

TICONTRE

TEORIA TESTO TRADUZIONE

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TICONTRE. TEORIA TESTO TRADUZIONE

NUMERO II - MAGGIO 2019

*con il contributo dell'Area dipartimentale in Studi Linguistici, Filologici e Letterari
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Trento*

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TOWARDS AN ATLAS OF ITALIAN PRINTER'S COPIES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

MARTINA CITA – *Università di Ferrara*

The article examines twenty-one 15th and 16th centuries printer's copies, mostly preserved in Italian libraries. An atlas, which compares the printer's copies and the derived printed editions, was built according to Hellinga's model. As a consequence, this study offers an overview of the most common marks or evidence which prove that an exemplar was used in a printing house. Moreover, some general trends regarding the printing process are suggested.

L'articolo esamina ventuno antigrafì di tipografia (manoscritti o precedenti edizioni a stampa) del XV e XVI secolo, la maggior parte dei quali conservati in biblioteche italiane. Il contributo si presenta come un atlante, composto sul modello di Hellinga, e compara gli antigrafì di tipografia e le edizioni a stampa derivate. Di conseguenza, lo studio offre una panoramica sugli indizi e sulle tracce che permettono di dimostrare che un esemplare è stato utilizzato in tipografia. Inoltre, si forniscono alcune tendenze generali riguardanti il processo di stampa.

I shall offer here an atlas of Italian printer's copies of the 15th and the 16th centuries, which came to light after Paolo Trovato's pioneering *Censimento*.¹ I was able to add to his list about twenty exemplars, which I included in this study.

At first, I shall list the libraries in which the exemplars are preserved and the abbreviations I shall use in the following pages.

¹ During the preliminary research, for the incunabula I relied mostly on LOTTE HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, in *Text in Transit. Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2014, pp. 67-101. On the other hand, for the 16th century editions I mostly relied on PAOLO TROVATO, *Per un censimento dei manoscritti di tipografia in volgare (1470-1600)*, in *Il libro di poesia dal copista al tipografo. Ferrara, 29-31 maggio 1987*, ed. by MARCO SANTAGATA and AMEDEO QUONDAM, Modena, Panini, 1989, pp. 43-81, reprinted in PAOLO TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, in *L'ordine dei tipografi. Lettori, stampatori, correttori tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1998, pp. 175-195 (from which I quoted in this essay). I listed most of the Italian incunabula included in Hellinga's study, leaving out only her n° 2, 12 (both already widely described in MASSIMO MIGLIO and ORIETTA ROSSINI, *Gutenberg e Roma. Le origini della stampa nella città dei papi 1476-1477*, Electa Napoli, Napoli, 1997) and 17 (which is doubtful). Likewise, I quoted almost all the Italian printer's copies listed in the additions to Trovato's *Censimento*, excluding the ones which were already largely described and a few more exemplars which I was not able to consider for time reasons. Obviously, I found out more printer's copies thanks to other essays and studies: I will report them case by case throughout the atlas. Moreover, the atlas pattern was inspired by WYTZE G.S. HELLINGA, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands. An Atlas of Historical Bibliography*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1962. Finally, I cannot forget to thank all the librarians I met during this research for their kind help, the library directors and the photographers.

CdV, BAV	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
FL, AdS	Florence, Archivio di Stato
FL, BML	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
FL, BNC	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
FL, BR	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
FL, BMa	Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana
PR, BPal	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
RE, BPan	Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale “Antonio Panizzi”
ROME, BNC	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale “Vittorio Emanuele II”
ROME, BAng	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica
VE, BNM	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

In the following table, I shall list the printer’s copies and the corresponding printed editions considered in this study. I also shall specify in which libraries the printer’s copies are preserved.²

Tabella 1: Exemplars considered in this study

Printer’s copy	Printed edition
1. VE, BNM, Z.228 (=1671)	Bessarion, <i>Adversus calumniatorem Platonis</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Editor: J. A. Bussi (?)
2. VE, BNM, Lat. VI 60 (=2591)	Bessarion, <i>Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Editor: J. A. Bussi (?)
3. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6803 (I and III decades)	Titus Livius, <i>Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Editor: J. A. Bussi
4. FL, BR, Ricc. 487 (IV decade)	Titus Livius, <i>Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Editor: J. A. Bussi
5. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991	Gaius Plinius Secundus, <i>Historia naturalis</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470, Editor: J. A. Bussi
6. FL, BMa, R.a.247 [=Leo I, <i>Sermones et Epistulae</i> , Rome, J.P. de Lignamine, 1470]	Leo I, <i>Sermones et Epistulae</i> , Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470. Editor: J. A. Bussi

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² The exemplars are presented in chronological order, according to the year of the printed edition. Whenever two or more editions were printed in the same year, I will follow the alphabetical order, if any other chronological information, such as the day or month of the impression, is missing.

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| 7. CdV, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1279 | Flavius Blondus, <i>Roma instaurata</i> , Rome, printer of Statius, 1471 |
| 8. CdV, BAV, Vat. lat. 3319 | Johannes Tortellius, <i>Ortographia</i> , Rome, Ulrich Han and Simon Nicolai Chardella, 1471. Editor: Adamo Montaldo |
| 9. FL, BNC, Magl. XXI. 136-137 | Donatus Acciaiolus, <i>Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis</i> , Florence, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478 |
| 10. FL, BNC, Conv. soppr. C.4.797 | Bartholomaeus Platina, <i>Vitae pontificum</i> , Venice, Johannes de Colonia and Giovanni Manthen, 1479 |
| 11. FL, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 113 e 1 | Leo Baptista Alberti, <i>De re aedificatoria</i> , Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 1485. Editor: Bernardus de Albertis |
| 12. FL, BR, ms 766 | Epictetus, <i>Enchiridion</i> , translated by Angelus Politianus, in Censorinus, <i>De die natali</i> , Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 1497. Editor: Philippus Beroaldus |
| 13. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4820 | Sperone Speroni, <i>Canace</i> , Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546 |
| 14. FL, AdS, Cerchi 838 | Aristoteles, <i>Trattato dei governi</i> , Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549. Editor: Bernardo Segni |
| 15a. RE, BPan, Vari C. 20 | Lodovico Castelvetro, <i>Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro</i> , Modena, Cornelio Gadaldini il vecchio, [1559] |
| 15b. RE, BPan, Vari C. 20 | Lodovico Castelvetro, <i>Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e dei verbi di messer Pietro Bembo</i> , Modena, Eredi Cornelio Gadaldini, 1563 |
| 16. ROME, BNC, V.E. 1510 | Apollonius Pergaeus, <i>Conicorum libri quattuor</i> , Bologna, Alessandro Benacci, 1566 |
| 17. FL, BNC, II.III.350 | <i>Istorie pistolesi</i> , Florence, Eredi Bernardo Giunta, 1578. Editor: Vincenzo Borghini. |
| 18. VE, BNM, Marciano it. IX 119 (=6481) [=Torquato Tasso, <i>Gerusalemme liberata</i> , Venice, Cavalcalupo, 1580] | Torquato Tasso, <i>Gerusalemme liberata</i> , Ferrara, Vincenzo Baldini, 1581. Editor: Febo Bonnà |
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19. FL, BNC, Post. 157 [=] Jacopo Passavanti, <i>Specchio di vera penitenza</i> , Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1585. Editor: Leonardo Salviati
20. PR, BPal, Parm. 1609 Pomponio Torello, <i>Merope</i> , Parma, Erasmo Viotti, 1589

For each printer's copy I included in the atlas from one to three folios, in order to show how these exemplars were used in printing houses. The folios I chose are remarkable, as they have the so-called printer's marks or make up signatures and other evidence which can confirm that the exemplars they belong to were used to produce a printed edition. In the following table, I shall mention the different kind of printer's marks or evidence I found out on the exemplars I have considered in this study.³

Tabella 2: Printer's marks or evidence detected on printer's copies

- A Typographic ink stains
- B Fingerprints (even if partial)
- C Letters corresponding to signatures of the printed edition
- D Other ink or drypoint marginal marks (lines, crosses)
- E Vertical lines or dots
- F Ink, *lapis* or drypoint numerical marks
- G Drypoint or *lapis* alphanumerical marks
- H Ink alphanumerical marks
- I Drypoint or *lapis* marks in the main body of the text
- L Ink marks in the main body of the text
- M Numerical or alphanumerical marks in combination with *lapis*, drypoint or ink line
- N Orthographic corrections
- O Significant corrections
- P Textual additions
- Q Red ink marks in the main body of the text (Johannes Andreas Bussi)
- R *Marginalia* (that is marginal captions)

³ The marks and evidence are listed from the most mechanical ones, such as fingerprints or insertions of letters or numbers, to the most elaborated ones (corrections, textual insertions, captions). As far as mechanical features are concerned, I shall list them among the evidence detected, even if they are not that patent right in the few folios I was able to reproduce in this atlas (in particular, I am referring to ink stains or fingerprints).

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I. BESSARION, *ADVERSUS CALUMNIATOREM PLATONIS*

Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat.Z.228 (=1671).

Edition: Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*, in *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Add: *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete. De natura et arte*, Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [before 28 August 1469], editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC ib00518000, GW 4183.⁴

Evidence and marks detected: F, I (in the first books), A, D, F, L, P (further on)

At a first glance, it could be hard to find markings and signs in the first books of the printer's copy. However, a closer look allows to find them also in this section.⁵ To start, there is a numerical mark between two dots (Fig. 1, l. 18) which corresponds to the page-end in the incunable (Fig. 2). Moreover, a faint drypoint or *lapis* cross in the main body of the text divides the words *alteri* and *inherentem* (Fig. 1, line 18), corresponding to the incunable page-end.⁶

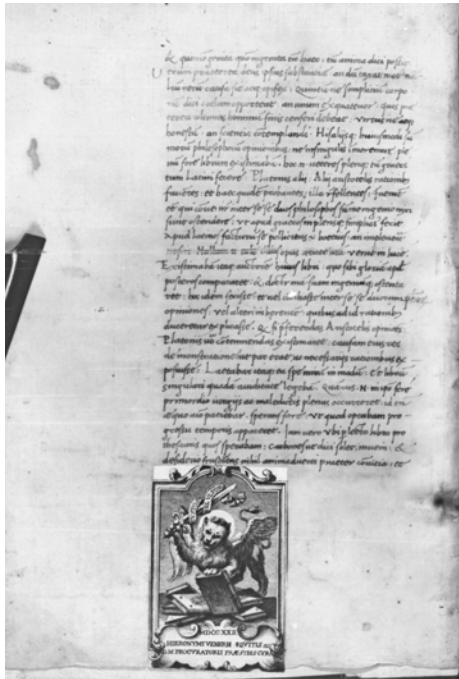
As I have already disclosed, there is abundant evidence starting from the fourth book. At first, there are conspicuous typographical ink stains and later corrections, which grow more numerous in this section. A numerical mark (19) points out the page-end, also emphasized by a T-shaped stroke in the main body of the text, which separates the words *coinquatus* and *est* (Fig. 3, l. 23). The marginal dark ink note should also be noticed and should be attributed to Bessarion himself.⁷ This addition is preceded by a catchword which indicates precisely where the textual addition (*haec perversa nimis: digna est laudari illa*) should be placed in the main body of the text. To conclude, it is interesting to observe how this marginal note will be included in the printed version (Fig. 4).

4 Exemplar: VE, BNM, Inc. 219. Bibl.: CARLA FROVA and MASSIMO MIGLIO, *Dal ms. Sublacense XLII all'editio princeps del 'De civitate Dei' di Sant'Agostino (Hain 2046)*, in MASSIMO MIGLIO (ed.), *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*. Atti del 2° seminario, 6-8 maggio 1982, Città del Vaticano, Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1983, pp. 245-273, pp. 261-262; GIUSEPPE LOMBARDI, *Dal manoscritto alla stampa*, in *Gutenberg e Roma: le origini della stampa nella città dei papi 1476-1477*, ed. by MASSIMO MIGLIO and ORIETTA ROSSINI, Napoli, Electa Napoli, 1997, pp. 29-40, pp. 33-35; MARGARET LANE FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*. Appendix to *Author's Autograph and Printer's Copy: Werner Rolewink's Paradisus Conscientiae*, in *Incunabula. Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. by MARTIN DAVIES, London, British Library, 1999, pp. 109-128 n° 2; HELINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 69, n° 3.

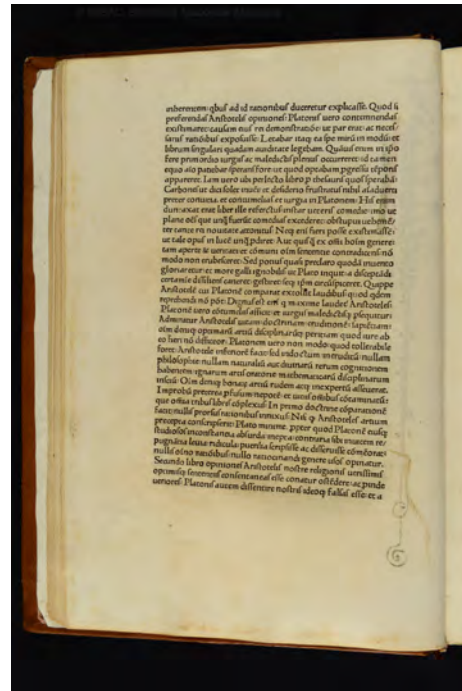
5 In this regard, I shall report the descriptive cartouche I found in the front folio (my transcription): *Insunt libri primus, secundus et quartus a Bessarione retractati, ut in editione romana [s. 1469]: immo vero ex hoc ipso codice, manu auctoris emendato, in ea impressione librum quartum [fol. 97-180] representatum fuisse, typographorum maculae et signa quaedam aperte declarant.*

6 As disclosed by Hellinga, in-line marks correspond to page-end in the incunable (HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 69).

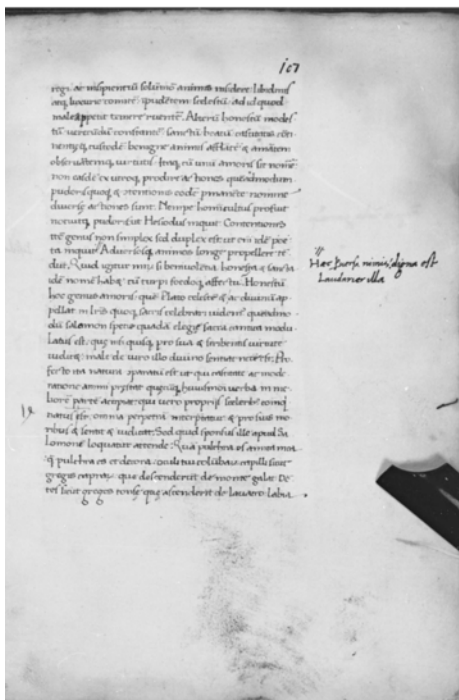
7 As it is disclosed by the librarian who wrote down the already mentioned cartouche and confirmed by Gasparini Leporace and Mioni, this manuscript presents abundant corrections and Latin or Greek additions to the main text which should be ascribed to the Cardinal itself. In this regard, I refer to TULLIA GASPARRINI LEPORACE and ELPIDIO MIONI (eds.), *Cento codici bessarionei. Catalogo di mostra*, Venezia, Libreria Vecchia del Sansovino, 1968, pp. 12-13, n° 10.



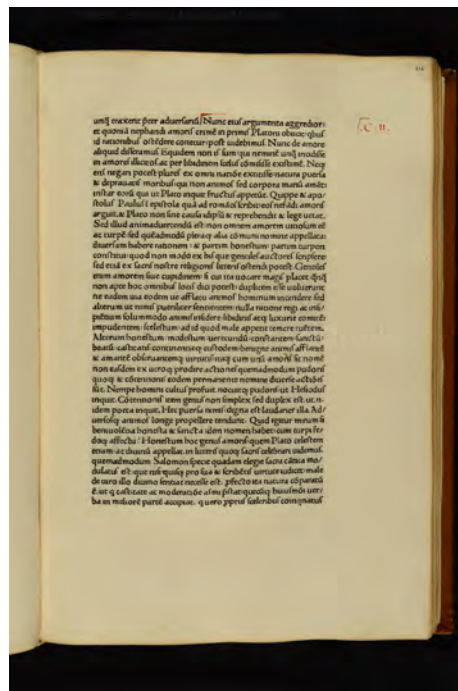
(a) Fig. 1 – Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat.Z.228 (=1671), f. iv.



(b) Fig. 2 – Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: VE, BNM, Inc. 219, f. 16v.



(c) Fig. 3 – Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat.Z.228 (=1671), f. 107r.



(d) Fig. 4 – Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: VE, BNM, Inc. 219, f. 131r.

2. BESSARION, *CORRECTIO LIBRORUM PLATONIS DE LEGIBUS. DE NATURA ET ARTE*

Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat. VI 60 (=2591)

Edition: Bessarion, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*, in *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Add: *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete. De natura et arte*, Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [before 28 August 1469], editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC ib00518000, GW 4183.⁸

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, D, L, N.

