15th-century printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts

Catalogue and analysis of the textual and iconographic transmission within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project

vol. I

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Foreword

The present postgraduate research lies within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project (15cBT), funded by the European Research Council and coordinated by Prof Cristina Dondi.[1] Over the last four years, the 15cBT has addressed four pivotal areas of research related to the first fifty years of printing in the West: distribution, use and reading practices; books' contemporary market value; transmission and dissemination of the texts contained in 15th-century printed editions; production, circulation and re-use of 15th-century printed book illustrations.

These four topics are being assessed through the gathering of large quantities of data from the thousands of surviving early-printed books, as well as from available documentary and bibliographical evidence, by dozens of cataloguers and editors from hundreds of contributing libraries.[2] Data is recorded and can be searched through dedicated databases, created and implemented by the project team in collaboration with external experts and advisors.

In particular, the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) was specifically designed in collaboration with the Data Conversion Group (University of Göttingen) to record and search the material evidence of 15th-century printed books: ownership, decoration, binding, manuscript annotations, stamps, prices and more.[3] The database Text-Inc analyses the earliest stage of the transmission of texts in print, providing ground breaking textual descriptions and identification of every textual unit included in 15th-century printed editions. It was developed in collaboration with the Bodleian Library (University of Oxford).[4]

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[1] The 15cBT is a five-year project which started in April 2014; see more on the website http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/.

[2] Examples of documentary and external bibliographical evidence include accession books, auction catalogues, inventories of private and public libraries.

[3] See MEI at http://incunabula.cerl.org/cgi-bin/search.pl.

[4] Text-Inc (http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/) is modelled on the Bodleian Library online catalogue of incunabula (Bod-Inc, http://incunabula.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/home). Bod-Inc itself represents the final stage of a long project for

The specific aspect of the 15cBT Project on which I have been working concerns the circulation and re-use of 15th-century printed book illustrations. The objective was to highlight the importance of analysing systematically the ways in which images were used, re-used, exchanged, copied and modified by the first printers in order to better understand the development of printing in the Western world as well as the tradition and circulation of single texts.

In collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group (Faculty of Engineering Science, University of Oxford) and under the supervision of Prof Dondi, I created the '15cIllustration' (15cI) database to store and research digital reproductions of all the different occurrences in 15th-century printed editions of a certain image, printed from a certain matrix.[5]

I chose Italian incunables of Aesopian texts as a preparatory study case for the development of the database and as the subject of my DPhil.

These texts were extensively printed in Italy during the 15th century and were heavily illustrated. Important cases of re-use of 15th-century woodcuts originally devised to illustrate the *Vita Aesopi* or the *Fabulae* are found in both Aesopian and non-Aesopian incunables or early 16th-century editions. Aesopian texts seemed therefore an appropriate study-case, and the application of a systematic and integrated research method on this substantial material during my work for the 15cBOOKTRADE offered positive returns.

However, the use, the circulation and the figurative and iconographic development of illustrations is only one of the aspects considered in the present study of 15th-century Aesopian editions.

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cataloguing incunables run by the Bodleian Library, which was published in a six-volumes catalogue by the Oxford University Press in 2005: see COATES-JENSEN-DONDI-WAGNER-DIXON 2005, I-VI.

[5] The potential of the application of innovative digital technologies to early-printed images was revealed in 2011-12 by Clementina Piazza, a University of Oxford MPhil candidate who conducted an in-depth survey of all current European projects relating to 15th-century and later illustration (see PIAZZA 2012). More on the 15cI will be said in section IV.1 of this study.

⌘ *Abstract I*

15th-century printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts. An analysis of the textual and iconographic transmission within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project

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My thesis provides the first comprehensive and detailed account of the impact of the introduction of movable-type printing on the production and circulation of Aesopian texts in Italy in the second half of the 15th century.
It highlights how the introduction of the new medium did not correspond, at least within the first decades, to a standardization in the written circulation of the rich Aesopian *corpus*; on the contrary, it fostered the composition of new versions, translations and rewritings, contributing to enhance its varied and multiform nature. The goal of my thesis is to unveil this process, and to examine the parallel development of textual and figurative traditions of Aesopian texts in the earliest editions produced in Italy, in order to reassess their place in the wider context of the circulation of Aesopian texts in print.
Chapter I introduces the main features of the manuscript transmission of those among Aesopian texts, which ended up in print in the first years after the introduction of the new medium. It also focuses on the cultural and historical circumstances of the production of the first editions in the European context.
Chapter II presents, in chronological order, all the texts included in the Italian incunable editions, contextualising their authors, their main textual and stylistic features and the circumstances of their composition.
Chapters III and IV respectively examine the evolution of the tradition of the different Aesopian texts in print and the evolution of the figurative and iconographic cycles of images illustrating Italian incunable editions of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae*. They present a synthesis and assessment of the first-hand data gathered in the *Catalogue* included in the appendix.
The *Catalogue* offers a detailed and complete overview of the characteristics of all seventy Aesopian editions printed in Italy in the 15th century. Each edition is analysed with special attention to its bibliographic and textual features, its illustrations, and provenance information concerning the copies examined.
The *Conclusions* focus on the originality of certain texts created specifically for the press, on the people who played an important role in the composition and printing of Aesopian texts, on the identification of new lines of transmission in print, on the distinction and analysis of different iconographic lines of descent in the illustrated editions, and on the discovery of noteworthy cases of provenance evidence, which suggest how the consumption of Aesopian Italian incunables transversely engaged people at different social and cultural levels.

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⌘ *Introduction*

The name of Aesop generally refers to the legendary narrator of apologues who is thought to have lived around the 6th century B.C.; a figure who brings together fundamental components of ancient Greek culture with elements of oriental origin.[6] From antiquity, a number of collections of fables, different biographies and anecdotes related to the name of Aesop were produced and transmitted in writing. Although not all of them had a printed circulation in the 15th century, the widespread diffusion in print of some of these texts over the first decades after the introduction of movable-type printing in Europe represents a prominent phenomenon in the field of Renaissance studies. In the first instance, its significance is suggested by numbers: the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) registers 204 editions, variably related to the name of Aesop, printed before 1501. For the same period the total number of surviving editions of the Bible is 225; fifteen of Dante's *Comedia*; 425 of works by Cicero (including the pseudo-attributions). All these editions are typographically described in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) of the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin.[7]

The audience of Aesop has changed throughout the centuries. Already in the first decades and centuries A.D. authors such as Quintilian, Seneca and Priscian, witnessed the use of Aesop as part of the teaching programmes for the first exercises of translation and composition at school throughout the classical age and in late antiquity. On the other hand, during the later Middle-Ages and throughout the Renaissance, Greek, Latin and vernacular versions of the *Vita Aesopi* and of the *Fabulae* were used not only as language schoolbooks for young pupils, but also as

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[6] For this definition of the figure of Aesop and an analysis of the mixture of Greek and oriental features of his characters see RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS 1987, I, p. 272.

[7] The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* is an international database on 15th-century printing, which has been in development at the British Library since 1980, with contributions from all over the world. The database records nearly every item printed from movable type before 1501. Each record includes information on authors, short titles, the language of the text, printer, place and date of printing and format. Copies are listed from ca. 4,000 public libraries worldwide. Links are provided to online digital facsimiles and to major online catalogues of incunables (see ISTC at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html and the GW at http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de).

moral readings for the cultivated lay middle class, and as sources for scholars and humanists to practise the knowledge of the Greek language, recently reintroduced in Europe. This is suggested by a long series of direct and indirect sources, such as literary quotations, library inventories or catalogues, ownership marks on the books themselves, both manuscript and printed, and also commercial lists and ledgers.

Christian Bec's analysis of the life and the writings of the merchant Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli (1371-1444) highlighted how in early 15th-century Florence Aesop was considered one of the fundamental bases of the moral education of the future businessman and politician.[8]

Also in Florence, about seventy years later, the wealthy merchant Giuliano Gondi (1421-1501) wanted the steps of the ceremonial staircase of his palace, the construction of which he had entrusted to the renowned architect Giuliano da Sangallo, to be engraved with representations of animal scenes, mainly derived from popular collections of fables of the time, such as Aesop's fables and the *Kalila wa Dimna*.[9]

Throughout the 15th century, and well into the 16th, different kinds of Aesopian texts were known, quoted and imitated by eminent figures such as - only to mention a few - Leo Baptista Alberti (1404-1472), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and Erasmus (1466-1536), who all produced series of apologues modelled on the tradition of Aesopian fables.[10]

Manuscripts and printed versions of Aesop's life and fables were included in the libraries of noblemen such as Giangaleazzo Visconti, whose manuscript of the *Fabulae* is now owned by the British Library in London, and Bona di Savoia, duchess of Milan and ruler of the duchy for the years 1476-1490. [11]

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[8] See BEC 1967, pp. 57-58. Bec hypothesized the division of the general intellectual formation of merchants into basic elementary instruction (reading, writing, counting), acquisition of technical knowledge and a higher education based on the reading and commenting of classical works.

[9] A detailed chronicle of these events, together with a complete description of the palace's architectonical features, can be found in PELLECCHIA 2012, pp. 137-207.

[10] The presence of «Isopo» in Leonardo's library is documented by its insertion in the autograph list of his books which is found in Milan, Ambr., Codice Atlantico, leaf 210 (see MARINONI 1987, pp. 291-342, with bibliography).

[11] Together with the other books of the library, mainly devotional, the duchess' Aesop was left in the Castle of Fossano, where she died in 1503 (see PEDRALLI 2002, p. 109); Giangaleazzo's manuscript of the fables is London, BL, Add. MS 11896, with the subscription: "Vita Esopi et Fabule per Rynucium Thettalum traducte. Mediolani

On the other hand, printed editions of Aesopian texts are often mentioned in booksellers' lists and ledgers in the 15th century. In particular, around seventy copies of different editions of Aesopian texts, ("Esopo pizolo", "Esopo istoriado", "Fabule Esopi in Greco"), are listed in the ledger of the bookseller Franciscus de Madiis, which records the daily activity and sales of a Venetian bookshop from May 1484 to January 1488, as well as the inventory of the stock-in-trade for just over one year, to June 1485.[12]

Further, incunable Aesopian editions appear in a contract signed in Parma on 26 August 1491 by the Ugoletus brothers, Angelus and Thaddeus, in partnership with Giacomo Burali and the typographer Deiphoebus de Oliveriis, also from Parma. The document marks the foundation of a five-year commercial agreement for the trading of printed books: "in exercicio et trafico (*sic*) librorum impressorum, in emendo, vendendo, ligando et ordinando ipsos libros". In this context, out of a total of around 240 editions, fifteen "Esopi historiati", two "Esopi ligati" and three "Esopi ligati in cartone" are mentioned.[13]

Despite the evident interest of undertaking a comprehensive research on the Aesopian *corpus* in print in the 15th century, such an investigation was never attempted. It would benefit not only book and literary historians, but also philologists, art historians, social historians, as well as historians of education and of material culture.

To fill, at least in part, this gap in scholarship, this thesis undertakes a systematic investigation of the characteristics, the development and the reciprocal relationships of all Aesopian incunable editions printed in Italy, and provides a comprehensive yet detailed account of the impact that a major technological and cultural revolution such as the introduction of printing had on the development and production of Aesopian texts.

In particular, this study focuses on the cultural and historical circumstances surrounding the production of the seventy Italian incunable editions, examined within the wider European

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absolute quarto nonas Iunias pro illustrissimo et ex.mo D. domino Io. Ga. Duce Mediolani etc. 1477" (see PELLEGRIN 1969, p. 363).

[12] Data on the presence of Aesopian texts in de Madiis' *Zornale* comes from the recent studies by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris (see DONDI 2016, pp. 103-104, with further bibliography).

[13] The document was published by BATTIONI 1986, pp. 453-68.

context; on the history and content of all the fifty-two texts included in the editions in various combinations; on the bibliographical features, textual and iconographical content of the editions examined; on the evolution of the tradition of the different texts in print; and on the iconographic evolution of the cycles of images illustrating the printed *Vita* and the *Fabulae*.

In spite of the wide variety of their languages and textual forms, many collections of fables remained related to the name and, ultimately, to the literary authority of Aesop, as well as several versions of his biography, and this represented the most significant criterion for their inclusion in the *corpus* examined.[14]

On this basis, I included in this study all the compositions that I could find which present themselves as 'written by Aesop' or 'translated from Aesop', or are explicitly related to his name, such as the *Vita*.

Out of the seventy Aesopian incunable editions printed in Italy, around one third were extensively illustrated. This feature is undoubtedly related to the educational and anecdotal content of the texts themselves, and to their structure. Both the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* consist of concise and self-contained episodes, populated by few characters and often based on only one or two scenes. As indicated by the endless range and number of illustrations of these texts through the centuries, from classical times to La Fontaine, a textual structure of this sort easily lends itself to different forms of iconographic representation.

In the past, several scholars have investigated different aspects of the texts which constitute the *Corpus Aesopicarum*, including the images which accompanied them both in manuscript and early-printed form. In the following pages, I will often refer to the work of Émile Chambry, the first to publish a critical edition of the fables in 1925-1926; August Hausrath, editor of the *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* in two volumes (1940-1956); and Ben Edwin Perry, author of the monumental volume *Aesopica. A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him or Closely*

[14] On various aspects of the genre of fables in the Middle-Ages and on Aesopian texts in general see at least HERVIEUX 1899, throughout; THIELE 1910, pp. X-XXXVI; DELLA CORTE 1948, throughout; LA PENNA 1961, pp. 438-537; BERTINI 1983, pp. 1031-51; DELLA CORTE 1973, pp. 117-46; GRUBMÜLLER 1977; RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS 1987; SØRENSEN-FAARDER-BEKKER-NIELSEN-FOOTE 1979; LEONARDI-ORLANDI 1986, pp. 193-219; BERTINI 1987, pp. 981-91; JEDRKIEWICZ 1989 pp. 15-41; MATRELLA 1993, pp. 234-45; GRIFFANTE 1994, pp. 315-40.

Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name (1952) which not only provides new elements for the study of the tradition of the fables and the *Vita,* but also of different categories of texts related to the name of Aesop, e.g. indirect quotations, proverbs and jests and the *Vita Aesopi.*[15]

In the last fifty years, a few scholars have focussed specifically on illustrated editions of Aesopian texts: among these, Christian Ludwig Küster, Antoine Biscéré and Paola Pallottino.

In his doctoral thesis (University of Hamburg, 1970), Küster listed all the illustrated editions of Aesopian texts produced in Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries.[16] Essentially grounded on Küster's census, the essay by Paola Pallottino, *Le figure di Esopo. Edizioni illustrate Italiane 1476-1496,* published in 2008, provides the reader with a general overview of the topic of the illustrations of the *Fabulae* while focussing exclusively on the incunable editions of the fables and not taking into account any aspect related to the illustrations of the *Vita.*[17] Although it undoubtedly represents a useful tool for the scholar approaching the material for the first time, Pallottino's broad interpretation leaves room for inaccuracies. She completely omits from her list the two extant Milanese illustrated editions printed in the 15th century; furthermore, she describes the Florentine edition printed in 1496 by Francesco Bonaccorsi for Piero Pacini as an edition of Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna's *Esopo zuccarino,* while it is an edition where the *Esopo zuccarino* is accompanied by a different vernacular version, known as *Esopo Toscano.* Pallottino also fails to note important features in the use of woodcuts in several editions, such as the case of changed woodcuts in the edition printed in Venice in 1497 by Manfredus de Bonellis, after his previous ones had been copied in 1494 by the Bolognese printer Ercole Nani.[18]

Antoine Biscéré has been working on the subject of the fables for several years, again with a broad approach, which ranges from Aesop to La Fontaine. While preparing his new reprint of Aesop's life (based on the critical edition of the text established by PAPATHOMOPOULOS 2010) and fables (according to the text established by PERRY 1952), Biscéré published two fundamental

[15] See CHAMBRY 1926; HAUSRATH 1956; PERRY 1952.
[16] See KÜSTER 1970, vol. I in particular.
[17] See PALLOTTINO 2008, pp. 1131-40. Before this essay, the author also wrote other contributions specifically concerning the development of the representation of single fables over time, such as PALLOTTINO 1996.
[18] The case is illustrated in section IV.2 of this study.

contributions on these works one of which, in particular, concerns the development of the iconographic tradition of the *Vita* in print across the 15th and 16th centuries.[19] This essay has been essential in establishing a methodology of work on the iconographic element of the transmission of early-printed illustrations; however, Biscéré failed to include in his analysis two important cycles of Italian illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi,* i.e. those printed in Milan in 1497 and 1498, and did not extend his method of analysis to the fables as well.

These three works represented fundamental starting points for the development of my research questions and of the structure of my work. However, none of the three is complete, and none pairs the analysis of the illustration programmes and of their evolution throughout the centuries with a sufficient knowledge of the textual transmission. Generally speaking, research limited to the illustrated editions can only lead to a partial understanding of the tradition of a certain text in print. This thesis combines instead an in-depth analysis of how images were used in 15th-century printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts with a careful examination of the main textual features of both illustrated and non illustrated editions. I hope to draw a more balanced and complete picture of how the iconographic tradition and the textual tradition of these texts related to each other at the pivotal point of transition from manuscript to printed production.

Throughout this study I have tried to expand the piecemeal approach of other scholarly works by placing next to each other texts and editions characterised by different forms, languages, historical circumstances of productions and intended audience. Offering a detailed description of the content and features of each text and edition, and placing the circumstances of their production in the wider Italian and European context, make it possible to consider them not only as individual literary efforts, but rather as fundamental components in the overall synthesis of a broad cultural phenomenon. This approach has involved the analysis of a wide range of texts, and has led me to consider major authors and printers as well as minor figures, from Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna to Laurentius Valla. If taken all together, the series of

[19] See BISCÉRÉ 2013. In 2009, Biscéré also wrote a more general essay on the text of Aesop's fables, particularly focussing on the issues of attribution (see BISCÉRÉ 2009).

texts included in this investigation offer a comprehensive overview of the multiple registers in the cultural production of Italy and Europe from the late Middle-Ages to the Renaissance: an overview which concludes in the late 15th century with the mention of Aldus Manutius and of his revolutionary editorial approach to the printing of Greek texts.

A research project as extensive as the one conducted has enabled the addition of several elements of novelty to the field of Aesopian studies in the Renaissance period. The outcomes of this study highlight how the advent of print, rather than reducing the *corpus* to a limited number of standardised texts, enhanced its heterogeneous nature and helped to widen the diffusion of the *Vita* and of the fables in their Greek, Latin and vernacular versions. The introduction of the new technology stimulated the composition of new translations and rewritings in different languages, and ultimately reinforced the role of Aesop as one of the milestones of European literary, moral, social and visual culture down to the present.

In the *Catalogue,* my thesis provides for the first time a detailed bibliographic description and textual analysis of several Aesopian editions surviving in very few, often unique, copies. Some of them are kept in less-frequented libraries or are still on the market. These were not easy to access and had therefore remained hitherto almost unknown to scholars. Even among the editions that were already known and included in different studies, this research was the occasion to clarify and sometimes amend several aspects: the edition listed in ISTC as ia00150000, for instance, does not exist and the two copies listed in ISTC are actually copies of ia00149000; on the other hand, edition ia00154000 was printed in several different variants, as it can be inferred from the borders changing from one copy to the others.[20]

The analysis of the textual features of each edition clarifies their reciprocal relationships and identifies for the first time different lines of transmission in print of different texts, and provides new elements to research the relationship of the early-printed tradition with the preceding manuscript sources as well as with the following editions.

[20] See the Editorial note to the *Catalogue* and record n° 63 in the *Catalogue.*

This study also highlights the important role of illustrations: the systematic analysis of their iconographic content and of their reciprocal relationships allowed the distinction between different iconographic branches both for the *Vita* and the *Fabulae,* and provided the basis to contradict one of the fundamental assumptions of scholarship on this topic, namely the exclusive influence of the illustrations of the edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479 on all the following Italian illustrated editions of the fables.

Although provenance research has never been the main focus of this study, the copy-specific information collected in the *Catalogue*, referring to the exemplars examined during my research and including at least one copy per edition, was also the occasion to gather together the first extensive insight on how the consumption of Greek, Latin and vernacular texts related to the name of Aesop, or structurally based on Aesopian models, transversely involved people at different social and cultural levels. These considerations, along with the material features of the books examined, brought me to question the definition of 'popular' text, and to rethink its terms in relation to Aesop.

Although I have managed to provide a complete and detailed catalogue of all the surviving 15th-century editions of Aesopian texts printed in Italy, and therefore to suggest that the advent of printing acted on the Aesopian *corpus* as a further stimulation towards re-elaboration and diversification, the constraints of time and space did not allow me to solve many of the questions raised along the way by the exploration of this material.

Nonetheless, I believe that the effort was worth making, and that some of these unanswered questions, both general and specific, should also be considered among the outcomes of this study: not only because they reflect the unprecedented comprehensiveness of the account traced by my work, but also because they reveal how much still needs to be done.

⌘ Abstract II

From antiquity, a number of collections of fables, different biographies and anecdotes related to the name of Aesop were produced and transmitted in writing. These texts constitute a rich and varied *corpus* which has always had a wide circulation in oral and written form, and which has contributed to shape various aspects of the Western culture at different social levels.

This thesis analysises the characteristics of the seventy editions transmitting Aesopian texts which were printed in Italy before 1501, in order to investigate the impact that a major technological and cultural revolution such as the introduction of movable-type printing had on the development and circulation of this large *corpus*.

Chapter I – ***Aesopian texts in 15th-century Europe: from manuscript into print,*** highlights the connections between Italian 15th-century printed Aesopian editions and the earlier manuscript transmission, and places the editions printed in Italy within the wider European context. It consists of three sections: the first two include a detailed examination of the manuscript tradition of the different kind of Aesopian texts which were printed in Italy in the 15th century, distinguishing between the Latin, vernacular and Greek texts. The third section, *Overview of the Aesopian editions printed in Europe before 1501,* examines the circumstances of printing Aesopian texts in Europe in the 15th century. Special attention is devoted to mapping the geographic distribution of the editions; to highlight the role of certain editors and printers; and to the editorial and commercial choices of printers to issue Aesopian editions in comparison with the rest of their production.

Chapter II – ***«Qui si tractano le fabule di Exopo»: texts included in Italian 15th-century printed Aesopian editions*** presents a list of the fifty-two texts included in the extant 15th-century printed Italian Aesopian editions, including any kind of paratextual material, such as dedicatory letters, introductions, poems, editorial prefaces, commentaries. Texts are listed following the chronological order of printing of the editions in which they are included. For each text, information is provided on authorship; time and historical circumstances of production;

content; historical figures involved; and main textual features. Furthermore, for every text, all the known manuscript witnesses and all the Italian incunable editions in which the text appears are listed. The aim of this chapter is to offer a comprehensive yet detailed view of the richness of the content of Aesopian incunable editions, to assess which were the texts that were printed in combination with the *Fabulae* and with the *Vita Aesopi,* and to shed new light on the cultural and historical circumstances surrounding their production and their circulation in a specific historical moment.

Chapter III – ***The Italian production in context: paths of textual transmission*** investigates the development of the textual tradition of the illustrated and non illustrated Italian editions of Aesopian texts printed in Italy in the 15th century, on the basis of the information collected in the *Catalogue* in the appendix (see below). Its three sections – *Latin editions, Greek editions* and *Latin/vernacular editions* – analyse how these three families of the written tradition of Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae,* and the different textual versions which they include, were transmitted in the first editions printed in Italy. For each group of editions, a series of structural features and major textual variants were taken into consideration to identify different branches of the transmission of each text (for instance the *Aesopus moralisatus,* the Greek-to-Latin translations of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae* by Rinucius Aretinus, etc.) and their significance within the printed *corpus*. The introduction of major changes in the printed editions, in comparison with the manuscript tradition, has also been particularly highlighted. The final *stemma editionum* not only summarises the analytic considerations concerning the genetic relationships between different editions of the same text, but also aims at providing a synthetic view of the development of the different families of the Aesopian *corpus* in the considered period.

Chapter IV – ***The Italian production in context: illustrated Italian editions*** focuses exclusively on the Italian incunable editions containing printed illustrations, to provide an analysis of the development of the iconographic tradition of Aesopian texts (including both the *Vita* and the *Fabulae*), and its relationship with the textual tradition.

Its first introductory section, *Early-printed illustrations: from a brief history of traditional cataloguing to the 15cIllustration database*, contains an overview of the main methodological issues involved in the cataloguing of images, and of how this research field has developed over the last hundred years. It also gives an account of the scholarly premises and technical features of the 15cIllustration database, conceived and developed by the 15cBOOKTRADE Project in collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group (University of Oxford), for researching the production and circulation of 15th-century printed illustrations. Illustrations contained in the Aesopian editions analysed in this study were among the pilot datasets used to test the developments of the database.

The other two sections, *Vita Aesopi* and *Fabulae,* describe and analyse the genetic relationships between different Italian illustrated editions. Both sections are based on the identification of distinct cycles of illustrations within the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts, and on the analytical examination of figurative and iconographic variants that distinguish them. In the section dedicated to the *Vita,* the role of the Naples 1485 edition in establishing an iconographic tradition is particularly stressed, while more intricate cases of contamination between different iconographic traditions are examined in the section dedicated to the *Fabulae*. The results are summarized in two separate *stemmata figurarum,* at the end of each sub-section. The ultimate aim of this chapter is to follow the development of the iconographic tradition of Aesopian texts in comparison with the textual one, examined in chapter III. It also sheds new light on the printing practice and use of illustrations of the printers involved in the production of Aesopian editions, and on the processes of reuse, circulation and copy of woodcuts within this kind of editions.

The thesis is concluded by a ***Descriptive catalogue of 15th-century printed Italian Aesopian editions***, in appendix, which actually constitutes the basis of this research. In the *Catalogue*, each edition is analysed with special attention to bibliographic features; textual content (*incipit* and *explicit* of each textual unit; location of the textual unit in the book; structure of the text; references to the most recent critical edition); presence of printed initials; presence of printed titles; remarks on the textual transmission; use and main stylistic features of the illustrations,

when present (number of illustrations contained; number of woodblocks used; number of impressions; location of the illustrations in the book; notes on the iconographical content and the style); number of surviving copies; examined copies; and provenance notes concerning the copies examined. Editions are listed in chronological order according to the date of printing.

The ***Conclusions*** highlight how the introduction of printing acted as a further incentive to the enhancement of the Aesopian *corpus,* contributing to a wider diffusion of the texts which already existed and stimulating the production of new translations and rewritings, and of the contamination between different textual and iconographic traditions. The methodology of this research consisted mainly in direct examination of at least one copy of all the editions considered, either in person or through digital reproductions. This systematic approach resulted in the collection of first-hand data concerning the bibliographic, textual and iconographic features of many editions, often surviving in a small number of copies, which had hitherto not been specifically considered by scholars. This new data also concern a substantial amount of provenance information, which for the first time allows one to start a broad reconstruction of the audience of Aesopian texts in the Renaissance. The comprehensiveness of this study, which brings together texts and authors from different places, centuries, languages and cultural backgrounds, is in itself a novelty, and succeeds in my opinion in suggesting the scale and breadth of the Aesopian *genre* in medieval and renaissance culture.

⌘ Note on names

Names of classical authors such as Aesop, Cicero and Virgil, are given in their English form according to the respective mentions in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD).

