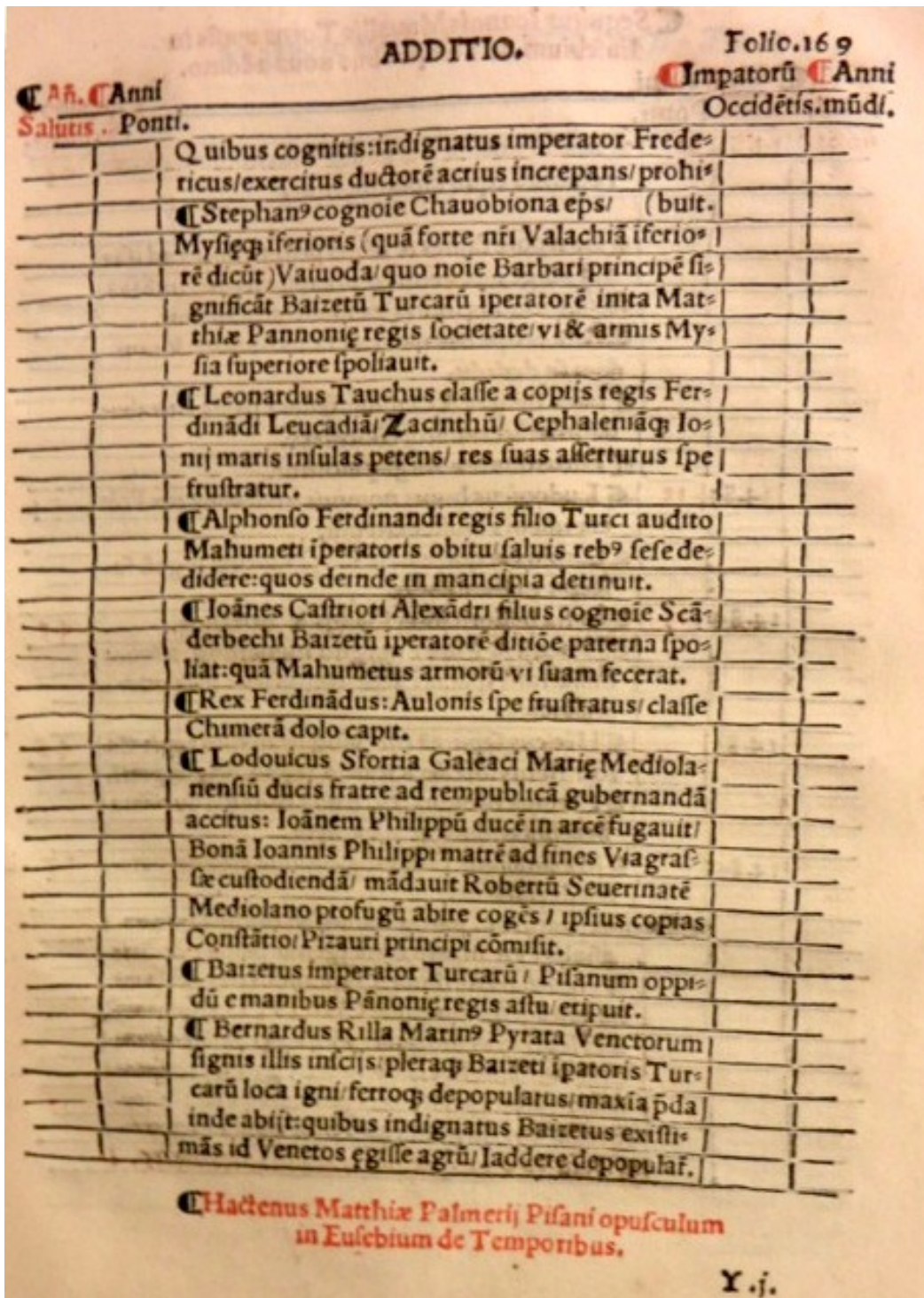


Fig. 10.b: PT, c. Yir.