The folio reproduced in Fig. 5 is affected by several typographical ink stains and contains a fingerprint as well (l. 15, right on the words *convivial et*). There is a series of double dots side by side on the left margin in six lines (Fig. 5).⁹ Moreover, a U-shaped mark in lighter ink placed in the main body of the text at line 7 divides the words *debeant* and *et* and emphasizes the page-end, which corresponds to the printed version (Fig. 6).

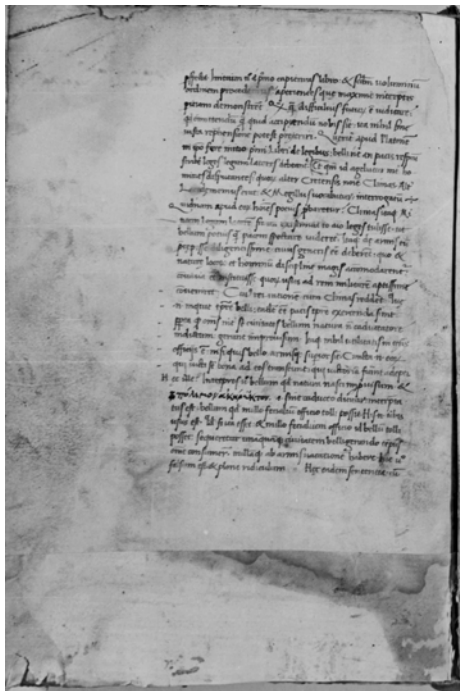
Similar marks and signs are detected in the following folio (Fig. 7). A lighter stroke in the main body of the text, identical to the one of Fig. 5, divides the words *et* and *Cliniam*. Another marginal sign made with the same light ink underlines the page-end. Moreover, there is a darker ink correction (*ea > ita*, l. 11), which will be included in the printed text (Fig. 8).

To conclude, in both samples the Greek words (Fig. 5, l. 23; Fig. 7, ll. 12, 21) seem to be a later addition, probably by Bessarion himself, who wrote them down at a later stage with a darker kind of ink.¹⁰

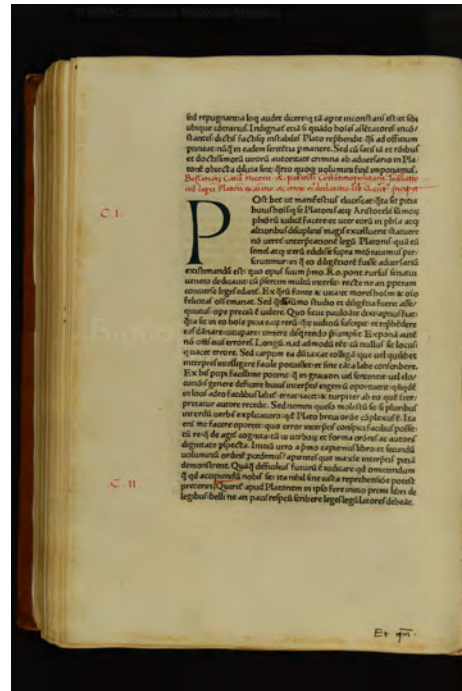
8 Exemplar: VE, BNM, Inc. 219. Bibl.: FROVA and MIGLIO, *Dal ms. Sublacense XLII all'editio princeps del 'De civitate Dei' di Sant'Agostino (Hain 2046)*, cit., pp. 261-262; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 2; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 69, n° 3.

9 It is not that easy to clarify the aim of these marks. I do not think they were used to count the lines, for they mark only a few of them. Likewise, I cannot confirm that they meant to mark a quote, according to a non-frequent 15th century scribal habit.

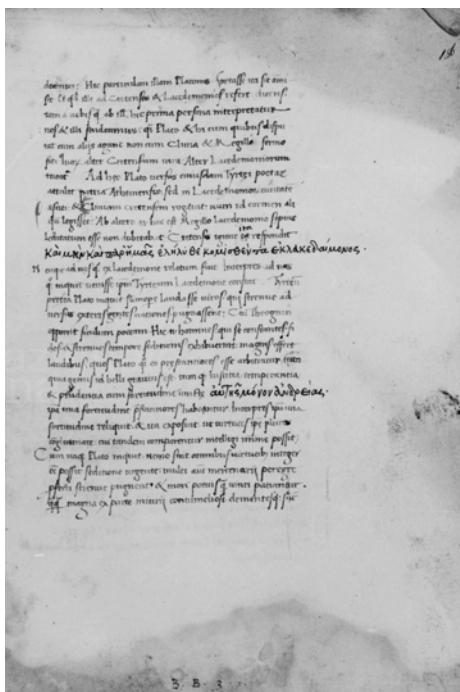
10 In this regard, I refer to GASPARRINI LEPORACE and MIONI, *Cento codici bessarionei*, cit., pp. 13-14, n° 11.



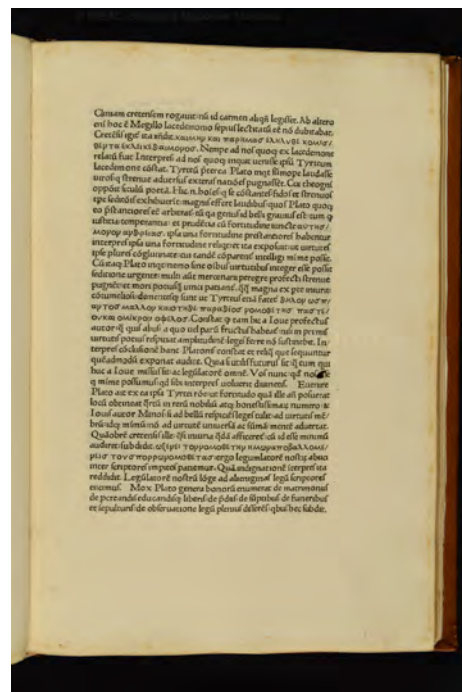
(a) Fig. 5 – Bessarion, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat. VI 60 (=2591), f. 184v.



(b) Fig. 6 – Bessarion, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: VE, BNM, Inc. 219, f. 176v.



(c) Fig. 7 – Bessarion, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, Lat. VI 60 (=2591), f. 186r.



(d) Fig. 8 – Bessarion, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: VE, BNM Inc. 219, f. 178r.

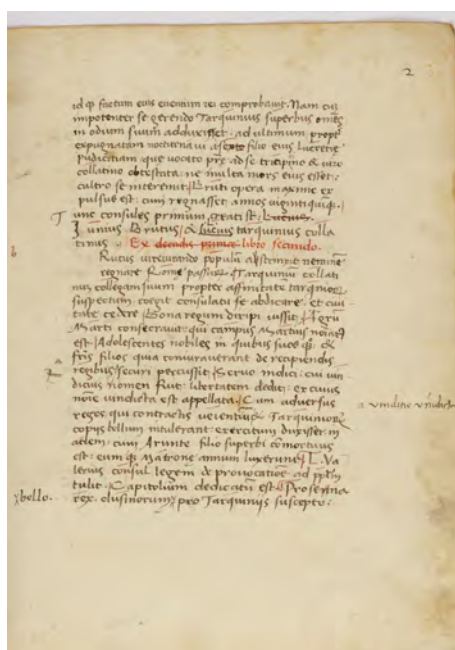
3. TITUS LIVIUS, *HISTORIAE ROMANAE DECADES I, III, IV*

Printer's copy: CðV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6803 (I and III decades).¹¹

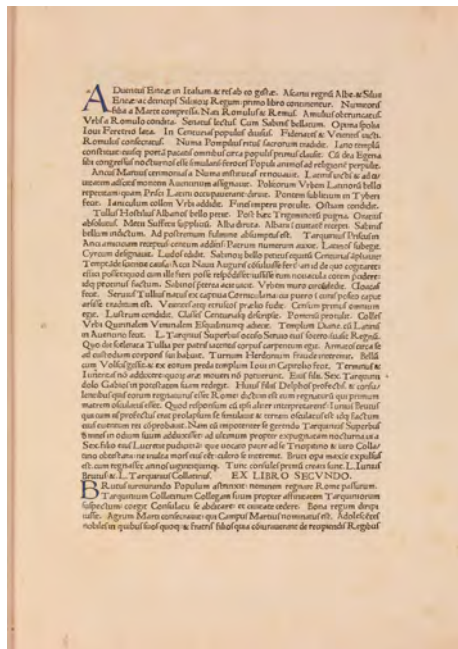
Edition: Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades* [I, III, IV], Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [not before 23 (or 13) Sept. 1469], editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC il00236000, GW M18470.¹²

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, H, L, Q.

In Fig. 9 there is a marginal alphanumerical signature (7a) corresponding to the edition page-end (Fig. 10). Moreover, an overturned V-shaped stroke in the main body of the text separates the words *regibus* and *securi* (Fig. 9, l. 20). The folio reproduced in Fig. 9 is characterized by red ink marks by the editor Johannes Andreas Bussi, bishop of Aleria. To conclude, there are faint typographical ink stains (Fig. 9).



(a) Fig. 9 – Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Printer's copy: CðV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6803, f. 2r. On concession of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



(b) Fig. 10 - Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C. _3-4, f. 4r.

¹¹ It is important to notice how two printer's copies were used for the casting off of Livy edition: the Vatican codex (for the 1st and the 3rd decades) and the Riccardiano one, which is described in the following pages (for the 4th decade).

¹² Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C. _3-4. Bibl.: MICHAEL D. REEVE, *The Transmission of Livy 26-40*, in «Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica», CXIV (1986), pp. 129-172; LOMBARDI, *Dal manoscritto alla stampa*, cit., pp. 33 and 35; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 3; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 69, n° 4.

4. TITUS LIVIUS, *HISTORIAE ROMANAE DECADES* I, III, IV

Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 487 (IV deca)

Edition: Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades* [I, III, IV], Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [not before 23 (or 13) Sept. 1469], editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC il00236000, GW M18470.¹³

Evidence and marks detected: D, F, H, L, N, O, P, Q.

In the folio reproduced in Fig. 11 there is a marginal alphanumerical mark combined with a red ink slash in the main body of the text (l. 4), which emphasizes the first word of the corresponding page of the printed edition (*essent*, Fig. 12). There are several orthographic corrections and the above-mentioned red ink marks.¹⁴ A more significant correction (*ipsi ephirri* > *ipsi montes Epiri*, Fig. 11, l. 23) is included in the printed text (Fig. 12, line 12).

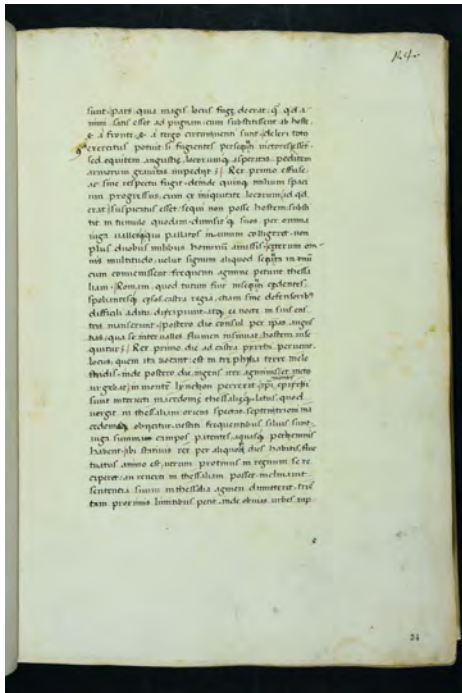
The page-end is pointed out by an alphanumerical signature in Fig. 13 as well. Moreover, a vertical slash in the main body of the text emphasizes how *consulium* has to be the first word of the corresponding page of the printed edition (Fig. 14). There are several orthographic and significant corrections.¹⁵ Red ink marks pop up in this folio as well (Fig. 13).

To conclude, in the last folio here presented there is a marginal alphanumerical mark (*12a*) setting up the page-end. Moreover, a light ink double slash in the main body of the text separates the words *Valerium* and *operibus* (Fig. 15, l. 17). This folio presents not only abundant orthographic corrections, but also some more remarkable interventions, such as the marginal textual insertion, emphasized by a combined mark (a dot and an oblique slash) and included in the printed text (Fig. 15, ll. 8-10: *latere quoque et cements et saxa varie magnitudinis prebebant. Et Romani quidem operibus magis quam armis urbem oppugnabant. Etoli contra armis se tuebantur nam*).

¹³ Exemplar: FL, BML, D'Elci 652. Bibl.: TERESA DE ROBERTIS and ROSANNA MIRIELLO, *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze I, mss. 1-1000*, Firenze, SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997, p. 27, n° 32; LOMBARDI, *Dal manoscritto alla stampa*, cit., p. 35; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 3; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 69, n° 4; NICOLETTA GIOVÈ and MARCO PALMA, *Livio nel Quattrocento fra manoscritti e stampa. Strutture grafiche e materiali*, in *A primordio Urbis. Convegno internazionale di studi su Tito Livio (Padova, 21-23 ottobre 2015)*, in press.

¹⁴ Regarding Johannes Andreas Bussi's *modus operandi*, one should refer to De Robertis and Miriello, *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze I*, cit., and to Giovè and Palma, *Livio nel Quattrocento fra manoscritti e stampa*, cit. All these scholars agree that those red ink marks were used by Johannes Andreas Bussi in order to prepare the external feature of the text, introducing, sometimes, some significant changes as well. In my opinion, these red ink marks could have been added by the editor at a later stage, first correcting the text with black ink.

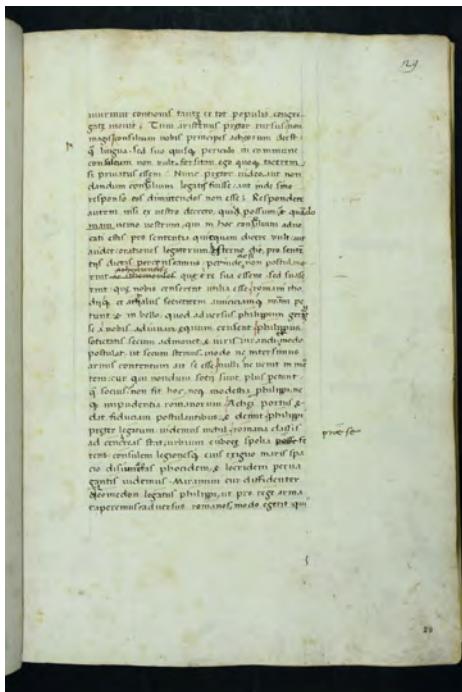
¹⁵ I shall list this significant correction in particular: *postulaverint ac athenienses e re sua esse* > *postulaverint athenienses e re sua esse* > *postulaverint e re sua esse* (l. 14).



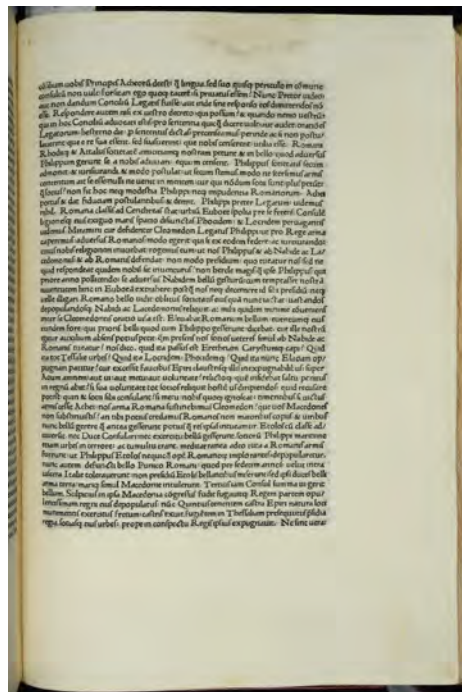
(a) Fig. 11 – Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Printer's edition: FL, BR, Ricc. 487, f. 24r.



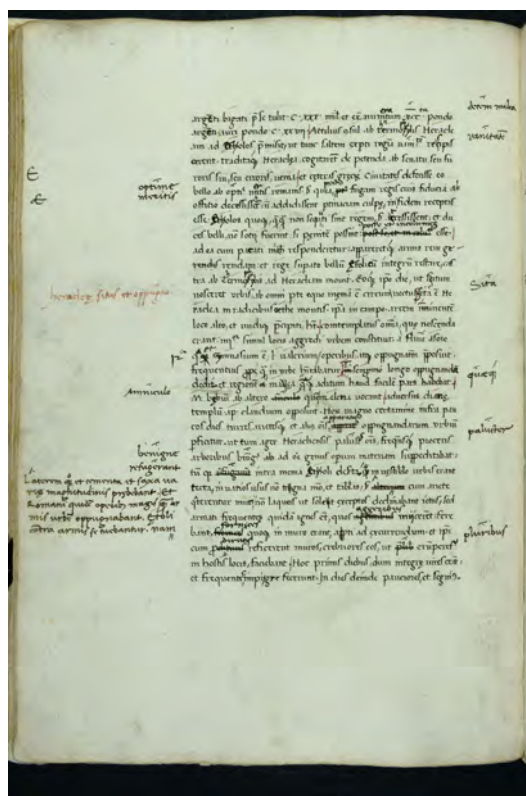
(b) Fig. 12 – Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: FL, BML, D'Elci 652, 1st folio (unnumbered page).