Names of printing places and cities are usually given in their English form, if available and in use; otherwise, they are given in the respective national language.

For the names of printers, editors, and early-modern authors I usually followed the forms in use in the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC). This means that most of them appear in their

Latinate form rather than in their modern vernacular adaptation (e.g. 'Rinucius Aretinus' for 'Rinuccio Aretino'), with the exception of a few cases where the vernacular form appears to have been almost the only one in use and is in fact the one attested in ISTC (e.g. 'Francesco del Tuppo' or 'Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna').

When the names of printers, editors, and early-modern authors did not have an ISTC form, I followed the forms used in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI) for the Italian ones, and referred to the *Virtual International Authority File* (VIAF), for the non-Italian ones. In the latter case, I usually opted for the modern English forms, such as Prosper of Aquitaine instead of Prosperus Aquitanus or Prosper d'Aquitaine.

⌘ Note on bibliography and abbreviations

In the footnotes, recent bibliographical sources are referred to in abbreviated form, with the author's surname followed by the year of publication and the page. The complete list of secondary works that I consulted is provided in the 'Bibliography' section at the end of my thesis. The bibliography is preceded by an appendix containing a descriptive *Catalogue* of all the 15th-century printed Aesopian editions that constituted the primary sources of my research. All editions are referred to through ISTC and GW, where further reference to other standard tools for cataloguing incunable editions can be found, such as Ludwig Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1826-1838); the *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (IGI, 1943-1981); Frederick Goff's *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1964), a census of 15th-century printed books owned by American collections; and, when relevant, the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century now in the British Museum* (BMC, 1907-) and the *Catalogue of the books printed in the Fifteenth century now in the Bodleian Library* (Bod-Inc, 2005), the latter also available in electronic form, listed in the section 'Electronic catalogues and sitography' of the Bibliography. In view of this, no reference to these catalogues is mentioned in the records for each edition. More specific references (essays, articles etc.) are mentioned when relevant for my analysis.

In the 'Textual content' section of the *Catalogue* records and in each section of chapter II, references to critical editions, when available, are given in abbreviated forms in square brackets at the end of each mentioned text.

⌘ Citations of libraries and book repositories

Citations of libraries and book repositories are given according to the following list:

Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita dei Laici = Arezzo, Bibl. Fraternita; Athens, National Library of Greece = Athens, National Libr.; Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek = Augsburg, UB; Baltimore (MD), The Walters Art Museum = Baltimore (MD), Walters; Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel = Basel, UB; Belluno, Biblioteca Civica = Belluno, BC; Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai = Bergamo, BC; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz = Berlin, SBB – PK; Bern, Burgerbibliothek Bern = Bern, Burgerbibliothek; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio = Bologna, BC; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria = Bologna, BU; Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana = Brescia, BQ; Burgo de Osma, Archivo Biblioteca de la Santa Iglesia Catedral = Burgo de Osma, Archivo; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum = Cambridge, Fitz. Mus.; Cambridge, Trinity College = Cambridge, Trinity Coll.; Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Houghton Library = Cambridge (MA), Houghton; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana = BAV; Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora = Évora, BP; Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana = Faenza, BC; Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea = Ferrara, BC; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana = Florence, BML; Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale = Florence, BNCF; Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana = Florence, Ricc.; Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg = Freiburg im Breisgau, UB; Genève, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire = Genève, BU; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen = Göttingen, SUB; Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester = Holkham Hall; Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek = Jena, ULB; Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel - Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel = Kassel, UB; Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek Kiel = Kiel, UB; København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek = Copenhagen, KB; Kraków, The Princes Czartoryski Library = Kraków, Czart.; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek = Leiden, UB; London, The British Library = London, BL; Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck = Lübeck, BH; Lucca, Biblioteca Statale = Lucca, BS; Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia = Madrid, Academia; Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Biblioteca = Madrid, BUCM; Manchester, John Rylands Library = Manchester JRL; Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana = Mantova, BC;

Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana = Milan, Ambr.; Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense = Milan, BNB; Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana = Milan, Triv.; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria = Modena, BEU; Moscow, Synodal Library = Moscow, Synodal Libr.; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek = Munich, BSB; München, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München = Munich, UB; Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele = Naples, BNVE; New Haven (CT), Yale University. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library = New Haven (CT), Beinecke Libr.; New York (NY), Columbia University. Rare Book & Manuscript Library = New York (NY), Columbia; New York (NY), The Morgan Library & Museum = New York (NY), Morgan; New York (NY), New York Public Library = New York (NY), NYPL; Oxford, Balliol College = Oxford, Balliol Coll.; Oxford, Bodleian Library = Oxford, Bodl.; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France = Paris, BnF; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina = Parma, BP; Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta = Perugia, BA; Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana = Pesaro, Oliv.; Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi = Piacenza, BC; Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Library = Princeton (NJ), UL; Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense = Rome, Cas.; Roma, Biblioteca Corsiniana = Rome, Cors.; Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale = Rome, BNCR; Salamanca, Bibliotececas Universidad de Salamanca = Salamanca, UL; San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana = San Daniele del Friuli, BC; San Marino (CA), The Huntington Library = San Marino (CA), Huntington; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati = Siena, BC; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl.; Thessaloniki, Aristotle University, Central Library = Thessaloniki, UB; Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile = Udine, BA; Urbana (ILL), University of Illinois Library = Urbana (ILL), UL; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana = Venezia, BN Marc.; Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini = Venezia, Cini; Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr = Venezia, Correr; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare = Verona, BCap.; Verona, Biblioteca Comunale = Verona, BC; Washington (DC), Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division = Washington (DC), Libr. Congress; Wien, Das Diözesanarchiv der Erzdiözese Wien = Wien, Diözesanarchiv; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek = Wien, ÖNB; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek = Wolfenbüttel, HAB; Wroclaw, Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu = Wroclaw, UL; Yonkers (NY), St. Joseph's Seminary, Corrigan Memorial Library = Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr.

⌘ *Chapter I*

Aesopian texts in 15th-century Europe: from manuscripts into print

«But then if we had all the manuscripts and editions ever made of Aesop, a lifetime would not suffice to map their relations and lines of descent. We must, sometimes, be grateful for the neglect of the centuries».[21]

This consideration by Martin Davies expresses very well the feeling of the scholar who ventures to examine the vast and complex *corpus* of Aesopian texts and its transmission through the centuries. The main literary works that will be mentioned throughout this chapter belong to the large *corpus* which goes under the name of *Aesopica* and has been divided by scholarship into four main categories:

i) the fables in Greek, Latin and vernacular;

ii) the collections of proverbs and mottoes attributed to Aesop;

iii) the various biographies of Aesop collectively indicated as *Vita Aesopi*;

iv) other stories or episodes which have developed around his mythologised figure and are transmitted indirectly by different authors.[22]

Out of this wide *corpus,* this thesis focuses on points i and iii: the different collections of the fables and on the different versions of the *Vita Aesopi* which were included in editions printed in Europe, and particularly in Italy, throughout the second half of the 15th century. When examining the manuscript transmission of these texts, and of the *Fabulae* in particular, it is extremely rare to find a strict adherence to the antigraph models in the process of copying. Such adherence, considered as a form of respect for a given and recognised authoritative textual source, was

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[21] See DAVIES 2006, p. 286.
[22] See PERRY 1952, pp. 7-17 and JEDRKIEWICZ 1989, pp. 15-20.

common in the manuscript transmission of authors perceived as well-known and classical, with a strong relationship between their individual existence as historical figures and their literary production. With the fables circulating under the name of Aesop, on the other hand, it is often the case that scribes added new episodes, invented parts of the text, or made major modifications and adjustments to the version found in their antigraph, frequently drawing from two or even more different sources. This attitude suggests the extent to which Aesop has always been perceived more as a mythologised author, a vehicle of popular wisdom and knowledge, than a proper *classical* authority in the literary sense of the word. At the same time, some features of Aesop's fables such as the strict division of the roles and the complete detachment from any spatial or temporal dimension, have made them a narrative scheme suitable to tell stories from a wide range of cultural traditions and geographic areas, and, ultimately, a never-ending source for narrative material and interpolations.[23]

In 15th-century Europe, the collections of fables and Aesop's biographies circulated in a wide variety of languages and textual forms, among which it is possible to distinguish three main categories, namely:

i) a series of medieval-Latin compilations, in prose and verses, which had been circulating and developing ever since the first centuries A.D., and which despite travelling under the name of Aesop have been recognized by scholars as textually based on the collections of fables written by Phaedrus;

ii) Greek texts of the *Fabulae* and of the *Vita Aesopi*, which go back to the classical age and did not circulate throughout the Western Middle-Ages but were rediscovered in the early Renaissance period, often in versions mediated by the intervention of Byzantine scribes and scholars;[24]

[23] Different stages in the development of the genre of the fable have been recognised by PERRY 1940, pp. 391-419, on which the above considerations are based. On the flexibility of Aesopian moral contents and their adaptability to express different ideas in different historical and political contexts see DELLA CORTE 1948, LA PENNA 1961, pp. 438-537, later followed by NØJGAARD 1979, pp. 31-43. The topic and bibliography are summarised in GRIFFANTE 1994, p. 316.

[24] See PERRY 1936, p. 2. As will be mentioned below, the rediscovery and translation by 15th-century scholars of the Greek Aesopian sources fit well with the humanistic enthusiasm for the 'renaissance' of classical studies.

iii) a series of Latin and vernacular translations - in German, French, Italian, Dutch and English - produced in the late-medieval and early-Renaissance period and based either directly on the recently rediscovered Greek sources or on the medieval-Latin compilations. Some of these translations later constituted the basis for extremely successful new translations and reworkings, as in the case of Rinucius Aretinus' Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Vita* and *Fabulae*.[25]

As far as Aesopian texts in Latin and vernacular are concerned, it is crucial to mark the distinction between those derived from a medieval Latin version of the fables, and those translated anew by humanists from the ancient Greek sources, starting from the first years of the 15th century onwards.

⌘ I.1 The medieval-Latin compilations and their vernacular translations

The origin of the medieval tradition of the Aesopian fables in Latin dates back to the work of the Latin author Phaedrus (1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.), who himself derived part of the content of his five books of fables in iambic *senarii* from previous Hellenistic sources in prose. Phaedrus, however, repeatedly claimed in the prologues to his collection his debts towards the mythical figure of Aesop, attributing to himself only the merit of refining something that was in fact invented and put together in its initial form by Aesop.[26]

It is likely that the complex metre of Phaedrus' compositions resulted in them being perceived as

[25] Rinucius' work will be mentioned in section I.2 and further analysed in sections II.5-II.12. As will be seen below, other translations of the Greek texts were printed before 1501, though none of them appears to have attained the same degree of popularity.

[26] See RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS 1987, I, pp. 120-21 and II, pp. 170-71. In the prologue of the fourth book of his *Fabulae,* Phaedrus defines most of his fables as 'Aesopic', rather than 'Aesop's', i.e. in the style of Aesop rather than actually written by Aesop himself, pointing out that he decided to add many narrations to Aesop's few: «Quoniam caperis fabulis, quas Aesopias, non Aesopi, nomino, quia paucas ille ostendit, ego plures fero, usus vetusto genere, sed rebus novis» (see PHAEDRUS 1876, IV *Prol.* 10-13 and MANN 2009, p. 4 n. 10); on Phaedrus, his figure and his works see also CHAMPLIN 2005, pp. 97-123.

too difficult for the purpose of language teaching and learning by heart; and in general not suitable for primary education purposes, which were instead those mainly connected with the content of Aesopian fables. This thesis has generally been supported by the fact that extremely few manuscripts transmitting Phaedrus' works in their original metrical form survive today, and most of them have been dated by scholarship from the 9th to the 11th centuries, which ultimately suggests that these texts had almost no circulation throughout the later Middle-Ages and Renaissance periods, before being rediscovered by the Italian humanist Nicolaus Perottus (1430-1480).[27] Although this understanding is currently being reassessed by philologists, who have recently identified the presence of Phaedrian quotations and patterns in the works of Leo Baptista Alberti (1404-1472) and possibly also in those of Laurentius Abstemius (c. 1440-1508), apparently independent from Perottus' mediation, the proliferation of prose paraphrases and rewritings in simpler metres of Phaedrus' fables starting from the 5th or 6th centuries A.D. remains well documented.[28] Most of those rewritings and paraphrases mix fables directly derived from the Phaedrian tradition with others drawn from different sources, and most of them enjoyed great popularity and still survive in a large number of manuscripts.[29]

The most successful of these paraphrases is thought to date back to the 9th century and is usually preceded in manuscripts by a dedicatory letter where a certain Romolus presents the four books of fables to his son Tiberinus, claiming to have translated them from Greek into Latin for the

[27] MANN 2009, p. 7 states that «whereas Avianus' collection circulated in its original form throughout the Middle Ages, the Phaedrian fables were recast into prose, and after the tenth century (as far as we know), Phaedrus ceased to be copied». The manuscript tradition of Phaedrus' work is extremely scarce, consisting in only one preserved complete manuscript, known as *codex Pithoeanus* (New York (NY), Morgan, MS. M 906, dated 9th-10th cent.), plus two manuscripts now lost, the so called *codex Remensis,* which was destroyed by a fire in 1774 but the texts of which had already been transcribed and studied by scholars by that time and is therefore known today; and manuscript BAV, Reg. Lat. 1616, also known as *Charta Danielis* (11th century), which transmits eight fables only; plus the two manuscripts that transmit the so called *Appendix Perottina,* consisting in thirty-three fables not included in any other known manuscript of Phaedrus' work and which are claimed to have been transcribed by Nicolaus Perottus (1429-1480) from an antigraph now lost. No incunable edition of Phaedrus' fables seems to have been printed. The *editio princeps* only appeared in 1596 and was published in Troyes for the types of Pierre Pithou (see MANN 2009, p. 7); for a detailed list of the manuscript witnesses of Phaedrus' *Fabulae* see PERRY 1965, pp. XCVI-XCVIII.

[28] For Phaedrian echoes in Alberti's work I am referring in particular to VITI 2007, pp. 357-81; more on the presence of Phaedrus' fables in the work by Laurentius Abstemius shall be seen in sections II.41-II.42 dedicated to his *Apologi centum* and based on ZAGO 2012, pp. 96-103. On the role of Perottus in the transmission of Phaedrus' fables the fundamental contribution is still BOLDRINI 1987.

[29] See LAPIDGE-MANN 2002, p. 2 and RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS 1987, I, pp. 120-21, who clearly summarises the three most reliable hypotheses for the contamination between Phaedrus and other external sources, recognised as an «independent tradition», in the medieval-Latin collections of fables.

purpose of Tiberinus' amusement and moral education.[30] Hence the name *Romulus,* or *Romulus vulgaris,* used by past and present scholars to refer to this collection, in itself one of the most successful works belonging to the Aesopian *corpus*, not necessarily because of the number of extant manuscript witnesses that transmit it, but mostly because it has been recognized by scholarship as having been the fundamental basis for a number of following compositions in prose and verses. Among the most famous collections of fables derived from the *Romulus* are the *Fabulae* by Adémar de Chabannes (early 11th century), the *Fecunda ratis* by Egbert of Liège (early 11th century), the so-called *Romulus Nilanti* (11th century), the *Novus Aesopus* by Alexander Neckham (12th century), two French translations known as *Ysopet* II and *Ysopet de Chartres*. A selection of fables derived from the *Romulus* was included in Vincent of Beauvais' *Specula* and from there later translated into French by Jean de Vignay.[31]

All these texts seem to have had in common the fact that they were most likely intended as sources of 'non-systematic wisdom', to be referred to for immediate and practical use, rather than as the philosophical formulation of a coherent and comprehensive moral system.[32]

Since only a minority of these reworkings was printed in the 15th century it would be of little use to analyse here their composition and stylistic features. Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that scholars have noticed a general superiority of the texts in verse over those in prose with reference to stylistic accuracy, precision in quoting expressions and rhetorical figures and attention to the aesthetic form of expression.[33] Among the compositions in verse, a particularly important position in this thesis is occupied by the abridged rewriting of the *Romulus* in elegiac couplets

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[30] The date of the *Romulus* is inferred from that of its oldest manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Gud. Lat. 148 (9th century). This manuscript, which was formerly owned by the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul in Weissenburg, is the only witness of one of the three surviving textual versions of the *Romulus,* known as *recensio Wissemburgensis*. The other two *recensiones* are respectively known as *gallicana* and *vetus* (all three are published in THIELE 1910, who lists eleven manuscripts; see also MANN 2009, p. 7 with notes). For the datation, I follow Mann against Thiele, who placed the composition of the *Romulus* in the 5th century.

[31] The list of works derived from the *Romulus,* such as the *Romulus vulgaris*, the *Romulus Nilanti* and the *Hexametrical Romulus*, is based on MCKENZIE-OLDFATHER 1919, pp. 12-13. Common features and differences between them are traced by LAPIDGE-MANN 2002, pp. 1-33.

[32] For the concept of 'non-systematic wisdom' expressed by the animal fables, but also by popular jests and ways of saying, see MANN 1986*,* p. 207.

[33] Both BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 20-25 and BISANTI 2007, pp. 235-36, put this tendency in relation with the almost contemporary compilation and diffusion of several rhetorical treatises dedicated to the topics of versification and metrical composition such as those by Mathieu de Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, John of Garland and others.

dating from the late 12th century, for a long time attributed to Walther of England, which is known under the name of *elegiac Romulus, Aesopus moralisatus* or simply *Aesopus*.[34]

This 12th-century *Aesopus* had an extremely wide circulation throughout the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. It was included in a number of early printed editions produced all over Europe and served as main basis for a series of Italian vernacular reworkings, both anonymous and signed, including the *Esopo zuccarino* and the *Esopo toscano,* which will be analysed in chapter II. The *Aesopus moralisatus* also had a series of translations in French verses, such as the *Ysopet de Lyon* and *Ysopet de Paris,* as well as in German, French and English prose.

All these episodes provide solid evidence of the continuous fascination of medieval authors and readers with the Aesopian narrative model and contents.[35]

Many of these texts were thoroughly used in the Middle Ages as part of the educational canon. In this respect, they seem to have represented, for the young students reading Latin, the second step, following the widely known grammars by Donatus and the Pseudo-Cato.[36] Translation of works by Aesop, as well as of the *Disticha Catonis,* Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* or Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epigrammata* were often included in the examination to be undertaken before being allowed to leave the primary grammar course.[37] Some of the *latinizers* were then going to quit their studies, with the perspective of entering the business world. As for the others, after gaining the fundamental basis of grammatical analysis and Christian moral doctrine, they were expected to continue with more complex authors of the classical tradition, such as Virgil, Horace, Statius, Lucan, Ovid and Cicero.

As for the methods of studying and analysing the Latin text at this stage of the *curriculum*, some

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[34] See GRIFFANTE 1994, p. 318 and MANN 2009, pp. 11-12. This text had a widespread printed fortune in Europe and particularly in Italy and is the object of section II.3 of this thesis, with further bibliography.

[35] On various aspects of the development of the genre of fables and its moral contents in the Middle-Ages and early Renaissance, and on the question of morality in Aesopian texts in general see HERVIEUX 1899; THIELE 1910; DELLA CORTE 1948; LA PENNA 1961, pp. 438-537; GRÜBMULLER 1977; NØJGAARD 1979, pp. 41-43; MANN 1986, pp. 193-219; JEDRKIEWICZ 1989, pp. 15-68 and GRIFFANTE 1994, pp. 315-20.

[36] Robert Black provided documentary evidence for the existence of different levels of the instruction in Latin, corresponding to different salaries for the teachers. I am referring in particular to the document in the Archivio di Stato di Siena, Comune di Colle Valdelsa, 121, leaf. 63v, cited together with other sources referring to the Tuscan area, in BLACK 2007, pp. 139-41.

[37] See FROVA 1973, pp. 102-103 and GEHL 1993, p. 23 with bibliography.

examples are offered by manuscripts and incunabula. Normally, the students' purpose was twofold. On the one hand, the aim was to be able to read the text in Latin. Therefore, Latin annotations containing synonyms and explanations of certain Latin words from the text can often be found in the margins. On the other hand, from many examples of vernacular translations, annotated by the readers in the margins and between the lines of the original Latin text, we can infer that vernacular paraphrase was indeed a common practice at this stage of learning.[38]

⌘ I.2 The Greek texts of the life and fables of Aesop and their rediscovery and translation during the Renaissance

Greek texts of the *Fabulae* and of the *Vita Aesopi* seem to have undergone a parallel evolution in the broad outline of their textual tradition.[39] A list of ninety-four manuscript witnesses transmitting the Greek version of the fables was put together by Émile Chambry in preparation for his critical edition in 1925, which marked the beginning of a renewed philological interest around the Aesopian *corpus,* more than seventy years after the publication of the edition by Carl Halm.[40] The number of manuscript witnesses was progressively increased by succeeding editors and particularly August Hausrath, Paul Marc and Edwin Perry, taking the total to around 115.[41] Despite the frequent cases of contamination and content overlap, Greek manuscripts of the *Fabulae* have been divided by scholars, on the basis of the greater part of their content, into five main collections, or *recensiones*. Of these, the *recensio* I, or *Augustana* (231 fables), is thought to be the oldest and to have served as the main source of *recensio* II, or *Vindobonensis* (130 fables), and *recensio* III or *Accursiana* (148 fables).

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[38] As for manuscripts, some examples of these practices are listed in GEHL 1993*,* p. 99, with further bibliography. More examples of notations and reading practices detected in incunable editions are found in the *Catalogue* and provenance information will be discussed further in the *Conclusions*.
[39] See PERRY 1936, p. 76.
[40] The list of manuscripts is in CHAMBRY 1926, p. 1. The weaknesses of Halm's edition (HALM 1852) have been widely recognised by scholars over the last two centuries (see BISCÉRÉ 2009, p. 11).
[41] See MARC 1910, p. 398, HAUSRATH 1927, pp. 1541-43, and PERRY 1936, pp. 71-72 n. 1, who adds fourteen manuscripts.

Two of these three collections have been named after their most reliable witnesses: Munich, BSB, cgm 564, which was formerly in Augsburg, Biblioteca Augustana (13th or 14th century), hence the name *recensio Augustana*, and Wien, ÖNB, Hist. Graec. 130 (14th century), which suggested the name for the *recensio Vindobonensis*. The third collection was named after its first 15th-century editor, the scholar and rhetorician Bonus Accursius, from Pisa.[42] The third collection has also been known as *Planudea*, with reference to the Byzantine grammarian Maximus Planudes, to whom the *Accursiana* has repeatedly been attributed.[43]

In addition to the *Augustana*, *Vindobonensis* and *Accursiana* or *Planudea,* two other collections have been identified by scholarship. First, a later redaction of *recensio* I, hence called *recensio* Ia (143 fables); second, the so-called *recensio Bodleiana* or 'Bodleian paraphrase' (*recensio* IV), based on manuscript Oxford, Bodl., Auct. F. 4.7 and mainly drawing from the corpus of fables circulating under the name of Babrius.[44] The Bodleian paraphrase proves to be particularly important when considering that all the forty fables in verse included in *recensio* II are derived from it, whereas the ones in prose are drawn from *recensio* I. *Recensio* III, on the other hand, combines different sources, deriving sixty-two fables from *recensio* II, thirty-nine fables from *recensio* I, and a series of fables mainly from *recensio* IV.[45]

The *stemma codicum* is therefore divided into two main genealogic branches: the first starts with *recensio* I and comprises Ia, II and III: the four collections seem to share an original Byzantine source. The *Bodleian* paraphrase*,* on the other hand, depends on the tradition of Babrius' collection of fables and is independent from the previous four. The *recensio Accursiana* of the fables, like its equivalent version of the *Vita*, was the basis for the modern circulation of the Greek text of the *Fabulae* in print. It probably circulated at the beginning of the 15th century in a primary form of 127 fables, which constituted the basis for the teaching of Greek at the school of

[42] See the sections II.14-II.18 and the considerations expressed on Greek printing and the role of Accursius in section III.2.

[43] The whole topic is summarised in BISCÉRÉ 2009, pp. 10-19.

[44] Babrius wrote a collection of around 200 fables in the 2nd century AD, in a characteristic variant of the iambic trimeters. His fables were extensively imitated, this creating a situation of confusion in the establishment of the Babrian *corpus* (see PERRY 1965, pp. 427-77, VAIO 1984, pp. 197-203, LUZZATTO-LA PENNA 1986, pp. XVII-XVIII and RODRIGUEZ ADRADOS 1987, pp. 114-18).

[45] The composition of the *recensiones* is described in detail in PERRY 1936, pp. 71-77.

Victorinus Feltrensis and Guarinus, and during the 15th century was brought to the 148-fables form, a version of which was later included in Bonus Accursius' edition.[46]

It is worth noting that, out of the more than 100 manuscripts transmitting collections of Aesopian Greek fables, in prose, only two were produced before the 13th century. The earliest ones seem to be New York, Morgan, 397 (formerly *Cryptoferratensis* A 33), which dates to between the 10th and the 11th century, and the codex Paris, BnF, 690, dating back to the 12th century. All the other manuscripts date approximately from between the 13th and the 16th centuries.

As for the *Vita Aesopi,* the number of manuscript witnesses involved is lower, and the less self-contained nature of the text, which is structured more as a series of interlinked episodes, makes it easier to understand when something is missing. As already seen for the fables, apart from a series of papyruses dating from the late 2nd to the 7th century A.D., there are three main manuscript lines of transmission, two of which were well known and read throughout the 15th century. These are known as *recensio Westermaniana* (W) and *recensio Accursiana* (A), dating to the end of the 11th century and to the late-13th or early-14th centuries respectively and both named after their first editors and publishers.[47] The archetype of the *recensio Accursiana* was identified by Perry with a now lost late manuscript belonging to the *recensio Westermaniana,* and only recently both the *Westermaniana* and the *Accursiana* have been recognised, again by Perry, as variants of an earlier tradition, called *recensio* G (or *Perriana*).[48] Perry defines G as «one of the several more or less different texts that were current in late antiquity and that differed substantially from W in the same way as G does».[49] Current knowledge of it is based on the text contained in the above-mentioned manuscript New York (NY), Morgan, 397, the oldest known manuscript transmitting Greek versions of the Aesopian texts, which also had a primary role in the transmission of the text of the fables.[50] A manuscript similar to G, and not G itself, must have been the antigraph

[46] The collection published by Accursius actually includes only 147 fables; see section II.16 of this study.
[47] The *Westermaniana* was published for the first time by WESTERMANN 1845.
[48] See PERRY 1933, pp. 198-244, but also PERRY 1934, pp. 53-62, with bibliography.
[49] See PERRY 1936, p. 27.
[50] Manuscript G, also known as *Cryptoferratensis* A 33, disappeared from the library of the Monastery of Grottaferrata shortly before the end of the 18th century and therefore remained unknown to scholars up to the 1930s, when it was

from which the archetype manuscript of *recensio* W, now lost, was copied, possibly around the 11th century.[51] Unlike in *recensiones* W and A, where the text of the *Vita* is likely to have been influenced by the intervention of Byzantine scholars, the text of G was defined by Perry as 'ancient', and therefore closer to the form in which the biography could have been circulating in the Roman period, not much later than when it was first put into a literary form.[52] As for the date of the archetype of G and of the papyruses, i.e. the oldest written form of the Greek *Vita* that we can assume to have existed from what we have today, it was placed by Perry not before the 1st century B.C. and probably around the 2nd century A.D., although he also suggested that this was probably not the earliest form in which the biography of Aesop had appeared until then.[53]

In general, the levels of contamination of content and sources among different families of manuscripts tend to be high; furthermore, none of the many existing or recorded collections transmitted in the Greek language has ever been recognised as definitive, nor has any one been directly attributed to Aesop.