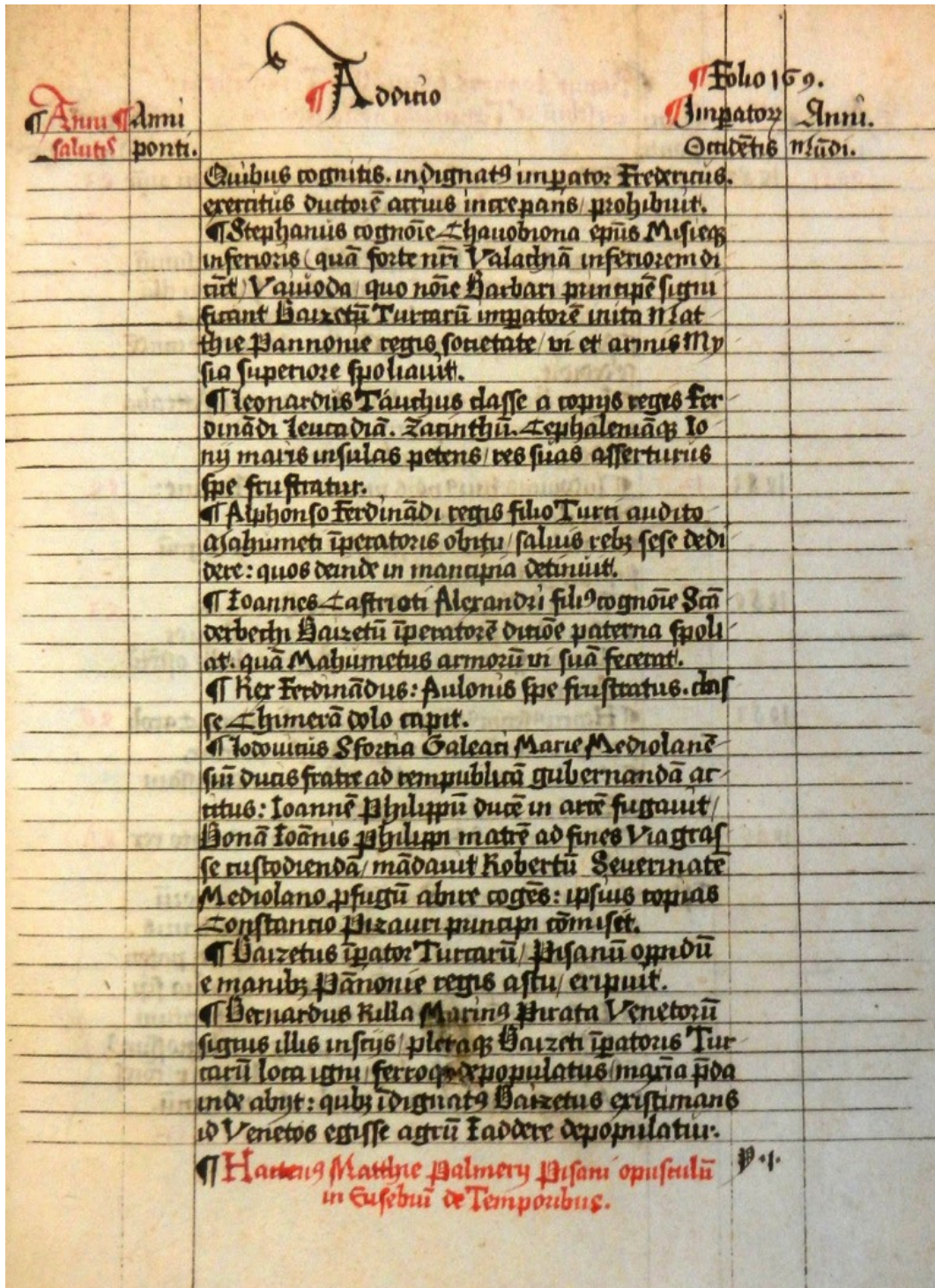


Fig. 10.c: MS, c. Yir.

Obviously the MS quire bears «Viagrassae». According to Way's statement, we should assume that Mouveaux both didn't know this town (and the Sforza's involvement) and misread the 'b' of the printed text he was «meticulously» copying. In my opinion the compositor, who was not supposed to know the present-day Abbiategrasso (near Milan), clearly mistook the 'b' for a lowercase gothic 'v' to which he was much more accustomed (as can be seen in Petit's edition, fig. 11). Furthermore the word «via» 'street', was certainly much more familiar to him: a mistake that our copyist would hardly notice.