(c) Fig. 13 – Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 487, f. 29r.



(d) Fig. 14 – Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: FL, BML, D'Elci 652, 2nd folio (unnumbered page).



(a) Fig. 15 - Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 487, f. 107v.



(b) Fig. 16 - Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV*. Edition: Rome, Swyneheim and Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: FL, BML, D'Elci 652, 3rd folio (unnumbered page).

5. GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, *HISTORIA NATURALIS*

Printer's copy: CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991¹⁶

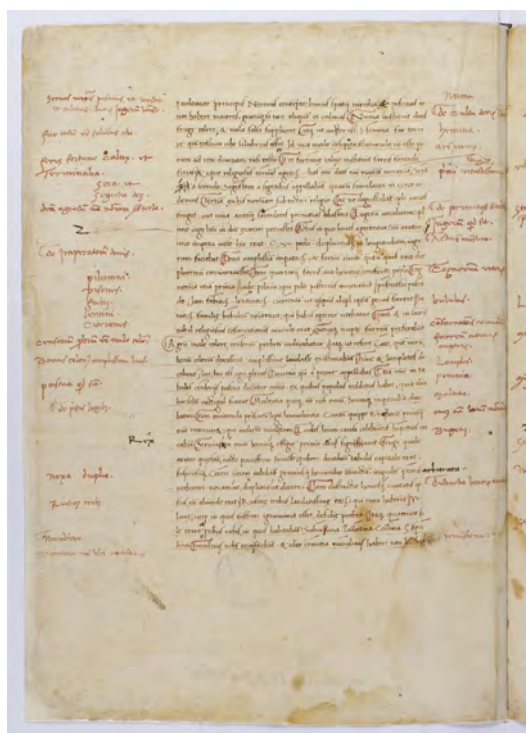
Edition: Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [between 8 Apr. and 30 Aug.] 1470, editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC ip00787000, GW M34306.¹⁷

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, L, M, N, Q.

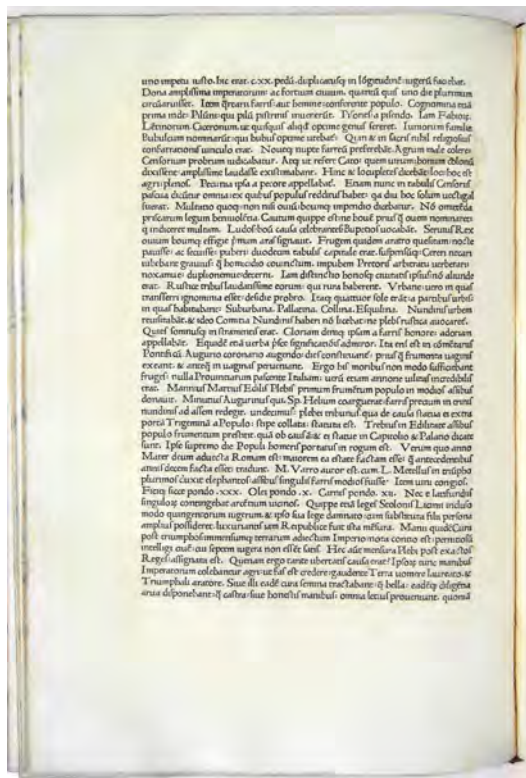
The printer's copy presents the already described red ink marks by Johannes Andreas Bussi (Fig. 17). The page-end is pointed out by a number and a line. Moreover, a vertical slash in the main body of the text points at the first word of the corresponding page of the printed version (Fig. 18, l. 10 *uno impetu*). To conclude, I shall list the orthographic corrections (Fig. 17) included in the printed text: *significabit* > *signavit* (l. 25, correction in red ink); *pretoris verberari* > *pretoris arbitratum verberari* (l. 27, *arbitratum* added in the margin with darker ink); *erant partibus* > *erant a partibus* (l. 31, the *a* in darker ink as well). All the darker ink corrections seem to have been introduced simultaneously, hence they appear to belong to the same textual layer.

¹⁶ As already stated by Marucchi, the Vat. Lat. 5991 derives from the Angelicano 1097, copied in 1460 and used by Johannes Andreas Bussi in order to cast his Pliny edition off. The Vatican codex contains only nineteen books (18-37). The first books (1-17) were copied from the Angelicano as well, but this exemplar is missing.

¹⁷ Exemplar: ROME, BAng, Inc. 528. Bibl.: REMIGIO SABADINI, *Le edizioni quattrocentesche della 'Storia naturale' di Plinio*, in «Studi di filologia classica», VIII (1900), pp. 439-448; ADRIANA MARUCCHI, *Note sul manoscritto di cui si è servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470*, in «Bulletin de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes», XV (1967-1968), pp. 178-182; GIOVANNI ANDREA BUSSI, *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, prototipografi romani*, ed. by MASSIMO MIGLIO, Milano, Il Polifilo, 1978, Tav. 14; PAOLA CASCIANO, *Il ms. Angelicano 1097, fase preparatoria per l'edizione del Plinio di Sweynheym e Pannartz (Hain 13088)*, in MIGLIO, *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, cit., pp. 381-394, p. 384; MASSIMO MIGLIO, *Dalla pagina manoscritta alla forma a stampa*, in «Bibliofilia», LXXXV/3 (1983), pp. 249-256; LOMBARDI, *Dal manoscritto alla stampa*, cit., pp. 32, 35-36; *Gutenberg e Roma*, cit., pp. 32, 38; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 7; MICHAEL D. REEVE, *The Editing of Pliny's 'Natural History'*, in «Revue d'histoire des textes», II (2007), pp. 107-179, pp. 147, 171; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., pp. 71-72, 77.



(a) Fig. 17 – Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*. Printer's copy: CbV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991, f. iv. On concession of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved: Vat. Lat. 5991 © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



(b) Fig. 18 – Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym e Pannartz, 1469. Exemplar: ROME, BAng, Inc. 528, (unnumbered folio, iv).

6. LEO I, *SERMONES ET EPISTULAE*

Printer's copy: Leo I, *Sermones et epistulae*, [Rome, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, before 21 Sept. 1470]; ISTC il00128500, GW M17804.¹⁸

Edition: Leo I, *Sermones et epistulae*, Rome : Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [after 21 Sept.] 1470, editor Johannes Andreas Bussi; ISTC il00129000, GW M17800.¹⁹

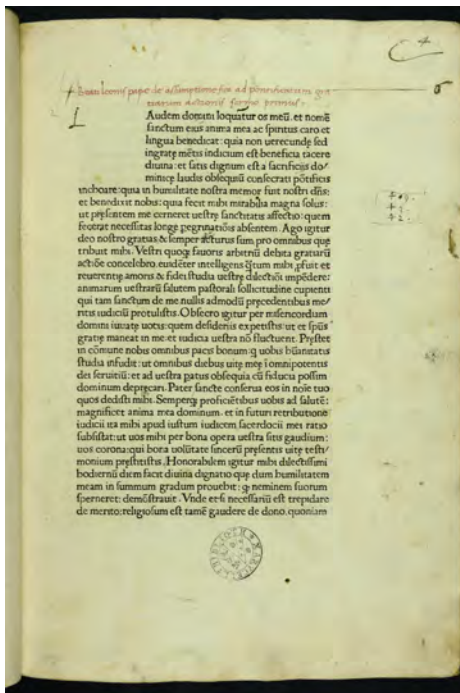
Evidence and marks detected: A, D, F, L, M, Q.

In the front page of the printer's copy, reproduced in Fig. 19, there is a horizontal line combined with the number 6 in correspondence to the title. On the right margin, three couples of numbers inside a square, written in darker ink, maybe gave some information regarding the quires or the quantity of paper to use. Several typographical ink stains should be noted as well.

The printer's copy's folio reproduced in Fig. 21 presents the red ink marks in the main body of the text. A horizontal line combined with the number 10 and a slash in the main body of the text (Fig. 21, l. 9) points out the page-end (*preciosus/ nec solum*, Fig. 22). To conclude, another horizontal line in the third but last line maybe intended to set up another page-end: however, it seems that there is no correspondence with the printed edition in this case, hence it could be considered as an error by the compositor.

¹⁸ Exemplar: FL, BMa, R.a.247

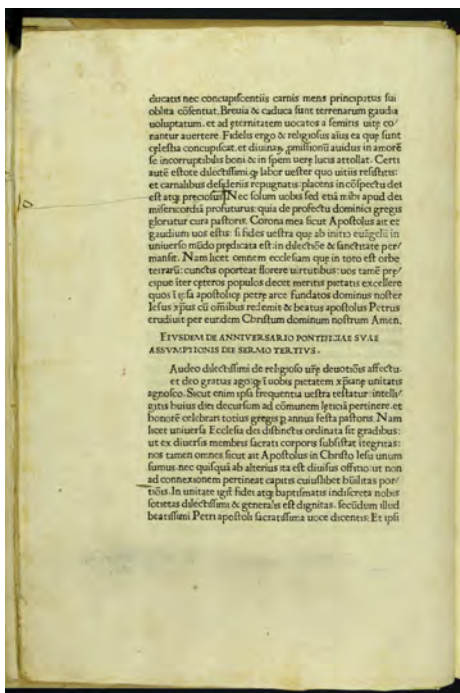
¹⁹ Exemplar: FL, BMa, R.a.779. Bibl.: PIERO SCAPECCHI, *Biblioteca Marucelliana, Firenze. Catalogo incunaboli*, Roma, Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1989, n° 4; PIERO SCAPECCHI, *An Example of Printer's Copy Esed in Rome, 1479*, in «The Library», XII/6th ser. (1990), pp. 50-52; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 8; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., pp. 72-73, n° 8.



(a) Fig. 19 - Leo I, *Sermones et epistulae*, Rome, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1470. Printer's copy: FL, BMA, R.a.247, f. 44r.



(b) Fig. 20 - Leo I, *Sermones ed epistulae*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470. Exemplar: FL, BMA, R.a. 779, f. 44r.



(c) Fig. 21 - Leo I, *Sermones et epistulae*, Rome, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1470. Printer's copy: FL, BMA, R.a.247, f. 46v.



(d) Fig. 22 - Leo I, *Sermones et epistulae*. Edition: Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470. Exemplar: FL, BMA, R.a. 779, f. 46r.

7. FLAVIUS BLONDUS, *ROMA INSTAURATA*

Printer's copy: C_DV, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1279

Edition: Flavius Blondus, *Roma instaurata*, [Rome, printer of Statius, before 26 July 1471]; ISTC ib00701000, GW 04422.²⁰

Evidence and marks detected: A, D, I, N.

The severe typographical ink stains that can be noticed in the second folio seem to confirm that this manuscript was used in a printing house.²¹ However, other clues aren't as patent. It is likely that the compositor avoided marking heavily such a valuable manuscript,²² as a consequence faint drypoint or *lapis* marks were preferred. For instance, a drypoint cross and an oblique slash in the main body of the text²³ (Fig. 23, l. 11) point out the page-end. Moreover, there are orthographic corrections in darker ink, which are included in the printed text.²⁴

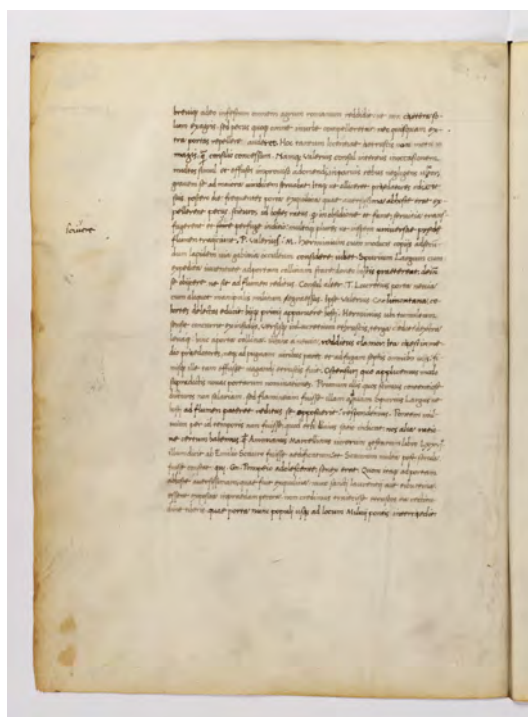
²⁰ Exemplar: ROME, BA_{ng}, Inc. 353 (2). Bibl.: MIGLIO and ROSSINI, *Gutenberg e Roma*, cit., p. 98; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 9; MASSIMO MIGLIO, *Saggi di stampa. Tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2002, pp. 121-122, 239; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 73, n° 4.

²¹ For instance, the 5th and the 6th folios are heavily affected by typographical ink stains.

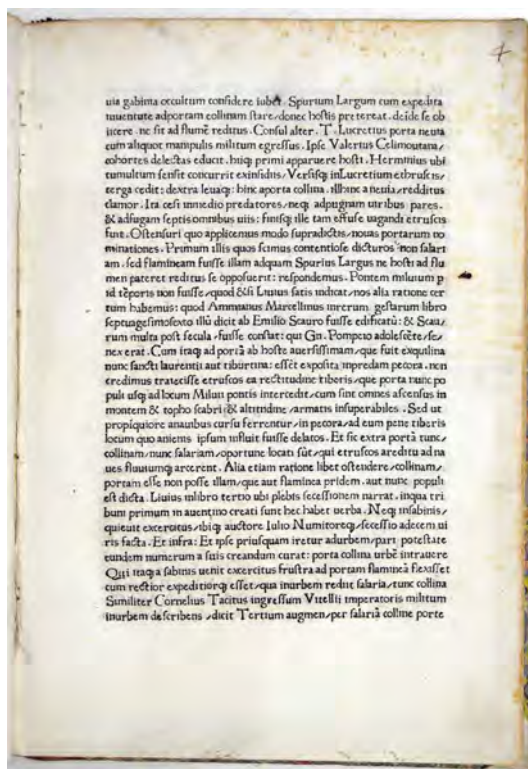
²² The manuscript, laid out on a single writing column, presents illuminated drop caps with *bianchi girari* decorations enriched by golden insertions.

²³ The slash in the main body of the text states how *via gabinia occultum* is supposed to be the beginning of the correspondent page of the printed version.

²⁴ I shall list, for instance: *aegressus* > *egressus* (Fig. 23, l. 14); *caesi* > *cesi* (Fig. 23, l. 17); *praedatores* > *predatores* (Fig. 23, l. 18); *effusde* > *effuse* (Fig. 23, l. 19); *aquam* > *ad quam* (Fig. 23, l. 21). Moreover, a colon is insert after *fuisse edificatum* (Fig. 23, l. 25) and *adversissimam* (Fig. 23, l. 27).



(a) Fig. 23 – Flavius Blondus, *Roma instaurata*. Printer's copy: CbV, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1279, f. 4v. On concession of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved: Ottob. lat. 1279 © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



(b) Fig. 24 – Flavius Blondus, *Roma instaurata*. Edition: Rome, printer of Statius, 1471. Exemplar: ROME, BAng, Inc. 353, f. 64r.

8. JOHANNES TORTELLIUS, *ORTOGRAPHIA*

Printer's copy: CdV, BAV, Vat. lat. 3319

Edition: Johannes Tortellius, *Ortographia*, Ulrich Han and Simon Nicolai Chardella, [after 10 Aug.] 1471, editor Adamo Montaldo; ISTC it00394000, GW 47210.²⁵

Evidence and marks detected: A, M.

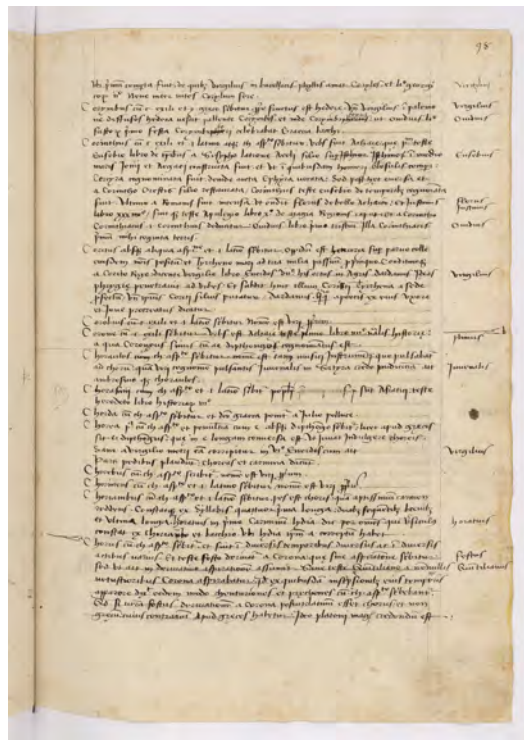
There is a horizontal line combined with the number 13 (Fig. 25), similar to the marks detected in the previous folios. Some lines below, there is another line with the letter *a*. It is likely that both marks were intended to point out the page-end (even if they do not exactly correspond to the printed version) as stated by Hellinga:

Sections were cast off, noting the number of the quires within sections, and pages within the quires [...]. Compositors marked their progress as they went along, deviating from the casting off. They marked page-ends with strokes within the text, and they noted page numbers in Arabic numerals in the margin. Conclusion: typesetting progressed seriatim within the pre-divided sections.²⁶

Finally, this folio is affected by faint typographical ink stains.