In Western Europe, the Greek versions of the *Fabulae* and of the *Vita* remained largely unknown throughout the Middle Ages, until they started being rediscovered by Italian humanists engaged in reinforcing the exchanges of knowledge, culture and books with the Byzantine world. As will surface from the analysis of Aesopian texts included in Italian incunable editions in chapter II, one of the most influential figures in this context was that of Guarinus Veronensis (1374-1460). In 1403, when he was in his late twenties and already working as a teacher, Guarinus left his hometown of Verona to spend around six years in Costantinople, where he studied Greek and acquired Greek manuscripts under the guidance of one of the most prominent Greek scholars of

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recognised in the Pierpont Morgan Library and made the subject of a series of studies by Elinor Husselman, Edwin Perry and Mirtilla Avery.

[51] From this moment onwards, *recensio* W appears to be more and more popular and copied in a large series of manuscripts, whereas G seems to be discarded and is deliberately left out from a series of copies; on the dates of G and W see PERRY 1936, pp. 24-27.

[52] PERRY 1936, p. 2.

[53] See PERRY 1936, p. 24; among the elements for Perry's dating of the oldest thinkable archetype of the *Vita* was the important role assigned in the text to the goddess Isis.

the humanistic period, Emanuel Chrysoloras.[54]

Once back in Italy, Guarinus started again teaching grammar and literature, and Greek as well, in Venice for a few months and later in Florence, invited to the *Studium* by Leonardus Aretinus. Two pieces of evidence remain of the fact that manuscripts of Greek versions of the Aesopian fables were in circulation among Guarinus' circle during his Florentine period. The first circumstance is Guarinus' quotation, in a 1416 letter addressed to his friend Bartholomaeus Aragatius, of a passage from the fable "Ἰξευτὴς καὶ ἔχις", which does not find a correspondence in the medieval-Latin tradition of the fables.[55]

The second circumstance is the ownership of two Greek manuscripts of the *Fabulae,* namely Florence, BML, Laur. Conv. Soppr. 627 and Laur. Conv. Soppr. 69 by the Florentine humanist Antonius Corbinellius, who was one of the pupils, and also the host, of Guarinus during his stay in Florence.[56]

Moreover, the fundamental role of Guarinus in the humanistic rediscovery of the Aesopian fables is highlighted by the frequent direct and indirect references to such works by his pupils and by members of his cultural entourage, such as Hermolaus Barbarus, Laurentius Valla and Victorinus Feltrensis.

The earliest documentary evidence of the use of the Greek texts of Aesopian fables in the didactic practice of Guarinus' lessons comes in fact from Barbarus, and specifically from the prefatory letter to his translation of thirty-three fables, addressed to Ambrosius Traversarius: «Quare, cum superioribus his diebus nonnullas a Guarino Aesopi fabulas graecas percepissem et in Latinum sermonem exercitationis gratia traduxissem…».[57] As will be seen in chapter II, Laurentius Valla also produced a translation of the same thirty-three fables included in Barbarus'

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[54] For a detailed account of the biography of Guarinus see the *DBI* record by PISTILLI 2003, available online. For Chrysoloras and his journey to Italy in between the 14th and 15th centuries the main reference is still CAMMELLI 1941, pp. 132-33 in particular.

[55] The fable corresponds to n° 137 in the list by Chambry, and to AF32 in the edition of the *Accursiana* collection published by Bonus Accursius in Milan in c. 1477 (ISTC ia00098000, see section II.16). On this quotation see also COCCO 2007, p. 13.

[56] Corbinellius' library counted a total of around eight Greek manuscripts. See the *DBI* record by MOLHO 1983, available online, and ROLLO 2004, pp. 25-95 for a focus on Corbinellius' private library and books, with further bibliography.

[57] See COCCO 2007, p. 130.

collection, and this persuaded scholars that the small excerpt which served as the basis for these translations was probably put together by Guarinus himself, primarily as an exercise for his pupils.[58]

Victorinus Feltrensis, on the other hand, learnt Greek from Guarinus in Venice, after the teacher had returned from Florence in 1414, and included Greek classes among the reference texts of his teaching programme in Mantua, employing the best available teachers - who brought to the school knowledge, but also books.[59] Several translations by Victorinus' pupils also remain, such as the one by Omnibonus Leonicenus, which survives in two Italian incunables and will be examined in chapter II, and that by Gregorius Corrarius.

The translations which remain in printed editions will be commented upon separately in chapter II. However, this necessarily brief overview clearly shows the fundamental role that scholars such as Chrysoloras and Guarinus had in the rediscovery of the Greek texts of Aesopian fables, well before the intervention of Rinucius Aretinus, whose translations of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* still constitute the most popular Latin versions derived from Greek sources in the 15th century.

The circumstances mentioned above make it clear that Aesopian texts were also included in the humanistic process of rediscovery of the Greek classical tradition, a process that primarily consisted in the material search and acquisition, by late-14th and 15th-century scholars, of manuscripts transmitting the works; and in the application of an advanced philological approach to produce new and more correct critical editions and translations.[60]

In this context, while Aesopian texts in their Latin-medieval form continued to be part of the primary educational experience, their recently rediscovered Greek versions soon became tools for scholars who wanted to take the first steps in the process of learning the Greek language, and a

[58] A third translation of the same thirty-three apologues, contained in manuscript Milan, Ambr., R 21 Sup., was attributed by the scribe of the manuscript to Guarinus himself: «Exopi (*sic*) fabule e Greco in latinum verse per Guarinum veron.». Although GALLI 1978, p. 25 considered the attribution contained in the manuscript to be trustworthy, later scholars, among which COCCO 2007, pp. 10-15 and GIUNTA 2011, pp. 165-73 have expressed doubts against Guarinus' authorship of the Ambrosiana translation.

[59] See GARIN 1958, p. 546.

[60] Much has been written in the last two centuries on the theoretical foundations and development of humanistic translations, also with particular reference to Aesopian texts. I rely here in particular on the introductory pages of ÖESTERLEY 1870; MALL 1885, pp. 161-203; HERLET 1892; KEIDEL 1896; MC KENZIE 1904, pp. 497-524; MC KENZIE 1906, pp. 226-78 and FUMAROLI 1985, pp. 73-92.

ground upon which test their ability as translators and philologists.[61]

The rediscovery of original Greek sources, which had remained unknown since late antiquity and throughout the whole medieval period, allowed humanists to mark the distance between themselves and what they considered as a series of outdated medieval collections, valuable only for preachers and an illiterate public. Going back to the Greek texts by and about Aesop revitalised both the process of literary creation in the fable genre and the humanistic practice of translating classical texts. The printing of the Greek and Latin edition of the *Vita* and *Fabulae* by Bonus Accursius, in Milan at the end of the 1470s, mirrors this new attitude shared by printers and intellectuals towards the rescue and reconstruction of Aesopian texts, as well as the primary role played by the Italian scholarly and cultural networks in this process.[62]

I.3 Overview of the Aesopian editions printed in Europe before 1501

The widespread circulation of Aesopian texts in Europe in the late-Middle Ages and throughout the whole Renaissance period was already highlighted by scholars and linked to the emergence of a new social class. The so-called gentry or bourgeoisie, made of artisans, merchants, teachers, which was then defining its own identity and becoming more and more powerful from the 13th century onwards, appreciated the mundane and practical side of Aesopian literature, oriented as it was to a lay and clear representation of the world.[63] As a consequence of this appreciation, fables started being used not just for educational purposes but also in the composition of rhetorical treatises, in preaching, politics or in the most diverse works addressed to a wide audience.[64]

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[61] Apart from what was said above in section I.1, on the use of Aesopian texts in primary education see also the section *L'Educazione* in ZORZI 2003, pp. 199-207, where some Aesopian incunables are listed.
[62] ISTC ia00098000.
[63] See GRIFFANTE 1994, p. 317, who relies on DELLA CORTE 1973, pp. 117-46.
[64] See MANN 1986, pp. 193-219.

The scale on which Aesopian printed editions were issued in Europe in the 15th century and the editorial choices of the printers in publishing the texts either alone or as part of anthologies or collections help us to understand what the incunable production of Aesopian texts represented in this context, and what was the impact of the introduction of movable-types printing on the spread and circulation of the Aesopian *corpus*.

As already mentioned in the introduction, the ISTC counts 204 extant editions of the fables and of the life of Aesop printed in the 15th century.

More than one third of the incunable Aesopian editions were printed in Italy, and their analysis is the main subject of this thesis. Of the remaining, fifty-eight were issued in France, thirty-seven in Germany, twenty-two in the Low Countries, fifteen in Spain and three in England. From what survives today, the primacy of Italy did not only concern the quantity of the publications, but also the chronology of printing, eight out of the nine known Aesopian editions being printed in the very first years after the introduction of the new medium, i.e. by 1475, and the variety of Aesopian texts included in the editions.

The first extant non-Italian edition of Aesop's fables was published in Paris and, despite being undated and *sine notis*, it is thought to have been printed around 1475, i.e. about three years after the first Aesopian edition printed in Italy; it is listed by scholars and catalogues among the first efforts of the printing shop of Louis Simonel, Richard Blandin *et socii,* known as the 'Soufflet Vert' press. Notably, this edition consists of an anthology of three texts, including Poggius Florentinus' *Liber facetiarum,* Petrarca's *De viris illustribus* and Valla's Greek-into-Latin translation of thirty-three fables.[65] The inclusion in literary compilations and anthologies stands out as a characteristic feature of the French production of Aesopian texts in the 15th century. In this case, the fables are combined with one of the first Renaissance collections of jests, which adapted the structure and the moral sense of Aesopian fables to a range of episodes and contents, in many ways different from the original Aesopian anecdotes, and with one of the most famous contemporary collections of moral biographies, which was also one of the first in its genre to

[65] ISTC ip00857000.

retrieve the classical model of the *Vitae* of well-known historical figures.[66] It is also worth noting that as for what survives today, this was the first time that Valla's translation was printed with movable types. After this circumstance, this combination of Latin texts, all in prose and all characterised by a moral intent, was later reprinted twice in Paris, most likely again by Simonel and his associates after 1476 and later by Antoine Vérard around 1493, this time substituting Poggius' Latin *Facetiae* with their French translation accomplished by the grammar teacher and rhetorician Guillaume Tardif and dedicated to King Charles VIII.[67] Another edition of this combination of texts is thought to have been printed in the Netherlands and has been very broadly dated by scholars between 1465 and 1480; it is not known whether it was ever printed in Italy, as no incunable Italian editions of it survive today.[68]

The second collection of Aesopian texts conceived by French printers came out for the first time in Lyon in August 1480, in an illustrated edition by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart which survives today in one single copy.[69] It was modelled on the successful German collection of Aesopian materials conceived by Heinrich Steinhöwel and printed for the first time in Ulm around 1477. Referred to by scholars as a *summa* of the medieval and humanistic tradition of Aesopian texts, Steinhöwel's Aesop consists of eight sections, respectively containing

i) the Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi* by the Italian humanist Rinucius Aretinus, and its German adaptation by Steinhöwel himself;

ii) the four books of fables of the *Romulus* in prose;

iii) the *Aesopus moralisatus* in elegiac couplets;

iv) seventeen *fabulae extravagantes* in prose, not included in the *Romulus* collection;

v) seventeen fables translated anew by Steinhöwel himself;

vi) twenty-seven fables from the late-Latin collection attributed to Avianus;

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[66] On the *Liber facetiarum* see at least SOZZI 1983, pp. 253-59 and on Petrarca's *De viris illustribus* see at least the edition by MARTELLOTTI 1964 and the recent translation by FERRONE 2006, with further bibliography.
[67] ISTC nos. are ia00104600 and ia00109000. For Tardif's translation see CIFARELLI 2002, p. 441 with further bibliography.
[68] ISTC ia00104200.
[69] ISTC ia00118200.

vii) fifteen tales extracted from Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* (first half of the 12th century);

viii) eight tales extracted from Poggius' *Liber facetiarum.*

Out of these texts, Rinucius' translation of the *Vita* and the *Aesopus moralisatus* also had a circulation in Italy and, as will be seen below, had in fact already been printed several times in Mantua, Rome, Milan and Messina. The whole edition by Steinhöwel is bilingual (Latin and German) and characterised by the insertion of a series of 205 woodcuts that are particularly important for book historians, because they represent a milestone in the iconographic tradition in print of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* as well as an early and significant technical development in the ability of printers to embellish their editions with a figurative apparatus.[70]

Along with a series of reprints, which were issued in Germany in the following years, Steinhöwel's Aesop was also the basis for the French translation accomplished by the Augustinian friar Julien Macho and printed for the first time in Lyon in August 1480 by Philippi and Reinhart.[71] In Macho's rewriting, the Latin text is not included, nor are some of Steinhöwel's theoretical considerations about the literary structure and moral function of the fable.[72] This French collection of fables was then reprinted at least another seven times before the end of the 15th century, most likely always in Lyon.[73]

Another form which was typical of the French circulation of Aesopian texts is the combination of the *Aesopus moralisatus* with the medieval commentary beginning: «In principio huius libri

[70] For a detailed description of the eight sections and considerations on style and structure of the collection, as well as on Steinhöwel's humanistic attitude as an editor see ACHELIS 1917, pp. 315-30; LENAGHAN 1968, pp. 1-8; CARNES 1986, pp. 1-29 and in general the work by DICKE 1994, who analyses the success and widespread diffusion of this editorial operation. The cultural significance of Steinhöwel's operation was highlighted and analysed by HOLZBERG 1999, pp. 240-41.

[71] ISTC ia00118200, already mentioned. Macho's translation was published, on the basis of the 1486 edition, by HECKER 1982. On its features and its fortune in print see also RUELLE 1982.

[72] In particular, the introductory preface of Steinhöwel's edition, based on the definition of *fabula* contained in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, was not included in Macho's translation, neither was the list of moral epilogues which concludes Steinhöwel's work. This led scholars to consider Macho less interested than Steinhöwel in the definition of the fable as a literary genre and more interested in the ludic aspect of the narration (see GRIFFANTE 1994, pp. 331-32).

[73] ISTC nos. of the editions printed in Lyon after the *princeps*: ia00118300; ia00118400; ia00118700; ia00118800; ia00118250; ia00118900; ia00118500;

quinque sunt inquirenda», of which no trace is to be found in Italian contemporary editions.[74] According to what is listed in ISTC, this textual arrangement is shared by a series of ten incunable editions, all printed in France between Toulouse, Poitiers, Paris and Rouen from around 1484 onwards, and does not survive in any edition printed outside of France.[75]

Scholars have pointed out how the insertions of introductions, in the style of the medieval *accessus ad auctorem,* and of extensive commentaries to collections of Aesopian texts, and particularly to the *Aesopus moralisatus,* mostly concerned the 15th century printed production, with a special focus on Germany and France. On the other hand, they do not seem to represent a common feature of any of the identified branches of the 14th-century manuscript tradition.[76]

It is possible that this combination was extracted from the earliest edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by the commentary «In principio huius libri quinque sunt inquirenda», to be integrated in the same years in another peculiar example of 15th-century French Aesopian production, the *Autores octo cum glossa*. The first extant edition of this compilation is thought to have appeared in Lyon around 1487, and almost all the following incunable editions were printed in France (in Lyon, but also in Angoulême, Paris, Toulouse), with few exceptions such as one edition printed in Burgos in 1496, one in Pamplona and one in Toledo in 1499, and two assigned respectively to Salamanca and Valencia around or after 1500.[77] The only Italian edition of this kind which survives from the 15th century is a rewriting of the *Auctores octo* by the Spanish humanist Andreas Guterrius. It includes also a version of the *Aesopus moralisatus* and it was published in Venice in 1491 with the title of *Libros minores*.[78] The apparently limited popularity in print of this compilation in Italy, in comparison with the many editions printed elsewhere in

[74] Part of the commentary is edited in WHEATLEY 2000, pp. 212-17 on the basis of the edition printed in Lyon by Jean de Vingle in 1495/96 (ISTC ia01183300).

[75] ISTC nos. ia00144400; ia00144600; ia00144800; ia00145000; ia00145500; ia00146400; ia00146600; ia00146800; ia00147000; ia00147100.

[76] See WHEATLEY 2000, p. 65 who quotes GEHL 1993, p. 111. More on the «Grecia disciplinarum» commentary will be said in section II.48 of this study.

[77] ISTC nos. ia01181600, ia01183850, ia01184000, ia01184300, ia01184550, ia01184500. The first extant Spanish edition of this kind was printed in Burgos in 1496 by Friedrich Biel from Basel (Fadrique de Basilea). Scholars usually credit Biel for having introduced movable-type printing in Burgos, with the edition of the *Grammatica Latina* by the Spanish humanist Andreas Guterrius that he issued in March 1485 (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 12 Mar. 1485; ISTC ig00732500). Incidentally, Guterrius was also the author of the only Italian edition of the kind of the *Auctores octo* which survives from the 15th century, as will be said below.

[78] ISTC ia01183800, n° 46 in the *Catalogue*. See more on the *Libros minores* in sections II.36 and II.37.

Europe in the same period, should certainly be put in relationship with the disregard of humanistic scholars for the medieval model of education, moral and knowledge represented by compilations such as the *Auctores octo*. Since Giovanni Boccaccio's times, the authors which were included in the *Auctores octo* were considered «…opuscula parva nec ullam antiquitatis dulcedinem sapientia»[79].

With the spread of Humanism and the renewed interest of scholars in the features and qualities of the languages used by classical authors in contrast with medieval ones, the *Aesopus moralisatus,* in particular, was looked down upon for the poor quality of its Latin: «Verum *a Romulo quodam, ut dicitur, translatus* est in carmen nulla venere et lepore, musis scilicet et gratiis repugnantibus, ubi puritas quoque verborum desideratur, unde cavendus est et non legendus».[80] Supporting these ideas, in the first fifty years of the 15th century several well-known scholars, such as Guarinus, Rinucius Aretinus, Lorenzo Valla and others, engaged in the debate on the relationship between the Greek and the Latin cultures.

These contrasts were particularly intense in years when the contacts and the relationship between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches were a focus of the Council of Florence (1431-1445), one of the main topics being the possibility of a reunion of the Orthodox and Catholic churches. In this context, going back to classical sources, among which there was Aesop, and avoiding their medieval reworkings, represented for the Western scholars of the time the most effective way to understand and discover the secular Greek cultural identity, in some cases with the ultimate objective of re-elaborating it in the expressive forms of Latin culture.

However, Guterrius' perspective was slightly different and the compilation he had created, possibly drawing from the same sources as the *Auctores octo,* but leaving out some of the texts

[79] From the letter to Iacopo Pizziniga, dated 1371; see AVESANI 1967, pp. 18-19 for reference and further bibliography.

[80] This was the opinion of the German humanist Heinrich Bebel, expressed in his *Opusculumqui auctores legendi sint novitiis ad comparandam eloquentiam et qui fugiendi* printed in 1504 (see AVESANI 1967, p. 19).

which were included there, while adding new ones in return, projected his work more towards a humanistic and modern cultural landscape, rather than towards a medieval one.[81]

Out of the thirty-seven editions which are recorded by ISTC as printed in Germany, the collection of Aesopian texts translated and edited by Steinhöwel and printed by Johann Zeiner in Ulm between 1476 and 1477 deserves special attention for the impact it had on later Aesopian production all over Europe. Zeiner's edition was reprinted thirteen times in Germany alone, mainly in Augsburg but also in Magdeburg and Cologne.[82] Notably, the Ulm edition printed by Zeiner has been recognized by scholars as the only one effectively bilingual, since all the later ones only include either the German or the Latin versions of the texts, such as the edition published in Augsburg by Gunther Zeiner in 1478 - which also included the German translation of Leonardus Aretinus' novella *De duobus amantibus* by Nikolaus von Wyle - or the Latin-only version printed, also in Augsburg, by Anton Sorg around 1483.[83]

20th-century scholarship agrees in considering Steinhöwel's Aesop as a «classic example of a late 15th-century process, which was to open a new chapter in literary history: the transition from the medium "manuscript" to that of the printed book».[84] In particular, it has been noted how Steinhöwel as an editor showed a remarkable ability in adapting to the new cultural situation where books were no longer copied for a specifically targeted audience, when not directly commissioned from a patron to the scribe or the scribal workshop. By the third quarter of the 15th century people involved in the production of books - printers, editors and booksellers, but also illustrators and woodcutters - were confronted with a vast and diverse audience made of anonymous readers. In this context, Steinhöwel managed to put together a collection which could meet the demands and the preferences of the general public, including the popular fables in elegiac couplets of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* but also of a more scholarly oriented category of

[81] See more on this in sections II.36 and II.37.
[82] ISTC nos. ia00119000; ia00120000; ia00120300; ia00120500; ia00121000; ia00121200; ia00121400; ia00121600; ia00121800 (all printed in Augsburg); ia00120500; ia00120600 (both printed in Strassburg); ia00122400, ia00122600 (both printed in Magdeburg); ia00123000 (printed in Cologne).
[83] ISTC nos. ia00119000 and ia00112000. See CARNES 1986, pp. 4-5 and GRIFFANTE 1994, pp. 330-31.
[84] See HOLZBERG 1999, p. 240 in reviewing PAPADEMETRIOU 1997.

readers, who might have been interested in texts such as Rinucius Aretinus' translation of the *Vita Aesopi* and of the fables, or in the fables which were newly edited and translated by Steinhöwel himself.[85] This operation of establishing a canon of the Aesopic materials was regarded by scholars as having been oriented towards humanistic values. In this respect, Steinhöwel's work has been defined «humanistic in the sense that it implied a rudimentary appreciation of the literary and philological sophistication of the Italian humanists» but also, and possibly more poignantly, for the extent and nature of his editorial work.[86] Furthermore, the presence of a German translation throughout and the development of a complex programme of illustrations to accompany all the texts show the editor's intention of always taking different sorts of readers through all the texts included in the collection, without depriving the more cultivated ones of the possibility of accessing the Latin sources directly.

Another group of Aesopian editions printed in Germany is that witnessing the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by the *accessus* and commentary beginning: «Graecia disciplinarum mater…». The first edition of this kind is attributed to Gerardus Ten Raem and assigned by scholars to 1478, possibly printed in Cologne.[87] Other editions were printed in the following years in Cologne and Augsburg, Hagenau and Strassburg. As it will be seen below, this extensive tradition was also received by the Italian press in the late 15th century, as two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* with this commentary came out in Brescia respectively in 1495 and 1497, both in the types of Bernardinus de Misintis.[88]

Extant Aesopian incunable editions printed in the Netherlands and in Belgium are not many and can be essentially divided into two main categories. Around 1485 the Greek-to-Latin translation of a selection of fables by Laurentius Valla was printed, probably in Deventer by Jacobus de Breda.[89] As seen above, the text was circulating widely in print all over Europe by the time, both alone and in combination with Poggius' *Facetiae* and Petrarch's *De viris illustribus,* as part of the

[85] These considerations are based on DICKE 1994, pp. 293-319.
[86] See LENAGHAN 1968, p. 2, where these considerations are explained further.
[87] ISTC ia00128800.
[88] ISTC nos. ia00144000 and ia00144200. The commentary will be analysed in section II.48.
[89] ISTC ia00104800.

French collection examined above. Four more editions listed in ISTC were issued before the beginning of the 16th century, all signed or attributed to Breda and most likely produced in the same city. The text was printed also by Peter van Os in Zwolle around 1494-1495.[90]

Valla's translation alone was also printed in Antwerp in two editions dated 1496 and c. 1500, but also in Spain and Germany.[91] At least three editions were published in Valencia, with the first one printed around 1475 and two more printed in 1495, one most likely in Burgos, and another four between Lérida, Salamanca and Pamplona. The German edition was issued in Erfurt in 1500.[92]

The other group of editions printed in the Netherlands is a reproduction, or sometimes a selection, of Steinhöwel's collection, the first extant edition of which appeared in Antwerp in 1485, printed by Gerard Leeu, containing only the vernacular text in Dutch, presumably derived from that trend seen above of printing only either the Latin or the vernacular version of Steinhöwel's compilation.[93] This selection of texts in Dutch was printed again by Hendrick Eckert in Delft in 1498.[94] In the meantime, Gerard Leeu had also printed a Latin-only edition of the same texts, again derived from Steinhöwel's, in Antwerp in 1486.[95]

The only three extant incunable editions of Aesopian fables printed in England all relate to William Caxton, who had established his printing shop in London in 1472, after practising as a printer and learning the art in Bruges and Cologne.[96] As for his edition of Aesop, Caxton derived both the structure and the text from Macho's French rewriting of Steinhöwel's Aesop, only including the vernacular text and providing the English translation himself. In particular, scholars have identified the basis of Caxton's translation in a now-lost edition probably printed in Lyon in 1482, and attributed to the so called 'Printer of the *Abusé en cour*'; nothing but a fragment of this

[90] ISTC ia00107400.
[91] ISTC nos. of the editions of Valla's translation of the *Fabulae* printed in Deventer are ia00105000; ia00107500; ia00108000; ia00108200; those of editions printed in Antwerp: ia00105100 ia00108450
[92] ISTC ia00108400.
[93] ISTC ia00116900.
[94] ISTC ia00117000.
[95] ISTC ia00114000.
[96] The most important scholarly contribution and fundamental references on Caxton and his significance for the development of printing in Europe are all provided in BLAKE 2004 in the *ODNB*, available online. For Caxton's edition of Aesop in particular the standard reference remains LENAGHAN 1967.

edition remains today.[97] The programme of 187 illustrations is also derived from the French and German examples. After the *editio princeps,* which was printed in Westminster in May 1484, two more editions are assigned to London before 1500, both signed by the Normandy-born printer, bookbinder and bookseller Richard Pynson.[98] However, Caxton's translation and collection encountered a large success throughout the whole 16th and the first half of the 17th century.[99]

[97] See *BMC* XI, pp. 153-55.

[98] ISTC of the *editio princeps* is ia00117500. The two editions signed by Pynson were dated respectively to the years 1492-94 (ISTC ia00118000) and 1500-1501 (ia00118100).

[99] Two editions were printed in the 17th century, respectively in 1617 and 1624 (see HALE 1972, p. 124).

⌘ *Chapter II*

«Qui si tractano le fabule di Exopo»: texts included in Italian 15th-century printed Aesopian editions

The creative tendency of classical and later authors of assembling each one's own selection of fables dates back to early-medieval and Byzantine scribes, readers and writers. It did not stop with Humanism, and neither did it with the advent of movable-type printing. On the contrary, scholars continued throughout the whole 15th century to create their own collections of fables, picking and translating from different sources, and several of the first printers and editors show a high level of autonomy in choosing among different collections to print and in combining them with a wide range of paratextual material.