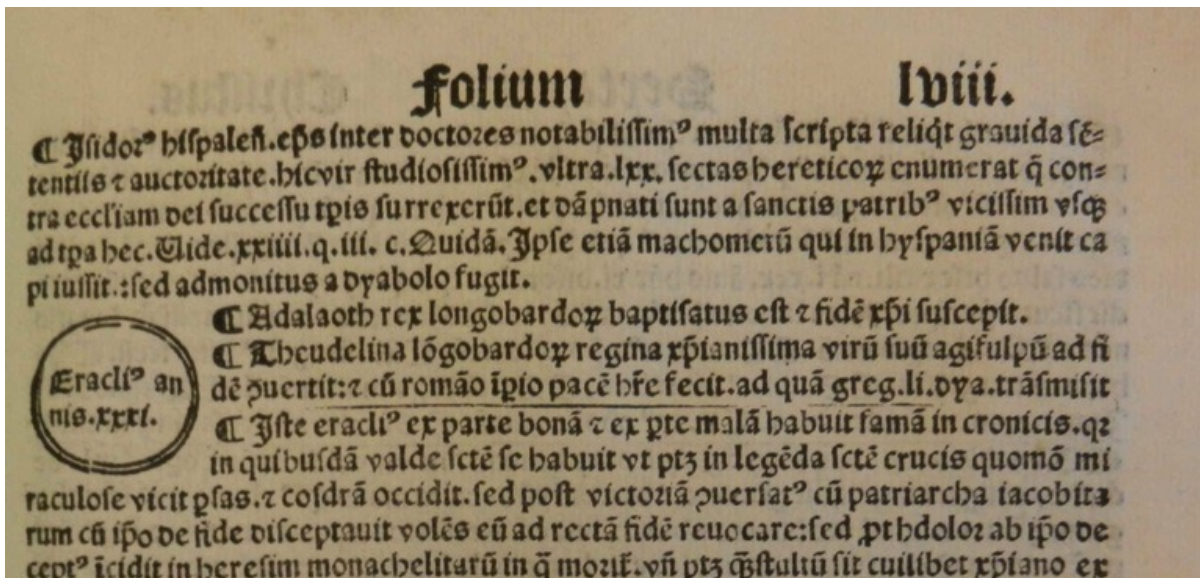


Fig. 11: Werner Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum*, Paris, Jean Petit, 1512, c. lviii.

4. Orthography and layout

I will not discuss here Way's paragraph concerning contractions, because each scribe followed his own practice and applied it independently from the text he had to copy, nor the one concerning orthography, which Way assumes as a useful criterion to demonstrate PT descent from MS. Everyone knows how inconsistent they were during the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth. Each copyist followed his own habits, which strictly depended on his education, and even the most learned scholars had trouble with the spelling of Latin words. A Latin manuscript with diphthongs was hard to prepare. It

would therefore have been very expensive, and thus a specific request of the purchaser.³² Nothing sure can be proved according to these elements. It is true that the correct use of diphthongs was quite difficult. In my opinion the copyist of our MS quire, undoubtedly a transalpine, was totally unaware of orthographic matters and had no high humanistic education. Moreover he probably had to work quickly and could not waste time on spelling details. As we have seen, he simply needed to copy his text as he was used to reading it, without pronouncing diphthongs – which is why in copying Estienne's edition he systematically omitted them. As to the composition of the MS quire,³³ Way spends four columns of his paper discussing how Mouveaux could have prepared the layout of his printer's copy. I just noted, however, that if it were an ideal printer's copy prepared by Mouveaux, I cannot explain to myself why halfway through Y[5]r he suddenly changed its five-column layout into a single column, a rather unaesthetic solution which he was not compelled to adopt, since he was planning the whole quire without restrictions and with a blank page at Y[6]v, which could have been exploited to arrange the layout. I suspect that something occurred in Estienne's printing press during the typesetting of his edition, maybe due to the fact that the pressman was compelled to hurry. The last quire is made up of six leaves (12 pages) in-quarto, that is one folio and a half: the compositor could have first printed the half folio (Y1-Y[6]r-v, four pages), leaving the last page blank. During the typesetting of the two formes (Y2-Y[5], Y3-Y4r-v, 8 pages) for his second leaf he may have realized that he did not have enough space for the rest of the text and so decided to gain space by disassembling the closing lines of his columns and creating a single text block. A fact that can be observed in Estienne's and Petit's Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon* (Paris: 1 June 1513, I have examined Typ 515.12.373 of the Houghton Library) where the typographical table, which is clearly the same used in Eusebius' edition, is often interrupted by full lines of the *Chronicon's* text which break the central column and occupy the thinner ones next to it (fig. 12.a-b).³⁴

³² PELLEGRINI 2012, p. 109.