²⁵ Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 70.8.G.13. Bibl.: LUISA CAPODURO, *L'edizione romana del 'De Orthographia' di Giovanni Tortelli (Hain 15563) e Adamo da Montaldo*, in MIGLIO, *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, cit., pp. 37-56, pp. 42-50; MIGLIO, *Dalla pagina manoscritta alla forma a stampa*, cit., pp. 249-256; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 10; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., pp. 73-74, n° 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.



(a) Fig. 25 – Johannes Tortellius, *Ortographia*. Printer's copy: CdV, BAV, Vat. lat. 3319, f. 98r. On concession of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved: Vat. lat. 3319 © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



(b) Fig. 26 – Johannes Tortellius, *Ortografia*. Edition: Rome, Ulrich Han and Simon Nicolai Chardella, 1471. Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 70.8.G.13, f. 105v.

9. DONATUS ACCIAIOLUS, *EXPOSITIO ETHICORUM ARISTOTELIS*

Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Magl. XXI.136

Edition: Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*, Florence, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478; ISTC ia00017000 GW 00140.²⁷

Evidence and marks detected: A, D, E, N, O, P.

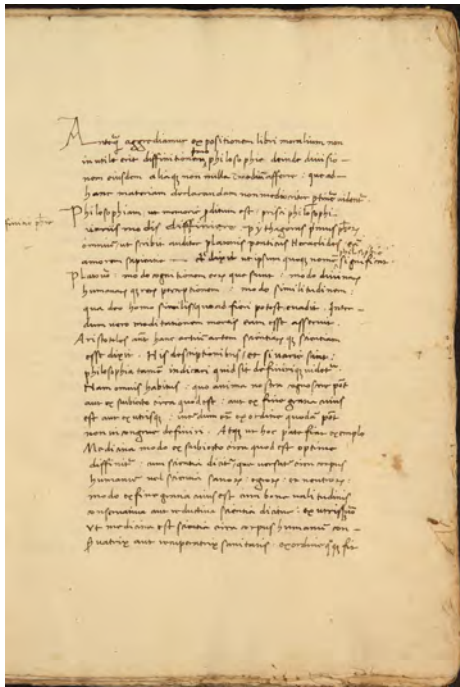
Some faint marginal markings are noticeable in the folio reproduced in Fig. 27: horizontal dashes along the right margin and a cross on the left one in the second paragraph. Moreover, there are some corrections which will be included in the printed text (Fig. 28).²⁸

In the following example taken from the printer's copy (Fig. 29), a significant text lacuna is restored on the right margin,²⁹ maybe by the author himself at a later stage (Fig. 29): it should be noticed how the printed version presents the whole text (Fig. 30, ll. 24-28). Moreover, orthographic corrections can be detected in this folio as well.

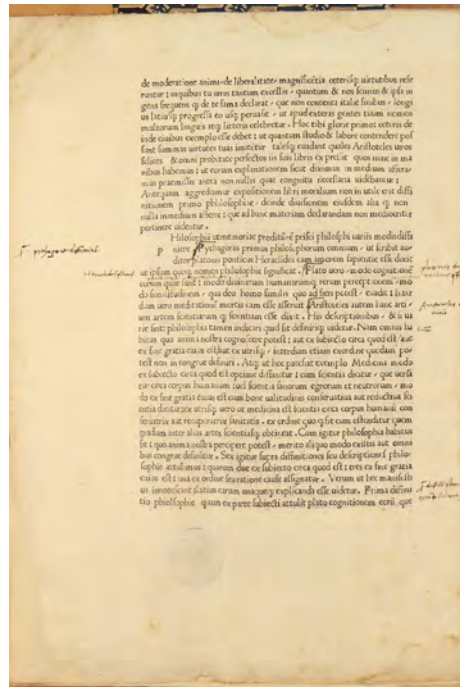
²⁷ Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.I.10. Bibl.: PIERO SCAPECCHI, *New light on the Ripoli Edition of the 'Expositio' of Donato Acciaoli*, in *The Italian Book 1465-1800. Studies Presented to Dennis Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by DENIS V. REIDY, London, The British Library, 1993, pp. 31-33; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 19; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., pp. 79-80, n° 18.

²⁸ I shall list the following examples: *diffinitionem philosophiae* > *diffinitionem primo philosophiae* (l. 2); *quoque nomen significat* > *quoque nomen philosophie significat* (l. 8). The ink's colour, so close to the one used for the main text, does not allow me to establish certainly whether those corrections were subsequent or not.

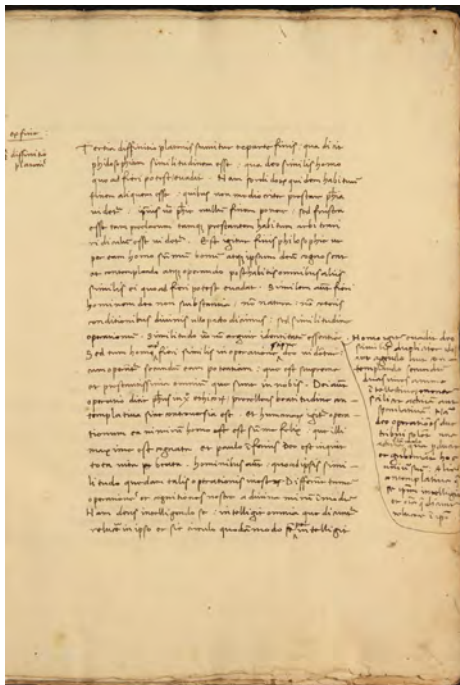
²⁹ The marginal textual addition is included on a circular line ending with a dart which points out where to insert it in the main body of the text. Also in this case the ink does not provide additional information regarding the stratigraphy of the corrections, hence I am not sure whether this insertion is simultaneous to the main text or not: regarding to this topic, I refer to HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 79 for more details.



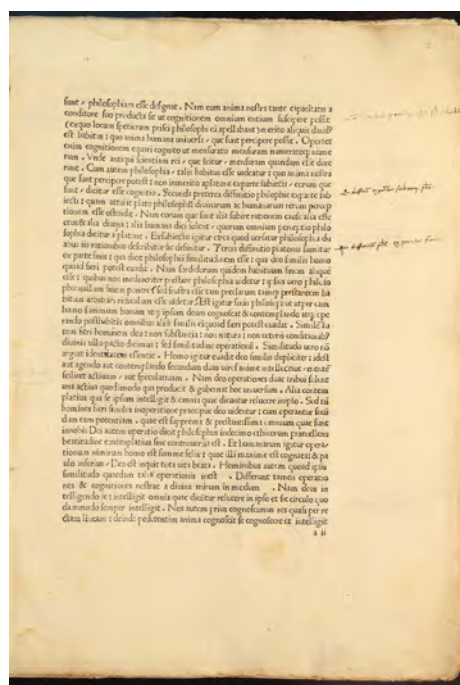
(a) Fig. 27 – Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Magl. XXI.136, f. 2r.



(b) Fig. 28 – Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*. Edition: Florence, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.1.10, f. 4r.



(c) Fig. 29 - Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Magl. XXI.136, f. 3r.



(d) Fig. 30 - Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*. Edition: Florence, apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.1, f. 43r.

IO. BARTHOLOMAEUS PLATINA, *VITAE PONTIFICUM*

Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Conv. soppr. C.4.797

Edition: Bartholomaeus Platina, *Vitae pontificum*, [Venice], Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 11 June 1479; ISTC ip00768000, GW M33887.³⁰

Evidence and marks detected: A, F, G, H, L, M, N, O, P.

In the Fig. 31 several typographical ink marks can be detected on the upper left margin and in the lower right one.³¹ There are darker ink corrections which will be included in the printed text (Fig. 32).³² An overturned V-shaped mark and a double slash (Fig. 31, l. 21) point out a lacuna of the main text, which is restored by a marginal addition, written by a different scribe.³³

The folio reproduced in Fig. 33 is studded with markings and signs. At line 13, two horizontal lines (the first one on the left margin and the second one on the right) point to two marginal marks (*A* and *o*). On the lower margin, on the right, the alphanumerical combination *a4* was erased and corrected into *a2*. The ink mark in the main body of the text (Fig. 33, l. 7) is less evident, but fundamental for the casting off of the edition: in fact, it indicates where the corresponding page of the printed version is supposed to start (*purpura sic*, Fig. 34). To conclude, there are several corrections³⁴ and typographical ink stains.

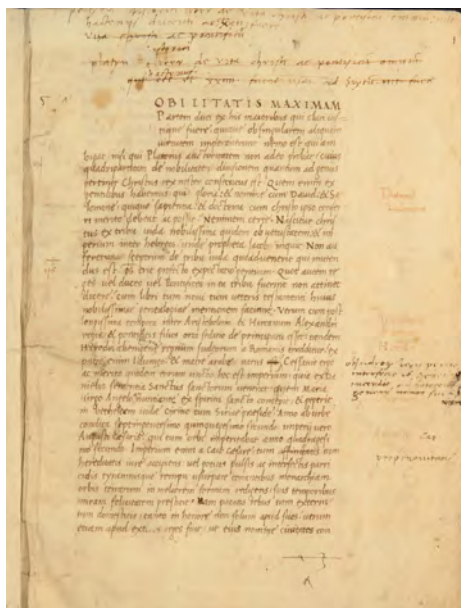
³⁰ Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. F.4.18. Bibl.: PIERO SCAPECCHI, *Un nuovo codice del 'Liber de vita Christi ac omnium Pontificum' di Bartolomeo Platina usato come esemplare di tipografia per le edizioni veneziane del 1479 e del 1504*, in «RR. Roma nel Rinascimento», xv (1999), pp. 247-252. It should be noted how Scapecchi asserts that this exemplar was used as a printer's copy not only for the incunable, but also for a 16th century Venetian edition printed by Pinzi (1504). However, in my study I preferred not to include the latest edition, for I did not find in the folios I have examined clues that pointed out its dependence from the Florentine manuscript.

³¹ To be more specific: instead of the drop cap, which was left empty by the scribe, there is a number (5) combined with a letter (maybe an *a*?) placed between two oblique slashes; a few lines below, there is a *16* with a dash on the top; on the bottom of the folio, on the right, an alphanumerical mark was erased and substituted just by the letter *a*.

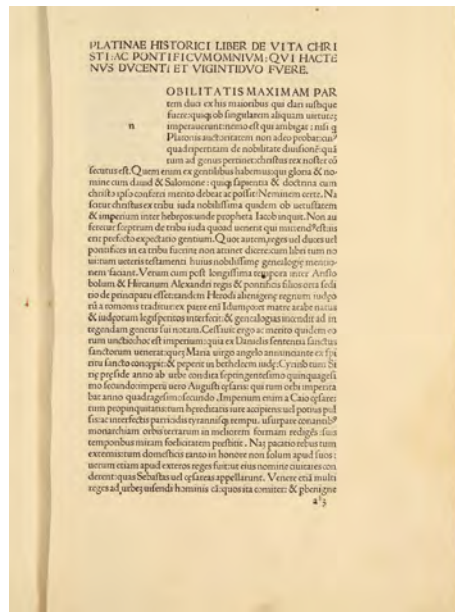
³² I shall list these two examples: *natus est* > *natus* (l. 21); *tum affinis* > *tum propinquatis* (l. 28).

³³ There could be the possibility that the scribe who corrected the main text restored the lacuna as well.

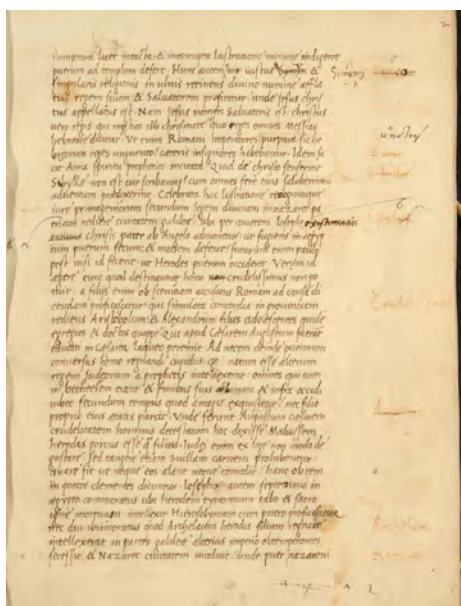
³⁴ There are three dark ink corrections over an erasure (*existimatus* l. 13, *abimatu* l. 25, *septennio* l. 32) and another correction (*homo non crudelissimus* > *homo crudelissimus* l. 17).



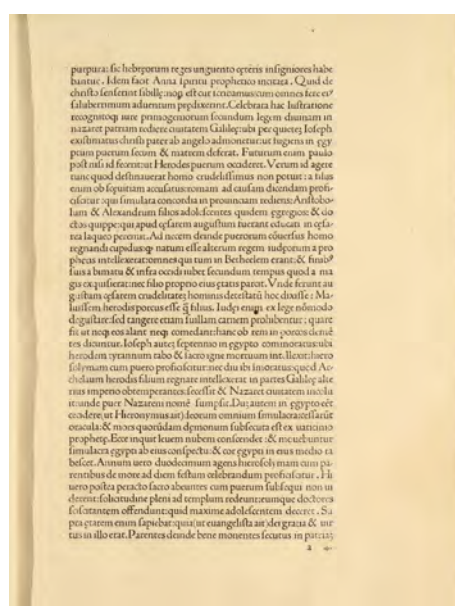
(a) Fig. 31 – Bartholomaeus Platina, *Vitaie pontificum*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Conv. sopr. C.4-797, f. 1r.



(b) Fig. 32 – Bartholomaeus Platina, *Vitaie pontificum*. Edition: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Venice, 1479. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. F.4.18, f. a3r.



(c) Fig. 33 – Bartholomaeus Platina, *Vitaie pontificum*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Conv. sopr. C.4-797, f. 2r.



(d) Fig. 34 – Bartholomaeus Platina, *Vitaie pontificum*. Edition: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Venice, 1479. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. F.4.18, f. a4r.

II. LEO BAPTISTA ALBERTI, *DE RE AEDIFICATORIA*

Printer's copy: FL, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 113

Edition: LEO BAPTISTA ALBERTI, *De re aedificatoria*, Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 29 Dec. 1485, editor Bernardus de Albertis; ISTC ia00215000, GW 00579.³⁵

Evidence and marks detected: C, D, F, L, O.

