Handbook of Stemmatology

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History, Methodology, Digital Approaches

Edited by
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available free of charge through such databases as *Gallica* (gallica.fr; National Library of France), the digital library of the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (digitale-sammlungen.de; Bavarian State Library, Munich), the German database *Manuscripta mediaevalia* (manuscripta-mediaevalia.de), the Swiss database *e-codices* (e-codices.ch), the digitised manuscripts site of the Vatican Library (www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/scan/link.jsp), or the collaborative digitisation project of the Bodleian and Vatican Libraries funded by the Polonsky Foundation (bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, 2012–2017). The "Europeana Regia" project (europeanaregia.eu, 2010–2012, run by a consortium of five important research libraries) digitised some 1,000 manuscripts from Carolingian libraries (eighth to ninth centuries), Charles V and his family (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), and the Aragonese kings of Naples (fifteenth century). Although reproductions, however good, will never supplant the original object, they make it easier to prepare for the indispensable work on originals. So far, digitisation has not induced most libraries to deny access to originals. On the contrary, a considerable increase in user-friendliness in the form of photography of original library holdings being allowed for personal research use, already common in Scandinavia, has occurred in the 2010s in such countries as France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy. Thanks to these policies, library collections are today more universally accessible than ever.

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1.4 Textual traditions and early prints

Iolanda Ventura

In this section, I describe and discuss the philological practices developed by humanist and Renaissance scholars and philologists, as well as the role played by philology and textual criticism in the transition from manuscript to print. In order to do so, the focus will lie on selected examples from classical, patristic, and mediaeval literature. The way in which humanist and Renaissance scholars and philologists contributed to the transformation of culture, to the diffusion of literature through the printed editions that replaced manuscripts, and to the transition from manuscript to print – in short the transition from mediaeval to Renaissance culture – will be elucidated. Last but not least, practices and methodologies will be met which are still acknowledged or even imitated by textual scholars today.

1.4.1 The reception of a text as witnessed in print: Philological practices

For the history of texts and books, the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries are a crucial time. The intellectual approach to the book and its content, as well as the structure and the characteristics of the contemporary reference libraries, were deeply changed, on the one hand by the rediscovery of classical texts and the new appreciation of classical literature, with a corresponding estrangement of the learned elite from mediaeval works, especially from theological and philosophical works; and, on the other hand, by the invention of the printing press and the subsequent changes in the book as an object – a product resulting from new technologies – and as a medium of transmission and communication of culture and literature (Pettegree 2011; Eisenstein 2000; Hellinga-Querido 2014, 2018; Barbier 2017; Nuovo 2013; Dondi 2016). This transition also radically influenced philological practices and methods of perceiving, evaluating, and editing texts. If the changes in the intellectual approach to the book and in the image of the ideal and real library can be gauged by the return to the literary milieu of classical works that had been either forgotten or more or less deliberately put aside because of their controversial content or difficult adaptability to Christian culture, the influence of philological practices can be easily seen in the various aspects of the humanistic engagement in bringing back to light, analysing both in content and form, and publishing classical and patristic texts. Examples include Lucretius (d. ca. 55–50 BC), Celsus (ca. 25 BC–AD 50), Aulus Gellius (125/130–after AD 170), or Caelius Aurelianus (early fifth century AD).

Philology, considered both as the desire to perform a critical examination of the text and the intention to improve its quality both in form and content, existed well before humanism and the Renaissance. Textual criticism was practised, for example, by learned scholars such as Lupus of Ferrières (abbot of Ferrières during the ninth century, d. ca. 862), who glossed manuscripts, recalling some variant readings from others or suggesting better readings, or Theodulf of Orléans (poet, philologian, and bishop of Orléans, d. 821), who contributed greatly to the establishment of a corrected text of the Bible compared to the corrupt one circulating before the cultural reform initiated by Charlemagne (on reading practices during Carolingian times, see Nebbiai 2013; O’Sullivan 2011, 2017). Glossing, commentating, and improving texts became a well-documented practice during the later Middle Ages, especially in the twelfth-century schools of grammar and philosophy. Nonetheless, the dimensions of philological engagement increased considerably during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, when the activity of humanist scholars expanded the available classical library and the intellectual approach to it in several ways. First of all, they concentrated on a systematic search for manuscripts and texts in remote (especially monastic) libraries and on attempting to acquire new copies of old texts and/or to let them circulate among friends and fellow scholars. The most famous scholars engaging in such practices were Francesco Petrarca, Coluccio Salutati, and – above all – Poggio Bracciolini, who contributed to the rediscovery of Pliny