³³ WAY 2003, pp. 115-117.

³⁴ A fact that can be observed in Estienne's and Petit's Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon* (Paris: 1 June 1513, I have examined the Typ 515.12.373 of the Houghton Library) where the typographical forme,

which is clearly the same used in Ratdolt's edition of Eusebius', is often violated by the *Chronicon's* text whose lines break the central column and occupy the narrower ones on either side (see above illustration).

		ADDITIO.	Folio. 175	
An. Anni. Salutis. Ponti.			Impatorū. An. Occidētis. mūdi.	
1511	8	<p>¶ Mirādula recuperat a Gallis: & Mutina Maximiliano regi tradit/ Bononia deficit a pōtifice.</p> <p>¶ Cōcilium Gallicanū celebratur Turonis.</p> <p>¶ Idem continuatur Lugduni.</p> <p>¶ Tripolis in Africa obtinet ab Hispanis.</p> <p>¶ Augustę Vindelicię virgo qđā est noie Anna supra quadagesimū agēs annū/ neq; edēs/ neq; bibēs/ neq; egerēs/ neq; dormiēs. qđ pīs meditationibus in tāta vigilia grā Saluatoris/ mirāda & stupenda operantis sustinetur.</p> <p>¶ Generalis concilij inītia tentantur Pisis.</p> <p>¶ Cōciliū generale petēte Maximiliano Cęsare & Gallorū rege/ & multis Cardinalibus adherētibus & assistentibus.</p> <p>¶ Emergētibus causis: cōciliū e Pisis trāslatū est Mediolanum.</p>	18	6710
1512	9	<p>¶ Pontifex nouū parat exercitū: descendūt Heluetij Insubriū tras vastātes/ ad cōfinia Mediolani Brixienles a Gallis ad Venetos deficiūt/ suscepto p̄sidio Veneto. Itē & Bergomēses reiecta abscedūt Heluetij/ neq; p̄bētes/ neq; cōstitū suscipiētes.</p> <p>¶ Brixienles cōtinuo a Gallis superātur: robur Venetorū cū ciuibus ad multa mīlia cedūtur/ vrbs Brixia miserabiliter diripit. ira dei credita est.</p> <p>¶ Galli hac parta victoria ad exercitū pōtificis qui se p̄pe Rauēnā receperat: p̄perāt/ cōgrediūt/ cruenta cōmittit pugna/ succūbit exercit⁹ pōtificis/ & auxiliariū eius. Capis Petrus de Nauarra qui fuerat pro parte pontificis: & ceciderūt vtrinq; campi ductores multi/ iter quos cecidit dux Nemoriēsis ductor exercitus Gallorum. ¶ Finito hoc bello: Rauēna a Gallis diripitur.</p> <p>¶ Rauēnæ paulo ante natū fuerat monstrū cornu in capite: allas habebat/ brachia nulla/ pedē vnū vt auis rapax/ oculū in genu/ sexū vtrūq; in medio pectore y psilon/ & crucis effigiem.</p> <p>¶ Aliqui interpretati sunt: cornu/ supbiā. allas: leuitatē & mentis incōstantiā. Carētiā brachiorū: defectū bonorū opeꝝ. pedē rapacē: rapinā/ vsurā/ & oīmodā auaritiā. oculū in genu: solū ad res terrenas mētis defectionē. vtrūq; sexū: sodomiā. Et p̄pter hęc vicia Italiā sic nūc bellicis cōtentionibus quat. Rege</p>	19	6711

Fig. 12.a: PT, c. Y[5]r.