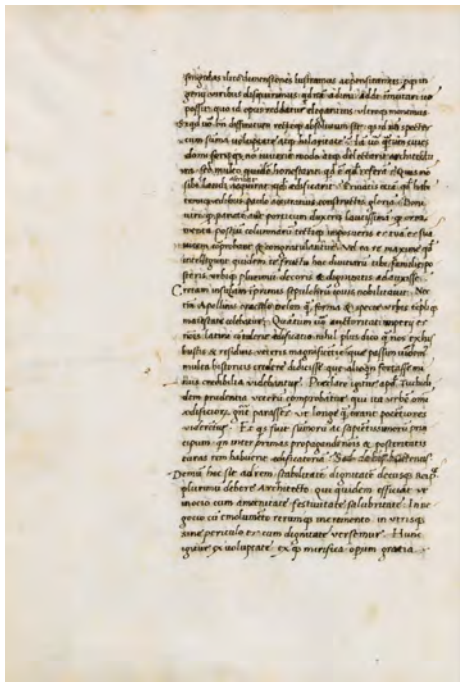
The samples I chose for this printer's copy are significant, even if they do not seem to be as patent as the ones detected in other exemplars. As Hellinga states:

Marginal Arabic figures are partly in ink, partly blind, with some duplications and even triplication in the sequences. Apparently copy had initially been cast off for setting by formes, and deviations from the casting off were noted by the compositors. Copy was probably divided into three parts, showing differences in the hands which carried out the preparation. [...] Compositors' marks in the manuscript of *De re aedificatoria* are horizontal lines, parallel slashes, crosses, and square hooks, all made with drypoint [...]. Sequences of Arabic numerals 1-16, 1-8, 1-12 in drypoint correspond precisely with the pages within quires of the printed edition. They must be the final marks made by compositors.³⁶

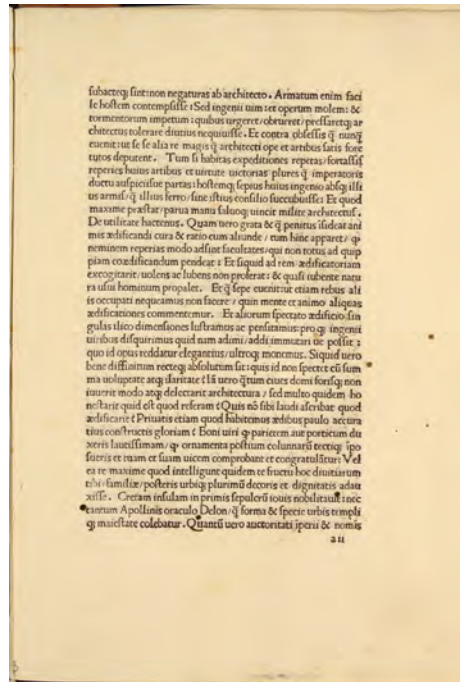
As a consequence, the deviations from the printed version detected in the given samples might be ascribed to the fact that the copy had been cast off for setting by formes or to the different hands working on it. In Fig. 35 a minuscule letter (*e*), combined with a cross in drypoint and a dash, is visible on the left margin. This mark does not correspond exactly to the printed version page-end (Fig. 36), detectable a few lines above (*quantum vero auctoritati imperi et nomi(ni)s*, Fig. 35, ll. 17-18). Moreover, there is a correction (*aquirat* > *ascribat*, Fig. 35 l. 8) made by a different scribe. On the lower margin of Fig. 37 there are different marks, not that glaring: two number 6 and a drypoint cross in the margin; two crosses in the main body of the text (last line and third but last line). None of these markings corresponds exactly to the printed version page-end (between *lineas* and *angulos*, Fig. 38). However, all these marks, gravitating around the page-end, seem to be intended to point it out, even if there is no total correspondence.

³⁵ Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.2.18. Bibl.: SILVIA FIASCHI, *Una copia di tipografia finora sconosciuta: il laurenziano plut. 89 sup. 113 e l'editio princeps del 'De re aedificatoria'*, in «Rinascimento», XLI (2001), pp. 267-289; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 83, n° 24.

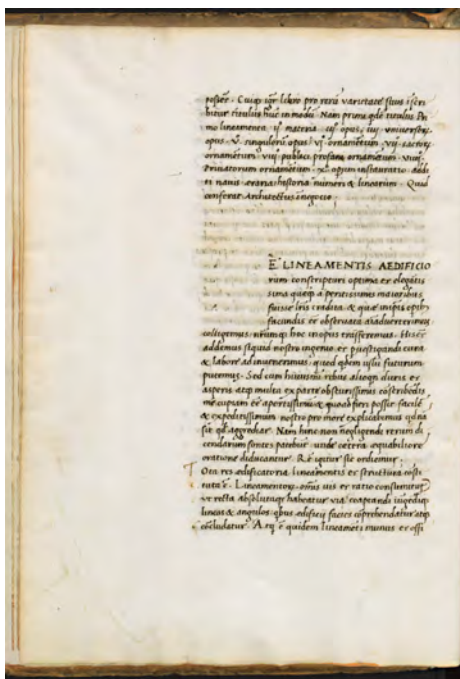
³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 83-84, n° 24.



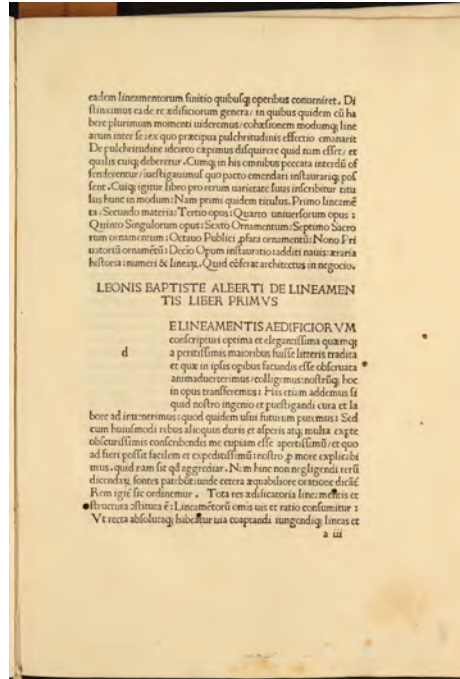
(a) Fig. 35 – Leo Baptista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*. Printer's copy: FL, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 113, f. 2v.



(b) Fig. 36 – Leo Baptista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*. Edition: Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 1485. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.2.18, f. arr.



(c) Fig. 37 – Leo Baptista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*. Printer's copy: FL, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 113, f. 3v.



(d) Fig. 38 – Leo Baptista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*. Edition: Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 1485. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. C.2.18, f. a3r.

12. EPICETETUS, *ENCHIRIDION*, TRANSLATED BY ANGELUS POLITIANUS

Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 766³⁷

Edition: Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus, in Censorinus, *De die natali*, Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 12 May 1497, editor Philippus Beroladus; ISTC ic00376000, GW 06471.³⁸

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, C, L, M, N, O, R.

In the folio reproduced in Fig. 39 there are several corrections and marginal captions written with a type of ink that appears to be darker than the one used in the main text: both of them will be included in the printed version (Fig. 40)³⁹. The captions seem to be marginal additions which refer to relevant keywords of the main text. Moreover, there are typographical ink stains and a partial fingerprint.

In the following folio (Fig. 41), the page-end is pointed out by a horizontal line combined with an *A* placed exactly by the line where the correspondent page of the printed edition is supposed to end (*bona non sunt*, Fig. 42). There are several finger prints and typographical ink stains. Finally, the captions of this folio (*repente philisophus emesit* and *posside ut nos habeamus*) will be included in the printed text as well (Fig. 41).

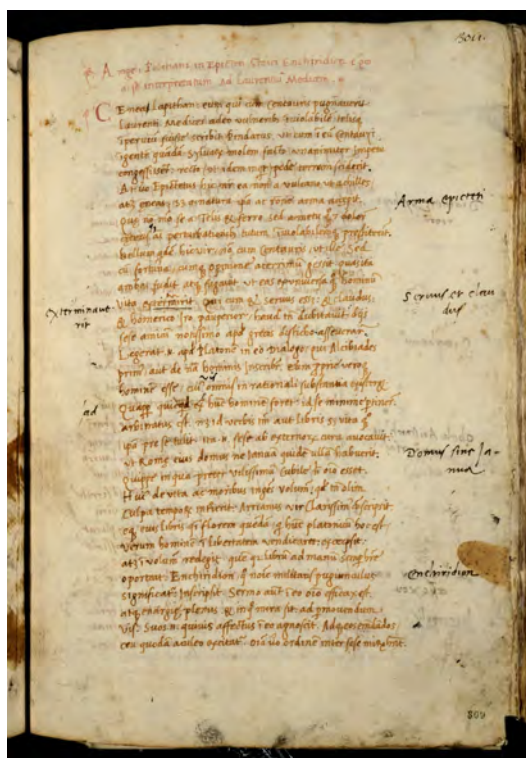
Finally, in the last folio reproduced (Fig. 43), there are several markings and signs: letter *A* on the upper margin, on the right; a few lines below, a mark (*Fp*) combined with a horizontal line indicates the page-end; in the lower margin the number 9, in addition to a horizontal line and a stroke in the main body of the text, does not correspond to the edition page-end (Fig. 44). To conclude, there are several corrections and marginal captions.⁴⁰

37 Both Ford and Hellinga reported only the folios containing Politianus' translation (ff. 309-318) as a printer's copy. I have just checked those folios; however, a later bibliographical clue allowed me to notice that more texts preserved in the Riccardiano manuscript are included in the edition printed in Bologna as well. To be more precise, I am referring to: Censorinus, *De die natali*; Cebes, *Tabula* (tr: Ludovicus Odaxius Patavinus); Basilius Magnus, *De legendis antiquorum libris sive De liberalibus studiis* (tr: Leonardus Brunus Aretinus); Plutarco, *De invidia et odio* (tr: Niccolò Perotti). A deeper study should be carried out in order to understand if other sections of this manuscript were used in the same printing house.

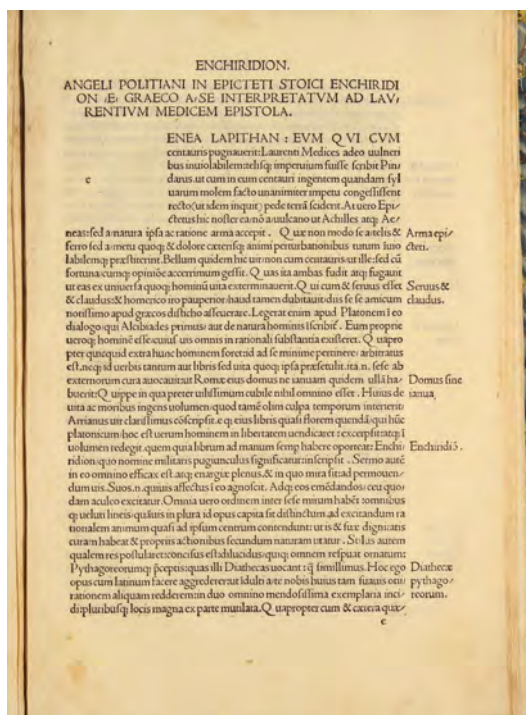
38 Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. B.4.22. Bibl.: REVILO OLIVER, *Era plagiario Poliziano nella sua traduzione di Epitteto e di Erodiano?*, in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo*. Atti del IV Convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Firenze, Sansoni, 1954, pp. 253-271; FORD, *A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, with Selected Literature*, cit., n° 31; HELLINGA, *List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century*, cit., p. 94-95, n° 35.

39 Corrections: *ceneas* > *cenea* (l. 1); *ceteris* > *ceterisque* (l.9); *exterminrit* > *exterminaverit* (13); *cuius omnis* > *cuius vis omnis* (l. 18); *id se* > *id ad se* (l. 19). Captions: *arma epitteti*; *servus et claudus*; *domus sine ianua*; *enchiridion*; *diathecae pythagoreorum* (all of them are reproduced in the printed text as well).

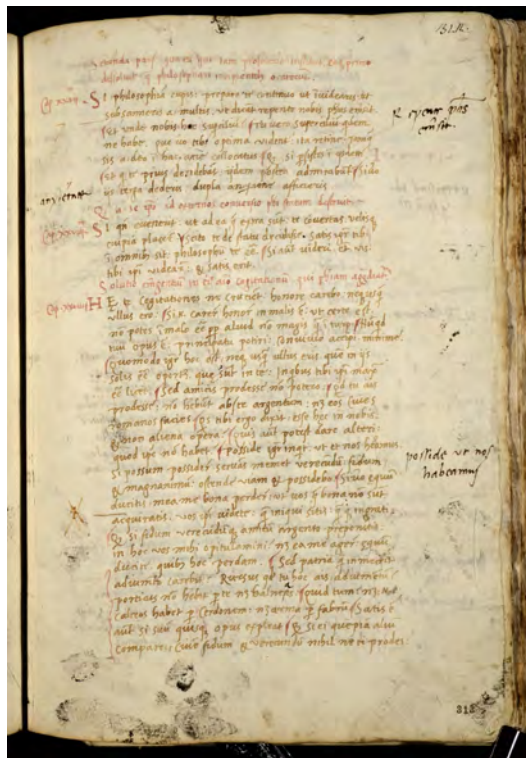
40 Corrections: *omnia superans* > *omnia superari* (l. 24); *bene Socrates* > *bene ut Socrates* (l. 33). Captions: *vis Olympia vincere*; *Aphen deglutire*; *velut simius imitaris*; *bene ut Socrates dicit*.



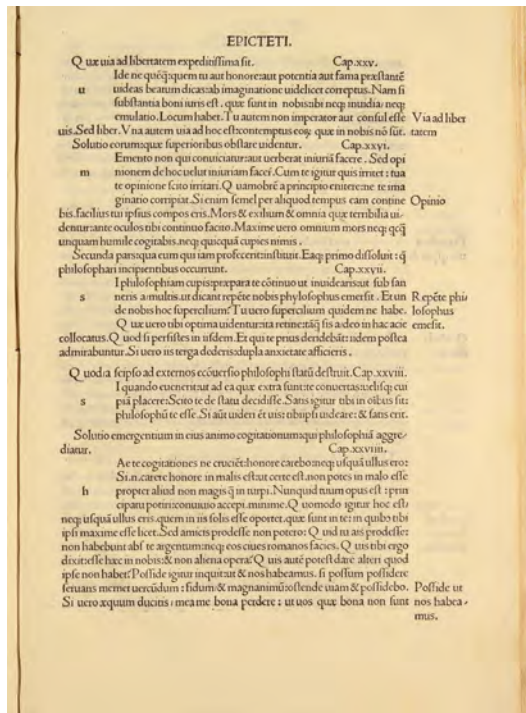
(a) Fig. 39 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 766, f. 309r.



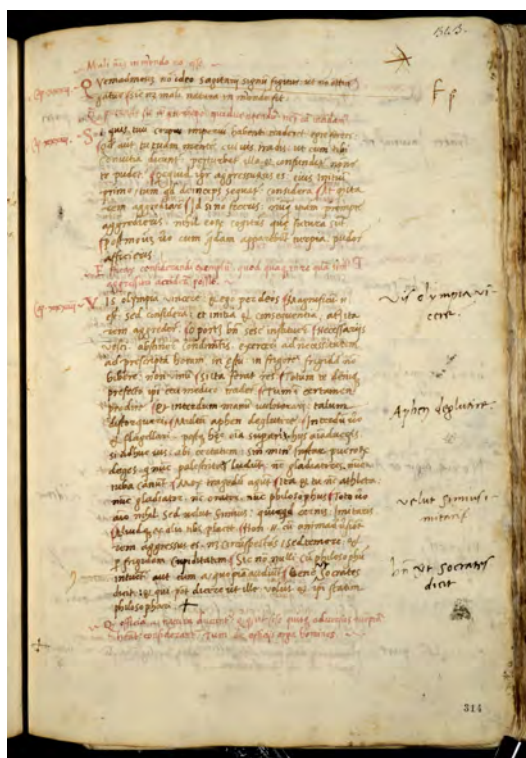
(b) Fig. 40 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Edition: Bologna, Benedictus Hectors, 1497. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. B.4.22, f. err.



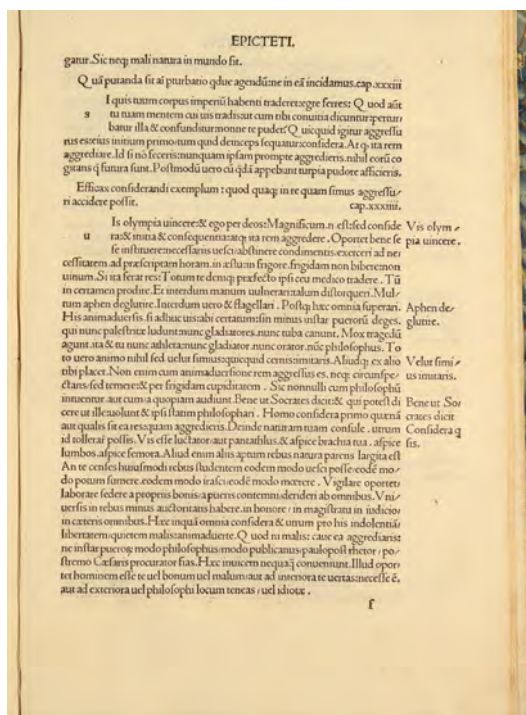
(a) Fig. 41 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Printer’s copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 766, f. 313r.



(b) Fig. 42 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Edition: Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 1497. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. B.4.22, f. e4r.



(a) Fig. 43 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Printer's copy: FL, BR, Ricc. 766, f. 314r.



(b) Fig. 44 – Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, translated by Angelus Politianus. Edition: Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 1497. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. B.4.22, f. fir.

13. SPERONE SPERONI, *CANACE*

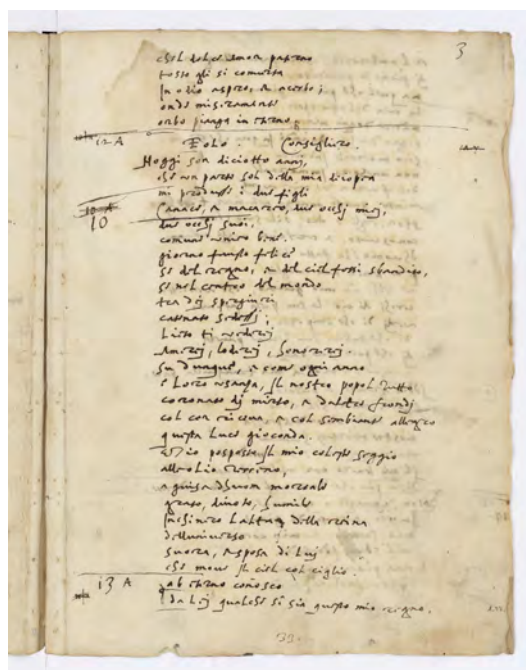
Printer's copy: C_DV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4820.