the Younger, Cicero's *Epistolae*, and Lucretius (Sabbadini 1967). Second, they set upon tirelessly copying these texts and presenting them in a more appealing and comprehensible form, which led to the adoption of a new script, the humanistic script. They also undertook an in-depth examination of the preserved texts and a careful correction of them, as for instance in Ermolao Barbaro's *Castigationes Plinianae* or Angelo Poliziano's *Miscellanea* (Barbaro 1973–1979; Poliziano 1567), especially according to classical rules. Finally, after the invention of the printing press and the rise of the large printing enterprises, humanist scholars also acted as editors, correctors, and supervisors of the publication of printed editions. In this context, we may recall the cooperation of Marco Musuro, Andrea Navagero, or Giorgio Valla with Aldus Manutius, a printer with a strong classical background who endeavoured to print both graphically innovative and philologically correct editions (Reynolds and Wilson 2013, 123–164; Nuvoloni 2016, 80–86), or that of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Beatus Rhenanus with Froben's publishing house in Basle (Grafton 2011).

Despite all of these efforts, we cannot fail to note that the editorial work performed by humanists and the philological methodology employed by them at best consisted of (*i*) choosing the oldest and/or most authoritative manuscript (or group of manuscripts), and (*ii*) scattered or extensive corrections *ope ingenii*, mostly motivated by respect for the grammatical and syntactic rules of classical Latin (Timpanaro 2004, 15–27). Such an approach risked, for both classical and mediaeval texts, a dangerous distortion of the content through corrections not supported by a thorough and systematic collation of the entire manuscript tradition, and a transformation of the form based on personal or contemporary linguistic tastes. All of this lies at the roots of the later scepticism with which printed editions were met in modern philology and ecdotics. The editorial practices in the time of transition between manuscript and print have to be identified so that a modern editor can deal with the improvement or deterioration of the transmitted texts to be expected when preparing a critical edition. Therefore, we should ask ourselves not only how a text travelled through the age of handwritten manuscripts into that of printed copies; we should also identify the changes it experienced during that time, the places printed editions have in the stemma (the genealogical tree of the whole transmission; see 4.1), and what value scholars have assigned, or should assign, to the variant readings witnessed by printed editions.

I have chosen to provide some case studies as concrete examples of the way in which philologists and editors of texts have dealt with printed texts in the *recensio* of the witnesses of a text's diffusion, the establishment of a stemma, and the reconstruction of the correct and, if possible, original text. Before presenting them, it may be useful to briefly summarise our knowledge and basis for the interpretation of printed texts today. First of all, our knowledge of the extension of printing between the second half of the fifteenth century, that is, in the decades after the invention of the printing press and the first publication of the Gutenberg Bible, and the end of the eighteenth century has consistently improved. New attempts to catalogue

incunabula (i.e. prints from before AD 1501) and early modern prints have considerably increased our knowledge of the number of printed texts of a classical, patristic, or mediaeval work. Examples include the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de), the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (data.cerl.org/istc), the Italian *EDIT-16* database (edit16.iccu.sbn.it), the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (ustc.ac.uk), or the *Medieval Evidence of Incunabula* database (data.cerl.org/mei/_search). Second, seminal research conducted, among others, by Andrew Pettegree, Lotte Hellinga, Anthony Grafton, and, more recently, Cristina Dondi and Angela Nuovo has shed more light on the history of the early modern printed book and the editorial and philological practices related to the preparation of a printed edition, its production, and its diffusion on the book market.

The way in which editors of classical, patristic, and mediaeval texts have dealt with prints cannot be called coherent. Depending upon (*i*) the number of manuscripts preserved, their quality, and their antiquity; (*ii*) the type and the quality of the printed texts, and their connection with one or more branches of the manuscript tradition; (*iii*) the connection between recent (read: fifteenth-century) manuscripts and first (read: incunabulum) printed editions; and (*iv*) the renown or obscurity of the learned scholar who edited the text, modern editors have made different choices: for example, when dealing with Beatus Rhenanus' editions, they have stressed the historical value of the edition in question but not necessarily the philological one. To my knowledge, there is neither a coherent approach nor a systematic discussion of the methodology to follow, one major exception being Alfredo Stussi's attention (and call for attention) to prints with special reference to vernacular or mediaeval "popular" texts, where the print is the last step in a long journey of a work from its origin to its first manuscript diffusion and later to its print reception (Stussi 2006, 37 ff., 88–95). More precisely, Stussi invites future editors of texts to look at both manuscripts and printed editions, since the latter may reproduce codices now lost or may offer better readings or interesting variant readings due to their particular history. This suggestion is undoubtedly important; but the editorial practice followed by editors is different and not homogeneous (on editions of printed texts, see 7.8). I will provide three examples of the state of the art – without any pretence of exhaustively dealing with the approaches – concerning a classical text (in this case, Lucretius), a patristic one (Tertullian), and a mediaeval one (Papias).