This thesis is not primarily concerned with the theoretical bases for the reconstruction of the *corpus,* nor does it question the originality of the texts, mainly fables, to assess whether they can be presumed to have been directly narrated by Aesop, assuming that he ever existed. On the contrary, this study focuses exclusively on those, among the texts linked to the name and authority of Aesop in the 15th century, which were included in Italian early-printed editions, in order to assess how the introduction of printing influenced their production and circulation. In this respect, my point of view builds on Ben Edwin Perry's, that the task of a modern scholar studying Aesopian texts «is not primarily to distinguish what Aesop presumably said from what he probably did not say, either in words or in substance, but to put before his readers […] a useful repertory of the materials and traditions, however fictitious, that have been associated with Aesop or his style within arbitrary chosen limits, either of time and place or of authors and texts».[100]

[100] See PERRY 1952, p. IX.

In this chapter, all texts included in Italian editions are listed below in chronological order of appearance in print. For each text details on author, title, language, form (prose or poetry), metre (if poetry), and a transcription of the *incipit* and *explicit* are given. Depending on whether a modern critical edition of the texts is available or not, *incipits* and *explicits* are provided according either to the most recent critical edition or, when it is not available, to the earliest surviving printed edition.[101] When a modern critical edition is available, it is quoted in square brackets after the *explicit*.

A separate section is dedicated to each text, where its textual features, content, and circumstances of production and transmission are synthetically described. Further, for each text I provided two separate lists of witnesses: one including all the known surviving manuscripts transmitting it, the second one listing all the Italian editions of Aesopian texts printed before 1501 in which the text appears. Each textual unit is analysed separately, e.g. introductory letters are analysed separately from the collection or translation they introduce.[102]

This systematic and comparative analysis on the content of Italian Aesopian editions has never been conducted before. Its aim is to shed new light not only on the circumstances of production and circulation of the main narrative compilations, i.e. the collections of fables and the *Vita Aesopi* in their multiple forms, but also on lesser-known accompanying textual units such as dedicatory letters, abridgements, short poems, editorial prologues and insertions, etc. The texts included in this second category constitute interesting and unexplored objects of analysis in themselves and represent a necessary counterpart better to understand the production, circulation in print and the reception of the main Aesopian compositions.

For the information concerning the manuscript tradition of each text, and particularly for the number, shelfmarks and dates of surviving manuscripts, I relied on the surveys included in modern critical editions. In cases where no such source was available, as it is the case of

[101] In order to facilitate comprehension, when transcribing directly from incunable editions I have usually normalised the use of punctuation and capital letters, and expanded abbreviations: see the Editorial note to the *Catalogue*.

[102] The only exception to this organisation is the compilation of the *Libri minores* (section II.38 below), which, although being composed of a small collection of separate texts, was examined as a whole, mainly owing to space constraints. This choice, however, mirrors the intention of the 15th-century editor of the compilation.

Omnibonus Leonicenus' translation of the fables, I researched it myself with the help of fundamental sources such as KRISTELLER 1992, BERTALOT 2004, and other repertories and library catalogues, including digital ones such as *Manus online* and the *ENTG – Ente nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica.*[103]

Although the manuscript transmission is not the main focus of this thesis, I consider these lists necessary to provide an immediate and concise insight into the extent of the manuscript circulation of each text, its period and its survival. This information has direct bearings when compared to the printed editions.

[103] For the two online repertories see https://manus.iccu.sbn.it// and http://www-3.unipv.it/entg/.

⌘ II.1 Omnibonus Leonicenus, *Dedicatory letter* to Iohannes Franciscus Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Respicienti mihi aetatis pristinae…»; expl.: «…viro id omne contribuas».[104]

This text was conceived as a dedicatory letter and a prefatory introduction to Omnibonus Leonicenus' (1412-1474) translation of the *Fabulae*. The recipient of the letter, and dedicatee of the work, was born in 1395 and was Marquess of Mantua from 1407 to 1444. He had close links with the Venetian political and cultural environment: not only was his education shaped by the patronage of his uncle Carlo Malatesta, *capitano generale* of the Venetian army since 1412, but he became *capitano generale* himself in 1434. This letter portrays Iohannes Franciscus as a great military leader but also as a cultivated man, passionate about literary arts and history, and as a dedicated father. In the celebration of his qualities, he is compared to the great and wise men of the past, and in particular to Philip of Macedonia, who wanted his son Alexander to be raised and schooled by Aristotle. Iohannes Franciscus' two sons, Ludovico and Carlo, born respectively in 1412 and around 1415, were taught by Victorinus Feltrensis and undoubtedly among the most illustrious pupils at his school at Ca' Gioiosa in Mantua, which was established in 1423 in one of the buildings belonging to the Gonzaga court.[105]

The author of this letter, born in Lonigo in 1412 was exactly of the same age as the elder of Iohannes Franciscus' sons, and was like them a pupil of Victorinus until 1433, when he moved to Basel and on his return settled in Vicenza, where he started working as a private tutor himself.[106] In the late 1430s he was serving the Visconti family, together with his former fellow pupil Ludovico Gonzaga. His whole life was then devoted to the education of children and some chancery commitments in between the Veneto and Lombardy area, particularly in Mantua, Vicenza, Treviso and Venice. His close relationship with the Gonzaga court is witnessed by the

[104] The text is recorded in BERTALOT 2004, II/2 20074 .

[105] On education in northern Italy during the Humanism and early Renaissance period, fundamental contributions are included in GARIN 1958 as well as in GIANNETTO 1981. See also CORTESI 2010, pp. 607-35 for a focus on the books in use at Ca' Gioiosa.

[106] Information on Leonicenus' biography are based on the *DBI* record by BALLISTRERI 1971 with further bibliography. See also BERRIGAN 1980, pp. 85-87 for a reconstruction of the textual history of Leonicenus' work and GRIFFANTE 1994 pp. 324-35.

fact that in 1449 he became the personal tutor of Ludovico Gonzaga's son Federico, officially inheriting Rambaldoni's position at Ca' Gioiosa.[107]

Manuscripts:
Berlin, SBB – PK, Hamilton 7 (15th cent.); London, BL, Harley MS 6814 (15th cent.); Burgo de Osma, Archivo, 37 (15th cent.); New Haven (CT), Beinecke Libr., 6611 (15th cent.); Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr., ms 1 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., L 56 sup. (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., S 7 sup. (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. XI 2 (3924) (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1223 (paper, miscellany, 15th cent.); Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4° (14th/15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Lat. 8510 (15th cent.); Cambridge, Fitz. Mus., McClean 152 (1461).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Venice: Christoph Valdarfer, c. **1470/71**] (ISTC ia00108500), Latin;
[Brescia]: Baptista Farfengus, **10 July 1492** (ISTC ia00108600), Latin.

II.2 Omnibonus Leonicenus, translation of Aesop's *Fabulae* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Vulpes et aquila amiciciam...»; expl.: «...benefactoribus suis officere videmus».[108]

This translation was probably concluded by Leonicenus around 1430, during his late years as a pupil of Victorinus Feltrensis, and has to be put in relation with at least three other Aesopian translations, all completed around the same years, between 1422 and the early 1430s, and all somehow related to two main teaching and mentoring figures of the time, Victorinus and Victorinus' own teacher Guarinus. In the same period, at least two other pupils of Guarinus, Hermolaus Barbarus and Laurentius Valla, and another pupil of Victorinus, Gregorius Corrarius, tried their hand with the translation of Aesopian apologues. For this reason, the two schools have been identified by scholarship as two major centres of Aesopian diffusion.[109] The manuscript tradition of Omnibonus' translation can be divided into two branches. The first is represented by manuscript BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1223, which at the leaves 73r-87r contains only forty apologues

[107] For an updated bibliography see ACCAME 2016.
[108] The text is recorded in BERTALOT 2004, II/2 24757 but does not have a modern edition.
[109] See FILOSA 1952, pp. 75-76, FINCH 1972, pp. 127-32, FINCH 1973, pp. 44-48, BERRIGAN, 1977, BERRIGAN 1978, pp. 141-48 and BERRIGAN 1980, pp. 85-87. Both Barbarus and Valla's translations consist of thirty-three fables, Barbarus' one being dedicated to the humanist and bibliophile Ambrosius Traversarius. Correr translated sixty fables, afterwards reduced to fifty-three, and dedicated them to his brother. See BERRIGAN 1977. Valla's translation of the fables had a considerable circulation in print in Italy and Europe and will be considered separately further in this thesis.

preceded by the dedicatory letter treated above. The second branch includes a larger number of fables, increasing from forty to 124, and is witnessed by the majority of the manuscript sources and by the only two known 15th-century printed editions.[110] In the past, this division has been interpreted by scholars as evidence of two successive stages of composition in Leonicenus' work, i.e. a preliminary form of the translation, including only forty fables and corresponding to the text witnessed by BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1223, and a final, more complete stage of the work. On this subject, however, I agree with Giuseppina Giunta in regarding Ottob. Lat. 1223 not as a witness of a first stage of the composition, but rather as an anthology in which only some of the fables, extracted from another existing source, were collected.[111]

As for the Greek source of the translation, it was identified by Berrigan with manuscript BAV, Barb. gr. 105.[112] More recently, Giunta has suggested that the Greek source of Omnibonus might be identified with a manuscript very close to Milan, Ambr., A 59 Sup, a witness of the fables in the *Accursiana* redaction copied by Petrus Creticus de Retimna, a scribe active at the school of Victorinus Feltrensis during the first years of the 15th century.[113] Aesop's fables were not, however, the only Greek-to-Latin translation completed by Leonicenus. A number of manuscripts witness his translations from Plutarch' *Vita Camilli,* Iohannes Chrysostomus' *De virtute et vitio ecloga,* Photius, etc.[114] His translations of Athanasius and Xenophon were printed in 1482 and around 1501 respectively.[115] In the first years of printing, though, he seems to have been more known for his commentaries on a wide variety of Latin texts, from Cicero to Lucan and Valerius Maximus, and for the composition of a series of elementary rhetorical and metrical

[110] As pointed out by PERRY 1936, pp. 204-17, 127 is also the number of fables contained in the pristine form of the *Accursiana recensio* (see GIUNTA 2011, p. 206).

[111] See GIUNTA 2011, pp. 199-200, in contrast with BERRIGAN 1980, pp. 85-87. Giunta, however, did not exclude the possibility of a progressive development of the textual form of the translation; her conclusion on the role of ms BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1223 is supported by the analysis of the features and of the value of the manuscript witnesses as well as by the demonstration of the importance, in the cultural context in which Leonicenus was operating, of the *urform* of the *Accursiana recensio*, counting 127 fables. This circumstance will be explained in further detail in section II.16.

[112] See BERRIGAN 1980, p.86.

[113] See GIUNTA 2011, pp. 200-14.

[114] Some of these manuscripts are listed in the corresponding record of ENTG.

[115] ISTC nos. ia01172000 and ix00002000.

treatises (*De arte metrica*; *De octo partibus orationis*; *De laudibus eloquentiae*), which seem to have known quite a large circulation particularly in the early 1470s, when the author was still alive.[116]

The sequence of the fables is as follows:[117]

[116] ISTC registers a total of four editions where the *De arte metrica* appears on its own (nos. il00169300; il00169500; il0016970; il00170000) plus two of the *De octo partibus orationis* (il00173000; il00175500) and another three editions where the two works are printed together (il00174000; il00175000; il00176000). Only one edition survives of the *De verso heroico* (il00176500).

[117] I give here a transcription of the *incipits* from the first extant Italian edition, printed around 1470/1471 (ia0010850, nº 1 in the *Catalogue*), which has no printed titles. To help identifying the Greek fables, as well as those translated from Greek to Latin by Omnibonus, Rinucius and Valla, and to highlight the similarities between the collections, I give the number of each fable according to the Chambry index (CHAMBRY 1926), this reference being the one generally adopted by scholars such as PILLOLA 1993, PILLOLA 2003 and GIUNTA 2011.

OL1 'Vulpes et aquila amiciciam' (Ch3c);
OL2 'Luscinia in arbore sedens' (Ch8c);
OL3 'Vulpes et hircus' (Ch40e);
OL4 'Vulpes leonem anteam' (Ch42c);
OL5 'Catus gallum comedere' (Ch12d);
OL6 'Vulpes in vincula ceciderat' (Ch41b);
OL7 'Vulpes latratibus excitat canum' (Ch31c);
OL8 'Vulpes et crocodilus de generis' (Ch35c);
OL9 'Homo quidam, cum sibi forte domi capones essent' (Ch21c);
OL10 'Vulpes mimi cuiusdam lares ingressa' (Ch43c);
OL11 'Duo quidam homines docti, hic quidem carbones conficere' (Ch56c);
OL12 'Piscatores rete ad littora' (Ch23c);
OL13 'Vir quidam domo profectus' (Ch51c);
OL14 'Homo quidam egenus' (Ch45d);
OL15 'Vir quidam infoeliciter' (Ch50c);
OL16 'Piscatores venatum' (Ch22c);
OL17 'Ranae olim duae gurgitem colebant' (Ch68c);
OL18 'Senex e montibus ligna' (Ch78e);
OL19 'Anus quaedam Iunia dolens' (Ch87d);
OL20 'Agricola senior diem' (Ch83c);
OL21 'Vir quidam in agris hyberna' (Ch80d);
OL22 'Mulier anus gallinam' (Ch90c);
OL23 'Homo quidam lymphatici' (Ch178c);
OL24 'Duo iuvenes coquo' (Ch248c);
OL25 'Duo quidam homines acris' (Ch115c);
OL26 'Magna soricum vis' (Ch13c);
OL27 'Forte in unum bruta' (Ch38b);
OL28 'Thimum delphin' (Ch133c);
OL29 'Medicus aegrotum' (Ch135c);
OL30 'Auceps vincula' (Ch138d);
OL31 'Castor quadrupes' (Ch154b);
OL32 'Canis coquina' (Ch184b);
OL33 'Canis pro stabulo' (Ch185c);
OL34 'Canis et gallus sodalitium' (Ch181b);
OL35 'Vociferantem ranam' (Ch202c);
OL36 'Leo asinus' (Ch210c);
OL37 'Leo et ursa' (Ch210d);
OL38 'Vates in foro' (Ch234b);
OL39 'Formica sitiens' (Ch244e);
OL40 'Noctua rubus et ethya' (Ch251c);
OL41 'Quidam graviter languens' (Ch250c);
OL42 'Homo quidam lignatum' (Ch254c);
OL43 'Asinus olim servitii munus' (Ch274c);
OL44 'Auceps avibus laqueos' (Ch284c);
OL45 'Quidam viator multum' (Ch261c);
OL46 'Puer e scholis condiscipuli' (Ch297e);
OL47 'Pastor quidam pecudes' (Ch312c);
OL48 'Punica forte albaque mala' (Ch325c);
OL49 'Aspalax caecum animal' (Ch327c);
OL50 'Fuci perdicesque siti vehementer' (Ch330c);
OL51 'Plebs avium nobilitati' (Ch334c);
OL52 'Aper diu moram sub arbore' (Ch328c);
OL53 'Corydalus laqueo captus fortunam' (Ch170a);
OL54 'Cervi catulus genitorem' 238b);
OL55 'Convenere olim lepores' (Ch192d);
OL56 'Asinus equum foelicem' (Ch269b);
OL57 'Avarus quidam' (Ch345d);
OL58 'Anseres et grues' (Ch354c);
OL59 'Testudo aquilam precibus' (Ch352c);
OL60 'Pulex hominis pedi' (Ch357c);
OL61 'Cervus quidam alter o captus' (Ch106b);
OL62 'Cervus latratu canis' (Ch105c);
OL63 'Cervus canum hominumque' (Ch104b);
OL64 'Gallus olim simul' (Ch270c);
OL65 'Hortulani catulus' (Ch156b);
OL66 'Sus et canis gravis' (Ch342b);
OL67 'Sus et canis contentione' (Ch343b);
OL68 'Anguis et cancer' (Ch291b);
OL69 'Pastor silvam forte ingressus' (Ch315);
OL70 'Leo senior aegrotus' (Ch206);
OL71 'Mulier quaedam temulento' (Ch88);
OL72 'Mus murem pervicos' (Ignatius Diaconus, 8);
OL73 'Asinus leonis corio' (Ignatius Diaconus, 19);
OL74 'Quadrupedes olim et aves' (Ignatius Diaconus, 22);
OL75 'Vir dives anserem' (Ch174);
OL76 'Dives quidam ethiopem' (Ch11);
OL77 'Cornix et irundo quaenam (*sic*)' (Ch349);
OL78 'Brutalis inclusa' (Ch75b);
OL79 'Agricolae filius' (Ch173);
OL80 'Mulier vidua labore gaudens' (Ch89b);
OL81 'Venefica mulier' (Ch91b);
OL82 'Catus vulcani officinam' (Ch77c);
OL83 'Agricola terram ligone' (Ch84c);
OL84 'Duo quidam itineris' (Ch257b);
OL85 'Duae ranae' (Ch67a);
OL86 'Fures apiarium ingressi' (Ch236b);
OL87 'Alcione avis est' (Ch28);
OL88 'Piscator flumen ingressus' (Ch27b);
OL89 'Navigantibus mos erat' (Ch306b);
OL90 'Muscae siti laborantes' (Ch241b);
OL91 'Mercurius cognoscere volens'(Ch109b);
OL92 'Mercurius tiresiae divinandi' (Ch111b);
OL93 'Homo quidam geminos canis' (Ch176b);
OL94 'Vir quidam accepit' (Ch49b);
OL95 'Haedus in agris ovile' (Ch108c);
OL96 'Cancer littora petens' (Ch151b);
OL97 'Citharoeus ignobilis' (Ch157b);
OL98 'Fures magnae domus' (Ch159b);
OL99 'Cornix maxima in corvum' (Ch171b);
OL100 'Cornix hostiam palladi antiquo' (Ch172b);
OL101 'Corvus fame laborans' (Ch168);
OL102 'Pica columbarium ingressa' (Ch164b);
OL103 'Homo quidam' (Ch165);
OL104 'Iuppiter olim mendacii liquore' (Ch112);
OL105 'Iuppiter hominem plasmans' (Ch119b);
OL106 'Iuppiter olim nuptias' (Ch126b);
OL107 'Lupus canum morsibus' (Ch232b);
OL108 'Quodam tempore aquilarum' (Ch191a);
OL109 'Quae nunc formica est antiquitus agricola' (Ch242b);
OL110 'Noctua praeceps' (Ch252b);
OL111 'Viatores ignari locorum' (Ch259b);
OL112 'Silvestris asinus domesticus' (Ch265);
OL113 'Quodam tempore asini' (Ch263);
OL114 'Asinus leonis pelle' (Ch268);
OL115 'Asinus quidam sarcina' (Ch272);
OL116 'Homo quidam asinum' (Ch275);
OL117 'Asinus et vulpes' (Ch271);
OL118 'Avis quaedam serpentis' (Ch287);

OL119 'Camellus cumprimum visus' (Ch149);
OL120 'Serpens multis calcatus' (Ch292);
OL121 'Columba sitiens' (Ch302b);
OL122 'Columbarium divitis' (Ch303);
OL123 Filias dives pater geminas' (Ch311a);
OL124 'Pecudes per nemora pascebant' (Ch317c).

Manuscripts:
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Poet. et Philol. Q. 37 (15th cent.); London, BL, Harley MS 6814 (15th cent.); Burgo de Osma, Archivo, 37 (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. lat. 1223 (15th cent.); New Haven (CT), Beinecke Libr., 611 (15th cent.); Wien, Diözesanarchiv, Loc. U 4, N° 4954 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., A 22 sup. (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., L 56 sup. (1455); Milan, Ambr., S 7 sup. (15th cent.); Belluno, BC, 430 (15th cent.); Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4° (14th-15th cent.); Berlin, SBB – PK, Hamilton 7 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Fond Latin, Lat. 8510 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Fond Latin, Lat. 8517 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. XI 2 (3924 – 15th cent.); Cambridge, Fitz. Mus., McClean 152 (1461); Bologna, BU, 2749 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Venice: Christoph Valdarfer, c. **1470/71**] (ISTC ia00108500), Latin;
[Brescia]: Baptista Farfengus, **10 July 1492** (ISTC ia00108600), Latin.

⚜ II.3 [Pseudo – Gualtherius Anglicus], *Aesopus moralisatus* (Latin verse)

Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; expl.: «…dira venena nocent» [elegiac couplets; ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-195].

This collection in Latin elegiac couplets, dating to the late 12th century, represents one of the most famous and successful texts of medio-Latin literature, consisting mostly of a medieval rewriting of a series of prose fables, which were all well known to the audience of the time.[118] The most common sources for the majority of the fables included in the collection are those by Phaedrus, whose text the author of the *Aesopus moralisatus* probably knew through the mediation of the *Romulus*. Out of the more than sixty fables included, only five are without precedent in the *Romulus*, while twenty-three are missing from Phaedrus' collection.[119]

[118] The text was edited by HERVIEUX 1899, II, pp. 385- 426 and more recently by BUSDRAGHI 2005. One single 15th-century manuscript, i.e. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 185, was the object of the edition by WRIGHT 1998. For the dating of this work I follow MANN 2009, p. 11 n. 55, who notes that the text is quoted in Nigel of Longchamp's *Speculum stultorum,* a fact which establishes 1190 as the *terminus ante quem* for its production.
[119] Nos. AM22; AM59; AM60; AM61; AM62 do not seem to have any content correspondence in the *Romulus* while nos. AM3; AM12; AM17; AM18; AM19; AM20; AM22; AM28; AM29; AM30; AM41; AM42; AM43; AM44; AM45; AM46; AM52; AM53; AM55; AM59; AM60; AM61; AM62 do not have a correspondent in Phaedrus (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 16-17, *Tavola* 1).

The medieval origin of the collection finds further evidence in its stylistic and lexical adherence to the main treatises of style and composition of the time.[120] The basis for this text is very likely to have been a prose version of the same fables, most probably very close to those contained in ms. London, BL, Burney 59 (*Romulus Burneianus*), dating back to the 10th century.[121]

This collection is divided into a *Prologus* and a *Tractatus*, the latter consisting in the actual succession of apologues.[122] The former consists of a metrical prologue, inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit…», in the style of the medieval *accessus ad auctorem*. The texts mainly refer to the double nature of the text of the fables, which includes both the fruit and the flower, the former metaphorically indicating the central meaning of the narration and its moral implications while the latter refers to its refined poetical linguistic form. The didactic intent of this work was not limited to the transmission of simple and easily understandable moral values, but was also concerned with the acquisition of basic grammar and composition rules, as proved by the frequent use of rhetorical figures.[123]

The majority of manuscripts witnessing this collection present it as consisting of either sixty-one or sixty-three fables, the former group ending with the apologue 'De cive et equite', the latter group containing the addition of the two fables 'De capone et accipitre' and 'De pastore et lupo'.[124] Among the oldest manuscript witnesses, all dating back to the 13th century, four manuscripts contain up to sixty-one fables and three have sixty-three. The situation is similar for 15th-century manuscripts, where seven manuscripts witness up to sixty-one fables and seven manuscripts contain sixty-three fables. The manuscript tradition was divided by scholars into two

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120 In particular, the author who composed the verses appears to have known quite well Mathieu de Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, a 12th-century series of prescriptions on how a perfect verse should be structured (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 21-23).

121 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 19-20 and VÁMOS 2013, pp. 187-91.

122 These definitions are witnessed in manuscript London, BL, Add. MS 33780, Italian, dating from the 14th century, which contains a Latin commentary on the *Aesopus moralisatus* (see WHEATLEY 2000, p. 218).

123 See MANN 1986, p. 199.

124 This and all the information on the structure and characteristics of the manuscript tradition is based on BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 26. Busdraghi counts the fables as sixty (plus one) or sixty-two (plus one), fable 21 being considered as a single text divided in two subsequent units. For the sake of simplicity, I consider them here as two different fables, as they also correspond to two different fables (numbered 21 and 22 respectively) in the *Esopo zuccarino* (see below). As will be seen in section III.1 of this study, according to Busdraghi small groups of manuscripts also witness extra fables such as AM65 'De mercatore et uxore', also known as 'De viro et moecha'. The fable was published in HERVIEUX 1894, II, pp. 370-73.

branches according to the number of fables which they contain: those containing sixty-one fables are considered to be part of branch α while those with sixty-three fables form branch β. The recent editor of the *Aesopus,* Paola Busdraghi, has also identified a series of fundamental textual variants, which reflect this distinction, among which the three below were considered particularly significant:

1) fable AM49.12: α] «ad primum cura **timoris** opus»; β] «ad primum cura **salutis** opus»;
2) fable AM49.17: α] «hanc ligat amplexu fractumque ligurit amoris»; β] «hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris»;
3) fable AM39.10: α] «esse solent vite **consona** verba sue»; β] «esse solent vite **dissona** verba sue».[125]

The most recent scholarly contribution on the debated authorship of this text came from Cataldo Roccaro, who in a 1998 essay suggested the possible identification of the author of this text with Walterus 'Panormitanae sedis archiepiscopus', possibly of British origin and tutor of William II.[126] Prior to this hypothesis, different conjectures had been made through the centuries on the basis of stylistic attribution as well as of more or less plausible and identifiable authors mentioned in manuscripts. After having been published in anonymous form by the Swiss Isaac Nevelet in 1610 the collection was normally referred to by scholarship as Anonymus Neveleti, a conventional definition, which remained in use until the first half of the 19th century.[127] It was Leopold Hervieux, on the basis of what is written in the note to the prologue preceding the text in ms Wien, ÖNB, 303, dating from the second half of the 13th century, who attributed it to the High Chancellor of Sicily and Bishop of Palermo from 1168 to his death in 1193, under the reign of

[125] In this case the variant «dissona» not only distinguishes branch α from branch β of the tradition. It also distinguishes a sub-group within the α branch, containing sixty-one fables but apparently sharing some characteristics with β. No examples of these groups seem to have been followed in the in-print tradition so I will not analyse this sub-level of variants further. However, in describing the editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* in the *Catalogue*, I have regularly made reference to these three variants in order to provide at least a general assessment of the textual identity of each edition.
[126] See ROCCARO 1998, pp. 195-207.
[127] See NEVELET 1610.

King Henry II, and tutor of William II.[128] In the same essay, Roccaro highlighted how Hervieux's sources for this suggestion were merging the lives of two different historical figures into one. In particular, he distinguished the figure of Walter of Coutance, or Walter of Rouen, who was indeed a bishop and archbishop at the time, and served King Henry II and later King Richard I and King John on several diplomatic missions between England and France, from that of Gualterius Panormitanus, archbishop of Palermo from 1169 to 1190 and tutor, and later one of the closest counsellors of William II.[129]

This collection was extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages, as suggested by the high number of manuscripts still surviving today, and most probably it represented the source of many authors' knowledge of Aesop's fables.[130] The succession of the fables tends to be quite stable throughout the manuscript tradition, particularly in its older witnesses. This is the sequence as given by Paola Busdraghi:[131]

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[128] «Titulus ei est: Incipit Esopus*,* quod non fuit nomen compositoris, sed Waltherus». Other manuscripts testify to different attributions which have been interpreted over the course of time as possible variant versions of the same name. Referring to John Bale's 1559 repertory of English writers, HERVIEUX 1899, I, p. 449 also speculated that William himself could have been the actual translator of the *Romulus* at the beginning of the 1170s, as a literary exercise which was later revised and polished by his master. William's life has been re-traced in the 1970s by LOEWENTHAL 1972, pp. 75-82. On the Viennese manuscript see ORLANDI 1979, p. 281 and MUNARI 1981, II, pp. 537-39, who identified it with another manuscript from Melk. The question of attribution has been analysed in depth by DARHEIM 1893, pp. 1-8.