		SIGEBERTI		164	
Rhōa. Francorum				Anglorū An. dñi	
		iperator Rhomanorū: quibus cardinales pauci & pars aliqua senatorū cōtradicerēt. vnde in vrbe Rhoma fuit bellū trib⁹ dieb⁹ iter ptes.			
2	29	C A calēdis Ianuarij gelu cōepit grauissimū: & pseuerauit vsq; p duos fere mēses. Ita q; sa- tio hyemalis ex magna pte ipedita & p̄clita- ta est / & quod seminatū fuerat de frumēto sic euanuit in multis locis: q; nec tantū colligi potuit quātū se- minatū fuerat. C Eodē āno cōtra Albigeos here- ticos multi accipiētes crucē in pectorib⁹: p̄fecti sunt calendis Augusti. C Exercitus Philippi regis Frāco- rū a Medūta exiēs cōtra quosdā Britones p̄fectus est.			
C Chronici Sigeberti cū additionibus finis.					
C Errata nōnullis in locis deprehensa & ex officina recognita.					
Linea	Pagina	C Errata ad līnam castigata.		Folio	
in	1	Theodosiū Archadiū. legendū Theodossus		2	
filus	1	annis 33. legendū 34		(cis.) 2	
Hono	2	sopit⁹ i Africa heretic⁹: leg. sopitis i Africa hereti-		7	
4	1	i. i. i. supponēdū Britāni Gūdericus Athanulphus.		7	
incur	1	Aniani. vetus exēplar/ animans habet		11	
man	1	incruentē. legendū incruentam		11	
anno	1	ætatis suę 73: vetus exemplar 83		12	
tionis	2	nonagīta duos: vetus exēplar nonagīta quinq;		13	
ca	1	Anthiochia. scribendū Antiochia.		104	
Chui	1	Chustilam. legendū Chintilan		43	
4	1	Chintasiūsus i. supponēdū Flauius		48	
ratoris	2	iuxta. legendū nupta		89	
Cal	1	Calduinus. legendū Balduinus		111	
et	1	et quicquid. legendū quid		127	
C Ex his autē erratis p̄multa in cōplurib⁹ libris emēdata sunt: vbi primū cō- tingit illa iter castigationē in officina dephēdi. Si qua vero alia sup̄sūt emē- dationē efflagitātia: facile a quouis dignosci poterūt					
C Id quoq; nō p̄tereūdū: q; penultimū foliū codicis/ n/ numerū suū in frōte ponēdū nō habet. Ceterū index historiarū illius folij ad numerū 103 qui in illo folio signari deberet/ sumitur.					
C Absolutū est Parisijs hoc Sigeberti Chronicon/ cum non paucis additio- nibus: per Henricū Stephanū artis litterarū excusorīe industriū opificē/ in sua officina e regione scolę Decretorū. expēsis elusdē & Ioānis Parui biblio- polę isignis. Anno. dñi cūcta tēpora dīspōnētis: 15 13. Calendis Iunij.					

Fig. 12.b: Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, Paris, H. Estienne and J. Petit, 1513, c. 164r.

5. *The origin of a misunderstanding*

Some further data concerning the historical background of Houghton's Typ Inc 4390 could possibly help us to understand the origin of such a misunderstanding. As we have seen at the beginning of this paper, a booklabel on the lower margin of the front pastedown attests that copy belonged to the «well known picture collector Charles Butler» (1821-1910), who «was also an enthusiastic, perhaps an over-enthusiastic, book-buyer».³⁵ Right above, a pencil annotation, possibly in Butler's hand, draws a few lines relating to the MS quire: «The Ms. is believed to be in the hand writing of Henricus Stephanus, who published an edition of the work with these additions in 1512. On the reverse of folio 154, there is an account of the invention of printing in 1457». The book was sold by Sotheby's on 5 April 1911, lot 413. The sale catalogue description reiterates that «at the end of the volume are 11 pp. of MS. additions to 1512, made for H. Stephanus edition, printed in Paris in 1512. It is suggested that these additions are in Henri Estienne's own hand». A copy of Sotheby's sale catalogue now at the Houghton Library records both the purchaser, the famous antiquarian bookseller James Tregaskis (1850-1926), and the price, four guineas.³⁶ A clipping glued to front pastedown, which comes probably from another sale catalogue that I was not able to identify, confirms that «at the end of this copy there is inserted a MS. continuation of 11 pages, made by Robert Estienne for his edition of 1512 and possibly in his handwriting» confusing a nine-year-old Robert Estienne with his father, Henri Estienne the Elder.³⁷

As far as I know, no further mention of this book is recorded until it was sold again in 1999 by the Casa de Subhastes in Barcelona, as noted by its last private owner, Peter Way.³⁸ According to the Catalan Auction catalogue the book still figures as an «ejemplar excepcional con 6 hojas manuscritas de puño y letra del prestigios impresor francés Robert Estienne [*sic*], con las ampliaciones personales que añadió a esta edición incunable para imprimir actuali-

35 DE RICCI 1930, pp. 181-182. A useful record is available on-line at Paul Needham *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum* (IPI: <http://ipi.cerl.org/cgi-bin/search.pl>). Several incunabula now at the Houghton Library, belonged to Butler's library, see the *Provenance Index* in WALSH 1997, s. v. Butler, Charles.