1.4.2 Classical literature: Lucretius

Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, edited, among others, by Martin (1963), by Ferguson Smith (1975), and by Ernout (1948–1955) can serve as an instructive example. Lucretius' *editio princeps* was published in Brescia in 1472/1473, edited by the humanist Tommaso Ferrando (on whom, see Baldacchini 1996; Beretta 2016). The long and well-studied textual tradition can be divided into two main eras, the Carolingian and the humanistic one. The tradition of Lucretius originates in a lost common an-

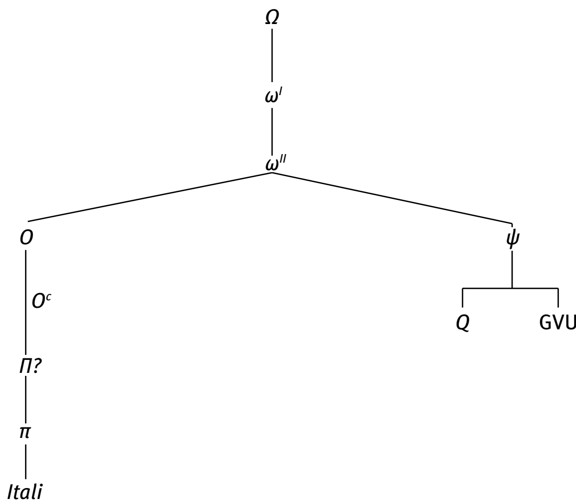

Fig. 1.4-1: Stemma of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. Source: Reynolds (1983, 218).

cestor usually designated as ω^I and written, according to Karl Lachmann, in a pre-minuscule Caroline, whereas the pre-archetype (Ω) was produced in Gallia between the fourth and fifth centuries (Reynolds 1983; see also Butterfield 2013). This exemplar (ω^I) was affected by several accidents, causing mistakes in the sequence of the pages and errors in prosody in some verses. From its Carolingian copy, ω^{II}, which is the actual archetype (see 4.1.1) of all extant texts, the two main manuscript branches descend (see fig. 1.4-1), one represented by what is known as the *Codex oblongus* (*O*: Leiden, Universiteit Bibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F. 30), the other by the *Codex quadratus* (*Q*: Leiden, Universiteit Bibliotheek, Voss. Lat. Q. 94) and two fragmentary manuscripts, the *Schedae Gottorpienses* (*G*: København, Det kongelige Bibliotek, G. kgl. S. 211 2°) and the *Schedae Vindobonenses* (*V* and *U*: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 107, f. 1–6 and 7–10 respectively), all of which date back to Carolingian times. These codices sporadically resurfaced during the Middle Ages without giving the work any great renown or diffusion: Lucretius was rarely read during the Middle Ages. It was the discovery of an obscure, now-lost manuscript, ultimately derived from *O* and commonly designated as *π*, in a "locus satis longinquus" (quoted in Clark 1899, 125) [a rather remote place] by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417 that gave Lucretius' poem new popularity among the learned. Poggio entrusted his own copy of this manuscript (*J*) to Niccolò Niccoli and never received it back; it was subsequently lost. Niccoli's autograph copy is, however, preserved, and has been identified as the codex Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 35.30 (*L*). From this copy, albeit with some indirect connections to Poggio's and Niccoli's manuscript copies, a new tradition originated, the "Itali": twenty-three copied manuscripts in all, which help both in reconstructing Poggio's lost manuscript and in correcting

the mistakes made by Niccoli while preparing his own copy. It is from this branch of the manuscript tradition that the first printed versions stem.

In the context of Lucretius' reception, the role played by the printed versions appears to be twofold. On the one hand, scholars dealing with cultural history have stressed the role played by the return of Lucretius' poem to the cultural scene where the development of scientific and philosophical culture during the Renaissance is concerned, a development reflected, above all, by the use of Lucretius as a source for the discussion of specific questions. But active philological interaction, for example annotations written in the margins of editions, was also not uncommon (see Beretta 2016; Norbrook, Harrison, and Hardie 2016; Passannante 2011; Palmer 2014; A. Brown 2010). On the other hand, philologists aiming to produce a reliable critical edition considered the "Itali" group only in terms of its connection to the older Carolingian codices, in order to establish that connection and the group's position in the *stemma codicum*, where it is now located at the end of a branch ultimately starting with the *Oblongus*. Thus, they concentrated their attention on the reconstruction of the origins of the tradition, without taking into account the characteristics of its later historical development. In this context, early printed editions cannot possibly play a relevant role for reconstructive philologists, neither as a source for emendation of the text nor as a conveyor of variant readings worth recording.