[129] See ROCCARO 1998, pp. 195-2007 and. BISANTI 2002, pp. 108-11. An updated version of the biography of Walter, archbishop of Palermo was published in *DBI* by DELLE DONNE 2003 and seems to reject the attribution of the collection of fables to this historical figure. To my knowledge, no further enquiries have been made upon this hypothesis and even the last editor of the *Aesopus* in verse*,* Paola Busdraghi, seems not to take a decisive position on this topic in her critical edition, which is entitled *L'*Esopus *attribuito a Gualtiero Anglico*. For the scope of this research, there would be no point in venturing further in the intricate debate around the attribution of this collection of fables; for this reason, I will henceforth simply refer to it as *Aesopus moralisatus.*

[130] Among others, Dante mentions the fables 'De iuvene et Thayde', and 'De hirundine et avibus' in *Conv.* IV, 30, 49, *Inf.* XXII, 4-9 and *Par.* XVII, 27, very likely on the basis of the *Aesopus moralisatus* (see AVESANI 1965, p. 455 n. 1, with bibliography).

[131] The star (*) indicates fables which are not listed in Busdraghi's critical edition, but which appear in some of the incunable editions examined. These are numbered on the basis of their chronological order of appearance in the Italian editions analysed in this study.

AM1 ‘De gallo et iaspide’;
AM2 ‘De lupo et agno’;
AM3 'De mure et rana’;
AM4 'De cane et ove';
AM5 'De cane et carne’;
AM6 'De ove et capra et iuvenca et leone';
AM7 'De femina et fure;
AM8 'De lupo et grue’;
AM9 'De duabus canibus’;
AM10 'De homine et colubro';
AM11 'De aselo et apro';
AM12 'De urbano mure et rustico';
AM13 'De vulpe et aquila';
AM14 'De aquila et testudine’;
AM15 'De vulpe et corvo';
AM16 'De leone et apro';
AM17 'De cane et asino';
AM18 'De leone et mure';
AM19 'De milvo et matre’;
AM20 'De hirundine et lino';
AM21 'De attica terra et rege';
AM22 'De ranis et ydro';
AM23 'De accipitre et columbis';
AM24 'De fure et cane';
AM25 'De lupo et sue’;
AM26 'De terra et mure';
AM27 'De agno et lupo';
AM28 'De cane vetulo';
AM29 'De leporibus et ranis';
AM30 'De lupo et edo';
AM31 'De rustico et angue';
AM32 ‘De cervo et ove’;
AM33 ‘De musca et calvo’;
AM34 ‘De vulpe et ciconia’;
AM35 'De lupo et capite’;
AM36 'De graculo et pavone’;
AM37 'De mula et musca';
AM38 'De musca et formica';
AM39 'De lupo et vulpe';
AM40 'De rustico et mustela';
AM41 'De rana et bove';
AM42 'De leone et pastore';
AM43 'De equo et leone';
AM44 'De equo et asino’;
AM45 'De quadrupedibus et avibus’;
AM46 'De philomena et accipitre';
AM47 'De lupo et vulpe’;
AM48 ‘De cervo et canibus’;
AM49 ‘De viro et uxore';
AM50 'De iuvene et Thayde';
AM51 'De patre et filio';
AM52 'De vipera et lima';
AM53 'De lupis et ovibus’;
AM54 'De secure et luco';
AM55 'De cane et lupo';
AM56 'De ventre et membris';
AM57 'De simia et vulpe';
AM58 'De institore et asello';
AM59 'De cervo et bove';
AM60 De Iudeo et pincerna';
AM61 'De cive et equite';
AM62 'De capone et accipitre';
AM63 'De pastore et lupo';
*AM64 ‘De pueris ludentibus’;
*AM65 ‘De mercatore et eius uxore’;
*AM66 ‘De patre et eius filio’;
*AM67 ‘De leone lupo et vulpe’;
*AM68 ‘De rustico et plutone’.

An updated list of the 190 surviving manuscript witnesses for this collection can be found in BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 203-24.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Mantua: Petrus Adam de Michaelibus], **1472** (ISTC ia00123300), Latin;
[Mantua: Johannes Vurster and Thomas Septemcastrensis, **1472**] (ISTC ia00123400), Latin;
Rome: Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, **6 Nov. 1473** (ISTC ia00128450), Latin;
[Milan: Antonius Zarotus, c. **1474**] (ISTC ia00123450), Latin;
Messina: Heinricus Alding c. **1474** (ISTC ia00128500), Latin;
Rome, Wendelinus de Wila, **6 Jul. 1475** (ISTC ia00128600), Latin;
Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis, **16 Nov. 1476** (ISTC ia00123500), Latin;
[Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, c. **1476**] (ISTC ia00123520), Latin;
Bologna: Balthasar Azoguidus, **1477** (ISTC ia00123550), Latin;
Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, **1479** (ISTC ia00123600), Latin;
[Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, c. **1480**] (ISTC ia00123650), Latin;
[Milan: Antonius Zarotus, c. **1480**] (ISTC ia00123700), Latin;
Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis, **8 May 1481** (ISTC ia00123800), Latin;
Modena: Dominicus Rocociolus, Thomas Septemcastrensis and Johannes Franciscus de Coronibus, for Dominicus Rocociolus, **19 May 1481** (ISTC ia00123900), Latin;
Parma: [Andreas Portilia], **23 May 1481** (ISTC ia00124000), Latin;
[Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, c. **1481**] (ISTC ia00124500), Latin;
Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, **11 Apr. 1482** (ISTC ia00124700), Latin;
[Vicenza: Jacobus de Dusa, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00124800), Latin;
[Florence: Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, before **24 Oct. 1483**] (ISTC ia00125000), Latin;
[Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, about **1483-84**] (ISTC ia00125500), Latin;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin;
Brescia: Jacobus Britannicus, **2 Dec. 1485** (ISTC ia00126000), Latin;
[Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea, about **1485**] (ISTC ia00126400), Latin;
Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, **29 Sept. 1486** (ISTC ia00127000), Latin;
Parma: Angelus Ugoletus, **13 Apr. 1488**, (ISTC ia00103300), Latin;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **21 Aug. 1489** (ISTC ia00127500), Latin;
Venice: [Bernardinus Benalius], **23 Mar. 1491** (ISTC ia01183800), Latin;
Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, **16 Apr. 1493** (ISTC ia00128000), Latin;
[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis, for Angelus Britannicus, **26 Mar. 1495** (ISTC ia00144000), Latin;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **5 Sept. 1495** (ISTC ia00128200), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Mantegatiis, de Cassano, **20 Feb. 1496** (ISTC ia00128300), Latin;
[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis, **28 Sept. 1497** (ISTC ia00144200), Latin;
Florence, Antonio Tubini, Laurentius de Alopa, Venetus and Andrea Ghirlandi, for Piero Pacini [**28 Mar. 1500**] (ISTC ia00128400), Latin.[132]

[132] This count does not include the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* which I consider in this study as a different text although being based on the *Aesopus moralisatus* (see sections II.23-II.28).

⌘ II.4 Anonymous, abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose).

Inc.: «[E]sopus maximus fabularum scriptor philosophieque...»; expl.: «...operi suo imposuit».

This version of the *Vita* has been recognised by scholarship as an abbreviated and simplified rewriting of Rinucius Aretinus' *Commentarium* to his Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi*[133]. It combines essential episodes of Aesop's life, such as his origin, his stutter as a child and a young adult, his generosity and wisdom, the gift of loquacity given to him by the Goddess of Hospitality while he was asleep, with a series of elements which are based on the content of the *Prologus* to the *Aesopus moralisatus*. In particular, the text refers to the images of the flowers and the fruits, respectively standing for the amusement and the moral guidance: «suis equidem ex voluminibus flores ac etiam fructus colligere possunt. Flores enim ex fictis quibus maxime delectamur fructus vero ex eo quod sub fabulis denotatur».

Notably, the text also contains a reference to the order of the fables, which was meant to be alphabetical in a mentioned Greek source and is therefore impossible to follow in the subsequent Latin translation: «Graeco quidem sermone fabulas per ordinem alphabeti scribendo sequutus est quod latino fieri possibile non apparet». As will be seen below, this information copies the indication given by Rinucius Aretinus in the *Commentarium* to the readers of his translation of the fables.[134]

No manuscript witnesses of this abbreviated text are known, a fact which led scholars to suggest that the author might have been the editor of the first edition where this text appeared, i.e. Philippus de Lignamine.[135]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Rome: Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, **6 Nov. 1473** (ISTC ia00128450), Latin;
Rome: Windelinus de Wila **6 Jul. 1475** (ISTC ia00128600), Latin;

[133] See PILLOLA 1993, pp. 97-99. Rinucius' *Commentarium* and *Vita Aesopi* will be introduced and commented below in this chapter.
[134] More on this specific reference to the order of the fables will be said in section III.1.3 of this thesis.
[135] The edition is Rome: 6 November 1473 (ISTC ia00128450, nº in the *Catalogue*). For the attribution see PILLOLA 1993, p. 98.

⌘ II.5 Rinucius Aretinus, dedicatory *Preface* to his Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Novas nimirum merces...»; expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugelli» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 70].

Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos (1390-1459), at the time the Archbishop of Messina, had urged Rinucius Aretinus to translate Aesop's life around 1446.[136] The author, who was born in Castiglion Fiorentino, not far from Arezzo, must have been in his late forties at the time, and was already well known to the humanistic Italian environment for being the owner and importer of several Greek manuscripts from Constantinople and the Orient, as well as a scholar and teacher of classical subjects, and an experienced translator of Greek texts.[137] After spending the years of his cultural and literary training between Constantinople and Crete, in 1423 he returned to Italy in the company of Iohannes Aurispa to enter the Bolognese court of the papal legate Gabriel Condulmer, later to become Pope Eugenius IV (1431). After his return from the Orient, many scholars such as Ambrogio Traversari were trying to reach him to access some of the manuscripts he had brought back from his journey. Rinucius' relationships with humanists from the Veneto and, from 1424 onwards, with scholars from Rome and central Italy, must have been further strengthened by his position at Condulmer's court.[138] While in Rome he started teaching Greek and at the same time continued his work as a translator of Greek classical texts by authors such as Aristophanes, Plato, Lucian and Plutarch.

In this letter, Rinucius thanks Cerdá for having suggested that he should undertake the translation of the *Vita Aesopi,* a text which he found of great importance for its moral values: «Nam ex omnibus quae hactenus ex graecarum opulentia litterarum in Romanae orationis thesaurum his temporibus sunt translata nihil aeque utile vitae mortalium nec aeque appositum prosperis adversisque rebus quam dicta gestaque Aesopi, licet humilia sint, ferme comperietur».[139]

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136 On him, see the *DBI* record by STRNAD 1979.

137 For a detailed account of Rinucius' biography and works, see PILLOLA 1993, p. 51 with bibliography.

138 Condulmer left Bologna for Rome with his court in June 1424, following the order of Pope Martinus V (see PILLOLA 1993, p. 19).

139 For a detailed account of these events, with references to Rinucius' texts, see PILLOLA 1993, pp. 33-34.

While translating Aesop's life and fables, Rinucius had decided to dedicate his work to Tommaso Parentucelli, who took part in the Council of Florence, became Cardinal with the title of St Susanna in 1446 and was later elected Pope with the name of Nicholas V on 6 March 1447. This is reflected in this text being addressed to Parentucelli in some manuscripts. Nonetheless, the complete translation of both *Vita* and *Fabulae* must have taken Rinucius longer than he expected, so that when the work eventually came to an end, the election of the new Pope was not such a recent circumstance anymore, and the author changed his mind, possibly because of the minor literary character of the works. He eventually went back to Antonius Cerdá as the most suitable dedicatee, especially after he was made Cardinal in February 1448.

Manuscripts:
Bergamo, BC, Delta IV 26 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (3669 – 15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1536[140]; BAV, Lat. 5129 (15th cent.); San Daniele del Friuli, BC, 116 (15th cent.); Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4° (14th-15th cent.); Kassel, UB, Philos. 4° 6 (15th cent.); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Poet. et Philol. Q. 37. (15th cent.)[141]; Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R. I. 39; London, BL, Add. MS 11896 (15th cent.); Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131 (15th cent.); Madrid, BUCM, cod. 129 (15th cent.); Princeton (NJ), UL, Garrett 101; Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr., ms 1 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500), Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Marcus Roma, **25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, **3 Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

⌘ II.6 Rinucius Aretinus, *Argumentum* to the translation of the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi...»; expl.: «...suasque aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 71].

[140] In this manuscript the dedicatory letter is addressed to Pope Nicholas V, see PILLOLA 1993 p. 101.
[141] According to KRISTELLER 1992, III p. 708 in this manuscript the dedicatory letter is addressed to Pope Nicholas V.

In this very short, although detailed introduction to the *Vita Aesopi,* the author discusses the circumstances of his work when translating the text («…his longioribus noctibus simul cum Fabulis…») and of the criteria which guided him through it («… feci latinam ac romano sermone ita instructam ut sine molestia legi et cum facilitate possit intellegi»). Rinucius underlines the existence in Aesop's life of two fundamental periods: that of slavery and that of freedom, and points out how the episodes of the *Vita* themselves sometimes seem to resemble episodes from the fables.

This text focuses more on the literary, practical aspects of the translation and of its interpretation. The author leaves «legentium arbitro» as far as the historical credibility of text is concerned, relying on the idea that those who read «paulo accuratius» will understand the meaning and the moral and stylistic value of the text.

Manuscripts:
Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II 1 fol. 94 (16th cent.); London, BL, Add. MS 11896 (15th cent.); Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131 (15th cent.); Princeton (NJ), UL, Garrett 101 (15th cent.); Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr., ms 1 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (3669) (15th cent.); Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4° (14th-15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500), Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Marcus Roma**, 25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, **3 Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

II.7 Rinucius Aretinus, Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Qui per omnem vitam vite studiosissimus...»; expl.: «...eos qui mortis Esopi auctores fuerunt» [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp 6-38].[142]

[142] Österley's edition is based on Steinhöwel's compilation (see above section I.2).

This text is, chronologically, the second known translation of an anonymous Greek biography, up to then almost unknown to the Italian and European scholars and readers. It aimed to provide the audience with moral instructions on how to behave in different circumstances, always in the accessible and enjoyable literary form of a romance.[143] The Greek text of the *Vita Aesopi* survives in the oldest and most complete *recensio*, i.e. that of manuscript G (typified by manuscript *Cryptoferratensis* A 33); in an abridged version which is likely to have been produced during the Byzantine period, possibly around the reign of emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118), published by Westermann in 1845 (W); and in the version attributed to Maximus Planudes.[144] Rinucius' translation is based on a variant of the *Westermaniana* tradition of the *Vita.* As seen above, the work must have started around 1446, following the suggestions of Cerdá. In Rinucius' version, the text is not divided into episodes and is close to his translation of the fables in its stylistic features and in the way of approaching the Greek antigraph. In particular, the frequent substitution of subordination to coordination and of indirect to direct dialogues between the characters in the shift from Greek-to-Latin reveals the aspiration to a refined and polished literary work. Rinucius' approach to the Greek *Vita* shows an advanced level of confidence and a good knowledge of the text itself, epitomized by the case of the lacuna of the episode of the widow.[145] In this point of the text, Rinucius must have found a gap in his Greek source, which he ascribed to the fall of a page: «Hic quia deficit ut opinor carta una, ideo fabulam inchoatam et quae eam sequuntur scribere supersedi, alias scripturus si reperire quibo»[146]. This lacuna and other

[143] «…ex omnibus quae hactenus ex graecarum opulentia litterarum in Romanae orationis thesaurum his temporibus sunt translata nihil aeque utile vitae mortalium nec aeque appositum prosperis adversisque rebus quam dicta gestaque Aesopi, licet humilia sint, ferme comperietur. Quippe ea rerum series inest ut adversa quidem levet et prospera moduletur. Ioci vero ac cavilli multiplex varietudo animos languentes recreat et ad laboris confert cessationem» (see Rinucius Aretinus, *Argumentum* to the *Vita Aesopi,* in LOCKWOOD 1913*,* p. 70, lines 10-16). Another translation of the Greek text, possibly earlier than Rinucius' one, is witnessed, although incomplete, by manuscript Belluno, BC, ms 26 (leaves 48v-62v). This text seems not to have had any circulation in print and was edited by PERRY 1952*,* pp. 111-30 (see also. PILLOLA 1993*,* p. 51 n. 2).

[144] On the timing and possible reasons for the gradual substitution of the G tradition of the *Vita* with the simpler and narratively less detailed version of W, which Perry defines as an «early product of the Byzantine renaissance», see PERRY 1936, pp. 26-27.

[145] WESTERMANN 1845, p. 53 line 20 to p. 54 line 10.

[146] This marginal note can be found in at least five of the most ancient and reliable manuscripts according to Lockwood and Perry; manuscript Urbana (ILL), UL, X 881/A 3.Wb Lr does not witness the annotation, but the scribe left some blank space in correspondence of the lacuna, while ms Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131 adds the note: «hic deest aliquid». See LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 61 n. 2 and PERRY 1936, p. 57 n. 12. Perry also points out that this is

conjunctive variants link Rinucius' translation with manuscript BAV, Pal. Gr. 269 rather than to the rest of the W tradition. Nonetheless, the absence of a corpus of around ten fables in Rinucius' work, which can be instead found in Pal. Gr. 269, suggested to Perry that the manuscript used for translating the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* must have been copied from its same lost antigraph, rather than being one of its copies.[147]

Manuscripts:
Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R. I. 39; BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1536; Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131;[148] BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2112; Berlin, SBB – PK, Lat. oct. 171; Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. Lat. XI 105 (4645); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (3669); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1490 (15th cent.); BAV, Lat. 2495; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Poet. et Philol. Q. 37 (15th cent.); San Daniele del Friuli, BC, 116 (15th cent.); Arezzo, Bibl. Fraternita, 181 (15th cent.); Urbana (ILL), UL, X 881/A 3.Wb Lr. (15th cent.); London, BL, Add. MS 11896 (15th cent.); Wien, ÖNB, 9629; BAV, Urb. Lat. 226 (15th cent.); New Haven (CT), Beinecke Libr., 611 (15th cent.)[149]; Oxford, Bodl., Misc. Lat. e. 35 (15th cent.); Genève, BU, Lat. 155.[150]

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500) Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [c. **1477**] (ISTC ia00098000), Greek and Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 June 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus, **Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

probably the only lacuna that Rinucius was aware of, but it must not have been the only lacuna in his Greek antigraph, and lists another three major passages missing when comparing Rinucius' translation witht Westermann's critical edition.

147 See PERRY 1934, pp. 55-57.

148 These first three manuscripts were considered by Lockwood as the most reliable witnesses of the *Vita* and of Rinucius' work in general (see LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 60-61).

149 For a description of this manuscript, which is likely to have been copied from the edition printed in Rome by Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck in 1475 (ISTC ia00099500, nº 8 in the *Catalogue*) with interpolations from the edition [Milan], Bonus Accursius, [c. 1477] (ia00098000, nº 14 in the *Catalogue*) see PILLOLA 1993, p. 127 n. 19 (Pillola dates the Milan edition to 1480).

150 A first list of fifteen manuscripts (plus three descripted from print) was first given by LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 62-64 and then implemented by PERRY 1934, pp. 55-56 with four more manuscripts, one of which (Pesaro, Oliv., 41) is not a manuscript but a copy of a 15th-century printed edition included in a manuscript miscellany, as reported by KRISTELLER 1992, II, p. 63.

⌘ II.8 Rinucius Aretinus, *Commentarium* to his Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Fabulae* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, p. 136].

According to its most recent editor, a slightly modified version of this text is the first part of Rinucius' work to have circulated in print since it was inserted as an introduction to the *Aesopus moralisatus* in an edition printed in Rome by Iohannes Philippus de Lignamine in 1473.[151] The first half of the text synthesises in a few lines the most significant circumstances of Aesop's life, including the acquisition of the ability to speak and to invent stories: «sibi […] largita est loquelam, nam ab initio blactero fuit, sapientiamque ac variorum fabularum inventionem». The last part of the text focuses on the effectiveness of writing, through the use of animal characters, episodes and stories, that concern the human being. One last closing remark informs the reader of the loss of the original order of the fables, which followed the Greek alphabet, in the Latin translation.

Manuscripts:
Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (3669) (15th cent.); Verona, BCap, CLI (139) (15th cent.); Rome, Cas., 3571 (15th cent.); Berlin, SBB – PK, Lat. oct. 171; Augsburg, UB, II 1 fol. 94 (16th cent.); London, BL, Add. MS 11896 (15th cent.); Madrid, BUCM, cod. 129 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Plimpton Ms. 24; Princeton (NJ), UL, Garrett 101 (15th cent.); Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R. I. 39 (15th cent., possibly identified by Lockwood with the dedication copy given by Rinucius to Antonius Cerdá)[152]; BAV, Ottob Lat. 1536 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Lat. XI, 105 (4645) (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2112 (15th cent.); Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131 (15th cent.).

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500) Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [c. **1477**] (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus, **Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

[151] ISTC ia00128450; the text is described and commented upon in section II.4. See also PILLOLA 1993, p. 97.
[152] See LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 62 and PILLOLA 1993, p. 119.

⌘ II.9 Rinucius Aretinus, Greek-to-Latin translation of Aesop's *Fabulae* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Aquila et vulpe conflata inter se…»; expl.: «…nisi penitus obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337].

This translation comprises 100 fables and was composed by the author as a completion of his work on the *Vita Aesopi*, following Antonius Cerdá's suggestion: «Tu ipse saepius et frequenter me hortatus fuisti ut simul cum vita fabulas quoque traducerem».[153] Cerdá, who became cardinal with the title of St Chrysogonus during the first consistory of Pope Nicholas V, in February 1448, was also chosen by Rinucius as the dedicatee of the work.[154] According to scholarship the manuscript which served as a starting point for Rinucius' translation and which contained both the *Vita Aesopi* and the *Fabulae,* is lost. It is normally referred to by scholars as ρ.[155] Its content had to be quite similar, although more correct from the textual point of view, to that of the manuscript BAV, Pal. Gr. 269 (15th cent.), which is designated by the abbreviation Cb in Chambry's stemma and contains the *Vita* at leaves 219-257 and the fables at leaves 259-290.[156] Cb was classified by Perry as belonging to class II of Aesopian manuscripts, witnessing a shorter version of the *recensio Augustana.*[157] In particular, a key factor in establishing this relationship was the order of the fables: in Cb the order is alphabetical (according to the Greek alphabet). From two of the paratextual companions to Rinucius' translation, *i.e.* the *Commentarium* and the *Anacephaleosis*, we are informed explicitly that the order followed by the author in structuring his compilation of fables is the Greek alphabetical order, although it was lost because of the Latin

153 In manuscript Milan, Ambr., R 21 sup., which is also the hitherto only known witness of Guarinus' translation of Aesopian fables (leaves 162v-172r), one more fable 'De formicis et cicada' (leaf. 127v), is attributed to Rinucius: "fabula latina per Ranucium facta". The fable, which seems to be a translation of the Greek version included in Aftonius' *Progymnasmata*, is not witnessed by any other manuscripts of Rinucius' translation, and did not enter any of the Italian early printed editions (see PILLOLA 1993, pp. 132-33). See LOCKWOOD 1913*,* lines. 9-13.

154 See PILLOLA 1993, p. 34 n. 99.

155 See PERRY 1936*,* pp. 53-62.

156 See CHAMBRY 1926, I, pp. 10-11 and following. The manuscript contains a series of ecclesiastical and hagiographical works.

157 See PERRY 1934, pp. 53-62 and PERRY 1952, pp. 30, 310, and *infra.* For the series of transcription mistakes, omissions and cases of simplification which appear in Cb and must have been reported in the correct version in Rinucius' antigraph, see PILLOLA 1993, p. 59 n. 19.

translation. Also, we know from the author's introduction and conclusion that a few fables were missing in his textual source, which led scholars to assume that manuscript ρ must have had at least two gaps noticeable by Rinucius, probably owing to the loss of some leaves; these gaps, according to scholars, separate the manuscript from its antigraph and from Cb itself.[158]

In particular, the missing fables were those beginning with letters β, υ, φ and χ, cfr. Rinucius Aretinus, *Totius operis anacephaleosis,* I, 5-7: «…in describendo fabulas cum sequatur ordinem alphabeti in his hae deficiunt littere β υ φ χ». Rinucius' philological concerns are summarised in different passages of the *Anacephaleosis*, such as the one which begins: «[H]abes vitam pariter et fabulas Esopi fabulatoris eximii Reverendissime pater per me nuper verbis latinis intusiatas. Non tamen omnes sed quotquot ad manus meas usque pervenerunt. Quanquam arbitrorum praeter has si quae reperiuntur perpaucas. Quod vero longe plures Esopus confecerit hinc vel maxime coniectari licet».

The study of the textual features of Rinucius' translation allowed scholarship to acknowledge the translator's commitment towards a philologically valuable outcome and to identify the kind of lexical sources on which he was relying while writing with the Greek and Latin lexicons composed by Guarinus (c. 1440) and found in those years by Nicolaus de Cusa, who circulated it among his fellow humanists.[159] As seen above, Rinucius Aretinus' translation of 100 fables proceeds from a well-established tradition of re-translating Aesopian texts from newly rediscovered Greek sources, which had started at least twenty-five years before him, with Guarinus and Hermolaus Barbarus.

Although accusations of scarce originality, even of plagiarism of other humanist translations of Aesopian texts, particularly of that by Omnibonus Leonicenus, were laid against Rinucius' work, his attention to grammar, syntax and lexical features of the text suggests that he intended to produce a work that could consolidate his position of 'vir doctissimus' in an environment which

[158] Fundamental on this topic are LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 51-109; ACHELIS 1928, pp. 55-88; PERRY 1934, *infra*; FINCH 1956, p. 10; FINCH 1957, pp. 90-93 and PILLOLA 1993, pp. 56-58.

[159] The Harley lexicon is now manuscript London, BL, Harley MS 5792 and was published in 1888 by G. Goetz (see PILLOLA 1993, pp. 62-64, with further bibliography).

could understand and appreciate the differences, rather than criticise the similarities, between his works and those by other contemporary scholars.[160] The fact that the beginning of Rinucius' work on Aesop's texts focussed exclusively on the *Vita Aesopi*, that no other humanists, as far as we know, had attempted a translation up to that point, supports in fact the author's purpose of originality.[161] Later, this Latin translation served as the basis for several vernacular versions, both Italian and non-Italian, among which was the famous German one accomplished by Heinrich Steinhöwel and first printed in Ulm by J. Zainer around 1476/77.[162] In the sequence of the fables, the titles are based on those used in the most recent critical edition by PILLOLA (1993), pp. 138-336. To help identifying the Greek fables, as well as those translated from Greek to Latin by Omnibonus, Rinucius and Valla, and to highlight the similarities between the collections, I give the number of each fable according to the Chambry index (CHAMBRY 1926), this reference being the one generally adopted by scholars.[163]

[160] Rinucius undoubtedly knew the translations by Guarinus, Barbarus, Valla and Leonicenus. At the same time, he stuck to the content of his antigraph Greek manuscript, which shared forty-five fables out of 100 with Leonicenus', twenty-five with Barbarus and Valla (out of thirty-three) and twenty-two (out of twenty-eight), with Guarinus; for a detailed outline of the relationship of Rinucius' translation of the fables with other humanistic translations see PILLOLA 1993, pp. 73-87.