Edition: Sperone Speroni, *Tragedia di M. Sperone Speroni. Se nel fine di questa sana, intiera, & correttasi guardera, si trouera annotato quanto lacera, tronca, & corrotta sia quella, che da altri, che da noi, & contra il uoler dell'auttore, & senza licenza ueruna, occultamente è stata stampata, & intitolata Canace*, Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546; Editio CNCE 36110.⁴¹

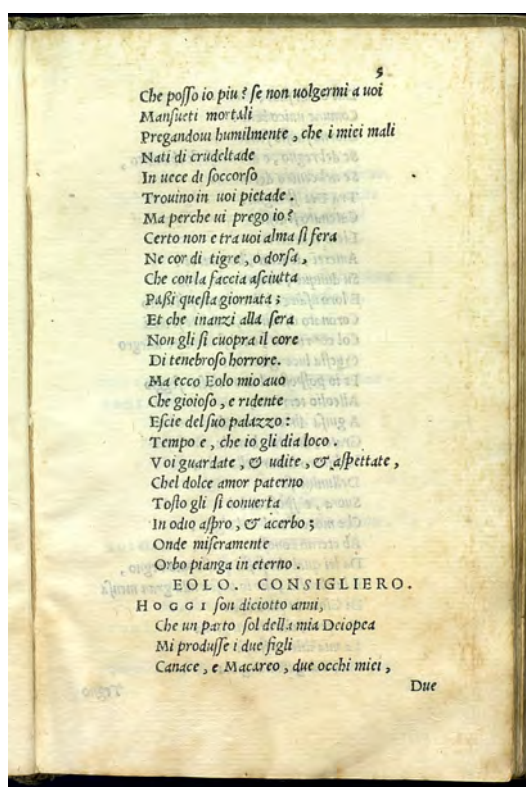
Evidence and marks detected: A, M.

A horizontal line, in the main body of the text, combined with the alphanumerical signature 12A (Fig. 45) should be noted. A few lines below, there are two similar compositor's markings: a shorter line, with a erased 10A and, even further below, a longer one, combined with the number 10, which states the page-end according to the printed edition (Fig. 46). To conclude, in the second but last line, there is another mark close to the ones previously described, combined with the alphanumerical signature 13A.

⁴¹ Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 6.25 B 49.2. Bibl.: CHRISTINA ROAF, *A New Autograph of Sperone Speroni's 'Canace'*, in *Essays in Honour of John Humphreys Whitfield*, ed. by JOHN HUMPHREYS WHITFIELD and HARRY CLAYTON DAVIS, London, St George's Press for the Department of Italian, University of Birmingham, 1975; SPERONE SPERONI, *Canace e scritti in sua difesa / Sperone Speroni. Scritti contro la Canace: Giudizio ed Epistola latina / Giambattista Giraldo Cinzio*, ed. by CHRISTINA ROAF, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1982; GIACOMO MORO, *Appunti sulla preistoria editoriale dei 'Dialoghi' e della 'Canace'*, in «Filologia veneta», II (1989), pp. 193-218; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., pp. 193-194.



(a) Fig. 45 – Sperone Speroni, *Canace*. Printer's copy: CDV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4820, f. 3r. On concession of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved: Vat. Lat. 4820 © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



(b) Fig. 46 – Sperone Speroni, *Canace*. Edition: Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546. Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 6.25 B 49.2, f. A5r.

14. ARISTOTELES, *TRATTATO DEI GOVERNI*

Printer's copy: FL, AdS, Cerchi 838

Edition: Aristoteles, *Trattato dei gouerni di Aristotile tradotto di greco in lingua uulgare fiorentina da Bernardo Segni gentil'huomo & accademico fiorentino*, Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549, editor Bernardo Segni; Edit6 CNCE 2928.⁴²

Evidence and marks detected: A, F, G, I, M, N, O.

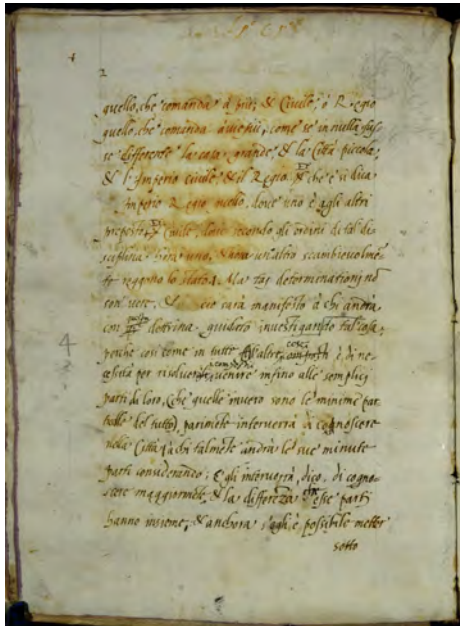
A *lapis* numerical indicator (4) and an S-shaped mark are visible at Fig. 47. Specifically, the S-shaped mark (l. 10) splits the word *investigando* into two parts, exactly as it happens in the printed version (Fig. 48). There are several corrections in darker ink: they could be later interventions, which will be included in the printed text. An entire sentence is corrected and rearranged.⁴³

Another S-shaped mark in the main body of the text (Fig. 49, l. 16) divides the word *considerare* to inform about the page-end of the printed version (Fig. 50). Contrary to the mark detected in Fig. 47, this one reaches out the left margin, where an alphanumeric sign (D4) confirms the page-end. To conclude, I detected some corrections⁴⁴ and several typographical ink stains.

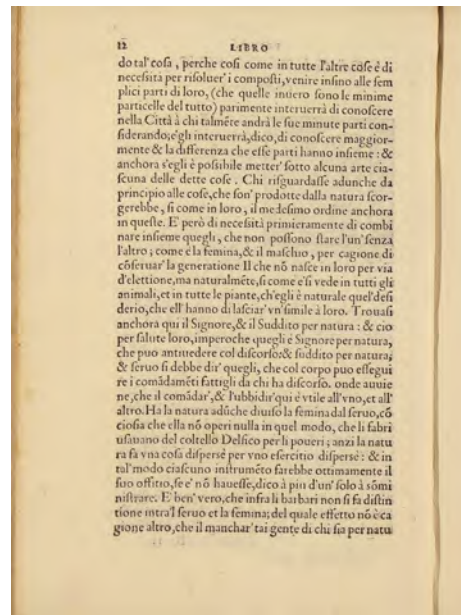
⁴² Exemplar: FL, BNC, II.4.6.13 Nencini. Bibl.: SIMONE BIONDA, *La copia di tipografia del 'Trattato dei gouerni' di Bernardo Segni: breve incursione nel laboratorio del volgarizzatore di Aristotele*, in «Rinascimento», XLII (2002), pp. 409-442.

⁴³ I shall list some grammatical corrections: *cognoscere* > *conoscere* (l.14); *differenza esse* > *differenza che esse* (l.17). Moreover, a significant correction modifies an entire sentence at ll. 11-12: *altri composti è di necessità per risolvargli* > *altre cose è di necessità per risolvere i composti*.

⁴⁴ I am referring to the in-line insertion *come è nelle* (l. 10), which restores a lacuna of the main text. Moreover, the adverb *presto* is replaced by the golden Florentine *tosto*.



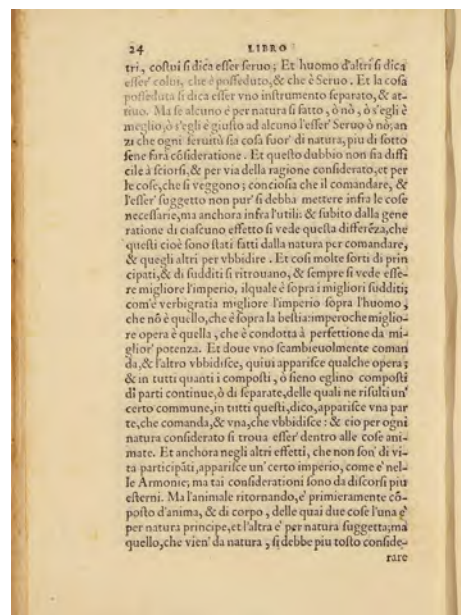
(a) Fig. 47 – Aristoteles, *Trattato dei governi*. Printer's copy: FL, AdS, Cerchi 838, f. 2.



(b) Fig. 48 – Aristoteles, *Trattato dei governi*. Edition: Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549. Exemplar: FL, BNC, II.4.6.13 Nencini, f. B2v.



(c) Fig. 49 – Aristoteles, *Trattato dei governi*. Printer's copy: FL, AdS, Cerchi 838, f. 28.



(d) Fig. 50 – Aristoteles, *Trattato dei governi*. Edition: Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549. Exemplar: FL, BNC, II.4.6.13 Nencini, f. C4v.

15A. LODOVICO CASTELVETRO, *RAGIONE D'ALCUNE COSE SEG-
NATE NELLA CANZONE DI ANNIBAL CARO*

Printer's copy: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20

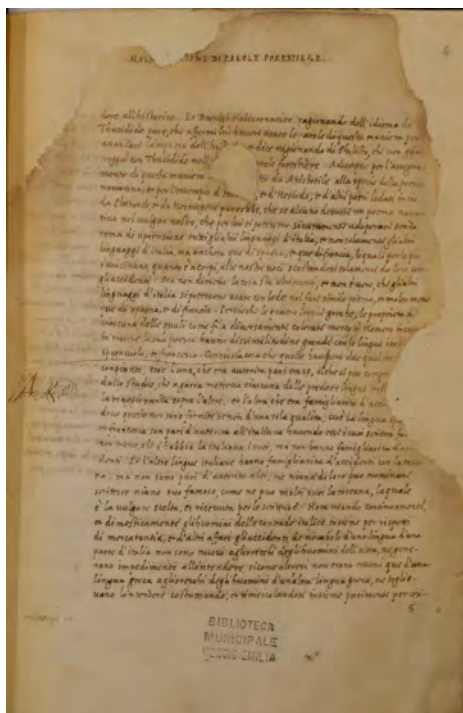
Edition: Lodovico Castelvetro, *Di Lodouico Casteluetro Ragione d'alcune cose seg-
nate nella canzone d'Annibal Caro Venite a l'ombra de gran gigli d'oro*, [Modena, Cor-
nelio Gadaldini il vecchio, 1559?]; Edir6 CNCE 10039.⁴⁵

Evidence and marks detected: A, L, M, O.

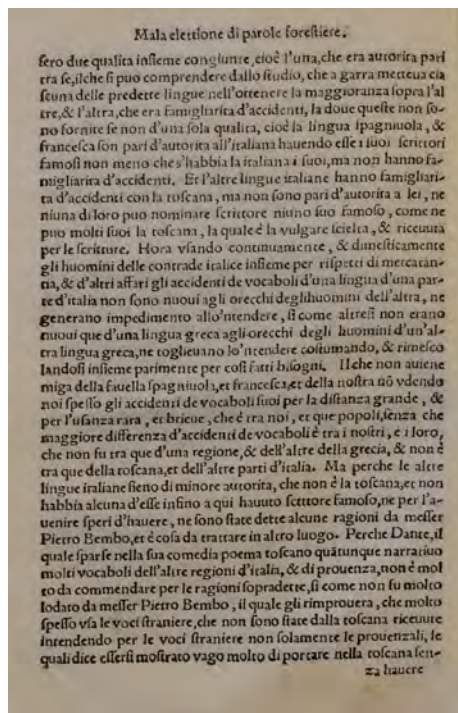
A pen horizontal line, combined with a quashed alphanumerical signature (*A8*), points out the page-end in Fig. 51. A vertical slash in the main body of the text divides the word *havessero* according to the *mise en page* of the printed version (Fig. 52). Moreover, this folio is affected by faint typographical ink stains.

Two pen lines combined with quashed alphanumerical signatures (Fig. 53) border the corresponding page of the printed text (Fig. 54). Two pen slashes in the main body of the text detect how *in brieve* (l. 4) is supposed to be the first word of the corresponding page of the printed version, while *d'autor de-(gno)* (second but last line) is supposed to be the last one (Fig. 54). Several corrections written in darker ink will be included in the printed text: *del comune* > *del reggimento comune* (l. 10); *se io in luogo* > *se io sono in luogo* (l. 16); *stizzoso, e del soldato pusillanime, el commento* > *stizzoso, el commento* (l. 16); *non che fatto confessasse* > *non che confessasse* (l. 24); *commento morduto* > *commento sia stato morduto* (l. 25).

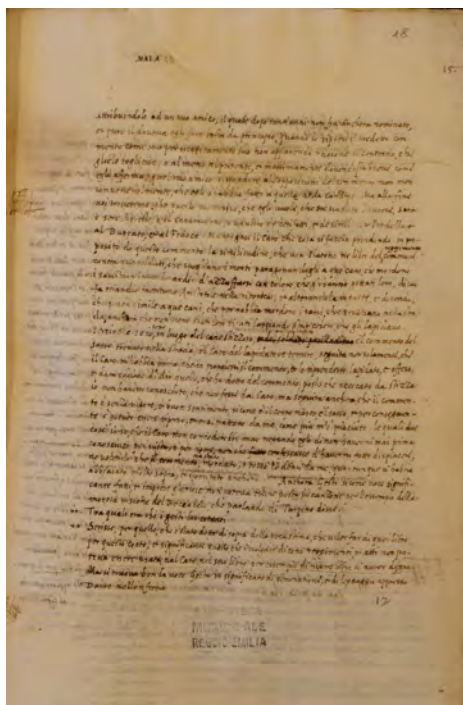
⁴⁵ Exemplar: RE, BPan, 17.F.315/3. Bibl.: GIUSEPPE FRASSO, *Per Lodovico Castelvetro*, in «Aevum», XLV (1991), pp. 453-478, pp. 459-460, 475; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., p. 194.



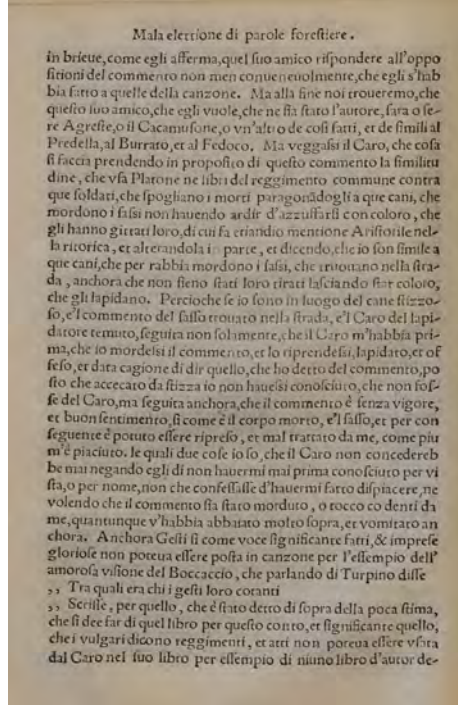
(a) Fig. 51 – Lodovico Castelvetro, *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro*. Printer's copy: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20, f. 6r.



(b) Fig. 52 – Lodovico Castelvetro, *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro*. Edition: Modena, Cornelio Gadaldini il Vecchio, 1559. Exemplar: RE, BPan, 17.F.315/3, f. 4v



(c) Fig. 53 – Lodovico Castelvetro, *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro*. Printer's edition: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20, f. 18r.



(d) Fig. 54 – Lodovico Castelvetro, *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro*. Edition: Modena, Cornelio Gadaldini the Elder, 1559. Exemplar: RE, BPan, 17.F.315/3, f. 17v.

15B. LODOVICO CASTELVETRO, *GIUNTA FATTA AL RAGIONAMENTO DEGLI ARTICOLI E DEI VERBI DI MESSER PIETRO BEMBO*

Printer's copy: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20

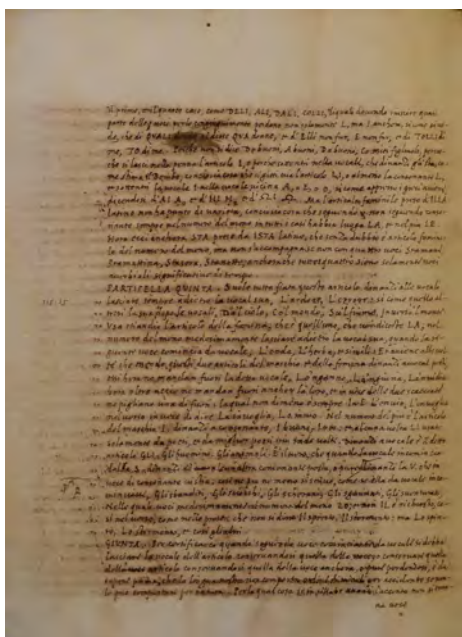
Edition: Lodovico Castelvetro, *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli et de verbi di messer Pietro Bembo*, Modena, Eredi Cornelio Gadaldini, 1563; Editu6 CNCE 10041.⁴⁶

Evidence and marks detected: A, L, M, O.