This clash between the "historical" and the "philological" approach becomes evident if we look at the three above-mentioned critical editions published during the twentieth century, namely by Martin (1963) in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, by Ferguson Smith (1975) in the Loeb Classical Library, and by Ernout (1948–1955) in Belles Lettres. Browsing these editions, we notice that all "late" elements of the tradition are generally neglected, and the early printed editions are not used in a consistent way or even considered apart from some passing mentions. In this selective approach, not even the whole tradition of the "Itali" group is employed in the preparation of the critical edition and/or mentioned in the critical apparatus. Martin, for example, only quotes the manuscripts *A*, *B*, *C*, *F*, *L* from the "Itali" group, which he considers relevant to the reconstruction of Poggio's exemplar, and the lost manuscript *J*, and leaves aside the others. Besides, it is not easy to tell from the editors' methodologies what role the early printed editions played in the editions and apparatuses. For example, in the extensive commentary by Deufert (2017), variant readings from printed editions are mentioned, especially when they offer interesting conjectures produced *ope ingenii* and may be useful for an improvement of the text. Martin includes among his list of witnesses the *editio princeps*, the Aldina print from Venice (1500), and the Juntina print from Florence (1512), but I could not detect any relevant use or record of the readings featured in these printed versions in the critical apparatus, not even to show whether they feature *Binde-* or *Trennfehler* (see 4.3.1) that might connect them to early manuscripts and therefore elucidate their place in a stemma. The printed versions' existence is only acknowledged as a part of a large, multifarious group of later, indirect, and reception-related sour-

ces; these include authors from late Antiquity using or imitating Lucretius' syntagms, the early prints, and a long list of scholars and philologists who witnessed the use of a different text, emended it, and/or produced critical editions, such as Bentley, Diels, or Lachmann. The role these sources play is very limited. Ferguson Smith only refers to the prints in his bibliography (1975, lxv), but as a rule does not include them in the edition of the text. Perhaps he did not consider them relevant at all in an edition that aims to offer a reliable text rather than a large overview of variant readings, and where great attention was paid to the contribution of modern scholars to the improvement of the text. Even when he does occasionally include them, the result is hardly beneficial to the reader, for it lacks clarity and respect for the chronology of the scholarship. For instance, with reference to 1.306 (Ferguson Smith 1975, 26), he records that the variant reading "candenti" for "dispansae", witnessed by Nonius (as already pointed out by Martin), is a reading shared by Lindsay and adopted by "ed. Aldina, Pius, ed. Juntina, Pascal, Diels, Büchner". He thus merges indirect reception, printed editions, and earlier scholarship in one brief note. The third editor, Ernout, declares already in the introduction to his edition (1948–1955, 1:xix–xx) that, while facing such a clear, homogeneous textual tradition shown by the ninth-century manuscripts, he did not intend either to record errors witnessed by a single manuscript (!) or to overload the critical apparatus with "*variantes inutiles*". Although Ernout does not elaborate what a *variante inutile* is for him, and therefore makes his opinion on the matter difficult to judge, his statement could possibly be read as an attempt to respect a supposed "majority principle" aimed at avoiding any unnecessary overloading of the critical apparatus with variant readings featured in a single manuscript and clearly recognisable as errors (on what is to be included in a critical apparatus, see 6.3.1 below). But, as he provides no clear definition of what he classifies as *variante inutile*, we may well suspect that among them there are variant readings that could be of some interest for reconstructing the historical development of the text and/or textual innovations shown by humanist manuscripts and prints. This is not the place to discuss the editor's decision, merely to point out its consequences with regard to the later manuscripts and the printed editions, which may be summarised as follows: variant readings from humanist manuscripts (in fact only a selection of them) are mentioned "que là où elles apportent au texte une correction qui paraît sûre" (Ernout 1948–1955, 1:xix) [only when they offer a correction that appears to be sure], while printed editions are not considered at all.

The printed editions' low reputation is reflected both by their absence from the stemmata provided in the critical editions I was able to consult and by their scarce representation in the critical apparatus, and it appears to have affected the approach to the *editio princeps* as well. As noted by Beretta in the introduction to the facsimile published in 2016 (Beretta 2016, 45–47), the editorial work carried out by Ferrando (i.e. the editor of the 1472/1473 edition) has largely been either ignored or despised due to the fact that he relied on one single manuscript only, and his edition

is considered as mediocre *tout court* (e.g. by Munro, who edited Lucretius in 1864). This is surprising because of the presence in it of several correct readings, and of its possible proximity to Niccoli's copy (as hypothesised by Reeve 1980, 33), which would grant the edition a place for itself and a certain independence within the "Itali" group.

1.4.3 Patristic literature

In Lucretius' case, late codices are considered *deteriores* from a philological point of view (possibly because of the enormous weight of the Carolingian tradition), despite the fact that they are seen as a decisive step in the historical reconstruction of the reception of the text and its role in the culture of the Renaissance and its philosophical predilections. The reason for this is clear: we have humanist manuscripts and, above all, early printed editions to thank for their decisive contribution towards the rediscovery of Lucretius and his subsequent renewed fame, but the reconstruction of the text is supposed to rely on the Carolingian tradition, namely on the codices believed to be closest to the archetype.