[161] From the author's own words to the dedicatee of the translation of the fables we know that this second piece of his work on Aesopian texts was also slower and more problematic for a series of reasons, spanning from the reluctance of the scribe with whom Rinucius was working («tarditas librarii») to some personal health issues («valetudine mala»). It is Rinucius himself who openly discusses these matters when dedicating his book to Cerdá (see PILLOLA 1993, p. 33).

[162] ISTC ia00116000. This translation was remarkably popular, arguably because of its series of thirty woodcuts which seems to have been the first milestone in the text's very prolific iconographic tradition, which was soon followed by a number of French, English and Spanish ones (see section I.3 of this thesis).

[163] Such as PILLOLA 1993, PILLOLA 2003 and GIUNTA 2011

R1 'De aquila et vulpe' (Ch3b);
R2 'De aquila et corvo' (Ch5a);
R3 'De aquila et scabrone' (Ch4a);
R4 'De philomena et accipitre' (Ch8a);
R5 'De vulpe et trago' (Ch40d);
R6 'De vulpe et leone' (Ch42b);
R7 'De cato et gallo' (Ch12b);
R8 'De vulpe sine cauda' (Ch41a);
R9 'De piscatore et smaride pisciculo' (Ch26b);
R10 'De vulpe et rubo' (Ch31b);
R11 'De vulpe et crocodilo' (Ch35b);
R12 'De vulpe et venatoribus' (Ch34b);
R13 'De gallis et perdice' (Ch21b);
R14 'De vulpe et larva' (Ch43b);
R15 'De homine et ligneo deo' (Ch61a);
R16 'De cane ad cenam vocato' (Ch179b);
R17 'De aquila et homine' (Ch6a);
R18 'De viro agricola' (Ch83b);
R19 'De carbonario et lotore' (Ch56b);
R20 'De vulpe esuriente' (Ch30b);
R21 'De piscatore quodam' (Ch24a);
R22 'De piscatoribus quibusdam' (Ch22b);
R23 'De viro inope et infirmo' (Ch55b);
R24 'De vulpe et pardo' (Ch37a);
R25 'De piscatoribus quibusdam' (Ch23b);
R26 'De ranis regem petentibus' (Ch66b);
R27 'De cata in feminam mutata' (Ch76b);
R28 'De sene mortem vocante' (Ch78d);
R29 'De muliere et medico' (Ch87b);
R30 'De agricola et canibus' (Ch80c);
R31 'De agricola et filiis' (Ch86b);
R32 'De muliere et gallina' (Ch90b);
R33 'De homine a cane morso' (Ch178b);
R34 'De duobus amicis et ursa' (Ch255b);
R35 'De adolescentibus duobus et coquo' (Ch248b);
R36 'De duobus inimicis' (Ch115b);
R37 'De calamo et oliva' (Ch101f);
R38 'De vitula et bove' (Ch92a);
R39 'De puero et fortuna' (Ch262b);
R40 'De muribus et cato' (Ch13b);
R41 'De simia et vulpe' (Ch38b);
R42 'De cervo et leone' (Ch103b);
R43 'De agricola et pelargo' (Ch285b);
R44 'De agno et lupo' (Ch107b);
R45 'De iove et corvo' (Ch163b);
R46 'De tubicine quodam' (Ch326a);
R47 'De fabro et cane' (Ch346a);
R48 'De mula quadam' (Ch129a);
R49 'De thunno et delphino' (Ch133b);
R50 'De medico quodam' (Ch135b);
R51 'De aucupe' (Ch138b);
R52 'De castore' (Ch154a);
R53 'De puero oves pascente' (Ch319c);
R54 'De vulpe et corvo' (Ch166b);
R55 'De cane et lupo' (Ch185b);
R56 'De corvo egrotante' (Ch169b);
R57 'De cane carnes portante' (Ch186b);
R58 'De leone et rana' (Ch202b);
R59 'De leone sene' (Ch197b);
R60 'De leone et tauro' (Ch212b);
R61 'De leone asino et vulpe' (Ch210b);
R62 'De leone rustici filiam cuiusdam amante' (Ch199b);
R63 'De leena et vulpe' (Ch195a);
R64 'De lupo et grue' (Ch225b);
R65 'De lupo et agno' (Ch222b);
R66 'De duobus gallis intra se certantibus' (Ch20d);
R67 'De vate quodam' (Ch234a);
R68 'De formica et columba' (Ch244b);
R69 'De vitulo et cerva' (Ch238a);
R70 'De ape et iove' (Ch235b);
R71 'De musca' (Ch240a);
R72 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine' (Ch249b);
R73 'De egroto et medico' (Ch250b);
R74 'De lignatore quodam' (Ch254b);
R75 'De asino et iove' (Ch274b);
R76 'De leporibus et ranis' (Ch192b);
R77 'De asino et equo' (Ch269a);
R78 'De asino et lupo' (Ch282b);
R79 'De muliere et gallina' (Ch288a);
R80 'De rana et vulpe' (Ch69b);
R81 'De serpente et agricola' (Ch81c);
R82 'De gallina et vulpe' (Ch14b);
R83 'De viatore' (Ch261b);
R84 'De leone et homine' (Ch59a);
R85 'De vulpe quadam' (Ch32e);
R86 'De puero et scorpione' (Ch294b);
R87 'De venatore et perdice' (Ch301a);
R88 'De lepore et testudine' (Ch353b);
R89 'De salice et securi' (Ch100e);
R90 'De puero quodam fure' (Ch297c);
R91 'De pastore et mari' (Ch312b);
R92 'De punica et malo arboribus' (Ch325b);
R93 De talpa et matre' (Ch327b);
R94 'De vespis perdicibus et agricola' (Ch330b);
R95 'De iove' (Ch123b);
R96 'De simia' (Ch308a);
R97 'De pulice' (Ch358);
R98 'De pulice et homine' (Ch357b);
R99 'De formicis et cicada' (Ch336b);
R100 'De viro et uxoribus' (Ch52e).

Manuscripts:
Arezzo, Fraternita, n. 181 (15th cent.); Augsburg, UB, II 1 fol. 94 (16th cent.); Berlin, SBB - PK, Lat. oct. 171 (15th cent.); Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R. I. 39 (15th cent., possibly identified by Lockwood with the dedication copy given by Rinucius to Antonius Cerdá)[164]; BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1490 (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob Lat. 1536 (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2112 (15th cent.); BAV, Urb. Lat. 226 (15th cent.); BAV, Urb. Lat. 886 (15th cent.); London, BL, Add. MS 11896 (15th cent.); Madrid, BUCM, cod. 129 (15th cent.); New Haven (CT), Beinecke Libr., 611 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Plimpton 22 (16th cent.); Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131 (15th cent.); Princeton (NJ), UL, Garret 101 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., lat. XI 105 (4645) (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (15th cent.); Verona, BCap., CLI (139) (16th cent.); Wien, ÖNB, 9629 (15th cent.).

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500) Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [c. **1477**] (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus, **Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

⚜ II.10 Rinucius Aretinus, *Anacephaleosis* to his translation of the *Fabulae* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Habes vitam pariter et fabulas Esopi fabulatoris...»; expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39].

This text provides the reader with information on the structure of the translation of the *Fabulae,* focussing particularly on the collection of fables translated, which were not, in the author's opinion, all the fables produced by Aesop («…non tamen omnes, sed quotquot ad manus meas pervenerunt. Quamquam arbitror praetor has si quae reperiuntur esse perpaucas»). Possibly in order to prevent other people's accusations of incompleteness or partiality, the author states clearly how some of the fables in his Greek sources went missing possibly because of the scribes' negligence, or because of the uncertainty of the times, or, ultimately, because of their antiquity. As seen above, the author refers specifically to the fables beginning with letters B; Y; Φ; X.[165]

[164] See LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 62 and PILLOLA 1993, p. 119.
[165] See section II.9.

Manuscripts:
Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131; New York (NY), , Plimpton Ms. 24 (15th cent.); Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr., ms 1 (15th cent.); Berlin, SBB, Lat. oct. 171 (15th cent.); Madrid, BUCM, cod 129 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Marc. lat. VI 255 (3669) (15th cent.); Verona, BCap., CLI (139) (16th cent.).

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Milan: Antonius Zarotus, **1474** (ISTC ia00099000), Latin;
Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500) Latin;
Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma], **25 Feb. 1476** (ISTC ia00099700), Latin;
[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [c. **1477**] (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00100000), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, **4 Sept. 1480** (ISTC ia00101000), Latin;
Milan: Gasparus de Cantono, **9 Nov. 1480** (ISTC ia00101500), Latin;
Parma: Andreas Portilia, **16 Mar. 1482** (ISTC ia00102000), Latin;
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin;
Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus, **Oct. 1491** (ISTC ia00103500), Latin.

⌘ II.11 Rinucius Aretinus, *Letter* to Laurentius Lavina (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Ad duo potissimum nititur genus humanum divicias scilicet...»; expl.: «...ardentius te hortor» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 68-9].

Very little is known of the recipient of this letter, and scholars seem not to have enquired further about his identity. According to the general tone of the text, which sounds didactic from the opening («Ad duo potissimus nititur genus humanus, divitias scilicet ac sapientiam») and particularly to the conclusion, he might well have been one of Rinucius' pupils: «Vale atque meliori particulae ut intendas sicut a parvulo fecisti in diem studiosius ac ardentius te hortor». From the author's words, we understand that the two certainly knew each other, and that Lavina had probably been in touch after getting to know about Rinucius' work, with a particular reference to the *Vita*. As Lavina had probably remarked in his letter («ut te non fugit»), Rinucius had recently translated the text of the *Vita*, and dedicated it to Cerdá, in the attempt of pursuing and celebrating knowledge and morality.

This letter, which opens with some considerations on the value of knowledge and that of moral virtues in comparison to that of wealth and material goods, was meant to accompany the sending

of a copy of the translation. Rinucius' gift was intended not only to bring delight to the reader, but also and most importantly to enable Lavina to recognize which things are important to life and those which «iure ac merito esse irridendos seu potius spernendos».

Manuscripts:
San Daniele del Friuli, BC, 116; Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4°; Oxford, Balliol Coll., 131; Yonkers (NY), Corrigan Libr., ms 1 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**] (ISTC ia00099500), Latin;
[Rome Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin.

⚜ II.12 Rinucius Aretinus, *Letter* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos, Cardinal Priest of S. Chrysogonus (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Quo tempore sanctissimus dominus noster Nicolaus...»; expl.: «...sed ut familiarem carum habebit. Vale» [ed.: Lockwood 1913, pp. 69-70].

The content of this second letter to Antonius Cerdá clarifies the reasons why, after first thinking about dedicating his translation to Nicholas V, Rinucius eventually chose as dedicatee his friend Cerdá, who had urged him to begin the translation. Nicholas V became pope before Rinucius had completed his translation of the *Vita,* and even when this was finally accomplished, Cerdá persuaded him a second time to add also the Latin translation of the *Fabulae* to the former. This second accomplishment was slower than the previous one, mainly because of the laziness of the scribe who was responsible for transcribing it: «Accessit tarditas librarii, qui non quando debuit, sed quando potuit, ne dicam voluit, illam transcripsit». When this second part was eventually completed, Rinucius realised that his gift was probably not suitable for such an high position as the pope's («considerans pontificalem maiestatem maiora munera decere») and decided to keep it until Cerdá became cardinal, as seen above. The text ends with a declaration of modesty supported by the quotation of a wisdom motto by Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, according to which small gifts shall be welcomed by kings as much as bigger or grander gifts: therefore, the

small and humble Aesop shall be well received by Cerdá.

Manuscripts:
Copenhagen, KB, Gl. kgl Samling 1904, 4°.

15th-century Italian printed editions:
[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck or Wendelinus de Wila, c. **1475**];
[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c. **1482**] (ISTC ia00102500), Latin;
Rome: Eucharius Silber, **26 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00103000), Latin.

⚜ II.13 Pompilius, Petrus Paulus, *Epitaph* dedicated to Aesop (Latin verse)

«Hoc iacet in tumulo, Phrygiisque natus in oris | Aesopus…»; expl.: «…care viator | Dicere ne pudeat, culte sophista Vale». [4 elegiac couplets].

This short poem reviews in very few lines the essential information on Aesop's life and celebrates his human qualities as well as the value of his literary production. As for Aesop's biography, in particular, the text insists on his Phrygian origin, his wisdom, and the gift of eloquence from the Goddess of hospitality. As far as his literary production is concerned, the text focuses on the importance of the translation of Aesop's wisdom from Greek into Latin, which makes it available to a wider public.

The short poem has been attributed to the humanist and university teacher Petrus Paulus Pompilius, born in Rome around the mid-1450s and author of several texts in prose and verses.[166] He had friendly relationships with Domitius Calderinus and Cardinal Bessarion, whom he joined on a trip to France in 1472. He is likely to have been in contact also with Theodorus Gaza, and to have had at least a reading knowledge of Greek.

In the course of his short life – he died of pleurisy in 1491, at the age of thirty-seven – Pompilius took part in several literary disputations among humanists of the time, such as the one against Claudius Vallati around Sulpitius Verulanus' *Metrica* in the early 1480s. He taught Latin and grammar at the university in Rome in 1484-1485, but was also active as Cesare Borgia's private tutor in the late 1480s. To Borgia himself he dedicated the treatise *De syllabis,* while some of his

[166] More on his life and production, with updated bibliography, can be found in the *DBI* record by BRACKE 2015.

works were dedicated to other members of the Borgia family, such as the Carmen *Odyssea,* dedicated to Pietro Ludovico Borgia, and the *Vita Senecae,* dedicated to Giovanni Lopez, Rodrigo Borgia's secretary. He had very good relationships with other culturally influential figures of the time, such as Girolamo Pau and Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal.

This epitaph dedicated to Aesop is thought to be the earliest of his works, which include a mixture of didactic materials, such as the *Collectae* of one of his courses on Catullus and the *Dictata in historias Sallustii Catalinianam et Iugurthinam lectione publica Romae anno aetatis sue XXVI,* and a series of more strictly literary works such as the dialogue *De vero et probabile amore* (1487), dedicated to Pomponius Letus.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Rome: Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, **6 Nov. 1473** (ISTC ia00128450) Latin;
Messina: Heinricus Alding, c. **1474** (ISTC ia00128500), Latin;
Rome Wendelinus de Wila, **6 Jul. 1475** (ISTC ia00128600), Latin.

⚜ II.14 Bonus Accursius, *Dedicatory letter* to Johannes Franciscus Turrianus (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Cum animadverterem quanto in pretio...»; expl.: «...afferam. Vale vir doctissime ac sapientissime et me uti soles ama» [ed.: BOTFIELD 1861, pp. 171-72].

Bonus Accursius was born in Tuscany in the first half of the 15th century. After being a pupil and friend of Franciscus Philelphus and Antonius from Gallipoli, he became a teacher of rhetoric himself and started working as an editor and printer.[167] After working mostly as an editor of Latin editions for the Milanese printers Philippus de Lavagnia and Antonius Zarotus, he decided to devote his energies to the diffusion of Greek literary works. The composite edition of Aesopian texts, which this letter introduces, represents the earliest extant sample.[168] The significance of

[167] See the *DBI* record by BALLISTRERI 1969, available online.
[168] ISTC ia00098000.

Accursius' edition of the *Fables* becomes clearer if one considers the situation of the printing of Greek texts at the time. The first Greek book to have been printed in Europe with movable types is generally considered to be the undated translation of Emanuele Chrysolora's *Erotemata* printed in Venice by Adam de Ambergau around 1471.[169] The publication of this text was followed by the Greek-to-Latin translation of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* attributed to the printer Tommaso Ferrando, from Brescia, and generally dated around 1474; by one more edition of Chrysolora's *Erotemata,* this time in the redaction by Guarinus, and by the Milanese edition of Constantinus Lascaris' *Erotemata,* printed by Dyonisius Paravisinus in January 1476.[170] According to Nigel Wilson, Accursius' Aesop represents the first sign that the monopoly of grammars and dictionaries as the only books in Greek printed with movable types was becoming weaker.[171] The recipient of this letter, Iohannes Franciscus Torrianus, was in the service of the Dukes of Milan from the early 1470s, first as procurator under Galeazzo Maria (killed in 1476) and then *magister extraordinarius* under his son, Gian Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan from 1476 to 1494.[172] His political and practical support to Accursius' work as a printer was fundamental and is witnessed by the many editions which the printer dedicated to him, and by the letter sent by Turrianus to Laurentius de' Medici in November 1476, in which he narrates how he and Accursius, called «homo molto dottissimo», had bought together «capsette sei» of books from the Greek scholar and teacher Andronicus Graecus, for the price of 200 golden ducats.[173] From the same letter, we know that Turrianus' library was at the time one of the largest and richest in volumes of the whole region («cussì ben fornita cume puchissime siano in Lombardia»).[174]

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169 ISTC ic00492000.

170 ISTC nos. ih00300800, ic00493000 and il00065000.

171 WILSON 1992, p. 96. On the significance of Accursius' operation and the early context of the printing of Greek texts see also: BARKER 1995, p. 12; BOTLEY 2010, pp. 79-80; LINDE 2012, pp. 147-63; BARTSOKAS 2016, pp. 5-8 with updated bibliography and RICHARDSON 2017, pp. 149-50.

172 See the *DBI* record by PETRUCCI 1989, available online.

173 The complete text of the letter was published in FABRONI 1784, vol. II pp. 286-87. Other editions printed by Accursius and dedicated to Turrianus are *Index locorum in commentario Caesaris Belli gallici descriptorum*, Milan, c. 1478 (ISTC im00276000); Clericus, Hubertinus Crescentinas, *In epistolas ad familiares Ciceronis commentum,* Milan, c. 1480 (ISTC ic00747025); Crastonus, Johannes, *Lexicon Graeco-latinum*, Milan, before 28 Mar. 1478 (ISTC ic00958000).

174 Not much is known about the contents and fate of Turrianus' rich library. A hypothesis on this last point, based on the story of some of Andronicus' books, can be found in PETRUCCI 1989.

Apart from praising the virtues of the dedicatee as a politician and diplomat, the most noteworthy aspect of this introductory letter explains the reason why Accursius decided to put together the collection of Aesopian texts, making sure that the Greek texts had Latin translations to accompany them and making them more accessible also to non-scholarly readers such as Turrianus. Accursius states clearly that it seemed appropriate to him to commit his work to divulgate texts by and about Aesop, taking into account how important and meaningful he was considered by Plato and «…apud universam vetustatem». The main objective was at that point to let a wider public know what kind of man Aesop was, and to inform them on the main episodes of his life, all of which had, in the opinion of the writer, a noticeable entertaining power as well as narrative and moral significance («est enim ut videbis et lauta et facetiarum plena, quae dum legitur vel e mortuis risum excuteret»). The fact that Accursius uses here the words «…imprimi curarem» with reference to his commercial operation of printing Aesopian texts, suggests that he acted more as a curator and general director of the work, i.e. as an editor, and that he must have paid one or more professional printers, whose names are never mentioned in any of Accursius' editions, but who took care of the practical aspects such as the composition and the actual printing. On the basis of the characteristics of the Roman type, Proctor had identified as actual printers of Accursius' editions the brothers Benignus and Joannes Antonius de Honate, who were active in Milan in between the 1470s and the 1480s.[175]

No extant manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan: Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Latin and Greek.

⚜ II.15 [Pseudo-] Maximos Planudes, *Ἀισώπου βίος τοῦ μυθοποιοῦ*, edited by Bonus Accursius (Greek prose)

Inc.: «Πραγμάτων φύσιν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις…»; expl.: «…τῷ Αἰσώπου θανάτῳ γεγόνασιν» [ed.: EBERHARD 1872, pp. 225-305].

[175] See PROCTOR 1900, pp. 57-58.

This 'metaphrasis' of the *Vita Aesopi* normally takes the name of *Accursiana*, from its first editor, and is also widely known as *Planudea*, because of its attribution to the Byzantine theologian, grammarian and scholar Maximus Planudes.[176] According to scholarship, Accursius used manuscript Florence, BML, 79 pl. 89 to print his first edition of the Greek *Vita* and *Fabulae.*[177] In his analysis of the textual transmission of the life and fables of Aesop, Perry ultimately reaffirmed the plausibility of this attribution, relying particularly on linguistic and syntactic similarities between this version of the *Vita* and other works by Planudes, i.e. the *Letters* and *Commentary on Hermogenes*[178]. This version of the Greek *Vita* derived from the branch BPThSA of the Westermaniana tradition, of which it constitutes an abridgement, rewritten in a more polished and archaizing language. Most direct dialogues were replaced with indirect ones, and a number of episodes, particularly those with a sexual connotation, are expunged, this resulting in an explicitly moralising operation.

In 1505, this version of the life of Aesop was the basis for Aldus Manutius' new Latin translation of the *Vita*, included, together with a new translation of the *Fabulae,* in a compilation of texts published by Aldus himself in 1505.[179]

Manuscripts:
Milan, Ambr., A 59 sup. (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., L 43 sup. (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 70.31; Florence, Ricc., ms 27; Florence, BML, Laur. 57.30; Venezia, BN Marc., lat. XI 2; Leiden, UB, Vulc. gr., 93; Munich, BSB, cgm, 525; New York, Morgan Library, M. 397; Oxford, Bodl., Barocc. gr., 194; Thessaloniki, UB., 35; BAV, Vat. gr. 1192 (fragment); London, BL, Add. MS 17015; BAV, Vat. Pal. gr. 269; BAV, Vat. gr. 695; Athens, National Libr., 1201; Moscow, Synodal Libr., 436.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan, Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Greek and Latin;
[Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, about **1498**] (ISTC ia00097000), Greek and Latin.

[176] See section II.16 below.
[177] See CHAMBRY 1926, pp. 25-35.
[178] In affirming these positions, Perry was contradicting Hausrath on the matter. A point by point comparison of Planudes' style in writing the *Letters* and the *Commentary on Hermogenes* with that of the *Accursiana recensio* of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* can be followed in PERRY 1936, pp. 221-30; see also PERRY 1952, pp. 22-32.
[179] Venice: Aldus Manutius, October 1505.

⌘ II.16 Aesop, *Μῦθοι* edited by Bonus Accursius (Greek prose)

Inc.: «Αετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλιωθέντες…»; expl.: «…τοιαύτας ἀπονέμουσι χάριτας» [ed.: HAUSRATH-HUNGER 1970, pp. 1-208].

Described by Perry as the «modern recension of the fables», this collection corresponds to the redaction of the fables known among philologists under the name of *recensio Accursiana*.[180] As the Greek version of the *Vita* mentioned above (see II.15), it took its name from its first recorded printer (c. 1478-1480), and represented the 'vulgate' version in which the Greek text of the *Fabulae* entered modern times. In the form established by Accursius, this collection consists of 147 fables, deriving mainly from *recensiones* I (*Augustana*) or II (*Westermaniana)* of the textual tradition.[181]

In spite of Chambry's position, the collection later printed by Accursius most likely originated in the late Byzantine period, as witnessed by the fact that most of its manuscript witnesses have been dated later than 1350. The other recensions have fewer witnesses, and of those at least two or more for each collection are considerably older than the oldest witnesses of the *Accursiana*.[182] Other evidence of the lateness of the *Accursiana* is the noteworthy uniformity in its textual tradition, particularly when considered that the number of manuscripts which contain it is higher than that of all other *recensiones*, and the presence in many of its most reliable witnesses of three fables by Ignatius Diaconus, Archbishop of Nicaea (c. 780-850). These three texts in quatrains were considered by Chambry as late interpolation in the *Accursiana*, which he thought to be as old as the 3rd century A.D., and therefore expunged from his critical edition, to be later re-integrated by Perry as having been composed before the constitution of the *Accursiana*, and included among its sources.[183] According to Perry, the primary form of the *Accursiana* collection (c. 14th century), contained 127 fables, of which the first sixty-two derived from *recensio* II; numbers 63 to 71 and

[180] See PERRY 1936, pp. 204.
[181] Most manuscripts actually contain 148 fables. Perry, after summarising the debate and the thesis expressed by preceding scholars, gives a final outline of the structure and of the formation of this collection in PERRY 1936, pp. 204-217.
[182] See PERRY 1936, p. 207. CHAMBRY 1927, pp. XLVII-XLVIII thought instead that the origin of the *Accursiana* went back to the 3rd century and that the sources of the collection had nothing to do with *recensio* II.
[183] See Perry 1936, pp. 207-208 and GIUNTA 2011, p. 278 for the tetrastichs.

80-127 from *recensio* I and numbers 72-79 from various, often unidentified sources.[184] In contrast with Hausrath, Perry also thought that the Greek *Vita* and *Fabulae* of the *recensio Accursiana* – i.e. in the textual form that was later to be known and printed by Bonus Accursius – were revised and edited by the same person in the late Byzantine period, and that this person is likely to have been Maximus Planudes.[185] This textual form of the *Accursiana* with 127 fables was well known in Italy from the beginning of the 15th century and is likely to have constituted the basis for the study of Greek language at the school of Victorinus Feltrensis and Guarinus Veronensis. This was probably how it became known to Omnibonus Leonicenus and the basis for his translation of the *Fabulae*.[186] It was probably after becoming known among students and scholars gravitating around the school of Ca' Gioiosa that this first 127 fables were increased to 147.[187] The order of the fables is as follows:[188]

184 See PERRY 1936, pp. 216-17.
185 This idea is based on stylistic comparison first between the *Accursiana* versions of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae,* and other works which were certainly attributed to Planudes.
186 See sections II.1 and II.2.
187 See GIUNTA 2011, pp. 210-14.
188 To help identifying the Greek fables, as well as those translated from Greek to Latin by Omnibonus, Rinucius and Valla, and to highlight the similarities between the collections, I give the number of each fable according to the Chambry index (CHAMBRY 1926), this reference being the one generally adopted by scholars such as PILLOLA 1993, PILLOLA 2003 and GIUNTA 2011.