A horizontal line and a pen marginal mark (P^aB) (Fig. 55) indicate which line is supposed to be the last one in the printed version (Fig. 56). In the main body of the text, an S-shaped ink mark specifies more clearly which word is supposed to be the last one of the page (*pure*, Fig. 55, l. 29).

The printed version's page reproduced at Fig. 58 can be easily detected in the corresponding folio of the printer's copy (Fig. 57): in fact, two horizontal lines combined with two alphanumerical signatures ($7f$ and $8f$) delimit it. Moreover, two S-shaped marks in the main body of the text help to identify the first and the last word of the corresponding page of the printed version (Fig. 58): (*indifferente*)mente (Fig. 57, l. 8) and *in R* (Fig. 57, l. 33). To conclude, there are two corrections (Fig. 57): a double specification (*del più dello indicative*, l. 9) is erased, while there is an in-line addition at line 24 (*laonde nel verbo > laonde dove in questo verbo*). The first correction seems to be concurrent with the main text, while the second one could be a later addition, considering the different ink colour and the fact that it is not included in the main body of the text.

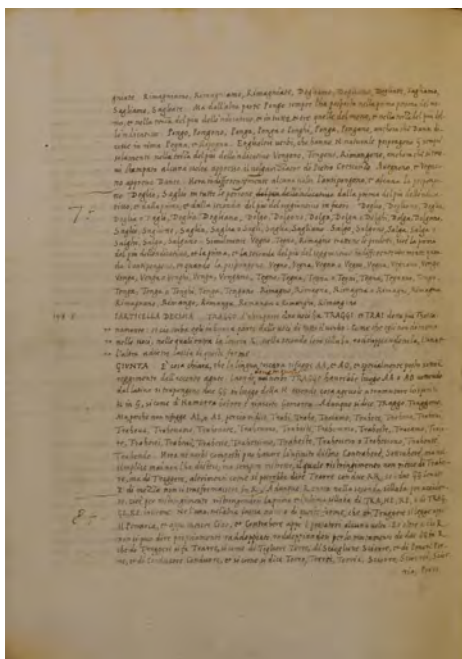
⁴⁶ Exemplar: ROME, BAng, + 8.39/2*. Bibl.: FRASSO, *Per Lodovico Castelvetro*, cit., pp. 459-460; 475; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., p. 194.



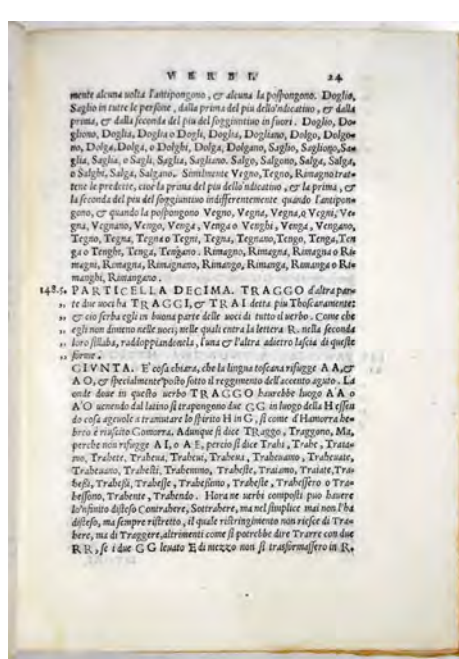
(a) Fig. 55 – Lodovico Castelveto, *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e dei verbi di messer Pietro Bembo*. Printer's copy: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20, f. n8v.



(b) Fig. 56 – Lodovico Castelveto, *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e dei verbi di messer Pietro Bembo*. Edition: Modena, Eredi Cornelio Gadaldini, 1563. Exemplar: ROME, BAng, + 8.39/2*, f. A4v.



(c) Fig. 57 – Lodovico Castelveto, *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e dei verbi di messer Pietro Bembo*. Printer's copy: RE, BPan, Vari C. 20, f. 132v.



(d) Fig. 58 – Lodovico Castelveto, *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e dei verbi di messer Pietro Bembo*. Edition: Modena, Gadaldini's heirs, 1563. Exemplar: ROME, BAng, + 8.39/2*, f. F4r.

16. APOLLONIUS PERGAEUS, *CONICORUM LIBRI QUATTUOR*

Printer's copy: ROME, BNC, fondo Vittorio Emanuele 1510.

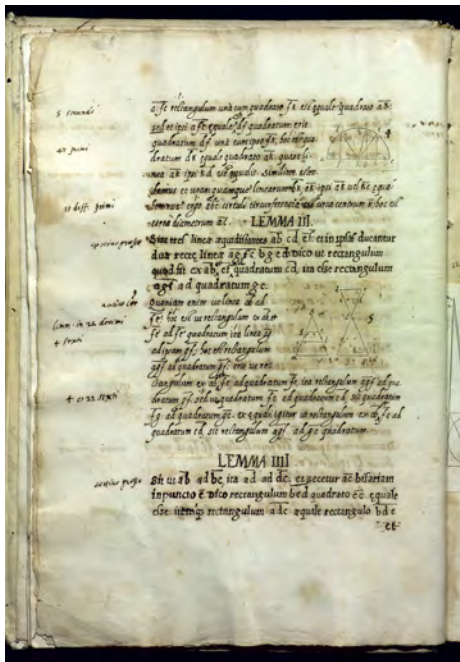
Edition: Apollonius Pergaeus, *Apollonii Pergaei Conicorum libri quattuor. Vnà cum Pappi Alexandrini Lemmatibus, et commentariis Eutocii Ascalonitae. Sereni Antinensis philosophi Libri duo nunc primum in lucem editi. Quae omnia nuper Federicus Com-mandinus Vrbinas mendis quamplurimis expurgata è Graeco conuertit, & commentariis illustrauit*, Bologna, Alessandro Benacci, 1566; Editio CNCE 2160.⁴⁷

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, I, M.

A drypoint or lapis numerical mark (3 combined with a horizontal lapis or drypoint line) indicates the page-end in Fig. 59. A lapis or drypoint slash (Fig. 59, l. 18) in the main body of the text suggests how *ab fe* are supposed to be the last words of the corresponding page of the printed version (Fig. 60). The layout of two images out of three match, and there are typographical ink stains.

It should be noted how the markings and signs are homogeneous along the printer's copy: another numerical mark combined with a horizontal lapis or drypoint line points out the page-end. Moreover, a faint vertical slash in the main body of the text (Fig. 61, l. 24) divides the word *ducantur*, which happens to be divided into two in the corresponding page of printed version as well (Fig. 62). The illustration image is placed exactly in the same place in both exemplars. To conclude, there are fingerprints and typographical ink stains.

⁴⁷ Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 71.I.D.21. Bibl.: LORENZO BALDACCHINI, *La parola e la cassa. Per una storia del compositore nella tipografia italiana*, in «Quaderni storici», LXXII/3 (1989), pp. 679-698, pp. 691-692, 697; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., p. 193.



(a) Fig. 59 – Apollonius Pergaeus, *Conicorum libri quattuor*. Printer's copy: ROME, BNC, V.E. 1510, f. 2V



(b) Fig. 60 – Apollonius Pergaeus, *Conicorum libri quattuor*. Edition: Bologna, Alessandro Benacci, 1566. Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 71.I.D.21, f. Av.



(c) Fig. 61 – Apollonius Pergaeus, *Conicorum libri quattuor*. Printer's copy: ROME, BNC, V.E. 1510, f. 10V.



(d) Fig. 62 – Apollonius Pergaeus, *Conicorum libri quattuor*. Edition: Bologna, Alessandro Benacci, 1566. Exemplar: ROME, BNC, 71.I.D.21, f. Bv.

17. *ISTORIE PISTOLESI*

Printer's edition: FL, BNC, II.III.350.

Edition: *Istoria pistolese. Istoria delle cose auuenute in Toscana; dall'anno 1300. al 1348. Et dell'origine della Parte Bianca, & Nera, che di Pistoia si sparse per tutta Toscana, & Lombardia; & de' molti, e fieri accidenti, che ne seguirono. Scritta per Autore, che ne' medesimi tempi visse. Con le case, & gentil'huomini delle città di Toscana, Lombardia, e Romagna, nominati in questa istoria. Et una tauola delle cose più notabili. Nuouamente stampata*, Florence, Eredi Bernardo Giunta, 1578; Editi6 CNCE 28475.⁴⁸

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, L, M, O.

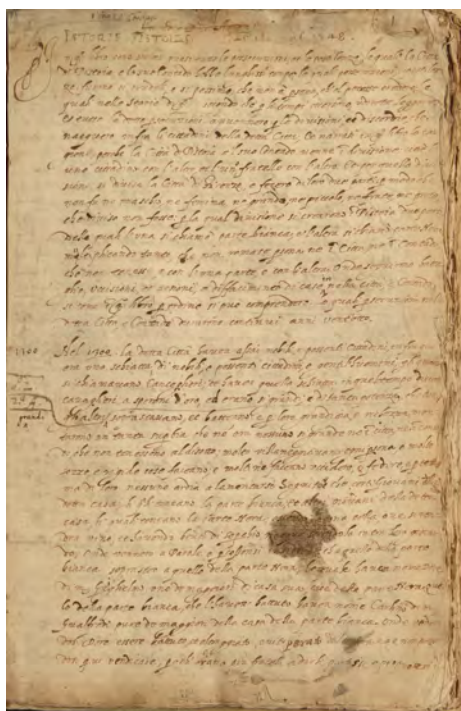
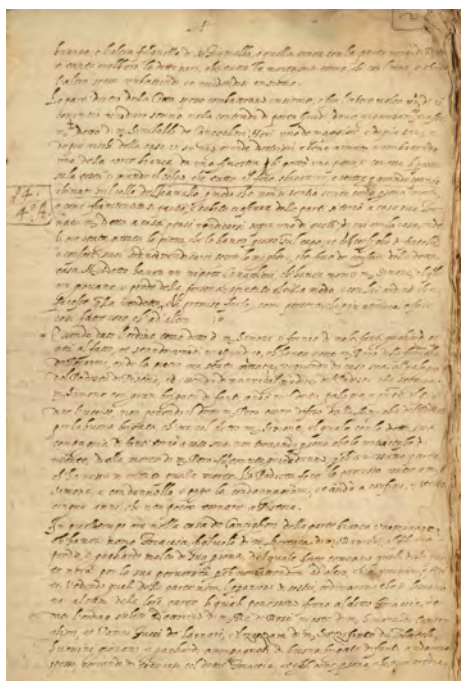
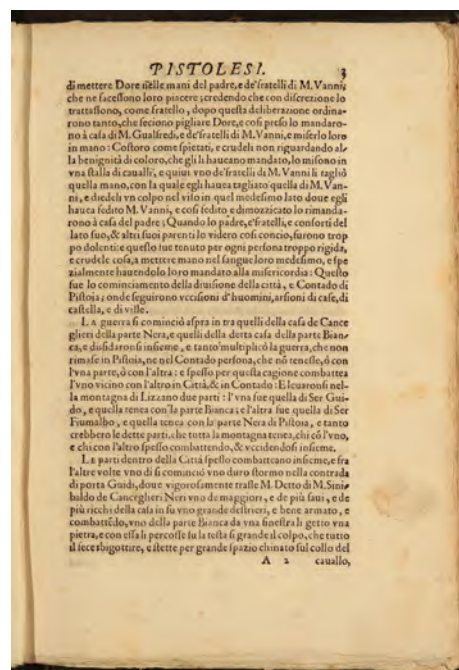
A horizontal line (Fig. 63) cuts into two parts the whole main body of the text, dividing what is meant to be included in the first page of the printed version from what is meant to appear in the second one.

It should be noticed how the last words of the first page of the printed version (*gli altri*, Fig. 64) are isolated from the main text by the already mentioned horizontal line, which ends on the left margin with a double alphanumerical combination (*n° 2; 2^a A*) placed on a square (Fig. 63). Right below this signature, there is a marginal correction (*grandi*), written in darker ink and accompanied by a catchword which places this textual addition precisely in the main body of the text between *gli altri* and *sopra*. To conclude, there are several typographical ink stains and a partial fingerprint. A horizontal line, combined with a double alphanumerical mark (*n° 4; 4^a A*) points out the page-end in Fig. 65 as well. This line separates the words *sul collo del* and *cavallo* (Fig. 65, l. 10), as it happens in the corresponding page of the printed text (Fig. 66, last line). In conclusion, it is worthwhile to observe how the printer's marks and other evidence appear to be rather patent in this printer's copy, which was produced to be used for the printing by Borghini's will:

Ancor più prudente, nonostante la sua formazione filologica e la sua diffidenza per i copisti ignoranti, è il Borghini editore delle *Storie pistolesi* (ed. 1578), che non manda in tipografia il suo ms. del 1396 (attuale Magliabechiano XXV, 28), ma ne fa trarre una copia, trattata in effetti senza troppi riguardi dai tipografi, cioè il ms. II III 350 della Nazionale.⁴⁹

48 Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. 20.5.59. Bibl.: GUSTAVO BERTOLI, *I segni del compositore in alcune copie di tipografia di edizioni fiorentine del XVI secolo. Un po' di casistica*, in «Bibliofilia», XC1/3 (1989), pp. 307-324; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., pp. 182-183.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

(a) Fig. 63 – *Istorie pistolesi*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, II.III.350, f. 1r.(b) Fig. 64 – *Istorie pistolesi*. Edition: Florence, Eredi Bernardo Giunta, 1578. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. 20.5.59, f. A1r.(c) Fig. 65 – *Istorie pistolesi*. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, II.III.350, f. 2r.(d) Fig. 66 – *Istorie pistolesi*. Edition: Florence, Eredi Bernardo Giunta, 1578. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Magl. 20.5.59, f. A2r.

18. TORQUATO TASSO, *GERUSALEMME LIBERATA*

Printer's copy: Torquato Tasso, *Il Goffredo di m. Torquato Tasso. Nuouamente dato in luce*, Venice, Domenico Cavalcalupo per Marcantonio Malaspina, 1580; Edit6 CNCE 48034.⁵⁰

Edition: Torquato Tasso, *La Gerusalemme Liberata, poema heroico del sig. Torquato Tasso [...] tratta dal vero originale, con aggiunta di quanto manca nell'altre edittioni, et con la Allegoria dello stesso autore et con gli argomenti a ciascun canto del s. Horatio Ariosti*, Ferrara, [Vittorio Baldini], 1581, editor Febo Bonnà; Edit6 CNCE 30115.⁵¹

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, M, N, O.

Febo Bonnà's *modus operandi*⁵² can be detected in the page reproduced in Fig. 67, which is heavily marked by the editor: there are plenty orthographic corrections and *marginalia*.⁵³ An ink horizontal line combined with an alphanumeric signature (13A) (Fig. 67) points out the page-end (Fig. 68). Moreover, it is important to notice how both editions present the same amount of *ottave* per page (ten).

Bonnà's marks are noticeable in Fig. 69 as well: there are not only grammatical corrections,⁵⁴ but also more significant ones, such as the rearrangement of an entire line⁵⁵ and the correction of the heading (*quarto* > *terzo*). The page-end (Fig 70) is indicated in Fig. 69 by a horizontal line combined with a double alphanumeric signature (23/ 3E). To conclude, there is a fingerprint on the right margin.

⁵⁰ Exemplar: VE, BNM, Marciano it. IX 119 (=6481).

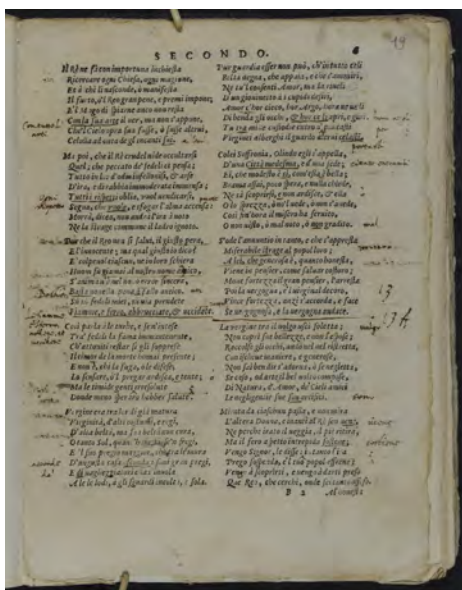
⁵¹ Exemplar: VE, BNM, C 092C 133. Bibl.: LUIGI POMA, *Il vero codice Gonzaga e prime note sul testo della 'Liberata'*, in «Studi di filologia italiana», XLI (1983), pp. 78-81; LUIGI POMA, *La formazione della stampa B' della 'Liberata'*, in «Studi di filologia italiana», LII (1994), pp. 141-188; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., p. 193; EMILIO RUSSO, *La prima filologia tassiana, tra recupero e arbitrio*, in *La filologia in Italia nel Rinascimento*, ed. by CARLO CARUSO and EMILIO RUSSO, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2018, pp. 293-310, pp. 300-310.