If we now turn our attention to philological practices used when editing patristic literature, the situation differs to some extent. It took some time for scholarship to acknowledge that humanism and the Renaissance were not classical-oriented times *tout court*, but that there was an interest, and consequently a market, for patristic authors and their works as well. As noted by Cesare Vasoli (1997), humanist culture was not just interested in literature, philology, and culture, but developed a critical conscience and a considerable interest in morals and ethics, and consequently became aware of the contemporary moral decadence and of the necessity of a spiritual instruction that only the Christian *patres* could offer, both the Latin and the Greek Church Fathers, some of whom had recently been rediscovered and whose return to western Europe en masse during the second half of the fifteenth century resulted in a large manuscript tradition and, later, in a blooming of printed editions. All in all, we can state that a "patristic humanism" emerged between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, characterised by a constant interest in Latin and Greek Christian literature and, like "classical humanism", by a certain fervour in discovering new texts as well as in examining and correcting them (overview in Gentile 1997).

The interest in patristic literature in the age of humanism has, at last, been thoroughly analysed during the past twenty years. Several anthologies have covered the philological and editorial practices devoted to the Fathers, the ways in which texts and authors were approached, studied, and edited (see, among others, Cortesi and Leonardi 2000; Cortesi 2002, 2004, 2006, 2010; Grane et al. 1993–1998; Colombi 2012; see also www-3.unipv.it/retrapa/). The mediaeval, humanist, and Renaissance transmission of the Latin and Greek Fathers has been thoroughly analysed with

reference to selected examples, such as Jerome, Augustine, Tertullian, or Gregory of Nazianzus, as has the printed tradition of patristic texts. One volume has been devoted solely to *editiones principes* (Cortesi 2006). Finally, an anthology has been devoted to the transmission of patristic texts and the methodological issues it raises (Colombi 2012). At the centre of these studies, we find outstanding personalities, such as Ambrogio Traversari or Cardinal Bessarion, who played the same role for patristic literature as Petrarca, Salutati, or Poggio did for classical literature, as well as decisive historical circumstances, such as the Church councils that took place in Ferrara, Florence, and Constance. Editorial work performed by humanists in studying and editing patristic works, especially by leading figures such as Beatus Rhenanus or Erasmus of Rotterdam, has been taken into account as well. Finally, interest in *editiones principes* of patristic literature, both Latin and Greek, has strongly increased, in connection both with the history of print and the history of texts.

The reasons for this interest in *editiones principes* are numerous, but among them three stand out in importance. The first is the connection between the late branches of transmission of some works and the first printed editions, allowing philologists to identify, if not the exemplar used by the printers to prepare a print, then at least the branch of the manuscript tradition to which it belonged (Hellinga-Querido 2014, 37–66, 67–101, 156–167), and therefore to connect handwritten and printed transmission closely. The possibility of finding such a connection is particularly frequent for Greek texts, whose reception in Latin Renaissance culture finds its beginning with the arrival in Italy of Greek manuscripts during the second half of the fifteenth century, and with their use for the production of the first printed editions. The second reason for the renewed interest in *editiones principes* can be found in the significance of the commercial, cultural, religious, and sometimes even political circumstances forming the context in which a printed edition (or several printed editions issued in the same place and/or over a specific period of time) was produced. Obviously, this holds true for all prints, but the emergence of printed patristic editions during a period characterised by the need for religious and spiritual reform, and/or by contrasts between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and that need for reform, certainly means that the assessment of their meaning has facets that other editions lack. If we look, for example, at the Basle or Paris prints issued during the sixteenth century, that is, during the attempts to reform the Catholic Church and adapt it to the spiritual needs of contemporary Christians, or at the short "Golden Age" of the enterprise of printing patristic texts in Rome (see Dondi et al. 2016), we see that the significance of these editions and their study cannot be related only to the technical and commercial features characterising the history of print, but should also be linked with the intellectual, political, and spiritual history of the time. On the other hand, if we look at Erasmus of Rotterdam's activity as editor of Jerome's works, he did not act as a neutral learned scholar; instead, he considers the spiritual message delivered by the *pater ecclesiae* and does not hesitate to criticise it when he sees that it manipulates the truth of Scripture (see Pabel 2002, 2008). Third, there

is a certain historical continuity linking the *editiones principes* first to their early modern reprints (e.g. the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Patrologia Graeca*) and then to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century projects of editions ultimately aiming at replacing them and at putting at scholars' disposal the pillars of patristic literature in a philologically improved form (e.g. the CSEL or CCSL/CCCM series). Therefore, a historical overview of the patristic printed editions and their analysis from a historical perspective cannot be split into separate periods, but must be considered as a whole divided into mutually dependent sections. In general, the philological enterprise cannot be separated from or carried out in the absence of a full historical examination that includes both manuscripts and prints.