AF1 Ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch3c);
AF2 Ἀετὸς καὶ κάνθαρος (Ch4c);
AF3 Ἀηδὼν καὶ ἱέραξ (Ch8c);
AF4 Ἀλώπηξ καὶ τράγος (Ch40e);
AF5 Ἀλώπηξ καὶ λέων (Ch42c);
AF6 Αἴλουρος καὶ αλεκτρυών (Ch12d);
AF7 Ἀλώπεκες (Ch41b) ;
AF8 Αλώπηξ καὶ βάτος (Ch31c);
AF9 Ἀλώπηξ καὶ κροκόδελος (Ch35c);
AF10 Αλεκτρυόνες καὶ πέρδιξ (Ch21c);
AF11 Ἀλώπηξ (Ch43c);
AF12 Ἀνθρακεὺς καὶ κναφεύς (Ch56c);
AF13 Ἀλὶδε (Ch23c);
AF14 Κομπαστής (Ch51c);
AF15 Αδύνατα ἐπασσελλόμενος (Ch46d);
AF16 Κακοπράγμων (Ch50c);
AF17 Ἀλὶδε (Ch22c);
AF18 Φέναξ (Ch55c);
AF19 Βάτραχοι (Ch68c);
AF20 Γέρων καὶ θάνατος (Ch78e);
AF21 Γραῦς καὶ ἰατρός (Ch87d);
AF22 Γεωργὸς καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ (Ch83c);
AF23 Δεσπότης καὶ κῦνες (Ch80d);
AF24 Γυνὴ καὶ ὄρνις (Ch90c);
AF25 Κυνόδηκτος (Ch178c);
AF26 Νεανίσκοι καὶ μάγειρος (Ch248c);
AF27 Ἐχθροὶ (Ch115c);
AF28 Ἄλουρος καὶ μύες (Ch13c);
AF29 Ἀλώπηξ καὶ πίθηκος (Ch38b);
AF30 Θύννος καὶ δελφίν (Ch133c);
AF31 Ἰατρὸς καὶ νοσῶν (Ch135c);
AF32 Ἰξευτὴς καὶ ἔχις (Ch138d);
AF33 Κάστωρ (Ch154b);
AF34 Κύων καὶ μάγειρος (Ch184b);
AF35 Κύων καὶ λύκος (Ch185c);
AF36 Κύων καὶ ἀλεκτρυὼν (Ch181b);
AF37 Λέων καὶ βάτραχος (Ch202c);
AF38 Λέων καὶ ὄνος (Ch210c);
AF39 Λέων καὶ ἄρκτος (Ch201d);
AF40 Μάντις (Ch234b);
AF41 Μύρμηξ καὶ περιστερά (Ch244e);
AF42 Νυκτερὶς καὶ βάτος καὶ αἴθυια (Ch251c);
AF43 Νοσῶν καὶ ἰατρός (Ch250c);
AF44 Ξυλευόμενος καὶ Ἑρμῆς (Ch254c);
AF45 Ὄνος καὶ κηπωρός (Ch274c);
AF46 Ὀρνιθοθήρας καὶ κορύδαλος (Ch284c);
AF47 Ὁδοιπόρος (Ch261c);
AF48 Παῖσ καὶ μήτερ (Ch297e);
AF49 Ποιμὴν καὶ θάλασσα (Ch312c);
AF50 Ῥοιὰ καὶ μηλέα (Ch325c);
AF51 Ασπάλαξ (Ch327c);
AF52 Σφῆκες καὶ πέρδικες (Ch330c);
AF53 Ταὼς καὶ κολοιός (Ch334c);
AF54 Μονιός καὶ Ἀλώπηξ (Ch328c);
AF55 Κορυδαλός (Ch170a);
AF56 Νεβρὸς (Ch238b);
AF57 Λαγωοὶ καὶ βάτραχοι (Ch192d);
AF58 Ὄνος καὶ ιππος (Ch269b);
AF59 Φιλάργυρος (Ch345d);
AF60 Χῆνες καὶ γέρανοι (Ch354c);
AF61 Χελώνη καὶ ἀετός (Ch352);
AF62 Ψύλλα (Ch357c);
AF63 Ἔλαφος (Ch106b);
AF64 Ἔλαφος καὶ λέων (Ch105c);
AF65 Ἔλαφος καὶ ἄμπελος (Ch104b);
AF66 Ὄνος καὶ λέων (Ch270c);
AF67 Κηπουρὸς καὶ κύων (Ch156b);
AF68 Σῦς καὶ κύων (Ch342b)
AF69 Ὗς καὶ κύων (Ch343b);
AF70 Ὄφις καὶ καρκῖνος (Ch291b);
AF71 Ποιμὴν καὶ λύκος (Ch315);
AF72 Λέων καὶ λύκος (Ch206;
AF73 Γυνὴ (Ch88);
AF74 Σῦς καὶ μῦς (Ignatius Diaconus, 8);
AF75 Ὄνος (Ignatius Diaconus, 19);
AF76 Στρουθός (Ignatius Diaconus, 22);
AF77 Κύκνος (Ch174);
AF78 Αἰθίοψ (Ch11);
AF79 Χελιδὼν καὶ κορώνη (Ch349);
AF80 Βουταλὶς (Ch75b);
AF81 Κοχλίαι (Ch173);
AF82 Γυνὴ καὶ θεράπαιναι (Ch89b);
AF83 Γυνὴ μάγος (Ch91b);
AF84 Γαλῆ (Ch77c);
AF85 Γεωργὸς (Ch84c);
AF86 Ὁδοιπόροι (Ch257b);
AF87 Βάτραχοι (Ch67a);
AF88 Μελισσουργός (Ch236b);
AF89 Ἀλκύων (Ch28);
AF90 Ἁλιεὺς (Ch27b);
AF91 Πίθηκος καὶ δελφίς (Ch306b);
AF92 Μυῖαι (Ch241b);
AF93 Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἀγαλματοποιός (Ch109b);
AF94 Ἑρμῆς καὶ Τειρεσίας (Ch111b);
AF95 Κύνες (Ch176b);
AF96 Ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ ἀργαλέα (Ch49b);
AF97 Ἔριφος καὶ λύκος (Ch108c);
AF98 Καρκίνος καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch151b);
AF99 Κιθαρῳδός (Ch157b);
AF100 Κλέπται (Ch159b);
AF101 Κορώνη καὶ κόραξ (Ch171b);
AF102 Κορώνη καὶ κύων (Ch172b);
AF103 Κόραξ καὶ ὄφις (Ch168);
AF104 Κολοιὸς καὶ περιστεραί (Ch164b);
AF105 Κολοιὸς (Ch165);
AF106 Ἑρμῆς (Ch112);
AF107 Ζεὺς (Ch119b);
AF108 Ζεὺς (Ch126b);
AF109 Λύκος καὶ πρόβατον (Ch232b);
AF110 Λαγωοὶ (Ch191a);
AF111 Μύρμηξ (Ch242b);
AF112 Νυκτερὶς καὶ γαλη (Ch252b);
AF113 Ὁδοιπόροι (Ch259b);
AF114 Ὄνος ἄγριος (Ch265);
AF115 Ὄνοι (Ch263);
AF116 Ὄνος καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch268);
AF117 Ὄνος καὶ βάτραχοι (Ch272);
AF118 Ὄνος καὶ κόραξ (Ch275);
AF119 Ὄνος καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch271);

AF120 Ὄρνις καὶ χελιδών (Ch287);
AF121 Κάμηλος (Ch149);
AF122 Ὄφις (Ch292);
AF123 Περιστερὰ (Ch302b);
AF124 Περιστερὰ καὶ κορώνη (Ch303);
AF125 Πλούσιος (Ch311a);
AF126 Ποιμὴν (Ch317c);
AF127 Ἁλιεὺς καὶ σμαρίς (Ch26c);
AF128 Ἵππος καὶ ὄνος (Ch142a);
AF129 Ἄνθρωπος καὶ σάτυρος (Ch60d);
AF130 Ἀλώπηξ καὶ δρυτόμος (Ch34c);
AF131 Ἄνθρωπος καταθραύσας ἄγαλμα (Ch61b);
AF132 Ἄνθρωπος καὶ κύων (Ch139a);
AF133 Ἁλιεὺς (Ch24);
AF134 Βουκόλος (Ch74c);
AF135 Κόραξ (Ch169);
AF136 Ἀετὸς(Ch7a);
AF137 Τέττιξ καὶ μύρμηκες (Ch336c);
AF138 Σκώληξ καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch69d);
AF139 Ὄρνις χρυσοτόκος (Ch288c);
AF140 Λέων καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Ch197b);
AF141 Λύκος καὶ γραῦς (Ch224c);
AF142 Ἔριφος καὶ λύκος (Ch107b);
AF143 Ἡμίονος (Ch129c);
AF144 Ὄφις καὶ γεωργός (Ch81d);
AF145 Σαλπιγκτής (Ch326d);
AF146 Κάλαμος καὶ ἐλαία (Ch101g);
AF147 Λύκος καὶ γέρανος (Ch225c);
*AF148 Περί όνου καί δοράς λέοντος (Ch280a).

Manuscripts:[189]
Berlin, SB, Berol. phil. gr. 1591 (15th cent.); Bologna, BU, 2839 (15th cent.); Cambridge, Trinity Coll., 1032 (O.I.8) (15th cent.); BAV, Barb. gr. 105 (15th or 16th cent.); BAV, Chig. gr. 21 (15th cent.); BAV, Vat. gr. 113 (14th or 15th cent.); BAV, Vat. gr. 949 (15th cent.); BAV, Vat. gr. 2373 (15th or 16th cent.); BAV, Vat. Pal. gr. 122 (16th cent.); Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 69 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 97 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 55, 10 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 58, 23 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 59, 33 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 89, 79 (15th cent.); Leiden, UB, Voss. 51 (16th cent.); Lucca, BS, 1426 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., A 59 sup. (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., B 47 sup. (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., F 46 sup. (15th cent.); Modena, BEU, grec. 55 α U 96 (14th-15th cent.); Modena, BEU, grec. 252 α S 915 (16th); Naples, BNVE, grec. II D 22, (late-14th cent.); Naples, BNVE, grec. II F 23, (15th cent.); New York (NY), NYPL, Astor 100 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Auct. F. 4, 13 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Laud. IX, (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Laud. X, (late 14th-cent.); Paris, BnF, Fond Grec ms. 994 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Fond Grec ms. 1603 (15th-16th cent.); Paris, BnF, Grec. 2077 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Grec. 2899 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Grec. 2900 (15th cent.); Paris, BnF, Grec. 2901 (15th or 16th cent.); Salamanca, UL, Salm. 230 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Grae. XI 2 (14th or 15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Grae. XI 16 (15th cent.); Wroclaw, UL, Rehdiger 31 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan, Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Greek and Latin;
[Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, about **1498**] (ISTC ia00097000), Greek and Latin.

⚜ II.17 Bonus Accursius, *Letter* to Johannes Franciscus Turrianus (Latin prose)

Inc.: «In superiore codice, ut nosti, imprimi...»; expl.: «...ad tuorum utilitatem conducturum putem. Vale» [ed.: SAXIUS 1745, p. 545].

[189] The list of manuscripts also contains those transmitting the sub-family *IIIγ Γ* of the *recensio Accursiana,* which was printed by Accursius in the third section of his edition (see below, section II.18).

In this letter Bonus Accursius explains the reasons and structure of the third part of the collection of Greek and Latin Aesopian texts edited and published by himself in Milan between 1478 and 1480.[190]

From this piece of writing, readers might also infer the concept of an 'anthology' of Greek texts that the editor had in mind, and which was the literary structure that he was trying to achieve. In the opening of the letter, Accursius refers to the first and second sections of the anthology, where he edited Aesop's life and fables in their Greek version, followed by Rinucius Aretinus' translation: «In superiore codice […] imprimi curavimus vitam etc.».

In order to complete his service to the intellectual community, and to please his readers, Accursius decided to translate from Greek to Latin a choice of fables which he considered particularly important as they were well known among his fellow scholars («electiores fabulas quae in communi sunt nostrorum hominum usu»), and to add this newly-made translation to his collection, too.

The second part of the letter is devoted to the explanation of some structural features of the third section, where the Greek text of the fables occupies the left side, whereas the Latin translation occupies the right side of the page when the book is open in front of the reader. This structure was aimed at helping the reader, with each word corresponding almost perfectly to its translated version, which facilitates the comparison between the two texts.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan, Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Greek and Latin;
[Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, c. **1498**] (ISTC ia00097000), Greek.

[190] See above and the *DBI* record by PETRUCCI 1989.

⌘ II.18 Aesop, *Μῦθοι* [*Fabulae*], in parallel Greek and Latin versions, translated and edited by Bonus Accursius (Greek and Latin prose)

Inc.: «De vulpe et hirco. Vulpes et hircus sitientes...»; expl.: «...benefactoribus tales reddunt gratias».

This last section of Accursius' Aesopian compilation consists of a selection of Greek fables which, according to the editor, were the most popular among the readers of the time. This group corresponds to what was classified by Hausrath as the sub-family *IIIγ Γ* of the *Accursiana recensio,* including a selection of its fables. No manuscripts transmitting this sequence of apologues dating before the second half of the 15th century seem to survive, and this has led scholars to think that it was probably put together for didactic purposes in the humanistic period. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in two of their known manuscript witnesses, namely Modena, BEU, grec. 252 α S 915 and Venezia, BN Marc., Z466, the fables are accompanied by Latin transpositions, none of which, however, corresponds to that of Accursius.[191] Out of the sixty-one fables included, thirty-seven are in common with the Latin translation by Rinucius Aretinus, while fables BA8, BA12, BA17, the two nucleuses BA26-BA33 and BA35-BA39, BA41, BA42, BA43, BA46, BA47, BA48, BA51 and BA53 do not find correspondence in Aretinus' translation. For the fables, which are common to the two collections, Accursius' Latin translation is generally based on Rinucius' work, to the point that sometimes Accursius follows the Latin text by Rinucius despite the corresponding Greek text of the apologue, printed on the same page, being different. An example of this is fable 'Περί ἀνθρώπου κάι ὄρνιθοσ' (number BA45, corresponding to fable R79), for which the source of Rinucius' translation differed from the majority of the Greek manuscripts of the fables, and according to which the human character in this fable is a man. The manuscript used by Accursius for his edition, from where he got the Greek text printed next to its Latin translation, agrees with this version. Nonetheless, in the Latin translation, Accursius' version agrees with Rinucius' in having a woman, rather than a man, as the main character (see below: 'De muliere et galina').[192] The originality for the time of the operation of putting together Greek and Latin, and the practical challenges of having the two texts printed in different languages with different types, facing each other on the same page, are expressed by Accursius in the introductory letter to Iohannes Franciscus Turrianus, which opens the volume and in which the editor gives an in-depth explanation of the structure of this third part and of its reasons.

[191] See GIUNTA 2011, pp. 294-301.
[192] See PILLOLA 2003, p. 106.

The order of the fables is as follows:

BA1 Περί ἀλώπεκος καὶ τράγου – ‘De vulpe et hirco' (Ch40e);
BA2 Περί ἀλώπεκος καὶ λέοντοσ – ‘De vulpe et leone' (Ch42c);
BA3 Περί ἀηδόνος καὶ ἱέρακος – ‘De philomela (sic) et accipitre' (Ch8c);
BA4 Περί ἀιλούρον καὶ Ἀλεκτρυόνος – ‘De fele et gallo' (Ch12d);
BA5 Περί ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ πέρδικος – ‘De gallis et perdice' (Ch21c);
BA6 Περί ἀλώπεκος καὶ κεφαλής – ‘De vulpe et capite' (Ch43c);
BA7 Περί ἀντθρακέως κάι κναφέυς – ‘De carbonario et fullone' (Ch56c);
BA8 Περί κακοπράγμονοσ καὶ ἀπόλλωνος - 'De maligno et apolline' (Ch50c);
BA9 Περί ἀλιέων καὶ θύννον – ‘De piscatoribus et thunno' (Ch22c);
BA10 Περί δύο βατράχων – ‘De duabus ranis' (Ch68c);
BA11 Περί γέροντος καὶ Θανάτον – ‘De sene et morte' (Ch78e);
BA12 Περί χήρας καὶ ὄρνιθοσ – ‘De vidua et gallina' (Ch90c);
BA13 Περί δηχθέντος ὑπό κυνός – ‘De morso a cane' (Ch178c);
BA14 Περί δύο νεανίσκωον καὶ μαγέιρον – ‘De duobus adolescentibus et coquo' (Ch248c);
BA15 Περί δύο ἐχθρών συμπλεόντων – ‘De duobus inimicis simul navigantibus' (Ch115c);
BA16 Περί κάστορος – ‘De castore' (Ch154b);
BA17 Περί του κυνός κάι μαγέιρον – ‘De cane et coquo' (Ch184b);
BA18 Περί λέοντος καὶ Βατράχου – ‘De leone et rana' (Ch202c);
BA19 Περί μάντεως – ‘De vate' (Ch234b);
BA20 ' Περί μύρμηκος καὶ περιστεράς – ‘De formica et columba' (Ch244e);
BA21 Περί ἀνθρώπον ξυλαομένον καὶ έρμου – ‘De homine ligna colligente et mercurio' (Ch254c);
BA22 Περί του παιδός κλέπτατοστήν δέλτον, καὶ τής μητρός – ‘De puero furante librum et matre' (Ch297e);
BA23 Περί ποιμένος καὶ θαλάσσης – ‘De pastore et mari' (Ch312c);
BA24 Περί ἰατρόν – ‘De medico' (Ch135c);
BA25 Περί σφηκών κάι περδίκων – ‘De vespis et perdicibus' (Ch330c);
BA26 Περί του κολοιοῦ – ‘De graculo' (Ch165);
BA27 Περί ἁλίεως – ‘De piscatore' (Ch27b);
BA28 Περί χηρῶν καὶ γεράνων – ‘De anseribus et gruibus' (Ch354c);
BA29 'Περί ταώ καὶ τών ὀρνίθων – ‘De pavone et avibus' (Ch334c);
BA30 'Περί ὄνου καὶ ἀλώπεκος – ‘De asino et vulpe' (Ch268);
BA31 Περί ὄνου καὶ δορᾶς λέοντος – ‘De asino et pelle leonis' (Ch280a);
BA32 Περί χήρας καὶ θεραπενίδων – ‘De vidua et ancillis' (Ch89b);
BA33 Περί ἐλάφον, καὶ κθνηγῶν – ‘De cerva et venatoribus' (Ch104b);
BA34 Περί νεβροῦ ἐλάφον – ‘De innulo et cervo' (Ch238b);
BA35 Περί τῶν μελιττῶν καὶ του φύλακος – ‘De apibus et custode' (Ch236b);
BA36 Περί κυνὸς καὶ κηπουρού – ‘De cane et hortulano' (156b);
BA37 Περί γαλής καὶ ρίνης – ‘De mustela et lima' (Ch77c);
BA38 Περί ὄνου καὶ ἵππον – ‘De asino et equo' (Ch269b);
BA39 Περί ἀετού καὶ βέλους – ‘De aquila et sagitta' (Ch7a);
BA40 Περί μυρμήκων κάι τέττιγος – ‘De formicis et cicada' (Ch336c);
BA41 Περί ποιμένος κάι λύκον – ‘De pastore et lupo' (Ch315);
BA42 Περί παιδός κάι κοχλίων – ‘De puero et limacibus' (Ch173);
BA43 Περί σκώληκος καὶ ἀλώπεκος – ‘De verme et vulpe' (Ch69c);
BA44 Περί λύκον καὶ κυνός – ‘De lupo et cane' (Ch185c);
BA45 Περί ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὄρνιθος – ‘De muliere et gallina' (Ch288c);
BA46 Περί ὄνου μή γέργοντος κηπουρόν – ‘De asino non amante hortulanum' (Ch274c);
BA47 Περί ὄνου καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνος καὶ λέοντος – ‘De asino et gallo et leone' (Ch270c);
BA48 Περί φιλαργύρον καὶ ἐργάτου – ‘De avaro et operaio' (Ch354d);
BA49 Περί λέοντος καὶ ὄνον καί ἀλώπεκος – ‘De leone et asino et vulpe' (Ch210b);
BA50 Περί λέοντος καὶ ἀλώπεκος – ‘De leone et vulpe' (Ch197b);
BA51 Περί λύκον καὶ γράος – ‘De lupo et vetula' (Ch224c);
BA52 Περί ἐρίφον καὶ λύκον – ‘De hedo et lupo' (Ch107b);
BA53 Περί λέοντος καί ἄρκτον καί ἀλώπεκος – ‘De leone et urso et vulpe' (Ch201e);

BA54 Περί πένητος καὶ θεῶν – 'De paupere et diis' (Ch55c);
BA55 Περί ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεού ξυλίνου – 'De homine et deo ligneo' (Ch61c);
BA56 Περί ἡμιόνου – 'De mulo' (Ch129a);
BA57 Περί ίφεος καὶ γεωργου – 'De serpente et agricola' (Ch81d);
BA58 Περί σαλπίζου καὶ στρατού – 'De tubicine et exercitu' (Ch326a);
BA59 Περί ἐλάιας καὶ καλάμον – 'De oliva et arundine' (Ch143);
BA60 Περί 'ίξατου – 'De viscatore';
BA61 Περί λύκον καὶ γεράνον – 'De lupo et grue' (Ch225c).

Manuscripts:[193]

BAV, Chig. gr. 21 (15th cent.); Bologna, BU, 2839 (15th cent.); Florence, BML, Plut. 59 33 (15th or 16th cent.); Göttingen, SUB, ms. Gothanus gr. 60 (15th cent.); Jena, ULB, ms. Ord. Prov. 25 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., F 46 sup. (15th cent.); Modena, BEU, Grec. 252 α S 915 (16th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Auct. F. 4, 13 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Laud. IX (late 15th cent.); Pesaro, BC, 1647 (15th cent.); Venezia, BN Marc., Z466 (15th cent.); Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 243 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Milan, Bonus Accursius, c. **1477** (ISTC ia00098000), Greek and Latin;
Reggio Emilia, Dionysius Bertochus, **1497** (ISTC ia00104000), Greek and Latin.

⚜ II.19 Facius Caffarellus, *Proem* to his Italian translation of the Aesopus moralisatus (Italian prose)

Inc.: «La scriptura dello presente libro fu ordinata da...»; expl.: «...sicca tene in se clauso un dolce cibo».

This introductory text is a translation in Italian vernacular of the *Prologue* 'Ut iuvet et prosit' which opens the *Aesopus moralisatus*.[194]

Very little is known about its author, referred to as «Mastro Facio Caffarello da Faenza» in the colophon of the only extant printed edition of the text, but from the writing style and the features of the translation he was assigned to the late 14th century, which is also the time when

[193] The following manuscripts witness the Greek version of the fables, with the exception of manuscripts Modena, BEU, grec. 252 α S 915 (16th cent.) and Venezia, BN Marc., Z466 (15th cent.), in which the Greek text is accompanied by Latin translations, for which see above. The list of manuscripts is based on GIUNTA 2011, pp. 294-301.
[194] See section II.3 of this thesis.

the more popular vernacular translation of the *Aesopus moralisatus* was composed by Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna.[195]

This prologue follows its Latin source in listing the values conveyed by Aesop's fables, which were intended by their author to combine leisure and useful moral lessons, in order to both entertain and teach the audience: «solo per dare delectatione et utilitade alli auditori: li quali magior piacere prehendino quando li piacevoleze et li giochi sono coniuncti cum la utilitade». It goes on with the metaphor of the small book of the fables as a garden full of fruits (the substance and moral content of the fables) and flowers (the humour and enjoyable style in which fables are written), where the reader can choose to pick either one or the other, or even both, and with the suggestion to the reader not to judge the moral content of a text from its stylistic appearance, «per che molte volte le parole simplice et grosse conteneno in se honore et boni costumi et molte volte per similitudine una scorza sicca tene in se clauso uno dolce cibo».

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Cosenza: Octavianus Salamonius, [c. **1478**] (ISTC ia00109500), Italian.

⚜ II.20 Facius Caffarellus, Translation of the *Aesopus moralisatus* (Italian prose)

Inc.: «Conta Exopo in questa fabula che cavando cum lo forti suo becco...»; expl.: «...dolce piu noceno che lo amaro veleno».[196]

As mentioned above, this collection of fables is attributed to Facius Caffarellus, from Faenza, and it has been traditionally assigned to the end of the 14th century. It contains sixty-three fables in Italian prose. Not much is known about the identity of the author and the source and the style of the translation. In the introduction of the only known printed edition of the book, he is declared to be from the town of Faenza, in the centre of Italy. Manuscript Faenza, BC, ms 105 leaf 19v

[195] Caffarellus, on whom little is know, is mentioned in the *DBI* record dedicated to the 15th-century printer of his fables, Octavianus Salomonius, with bibliography (CASETTI BRACH 2017). On Accio Zucco, see sections II.23-II.28 below.
[196] To my knowledge, there are no modern critical editions of this text available.

includes the Caffarelli family among the most prominent families in town in those years and mentions a certain «Antonius di Ser Fazio» (where 'di Ser Fazio' was probably added later to distinguish this Antonius from another Antonius, mentioned just above) among the «Consiglieri di casa Caffarelli».[197] The base of the translation was part of the branch of tradition containing sixty-three fables, with the inclusion of fables 'De capone et accipitre' and 'De pastore et lupo'.[198] The order of the fables is as follows:[199]

[197]The manuscript is accessible online at the link http://manfrediana.comune.faenza.ra.it/contenuto/manoscritti/ms105_Righi_II_B/images/044_c_19v.jpg (last verified October 2017).

[198] See section II.3 on the *Aesopus* for this distinction and a detailed description of the tradition.

[199] Since no modern critical editions of this text are available to scholars, I rely here on the order of the fables witnessed by the edition printed in Cosenza by Ottavianus Salamonius around 1478 (see record nº 15 in the *Catalogue*).

FC1 'De gallo et iaspide' (AM1);
FC2 'De lupo et agno' (AM2);
FC3 'De surze nibio et rana' (AM3);
FC4 'De cane et ove' (AM4);
FC5 'De leone ove capra et iuvenca' (AM6);
FC6 'De femina et fure' (AM7);
FC7 'De lupo et grue' (AM8);
FC8 'De cane recipiente canem pregnantem' (AM9);
FC9 'De colubro et homine recipiente ipsum' (AM10);
FC10 'De cane portante carnem' (AM5);
FC11 'De asello et apro' (AM11);
FC12 'De mure urbano et mure rustico' (AM12);
FC13 'De vulpe et aquila' (AM13);
FC14 'De aquila et testuina' (AM14);
FC15 'De vulpe et corvo' (AM15);
FC16 'De leone tauro et asello' (AM16);
FC17 'De catulo domino et asello volente ludere' (AM17);
FC18 'De leone et mure' (AM18);
FC19 'De populo volente regem' (AM21);
FC20 De ranis petentibus regem' (AM22);
FC21 'De columbis et ancipitre' (AM23);
FC22 'De fure et cane' (AM24);
FC23 'De lupo et sue' (AM25);
FC24 'De terra pariente murem' (AM26);
FC25 'De miluo precante matrem' (AM19);
FC26 'De irundine et lino' (AM20);
FC27 'De agno ludente cum edo' (AM27);
FC28 'De cane facto sene' (AM28);
FC29 'De leporibus et ranis' (AM29);
FC30 'De capra que comedavit filium ovili' (AM30);
FC31 'De angue et rustico' (AM31);
FC32 'De cervo et ove' (AM32);
FC33 'De musca et calvo' (AM33);
FC34 'De vulpe et ciconia' (AM34);
FC35 'De lupo et capite' (AM35);
FC36 'De corvo et pavone' (AM36);
FC37 'De musca et mula' (AM37);
FC38 'De musca et formica' (AM38);
FC39 'De volpe lupo et simia' (AM39);
FC40 'De viro et mustella' (AM40);
FC41 'De rana et bove' (AM41);
FC42 'De leone et pastore' (AM42);
FC43 'De equo et leone' (AM43);
FC44 'De equo et asello' (AM44);
FC45 'De animalibus pugnantibus cum avibus' (AM45);
FC46 'De philomena et ancipitre' (AM46);
FC47 'De lupo et vulpe' (AM47);
FC48 'De cervo et fonte' (AM48);
FC49 'De uxore et viro mortuo' (AM49);
FC50 'De thays meretrice et iuvene' (AM50);
FC51 'De padre et filio' (AM51);
FC52 'De vipera et de lima' (AM52);
FC53 'De lupis et ovibus pugnantibus' (AM53);
FC54 'De secure et nemore' (AM54);
FC55 'De cane et lupo' (AM55);
FC56 'De pede et manu negantibus dare cibum ventre' (AM56);
FC57 'De simia et vulpe' (AM57);
FC58 'De asello desiderante mortem' (AM58);
FC59 'De cervo latente in presepio' (AM59);
FC60 'De iudeo et pincerna regis' (AM60);
FC61 'De cive et equite' (AM61);
FC62 'De capone et ancipitre' (AM62);
FC63 'De pastore et lupo' (AM63).