⁵² In his essay, Poma demonstrates how the marks detectable in the printer's copy should be ascribed to Bonnà and how the Venetian edition was used as a model for the one printed in Ferrara (POMA, *La formazione della stampa B' della 'Liberata'*, cit., pp. 141-149).

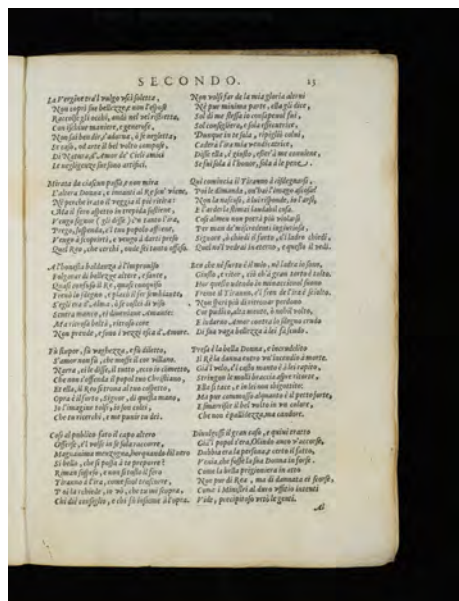
⁵³ Whereas listing the corrections, I will refer to modern editions of the poem for the number of the lines: *con la sua arte* > *con tutto l'arti* (II, X, 6); *sui* > *a lui* (II, X, 8); *tutti i rispetti* > *ogni rispetto* (II, XI, 5); *vuole* > *puote* (II, XI, 6); *basta* > *basti a* (II, XII, 6); *asconda* > *asconde* (II, 14, 6); *di* > *da'* (II, 14, 7); *e hor ce li* > *hora ce gli* (II, XV, 6); *tra* > *per* (II, XV, 7); *a' più casti* > *ai più casti* (II, XV, 7); *celastio* > *portasti* (II, XV, 8); *città medesima* > *cittade entrambi* > (II, XVI, 2); *non gradito* > *mal gradito* (II, XVI, 8); *volgo* > *vulgo* (II, XVIII, 1); *son* > *sono* (II, XVIII, 8); *vene* > *viene* (II, XIX, 2); *sostene* > *sostiene* (II, XIX, 4). Moreover, it should be noted how an entire line was completely rearranged: *fiamme, e ferro, abbruciate e uccidete* > *le fiamme, e'l ferro, ardete e uccidete* (II, XII, 8).

⁵⁴ I shall list the following grammatical and orthographic corrections: *de l'alto imperio suo* > *de gravi imperii suoi* (III, LII, 8); *fermò* > *frenò* (III, LIII, 7); *fuor dimostrò* > *dimostri fuor* (III, LIII, 8); *portaro* > *portarli* (III, LIV, 4); *dui* > *duo* (III, LV, 1); *per il* > *per lo* (III, LV, 3); *l'atro* > *l'altro* (III, LV, 6); *manto* > *ammanto* (III, LVIII, 7); *Ramondo* > *Raimondo* (III, LIX, 7); *viddi* > *vidi* (III, LX, 2).

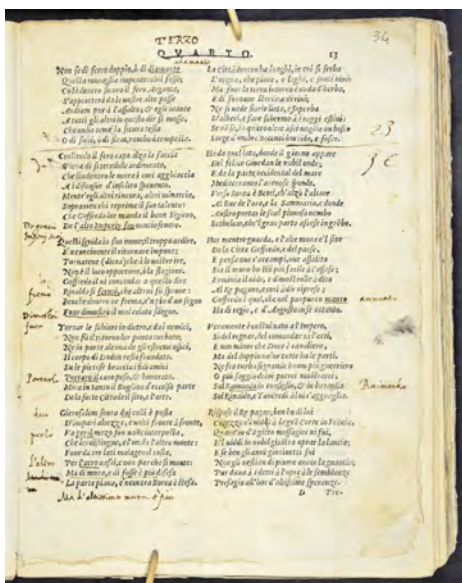
⁵⁵ In particular, I am referring to III, LV, 7: *ma di mura, e di fosse è più difesa* > *ma d'altissimo mura è più difesa*.



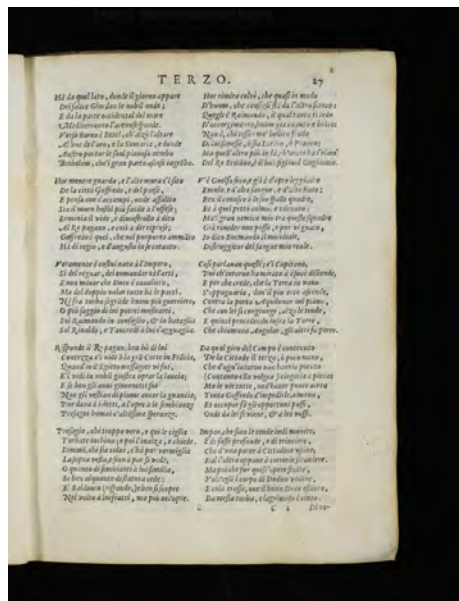
(a) Fig. 67 – Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*. Edition: Venice, Domenico Cavalcalupo 1580. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, It. IX 119 (648r), f. 19r.



(b) Fig. 68 – Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*. Edition: Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1581. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, C 092C 133, f. 13.



(c) Fig. 69 – Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*. Edition: Venice, Domenico Cavalcalupo 1580. Printer's copy: VE, BNM, It. IX 119 (648r), f. 34r.



(d) Fig. 70 – Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*. Edition: Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1581. Exemplar: VE, BNM, C 092C 133, f. 27.

19. JACOPO PASSAVANTI, *SPECCHIO DI VERA PENITENZA*

Printer's copy: Jacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio di vera penitenza. Del reuerendo maestro Iacopo Passauanti Fiorentino dell'Ordine de predicatori*, Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1579; Editi6 CNCE 47267.⁵⁶

Edition: Jacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio di vera penitenzia. Del reuerendo maestro Iacopo Passauanti fiorentino dell'ordine de' predicatori*, Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1585, editotr Leonardo Salviati.; Editi6 CNCE 33729.⁵⁷

Evidence and marks detected: N.

As stated by Ginetta Auzzas and confirmed by Gino Belloni, Diaceto's printed version was the model for Salviati's reprint. Auzzas also discovered how the manuscript Post. 157 of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence was the printer's copy, which was noted by Salviati himself and by a second hand as well.⁵⁸

As already demonstrated, Salviati's reprint follows line by line the *mise en page* of the Diaceto's one. In both the given examples (Figs. 71-73) the editor's markings are noticeable: in particular, several darker ink orthographic corrections will be included in the new edition (Figs. 72-74).

⁵⁶ Exemplar: FL, BNC, Post. 157.

⁵⁷ Exemplar: FL, BNC, Filip.C.94. Bibl.: IACOPO PASSAVANTI, *Lo specchio di vera penitenzia*, ed. by GINETTA AUZZAS, Firenze, Accademia della Crusca, 2014, p. 137; GINO BELLONI, *Tanto per cominciare, sulla Crusca e i suoi testi*, in *La Crusca e i testi. Lessicografia, tecniche editoriali e collezionismo librario intorno al Vocabolario del 1612*, ed. by GINO BELLONI and PAOLO TROVATO, Padova, libreriauniversitaria.it, 2018, pp. II-41, pp. 27-38.

⁵⁸ PASSAVANTI, *Lo specchio di vera penitenzia*, cit., p. 137 and BELLONI, *Tanto per cominciare, sulla Crusca e i suoi testi*, cit., pp. 30-33.



(a) Fig. 71 – Jacopo Passavanti, *Specchio di vera penitenza*. Edition: Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1579. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Post. 157, f. Br.



(b) Fig. 72 – Jacopo Passavanti, *Specchio di vera penitenza*. Edition: Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1585. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Filip.C.94, f. Arr.



(c) Fig. 73 – Jacopo Passavanti, *Specchio di vera penitenza*. Edition: Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1579. Printer's copy: FL, BNC, Post. 157, ff. B3v and B4r.



(d) Fig. 74 – Jacopo Passavanti, *Specchio di vera penitenza*. Edition: Florence, Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1585. Exemplar: FL, BNC, Filip.C.94, ff. A3v and A4r.

20. POMPONIO TORELLO, *MEROPE*

Printer's copy: PR, BPal, Parm. 1609.

Edition: Pomponio Torello, *La Merope tragedia del conte Pomponio Torello, detto nell'Accademia de gli Innominati di Parma il Perduto*, Parma, Erasmo Viotti, 1589; Editio6 CNCE 38971.⁵⁹

Evidence and marks detected: A, B, M, N, O.

A marginal mark (*S/B*), combined with a horizontal line (Fig. 75), points out the page-end, which corresponds exactly with the printed version (Fig. 76). Corrections made by the author will be included in the printed text, such as *dispreggiar* > *dispregiar* (l. 19) and *Polifonte* > *Poliphonte*, (l. 20). Moreover, an entire line is rearranged: *e io per agrandir questo mio impero* > *ed io per grande far questo mio impero* (l. 10). To conclude, there are several typographical ink stains and digital prints.

The last folio reproduced in this atlas (Fig. 77) presents the horizontal line combined with a double alphanumerical signature (*3A/35*) to indicate the page-end, according to the printed version (Fig. 78). To conclude, an entire line has been rearranged: *e io per agrandir questo mio impero* > *ed io per grande far questo mio impero* (l. 7).

⁵⁹ Exemplar: PR, BPal, CC.V.27710. Bibl.: GABRIELE NORI, *Sulla tradizione testuale di due opere di Pomponio Torelli*, in *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza 1545-1622*. Vol. 2: *Forme e istituzioni della produzione culturale*, ed. by AMEDEO QUONDAM, Roma, Bulzoni, 1978, pp. 229-264, pp. 237-242; VINCENZO GUERCIO, *Il 'Polidoro' di Pomponio Torelli. Saggio critico ed edizione*, rel. L. Caretti, degree dissertation, University of Florence, 1983-1984; TROVATO, *Manoscritti volgari in tipografia*, cit., p. 194.

CONCLUSIONS

At this point I shall sum up all the evidence and marks detected on the considered exemplars, according to the categories listed in Table 2.

- A Typographic ink stains
- B Fingerprints (even if partial)
- C Letters corresponding to signatures of the printed edition
- D Other ink or drypoint marginal marks (lines, crosses)
- E Vertical lines or dots
- F Ink, *lapis* or drypoint numerical marks
- G Drypoint or *lapis* alphanumerical marks
- H Ink alphanumerical marks
- I Drypoint or *lapis* marks in the main body of the text
- L Ink marks in the main body of the text
- M Numerical or alphanumerical marks in combination with *lapis*, drypoint or ink line
- N Orthographic corrections
- O Significant corrections
- P Textual additions
- Q Red ink marks in the main body of the text (J. A. Bussi, bishop of Aleria)
- R *Marginalia* (that is marginal captions)

In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about the data that emerge from this table. Obviously, my statements are based on a reduced sample consisting of twenty-one couples that I have presented in the atlas. As a consequence, I was able to detect some general trends, but additional researches would be required in order to confirm them or not.

First, it should be noticed how typographical ink stains and fingerprints (A, B) are a widespread feature, appearing in almost every printer's copies considered in this study. However, even if this evidence would be sufficient to prove that a copy was used in a printing house, it is worthwhile to combine this feature with other marks.

As far as other categories are concerned, it is interesting to notice how some of them seem to apply exclusively to the 15th century editions: in particular, I am referring to the types C, D, E, H.⁶⁰

The M type, verified in the incunabula as well, appears to come to its own over the 16th century:⁶¹ in fact, almost all the 16th century editions considered present a horizontal

⁶⁰ I shall not list the types Q and R, for they seem to be peculiar features. In fact, Johannes Andreas Bussi's marks are detectable in his editions only. Likewise, the captions of the Riccardiano 766 are not listed for they are an *unicum* in our sample. Moreover, it is interesting to notice how severe textual additions (type P) seem to be exclusively of the 15th century printed texts: additional researches would be required in order to clarify this topic, which could maybe depend on the limited sample considered in this study.

⁶¹ Precious exemplars, of course, were spared from this kind of marks. Nonetheless, it seems clear how there was a growing trend to indicate the page-end. In fact, this phenomenon is not that evident in the incunabula as in the 16th century editions: 15th century editors seemed to prefer less evident marks, such as types A-E.

line combined with an alphanumerical or numerical mark in order to point out the page-end.⁶²

The slash in the main body of the text (types I and L) is another mark to state where the printed edition's page is supposed to end. It should be noticed how there are just a few printer's copies without this feature. Moreover, I have detected more ink horizontal lines rather than *lapis* or drypoint ones. Possibly, this could suggest that the page-end was a crucial moment, hence it had to be visible and clear to the point of being usually underlined by a double mark (a line or just a letter or a number corresponding to a slash in the main body of the text).

To conclude, I shall focus on the corrections, which constellate folios of the printer's copies' I have presented throughout the atlas. Both orthographic and significant corrections (type N, O) affect almost the whole exemplars reproduced, with just a few exceptions.⁶³ As a consequence, it seems likely that this feature was an essential trend in the printing process since the very beginning.

62 The Diacceto edition is the only 16th century exemplar not showing this feature, for Salviati's reprinting follows it line by line.

63 In particular, I am referring to these printer's copies: 1, 3, 6, 8, 13 and 16.

Tabella 3: Evidence and marks detected: an overview.
 It should be observed how the incunabula are separated from the 16th century editions by a double line, in order to facilitate reading this table.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1. VE, BNM, Lat.Z.228 (1671)	X			X		X			X	X					X	
2. VE, BNM, Lat. VI 60 (2591)	X	X		X						X			X			
3. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6803	X	X						X		X					X	
4. Fl, BR, Ricc. 487				X		X		X		X			X	X	X	
5. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991		X								X			X	X	X	
6. Fl, BMa, R.a.247	X			X		X				X			X		X	
7. CdV, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1279	X			X					X				X			
8. CdV, BAV, Vat. lat. 3319	X									X						
9. Fl, BNC, Magl. XXI.136	X			X	X								X	X	X	
10. Fl, BNC, C. S. C.4.797	X					X	X	X		X			X	X	X	
11. Fl, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 113				X	X	X				X			X		X	
12. Fl, BR, Ricc. 766	X	X	X							X	X	X	X	X		X
<hr/>																
13. CdV, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4820	X									X						
14. Fl, AdS, Cerchi 838	X					X	X		X				X	X	X	
15a. RE, BPan, Vari C. 20	X									X			X	X	X	
15b. RE, BPan, Vari C. 20										X			X	X	X	
16. Rome, BNC, VE. 1510	X	X						X		X			X	X	X	
17. Fl, BNC, II.III.350	X	X							X	X			X	X	X	
18. VE, BNM, It. IX 119 (6481)	X	X								X			X	X	X	
19. Fl, BNC, Post. 157													X			
20. Pr, BPal, Parm. 1609	X	X								X			X	X	X	

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PAROLE CHIAVE

Atlante; censimento; Hellinga; manoscritti di tipografia; edizione a stampa; segnature; correzioni; marginalia; inchiostro tipografico; compositore.

NOTIZIE DELL'AUTRICE

Martina Cita si è laureata in Culture e Tradizioni del Medioevo e Rinascimento presso l'Università di Ferrara nel 2017 con una tesi in Critica testuale sotto la supervisione di Paolo Trovato, con il quale ha collaborato anche nei due anni precedenti, occupandosi, in particolare, di processionali di Terrasanta e della rima siciliana nella tradizione della *Commedia* dantesca. Attualmente è dottoranda di ricerca in Scienze Umane presso l'Università di Ferrara. I suoi interessi scientifici rientrano nell'ambito della critica testuale e della storia della lingua, con particolare attenzione per le tradizioni della *Commedia* dantesca e dei *Discorsi sopra la prima deca* di Tito Livio di Niccolò Machiavelli.

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Sommario – Ticontre. Teoria Testo Traduzione – XI (2019)

LA LETTERATURA SOTTO I TORCHI.

BIBLIOLOGIA, STORIA DEL LIBRO E STUDI FILOLOGICO-LETTERARI

a cura di Flavia Bruni, Matteo Fadini, Chiara Lastraioli

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TICONTRE. TEORIA TESTO TRADUZIONE

NUMERO II - MAGGIO 2019

*con il contributo dell'Area dipartimentale in Studi Linguistici, Filologici e Letterari
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Trento*

<http://www.ticontre.org>

Registrazione presso il Tribunale di Trento n. 14 dell'11 luglio 2013


Direttore responsabile: PIETRO TARAVACCI

ISSN 2284-4473

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