A case in point may be the reconstruction of the history of Tertullian's corpus of writings, which Pierre Petitmengin (2004) has masterfully traced in a special study, and which I will attempt to summarise here. Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (ca. AD 160–after AD 220) was one of the most outstanding early Christian theologians and a ferocious anti-pagan polemicist. The high mediaeval (before AD 1200) knowledge of Tertullian's numerous writings was conveyed in four collections, the most famous and relevant of which is the one put together in Cluny and handed down by the famous manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J.VI.9, used by Kroymann (1906) for his edition. From the Cluny corpus, a new collection originated in three stages, the Hirsau corpus, which was ultimately the basis for the edition supervised by Beatus Rhenanus and published in Basle in 1521. Only two treatises retained a certain independence from this corpus: *Adversus Iudaeos* and *Apologeticum*. The latter enjoyed success in its own right in the entire Middle Ages. During the thirteenth century, a new collection was formed, witnessed by the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 25; at the same time, the Cluny corpus continued to be copied, albeit in different arrangements. A "changement dramatique" (Petitmengin 2004, 76) [dramatic change] took place in Italy, or more precisely in Florence, during the fifteenth century, when the Hirsau corpus was brought there and a new phase of the manuscript diffusion and a new branch of the stemma originated. This corpus can be considered as the basis for the humanist and Renaissance reception of Tertullian, since it was diffused not only in Italy (and read, among others, by illustrious readers such as Poliziano) but also in France. Finally, as we have already seen, the same Hirsau corpus, in two manuscripts, was used by Beatus Rhenanus for the edition published in Basle in 1521 (one of the manuscripts is now lost; the other is preserved in the successor to Beatus' library, Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 88). Beatus Rhenanus' edition, although not the first of Tertullian's works, is particularly important for scholars, not only because it witnesses a late branch of the Hirsau corpus but also because of interest in its editor, an outstanding personality in the history of philology, textual criticism, and editorial work, as well as in the religious and spiritual debates of his time.

In the case of Tertullian, we notice how it is possible to reconstruct a more or less uniform path leading from the handwritten tradition to the printed editions,

and to put together a history of the texts and of the types of corpora and miscellanies handing them down. The same can be said, of course, for other Fathers whose textual traditions are relatively limited, and therefore easy to map and to deal with. For the study of Tertullian, however, we must emphasise that we are reliant on a Renaissance editor (Beatus Rhenanus) whose contribution cannot be overlooked, and indeed has not been. Of course, we are not always so lucky. Sometimes, as in case of Augustine's *Confessiones*, the printed editions (in this case, the one published in Strasbourg around 1470; cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, A02893) represent the last step of a long textual journey, or better, the last witnesses of a long and extremely rich manuscript tradition that includes hundreds of copies (see Simonetti 2012). When facing difficult choices in establishing a selection of manuscripts as the basis for an edition, the editor may tend to neglect printed versions, especially when a wide manuscript basis is available, which is what has happened in the case of Augustine.

It is often difficult to assess the role played by the philologists who produced the early printed editions. These editors (a good example is Beatus Rhenanus himself) were not just philologists or scholars, but learned men involved in religious discussions and polemics, and, even when dealing with a manuscript or a group of manuscripts they considered reliable, they could not refrain from correcting the text more for ideological than philological reasons, as in the case of the "Roman-" or "Protestant-oriented" editions (see Grafton 2011; see also Petitmengin 2006 on the main characteristics of the *editiones principes*). Thus, printed editions may include conscious manipulations of the texts. Such manipulations may have a historical value, for they bear witness to the intellectual and spiritual struggle of the sixteenth century; but do they have to be taken into account during the preparation of a critical edition? Evidently, the case is different here from a simple correction *ope ingenii* in the edition of, for example, a classical text, as that is meant only to improve the quality of the text, whereas the manipulations in early printed editions may heavily influence or manipulate the content and the intellectual background of a text. In most cases, it would not be easy to document all of this because of the overabundance of material, and for this reason the evidence of the reception of the patristic texts in early prints has generally not been taken into account. It seems that editors of patristic texts, especially of works characterised by remarkable length and by the availability of several manuscripts, have tried to reduce the amount of sources by selecting the most correct and reliable ones among the oldest codices, simply leaving the further development of the text aside. In this further development, the printed editions represent the final step because of their generally close connection with the most recent codices at the time.