36 *The Charles Butler collections* 1911, p. 53, lot 413 (Harvard, Houghton Library, B 1705.249.5*). A bio-

graphical sketch about James Tregaskis is available on the website of the *Antiquarian Booksellers' Association* (ABA), of which Tregaskis has been the fourth president (<http://www.aba.org.uk>).

37 On Estienne's printing press see ARMSTRONG 1954.

38 *Manuscritos, Libros antiguos* 1999, lot 303.

zada la obra en París, Badio a cargo de Estienne, 1512. Los añadidos de Estienne cubre los años de 1482 a 1512». ³⁹ I could not find out the hammer price; but the auction price was 4.800 euros and the estimate reached almost twice as much. In 2002 and, as we have seen, in 2003 Way, who in the meantime came into possession of the book (I can not say if he purchased it at the Barcelona auction) issued the same paper twice to publicize its history before selling it. On 23rd February 2005 the book was sold by the Musinsky Rare Books in New York to the Houghton Library. ⁴⁰ Soon after, David Whitesell recorded the new purchase in his *First Supplement* to Walsh's catalogue of Harvard incunabula, relying on Way's conclusion's: ⁴¹

Peter Way has recently suggested that this MS continuation probably was written by the compiler, Jehan de Mouveaux, for use as the printer's setting copy. Way marshals evidence from the manuscript orthography, contents, paper stock, and script to argue that the printed text was set directly from it.

6. Conclusions

In my opinion our scribe probably received the last quire of Etienne's edition unbound (Y⁸), maybe in the bookshop itself, and he closely copied it as he had been charged with. He reproduced as well as he could the layout of Estienne's edition, its black and red inks as well as its incorrect page numbering (175 instead of 173) and some of its mistakes that were not easy to correct (interestingly, the greatest number of these can be found on the last leaves, when our writer was probably tired); no matter if all Estienne's additional sections (such as the final *Errata* or the encomiastic poems) were unnecessary, he probably did not have Ratdolt's edition on his desk to compare it line by line. If the owner's note in the Houghton exemplar reads «Ad usum P(atrum) Capucinatorum Helbronensium» (but, as far as it is known, at that time in Heilbronn there was just a Franciscan monastery), the quire could be the work of a friar

³⁹ *Manuscritos, Libros antiguos* 1999, p. 42.

⁴⁰ This is the catalogue description (page 2) I was able to see on a photocopy at the Houghton Library: «Pending further identification of early printers' copy, the present manuscript is a uniquely important survival and invaluable witness to print-

ing shop practices in the first century of printing, and particularly to the practicalities of the passages from manuscript to print in the humanist printing establishments of the early sixteenth century».

⁴¹ WHITESSELL 2006, pp. 64-65 (no. S1-1818a).

charged with transcribing the supplement and completing the cloister library's copy of Ratdolt's edition,⁴² so carefully published by his fellow countrymen Johannes Lucilius Santritter.⁴³

Way's hypothesis of a mockup copy requires a very cumbersome assumption (Jehan de Mouveaux did not know what he was writing) and a wide sequence of unlikely coincidences, most of which can be more easily explained by assuming that the MS quire was copied from a printed edition. One should not overlook the fact that a manuscript quire copied from a printed edition was much more common at that time, and the hypothesis has no serious contraindications.⁴⁴

I suspect that either the first pencil annotation or the sale catalogues' records (including the clipping tipped into the front pastedown) first suggested the notion that the manuscript was a printer's model copy. Compounded by an approximate knowledge of Latin and a manual-like approach to philology (and possibly by a not always vigilant peer review), that received opinion, like Vergil's well known fama, over time, has become fact.

⁴² He was able to rectify pope Alexander VI's name, but the length of the papacy of Innocenzo VIII was less familiar to him, moreover he did not notice the mistake concerning the Emperor Maximilian.

⁴³ The curator of Ratdolt's edition was Johannes Lucilius Santritter (Johannes Lucilius Hippodamus Helbronensis, see the final poem c. X9v).

⁴⁴ See REEVE 1983.

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