We can summarise the scholarly attitude towards early printed editions and their historical and philological importance as follows. The textual variation in early printed editions in the case of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* has been recorded but has not been taken into account in the establishment of the text itself (perhaps

unjustly). This might also be the case with other classical texts whose transmission relies on several copies and runs through the Middle Ages. The situation is, of course, different, in cases where we have only a printed edition at our disposal, as in the case of Caelius Aurelianus' *Tardae passiones*, of which only the printed edition published in Paris in 1533 by Johannes Günther von Andernach, and no manuscripts (except for a brief fragment), is preserved. On the other hand, when looking at scholarship devoted to patristic texts, we notice a growing interest in printed editions from a historical perspective, but these witnesses are nonetheless left aside when dealing with the *recensio codicum* and the constitution of the original text. They are therefore not used or represented, either in the establishment of the text or in the constitution of the critical apparatus. A rare, but important, exception is Tertullian himself: Heinrich Hoppe, in his edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* published in Prague in 1939, does devote a special paragraph (Hoppe 1939, xxix–xxxii) to the history of the printed editions and to the assessment of their value for the history of the text, tracing, for example, their inclusion in a specific branch of the tradition. Besides, in the case of the *Apologeticum*, a work that Rhenanus could not find in the manuscripts of the Hirsau corpus, Hoppe stresses Rhenanus' debt to the 1515 Aldina edition supervised by Iohannes Baptista Egnatius. Hoppe even incorporated their variant readings into the critical apparatus, especially – at least, this is my impression – when they turn against the vulgate version and bear witness to some alternative readings. The same positive attitude towards printed editions can be detected in cases in which philologists are forced to recognise the defective nature of the manuscript tradition. In these cases (e.g. Tertullian's *De pudicitia*), printed editions act as a necessary aid in establishing a better text (on this, see Micaeli 2014).

1.4.4. Mediaeval literature: The specific features of the edition of Papias' *Elementarium*

After dealing with examples derived from classical and patristic literature, it is now time to turn our attention to mediaeval Latin literature. The study of the transition from handwritten to printed form in the case of mediaeval Latin texts, and the assessment of the value that incunabula and sixteenth-century printed editions may have for accessing mediaeval Latin literature, is not highly developed, and is perhaps even tainted by some doubts and suspicions about the reliability of these sources. This somewhat negative attitude can be explained in terms of the following considerations. First of all, some works that we consider today to be excellent writings were never printed, whereas some minor, less original, compendium-like ones which had the function and the merit of being useful for spiritual and/or intellectual improvement found a market and a way into print. Works that were not printed and were left in manuscript form may afterwards have been lost (see Haye 2016, 191–

204). Two good examples of such a contrast between what we today consider literary masterpieces that were not printed and everyday compendia that were, are (*i*) the scarce *Fortleben* of Ratherius of Verona's (887–974) *Phrenesis*, one of the finest introspective autobiographies of the Middle Ages, which has been preserved in only one manuscript and was never printed in early modern times, and (*ii*) the fine performance on the book market of Guido de Monte Rocherii's (d. 1331) *Manipulus curatorum*, a manual for priests that enjoyed more than twenty-one editions in German territories alone between 1474 and 1500 (Aquilon 2013). Therefore, the study of mediaeval Latin literature had to build up (and indeed did build up) its own canon of representative texts that is not always congruent with their diffusion.

Mediaeval Latin philology is ultimately based on the principles of classical philology and textual criticism, although several scholars have tried to grant the analysis of mediaeval texts and the editorial techniques devoted to them a certain methodological independence and specificity (Orlandi 2008; Göransson et al. 2016; P. Chiesa 2016). We cannot deal with those attempts here; for our purposes, we simply recall that some edition projects have been started with the aim of replacing old – and flawed – early modern prints. Among these initiatives, the ongoing project of a critical edition of Albert the Great's *Opera omnia*, the *Editio Coloniensis*, can be mentioned; it has engaged the scholars of the Albertus Magnus Institute (albertus-magnus-institut.de) for several decades and aims at replacing the old editions printed during the seventeenth century by Petrus Jammy (1644–1651) and during the nineteenth by Emile Borgnet (1890–1899).

Could it possibly be a consequence of this mistrust of old prints and/or of the necessity of creating a specific philological method for editing mediaeval Latin texts that a discussion of the value of incunabula and early modern printed editions cannot be found in the manuals of mediaeval Latin philology (P. Chiesa 2002, 2016; Timpanaro 2004; Berté and Petoletti 2017), whose goal is to present problems and solutions when dealing with the manuscript tradition of mediaeval Latin texts? It is also rare, if not impossible, to find discussions of printed editions in the context of surveys of manuscript traditions. To give a single example: Barbara Fleith (1991) and Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (1995) are the most expert specialists involved in the study of the wide and complex tradition of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, a collection of saints' lives written in several stages during the second half of the thirteenth century that enjoyed immense success both in manuscript and in print. Both scholars have worked extensively on determining the stemma and the accumulation of various redactions and versions; Maggioni has also studied the manuscript tradition in depth to distinguish the author's versions and establish how they evolved, and to classify manuscripts in the branches of the stemma. Astonishingly, neither Fleith nor Maggioni devoted even a single paragraph to printed editions, as if they were a disposable late by-product of the manuscript tradition and not witnesses of the development of the texts! Perhaps they made this choice because the search for an "original" or "author's" version was easier to perform with the help

of codices alone, or because the richness and complexity of that same manuscript tradition made it necessary to untangle the manuscripts in order to select the ones an edition could be based on (see P. Chiesa 2016, 99–103).

An interesting exception to this selective editorial practice adopted by mediaeval Latin specialists, which ultimately results in a disregard for printed editions – which may be considered either too close to manuscripts, and consequently as belonging to the category of *descripti*, or not relevant in comparison with a large, rich, and complex manuscript tradition that becomes the ultimate "battlefield" of philological methodology – is represented by the critical edition of Papias' *Elementarium* initiated by the extensive work of Violetta de Angelis, whose published findings are still limited to a very small section of the work, namely the letter *A* (de Angelis 1974). Papias' *Elementarium*, one of the most successful Latin dictionaries of the Middle Ages, was written between 1041 and 1063, possibly by a member of the clergy whose biography is obscure. The dictionary enjoyed huge success during the Middle Ages (the *FAMA* database lists 146 manuscripts; see fama.irht.cnrs.fr/en/oeuvre/254652), and was printed in Milan in 1476 (printer: Domenico da Vespolate) and in Venice in 1485 (printer: Andrea de Bonetti), 1491 (printer: Teodoro de rogationibus de Aula), and 1496 (printer: Filippo Pinzi). Other editions followed afterwards, but de Angelis's attention was attracted by the presence in the three editions following the *princeps* (1485, 1491, and 1496) of several interpolations, omissions, and changes indicating a departure from the manuscript tradition. In her introduction (de Angelis 1974, xviii–xxi), she discusses the innovations shown by the first and the last of those prints, and explains them in terms of a contamination of the tradition and in terms of the work of the humanist in charge of the edition, Bonino Mombrizio (or Mombricius – see Spanò Martinelli 2001; de Angelis 2011). He concentrated his efforts mostly on the entries including Greek words, where he adds the correct Greek words after the usual Latin transliteration, and therefore introduces his own glosses. After this summary of the type of text and transmission de Angelis was confronted with, and having emphasised the attention she paid to the printed editions, which she did not simply dismiss as witnesses showing later interpolations, changes, and manipulations to be disparaged or left aside while longing for the purity of the "original text", it is now time to see how she made use of the readings and innovations provided by the two prints she mainly concentrated on (namely Milan, 1476, and Venice, 1496). Her method can be summarised as follows. Since she clearly acknowledges the impossibility of determining which family of manuscripts the original text rests on, and, on the other hand, which family already shows the interpolations that could lie behind the additions found in the prints, she adopts a threefold categorisation and treatment. All lemmata in the dictionary receive a number in the edition. Whereas interpolations shown by a whole family α and β are simply inserted into the body of the text with a running number "*n*" exactly like the entries represented in the entire manuscript tradition, the ones offered only by some codices are included in the main text but receive a number

"*n*-bis". The same treatment and numbering as "*n*-bis" are reserved for the entries displayed by the prints that presuppose the contamination of the two families (in order to avoid confusion, she puts these in square brackets). Finally, the entries clearly interpolated by Mombricius are featured only in the critical apparatus (see de Angelis 1974, xlvi–xlix).

Clearly, the example provided by the critical edition of Papias' *Elementarium* cannot be considered the norm, for it represents a notable exception to the general lack of interest among philologists in prints and, above all, in their function as late witnesses of the dynamism of mediaeval Latin texts, especially as working tools or technical texts that could (and indeed do) show an internal instability per se, against which – or even adding to it – the humanist and Renaissance editors reacted or positioned themselves in their philological and editorial activity.

1.5 Palaeography, codicology, and stemmatology

Peter A. Stokes

As has been evident from the discussion so far, although there are printed books which are important or even central to textual transmission, the majority of texts which are addressed by stemmatology survive in manuscript books, and so the preparation of an edition will most often require working with manuscripts. This in turn means that an understanding of manuscripts as books and objects is essential for editors, and this in turn requires a good understanding of palaeography and codicology. At one level, this is obvious: editors need to be able to read the manuscript witnesses to their tradition, and this often requires familiarity with a relatively wide range of scripts and scribal practices. As well as simply reading the letters on the page, editors also need an understanding of abbreviations, likely scribal misreadings such as forms that may look like a certain letter in one script but a different letter in another script, and so on, as well as a broader understanding of the physical and cultural context of the text's transmission. This section will therefore commence with a brief historical introduction to the development and diffusion of the "auxiliary" disciplines; then, some examples of the significance of these to editing will be given; and finally the discussion will turn to some of the methodological implications of this section, particularly in today's digital context.

1.5.1 Definitions and historical introduction

In essence, palaeography means simply the study of "old" (παλαιός) writing, whereas codicology refers to the study of the *codex*, the physical book and its structure. In practice, however, the details of these definitions and their scope have evolved considerably over the centuries. Palaeography has long been seen as an "auxiliary"