No manuscript witnesses of this translation are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Cosenza: Octavianus Salamonius, [c. **1478**] (ISTC ia00109500), Italian.

⌘ II.21 Anonymous, *Introductory sonnet* to Aesop's fables (Italian verse)

Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo o tu lettore | a cui gli...»; expl.: «...diligentia bene impresso fui» [caudate sonnet; rhyme scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD EE; metre: Italian hendecasyllables].

This caudate sonnet is likely to have been produced either by its first printers or by one of their editors, as its main literary purpose is not just to introduce the work and its author, but rather to highlight the editorial work accomplished by the printers while preparing this edition.[200] In its first appearance, it introduces the first printed edition of the 14th-century vernacular translation of Aesop's fables accomplished by Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, a small village not far from Verona.[201] The main focus of this introduction, which is written as if the sonnet itself was talking to the reader in first person, are the changes and improvements undergone by the text from the manuscript to its printed version. The author particularly stresses the poor quality of the manuscript textual transmission, mainly due to unskilled scribes «Già latino e vulghare fui fallace | E mendoso per colpa del scrittore», but also the improvements made to the text by a professional corrector «Ora son stato in man di correttore», who brought both the Latin and vernacular versions back to a more comprehensible and correct state.

This proem also contains a programmatic statement about the content of the book and its audience, which is clearly identified with groups of children and the uninitiated, this resulting from the fact that the original form of the text was, more than in other cases, subject to modifications, reworking and adjustments. «Le cose che a fanciulli e ad ignoranti | Vano per man soglion perder sua forma | E mutar spesse volte soi sembianti». In this context, it is interesting how the corrector's work of reshaping the text in its pristine, and supposedly original, literary

[200] The two printers' habit of inserting paratextual material, both in prose and in poetry, finds another witness in their edition of Lucan's *Pharsalia,* also printed around 1478-1479 and preceded by a series of epigrams and excerpts from classical texts (ISTC il00298000).
[201] See below the sections dedicated to Accio Zucco's works.

form is referred to as an act of piety, «Vien poi chi per pietà quella reforma», and how the corrector's name is kept separate from that of the printers.

This sonnet contains one of the only two known explicit mentions of the names of the printer Iohannes Alvisius Griffisolis, who issued the Verona 1479 edition with the help of his brother Albertus (probably Ghisalbertus).[202] Its well crafted verses and its features of originality made it very popular among those Italian printers who produced later editions of Accio Zucco's work.[203]

Manuscripts:
Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490).[204]

15th-century Italian printed editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;[205]
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian.

⚜ II.22 Anonymous, *Introductory verses* to Aesop's fables (Latin verse)

Inc.: «Aseopus (*sic*) fueram deformis non satis istud | Ad lasanum...»; expl.: «…salibus seria mixta dabit» [3 elegiac couplets].

This poem might have been the inspiration or the Latin counterpart of the vernacular sonnet seen above. The two works are closely related in terms of content, as they both refer to the

[202] The only other recorded occurrence is found in the colophon of the edition of Iohannes Antonius Romanellus' *Sonnets* printed by the two brothers in Verona roughly in the same years (ISTC ir00315500). This scarcity of direct mentions of the two printers has created confusion in scholarship about their identity; a clear picture was provided by FATTORI 2002, pp. 7-18.
[203] See section III.3 for a comparison of the variants of this sonnet produced by the different 15th-cent. printers, with some considerations on the development of this text.
[204] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts. Owing to space constraints, I could not include the development of this argument in this study, and I plan to develop it in a dedicated article over the next months. Ultimately I do not think that this manuscript should be considered a possible source for any of the early-printed Italian editions.
[205] Since the only surviving copy of this edition lacks most of leaf a1 and the whole of leaf a2, it is only my hypothesis that this text was included. As explained in the *Catalogue* (record n° 39), this hypothesis is based on the significant textual and structural similarities between this and other Venetian and Northern Italian editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* from the same years.

damaged state of Aesop's work before the intervention of an editor, or corrector, and they both invite the reader to approach the work in order to get from it «Salibus seria mixta». They are both written in the first person, with the text, personified as Aesop, talking directly to the reader. The form of the epigram as well as the classical style and the occurrence of rare Latin forms such as «lasanum», which notably has an occurrence in Horatius' *Sermones* I.6, 109, seem to suggest a humanistic authorship for this text. On the basis of the strong content correspondences and of the overall coherence of the edition, one could speculate that the same author was responsible for the composition of both this text and the corresponding vernacular sonnet examined above. We shall then identify him as a man of letters, close to the Griffisolis brothers and to the Veronese humanistic environment, with a good knowledge of Latin and vernacular metrics and a taste for sophisticated quotations from classical authors.[206]

Manuscripts:
Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490).[207]

15th-century Italian printed editions: Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;[208]
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian.

⌘ II.23 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Prologue* to the Esopo zuccarino (Italian verse)

Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...al mio debil ingiegno» [caudate sonnet; rhyme scheme: ABBA BBAA CDC DCD EE; metre: Italian hendecasyllables].

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[206] As mentioned in record n° 18 of the *Catalogue* and throughout chapters III and IV of this study, the name of the Veronese humanist Felice Feliciano was often associated with the design of the decorated borders and of the title page, and in general with the graphic planning of this edition. In light of this, one could wonder whether he might also have been responsible for the composition of these two texts.
[207] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see the note to section II.21). The text is not included in BERTALOT 2004.
[208] Since the only surviving copy of this edition wants most of leaf a1 and the whole leaf a2, it is only my hypothesis that this text was included (see the note to section II.21).

This sonnet constitutes the first half of the bipartite prologue written by Accio Zucco to introduce his 14th-century translation from Latin into Italian vernacular of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* in which each of the sixty-three fables is translated and expanded into two sonnets, respectively a 'Sonetto morale' and a 'Sonetto materiale'. The author was a son of Ser Manfredo, who had moved from the village of Sommacampagna to the city of Verona early in the 14th century to become first *campsor* near the central Piazza delle Erbe, and later, in 1342, *factor generalis et procurator* for Cangrande Della Scala's nephews, Alberto and Martino.[209] One of Accio's brothers, Gidino, was also working for the Scaligers and was the author of a noteworthy treatise on the methods and forms of composition of vernacular poetry, presumably composed between 1381 and 1384, dedicated to Antonio della Scala.[210]

In this first sonnet the poet describes his desire to follow an existing path in the composition of his literary work, without relying only on his own creativity, which he considered not to be strong and refined enough to accomplish the ambitious operation of writing a literary text.[211] The central part of the sonnet contains the description of the poet's feelings when receiving the collection of fables as a gift from Aesop: «e disse a me con suo parlar manero | Io dono a te mie favole iocunde. | Allor gli spirti mei tutti fur mossi | per la allegrezza qual gli fe di prima | tutti occupati e dignorancia grossi». This episode serves as the legitimation of Accio's work as a translator, and at the same time as self-standing protection against all potential accusations concerning the content of the translation.

Manuscripts:

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209 On Accio Zucco, see ZOPPI 1903, p. 77; MISTRUZZI 1916, p. 79; FILOSA 1952, *passim,* and RIVA 1969, pp. 155-60. On Gidino da Sommacampagna and his poem see CAPRETTINI 1980, pp. 5-32; MARCHI 1988, pp. 485-496 and the *DBI* record by MILANI 2000.

210 *Trattato e arte deli rithimi volgari*. See CAPRETTINI 1993, for the modern critical edition.

211 From classical authors such as Cicero, passing through the Byzantine style of writing, this kind of statement is a sample of the literary *topos* of modesty which was extremely common among writers of literary texts in the 14th century, and was usually emphasised in the prefaces or in the initial parts of their works (see the definition in KAZHDAN 1991, p. 1387).

London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (1462); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490);[212] Venezia, Correr, 1029 (15th – 17th centuries; this manuscript is incomplete, stopping at fable 40, 'De rana et bove').

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;[213]
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.24 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Second prologue* to the *Esopo zuccarino* (Italian verse)

Inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet; rhyme scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD EE; metre: Italian hendecasyllables].

Conceived as a sequel and completion of the previous sonnet, this sonnet relates the second part of the author's meeting with Aesop. After donating to Accio Zucco the fables to be translated into Italian from Latin, Aesop calls him back «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor indrio» to ask him not only to carry on with the translation of the fables, but also to produce a commentary which could guide the readers in interpreting the fables correctly («Perche meglio si senta la lor usta | voglio che sopra me faci commento»), without focussing exclusively on their formal features or on their content: «Alguno ve chel frutto gusta attento | E alguno per diletto il fiore gusta | ma di nullo di loro il gusto sento». Again, the translator and commentator justifies most of his work, presenting it as the response to a request from the author. In response, Zucco provided the

[212] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see above note to section II.21 of this study).
[213] Since the only surviving copy of this edition wants most of leaf a1 and the whole leaf a2, it is only my hypothesis that this text was included (see above the note to section II.21 of this study).

reader with an extensive commentary on the text, which, as it will be seen below, is articulated in one 'sonetto materiale', devoted to the literal interpretation of the text and its features, as well as an explanation of the metaphoric roles of the characters, and a 'Sonetto morale', focussed on the clarification of the moral message contained in each fable.

Manuscripts:
London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (1462); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490);[214] Venezia, Correr, 1029 (15th–17th cent.; this manuscript is incomplete, stopping at fable 40, 'De rana et bove').

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;[215]
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.25 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino* (Latin and Italian verse)[216]

Lat. inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit conatur pagina…»; Lat. expl.: «...fabula declarat datque quod intus habet». It. inc.: «Una sala depinta a vagha historia …»; It. expl.: «...mondo non è la più trista» [elegiac couplets and caudate sonnets in Italian hendecasyllables].

[214] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see the above note in section II.21 of this study).
[215] Since the only surviving copy of this edition wants most of leaf a1 and the whole leaf a2, it is only my hypothesis that this text was included (see the above note in section II.21 of this study).
[216] The choice of the title comes from the *Canzone morale* which concludes Accio's translation, where the author himself refers to the title given to his work: «...De così fatta historia | La qual volgarizzando ho posto in rima, | cogliendo de sententia pur la cima | Et in vulgar l'ho tratta dal latino | Et holli posto nome Zucarino» (see section II.27 of this study).

The collection translated by Accio Zucco derives its structure from that of the *Aesopus moralisatus*. The work is generally divided into sixty-three units, corresponding to the number of fables transmitted by the β branch of the tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus*. Each of these units contains first the Latin version of the fable, followed by two poetic compositions (sonnets) in which the content of the fable is paraphrased and explained in Italian vernacular. The two sonnets appear under the names of 'Sonetto materiale' and 'Sonetto morale' in two out of three known manuscript witnesses of the text and in all the 15th-century printed editions.[217]

The fables included in Zucco's collection are in the same order as the *Aesopus moralisatus*. To the three suspected apocryphal fables AM62, AM63, AM65 ('De capone et accipitre', 'De pastore et lupo', 'De mercatore et eius uxore'), Accio also adds a fourth, 'De rustico et plutone' (AM68), which appears in all the printed editions of this text but is never found in manuscripts or printed editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus*.[218]

Hervieux, who mentioned neither the Correr nor the Bodleian manuscript in his *recensio,* thought that Accio himself added the fourth fable to the compilation.[219] On this note, it is important to highlight how the derivative relationship of Accio's translation from the *Aesopus moralisatus* is, albeit evident, seldom straight and linear, which suggests that he might also have had other sources, hitherto unknown, at his disposal while writing. An example of this is the reintroduction, in the fable 'De mure rustico et urbano', of the figure of the «cellerarius», mentioned in the *Romulus* and translated as «carnevaro» in Accio's text, which is not mentioned in the *Aesopus moralisatus*.

As for the last group of fables, it is worth noting that the manuscript of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* from which Accio Zucco derived the Latin version of the fables that he was then going to translate, likely transmitted a faulty version of fable AM65, 'De mercatore et eius uxore', as in all

[217] In particular, manuscripts Venezia, Correr 1029 and Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 witness the mentioned forms for introducing the two sonnets. Manuscript London, BL, Add. MS 10389 transmits instead the form "Sonetto de fabula suprascripta" for the 'Sonetto materiale' and the form "Comentum" instead of 'Sonetto morale'. See below for the list of known manuscripts and incunable editions.

[218] For the first three fables and their circulation in the textual tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* see section II.3 of this study.

[219] See HERVIEUX 1899, I, p. 499 and MARTINI 2014, pp. VII-VIII, on whom the following examples are partially based.

editions and in all the surviving manuscripts which witness the *Esopo zuccarino* the fable consists of nine, and not ten, couplets, missing lines 15-16: «Deprendit puerum sic liquefecit eum | haec lachrymosa manens laniat sine fine capillos».

In addition to the collection of fables, five more texts are normally found in most manuscripts and printed copies of the *Esopo zuccarino,* preceding and following the fables, i.e. a first *Proemio*, inc.: «El me convien...»; a second *Proemio*, inc. «Chiamommi possa...» and, after the last fable, a *Canzonetta*, inc. «Volume mio, quel poco...»; a *Canzon morale*, inc. «Qui se conclude el fin de lopra mia...» and one prayer, *Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio*, inc. «Ave regina virgo gloriosa…».[220] In my view, Zucco's composition should be identified not as a variant of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* as it currently appears in ISTC, but rather as a different and autonomous text.[221] This opinion is reinforced by the peculiar structure of this text, its double nature – Latin and vernacular –, the characteristic addition to the sequence of the *Aesopus moralisatus* of a series of extra fables which, as will be seen in chapter III, tends to remain stable in all editions, and in particular of the fable 'De rustico et plutone', not to mention the specific claim of authorship and title made in the final lines of the *Canzon morale.* For these reasons, I will refer to it as the *Esopo zuccarino* throughout this study, and in the *Catalogue* attached.

The order of the fables is as follows:

[220] See in this chapter the sections specifically dedicated to each of these texts.
[221] The *Canzon morale* concluding the text is described and commented below.

EZ1 'De gallo et iaspide' (AM1);
EZ2 'De lupo et agno' (AM2);
EZ3 'De mure et rana' (AM3);
EZ4 'De cane et ove' (AM4);
EZ5 'De cane gerente carnem in ore' (AM5);
EZ6 'De leone capra iove et iuvenca' (AM6);
EZ7 'De femina nubente furi' (AM7);
EZ8 'De lupo et grue' (AM8);
EZ9 'De cane et alia cane' (AM9);
EZ10 'De viro et colubro' (AM10);
EZ11 'De asello et apro' (AM11);
EZ12 'De mure rustico et urbano' (AM12);
EZ13 'De vulpe et aquila' (AM13);
EZ14 'De aquila et testudine' (AM14);
EZ15 'De vulpe et corvo' (AM15);
EZ16 'De leone apro tauro et asello' (AM16);
EZ17 'De catulo hero et asello' (AM17);
EZ18 'De leone et mure' (AM18);
EZ19 'De milvo et matre' (AM19);
EZ20 'De irundine et rustico' (AM20);
EZ21 'De civitate carente rege' (AM21);
EZ22 'De ranis petentibus regem' (AM22);
EZ23 'De accipitre et columbis' (AM23);
EZ24 'De fure et cane' (AM24);
EZ25 'De lupo et sucula' (AM25);
EZ26 'De terra que peperit murem' (AM26);
EZ27 'De lupo et agno' (AM27);
EZ28 'De cane et domino' (AM28);
EZ29 'De silva et leporibus' (AM29);
EZ30 'De lupo et haedo' (AM30);
EZ31 'De rustico et angue' (AM31);
EZ32 'De cervo et ove' (AM32);
EZ33 'De musca et calvo' (AM33);
EZ34 'De vulpe et ciconia' (AM34);
EZ35 'De lupo et cervice' (AM35);
EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus' (AM36);
EZ37 'De mula musca et mulione' (AM37);
EZ38 'De musca et formica' (AM38);
EZ39 'De lupo et vulpe' (AM39);
EZ40 'De viro et mustela' (AM40);
EZ41 'De rana et bove' (AM41);
EZ42 'De leone et pastore' (AM42);
EZ43 'De equo et leone' (AM43);
EZ44 'De equo et asello' (AM44);
EZ45 'De quadrupedibus et avibus' (AM45);
EZ46 'De philomena et accipitre' (AM46);
EZ47 'De lupo et vulpe' (AM47);
EZ48 'De cervo et fonte' (AM48);
EZ49 'De viro et uxore' (AM49);
EZ50 'De iuvene et thayde' (AM50);
EZ51 'De patre et eius filio' (AM51);
EZ52 'De vipera et lima' (AM52);
EZ53 'De lupis et ovibus' (AM53);
EZ54 'De luco et secure' (AM54);
EZ55 'De lupo et cane' (AM55);
EZ56 'De ventre pedibus et manibus' (AM56);
EZ57 'De simia et vulpe' (AM57);
EZ58 'De asello et institore' (AM58);
EZ59 'De argo cervo et bobus' (AM59);
EZ60 'De iudeo et pincerna regis' (AM60);
EZ61 'De cive et equite regis' (AM61);
EZ62 'De capone et accipitre' (AM62);
EZ63 'De pastore et lupo' (AM63);
EZ64 'De mercatore et eius uxore' (AM65);
EZ65 'De rustico et plutone' (AM68)
EZ66 'De puero suspenso' (AM64).

Manuscripts:
London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (1462); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490);[222] Venezia, Correr, 1029 (15th–17th centuries; this manuscript is incomplete, stopping at fable 40)[223].

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;

[222] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see above section I.21 of this study).
[223] See MARTINI 2014, pp. IX-X. The scarcity of manuscript witnesses of this vernacular translation, in comparison with its popularity in print, still deserves to be further researched and analysed. The explanation given by Riva, who put the survival of the only manuscript he knew (London, BL, Add. MS 10389) down to the high popularity of this text and the consumption of the rest of the books by the readers, can be accepted, despite running the risk of being partial (see RIVA 1969, pp. 133-63). In my opinion, as demonstrated by the other two manuscripts mentioned above, more witnesses of the *Esopo zuccarino* still have to be identified, and the fact that it begins with the first Latin sonnet of the *Aesopus moralisatus* has made this text not immediately distinguishable to the eyes of manuscript cataloguers and scholars. I have dedicated some considerations to the *Esopo zuccarino* and to its London witness in MALASPINA 2018, forthcoming.

Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian;[224]
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.26 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Canzonetta* (Italian verse)

Inc.: «Volume mio, quel poco de argumento...»; expl.: «…Si che del tutto non sia sottomesso» [32 lines; rhyme scheme: ABBC BAB CCAA BBCC ADDE EDE EDDE FFGGGH; metre: Italian heptasyllables and hendecasyllables].

This poem serves as the author's 'congedo', where he talks directly to his work before sending it out to the public, and gives instructions on how to approach and to speak to all types of audience.

In particular, the poem is exhorted to go and visit the sinners, to go among those who behave badly and against the values, expressed by the fables, and to ignore the fact that many people would criticise the work and its content on multiple occasions.

Manuscripts:
London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (1462); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490).[225]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;

[224] As illustrated in record n° 61 in the *Catalogue*, this edition does not contain the Latin version of the fables, but rather combines the 'Sonetto morale' and 'Sonetto materiale' with other Italian vernacular materials. See also section III.3 of this study.
[225] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see above section II.21 of this study).

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.27 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Canzon morale* (Italian verses)

Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin de lopra mia...»; expl.: «...lagna | rspondi el Zucco da Summacampagna» [130 lines; rhyme scheme: 8 x AbbC ABbC CDdE EFF, 1 x AbbC CDdE eFF; metre: Italian hendecasyllables and heptasyllables].

In this poem Accio Zucco summarises the moral content of all the fables included in his translation in one or two lines per fable, without mentioning any of the characters of the fables and always talking impersonally to an hypothetical reader.

The poem consists of eight stanzas of fifteen lines divided into twelve hendecasyllables and three heptasyllables and followed by a 'congedo' of eleven lines. This is also the place where Accio Zucco repeatedly claims the authority of the work: lines 16-17 «…et in volgar lo tratto dal latino | et holli posto nome zucharino» and lines 124-130: «Si el nome mio alcum saper volesse | digli che Accio e il proprio nome mio | Or vatene con dio | e chiaramente mostra la tua arte | e si tu ti trovi in parte | chi del prenome mio saper si lagna | rspondi el Zuccho da summacampagna».

Manuscripts:
London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (1462); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490).[226]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;

[226] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see above section II.21 of this study).

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.28 Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Ave Maria* (Italian verse)

Inc.: «Ave regina virgo gloriosa | De gratia plena...»; expl.: «...Dei | Se ricomanda: miserere mei» [caudate sonnet; rhyme scheme: ABBA ABBA CDC DCD EE; metre: Italian hendecasyllables].[227]

This poem belongs to the tradition of Marian prayers which flourished in the late Middle-Ages and early Renaissance period, from Bernard of Clairvaux onwards.[228] A close antecedent of this sonnet can be found in the *Lamentatio Beate Virginis Mariae,* written in the late 13th century by the Augustinian friar Enselminus de Montebelluna, with which the poem shares the first line «Ave, Regina, Virgo gloriosa» as well as several lexical similarities.[229] The relationship between the two texts is reinforced by their common geographical origin, i.e. the Veneto area. Montebelluna's poem was indeed extremely popular thoughout the 14th and 15th centuries, as witnessed by the high number of manuscripts transmitting it (more than ninety), and by the rewritings and other texts it inspired. In particular, it had a widespread diffusion in the areas of Veneto, Tuscany, Lombardy and Emilia Romagna.

The sonnet is attributed to Accio Zucco by the editors of the first edition where it appears, i.e. the *princeps* of the *Esopo zuccarino* (Verona 1479). The absence of a manuscript tradition, however, with the only exception of manuscript Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512, makes it impossible for the time being to ascertain whether this poem was actually circulating before its first printed appearance, and whether it can genuinely be attributed to Accio. While in the other two poems

[227] The sonnet is missing from *IUPI*.
[228] Fundamental co-ordinates on the topic can be found in APOLLONIO 1970, with bibliography. For Enselminus de Montebelluna see the *DBI* record by MOSCHELLA 1993.
[229] The *Lamentatio* can be read in LINDER 1898; updated considerations on this work and its transmission and circulation can be found in ANDREOSE 2008, pp. 101-54, with bibliography.

attached to the vernacular version of the fables, namely the *Canzonetta* and the *Canzon morale,* the name of the author is explicitly referred to, in this case there is no specific indication pointing towards Accio in the text.

Manuscripts:
Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490). [230]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, **26 Jun. 1479** (ISTC ia00148000), Latin and Italian;
Rome: [Eucharius Silber], **29 Mar. 1483** (ISTC ia00148500), Latin and Italian;
Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, **7 Mar. 1487** (ISTC ia00149000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius [c. **1490**] (ISTC ia00150600), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **31 Jan. 1491** (ISTC ia00151000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **15 Feb. 1491** (ISTC ia00152000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa, **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **17 Aug. 1493** (ISTC ia00153000), Latin and Italian;
Bologna: Ercole Nani, **22 Feb. 1494** (ISTC ia00153500), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, **27 Jun. 1497** (ISTC ia00154000), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.29 Anonymous, *Adagia* (Latin verse)

«Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed saepe cadendo. | Sic homo sit sapiens non bis sed saepe legendo»; «Clamitat ad caelum vox sanguinis et sodomorum. | Vox oppressorum, mercesque retenta laborum» [2 elegiac couplets].

The first couplet represents the expanded version of the classical sentence «Gutta cavat lapidem», already in use in prose and poetry works by authors such as Ovid, Lucretius, Seneca and Tibullus, and completed in different ways.[231] This sentence had the form of the first hemistich of an hexameter, and could therefore be completed with different endings. Throughout the Middle

[230] On the basis of its content, relatively late date of production and textual variants, I believe this manuscript to be *descriptus* from one of the Italian incunable editions of Aesopian texts (see above the note in section II.21 of this study).
[231] Ovid quotes this phrase in *Epistulae ex Ponto* IV, 10 and *Ars amatoria* I, 476 (reference critical editions are RICHMOND 1990 and HOLLIS 1977 respectively); Seneca in *Naturales quaestiones* IV, 3 (GROSS 1989); Tibullus in *Elegiae* I, 4, 18 (MURGATROYD 1994) and Lucretius in *De rerum natura* I 314 and IV 1281 (BAILEY 1947). Almost contemporary to that of Seneca was the use of this locution by Galen of Pergamon, «Πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ» (quoted here from the edition KÜHN 1833).

Ages, it took the form that was printed in the editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus*, which refers mostly to education and to the necessary length and monotony of the learning processes.

The second proverb refers instead to the 'peccata clamantia', i.e., in the medieval popular wisdom, a list of four sins, which were said to cry to heaven for vengeance. The four sins are: murder, sodomy, oppression of the weak, and defrauding the labourer. The group of sins derives its name, which refers to their distinctly abhorrent nature, from Gen. IV, 10: «dixitque ad eum quid fecisti vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra», where God is talking to Cain about the murder of his brother Abel. In this distich, four different passages of the Bible, dedicated each to a different sin, are epitomised in order to make them easier to memorise for students and pupils: «Clamitat ad caelum vox sanguinis» (from Gen. IV, 10); «clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrae multiplicatus est et peccatum earum adgravatum est nimis, descendam et videbo utrum clamorem qui venit ad me opere conpleverint an non est ita ut sciam» (from Gen. XVIII, 20-21); «vidi adflictionem populi mei in Aegypto et clamorem eius audivi propter duritiam eorum qui praesunt operibus […] clamor ergo filiorum Israhel venit ad me vidique adflictionem eorum qua ab Aegyptiis opprimuntur» (from Ex. III, 7-9), «ecce merces operariorum qui messuerunt regiones vestras qui fraudatus est a vobis clamat et clamor ipsorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introiit» (from James, V, 4). [232]

Due to the unsettled and changeable textual nature of these proverbs, it is impossible for the time being to establish a list of the manuscripts that witness them.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Milan: Antonius Zarotus, c. **1480**] (ISTC ia00123700), Latin;
[Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia, c. **1480**] (ISTC ia00128200), Latin;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **5 Sept. 1495** (ISTC ia00128200), Latin;
Milan: Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus, **20 Feb. 1496** (ISTC ia00128300), Latin.

[232] See NUGENT 2009, pp. 585-87. The reference edition of the Bible is GRYSON-WEBER 1994.

⌘ II.30 Francesco del Tuppo, *Letter* addressed to Onorato Gaetani dell'Aquila, Count of Fondi, Traetto, Alife, and Morcone (Italian prose)

Inc.: «Elli sono in lo seculo…»; expl.: «...tua illustrissima signoria annumera. Vale» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 97-99].

Francesco del Tuppo was, together with Matthias Moravus and Sixtus Riessinger, the most productive printer active in Naples before 1500. His enterprise was also one of the longest-lasting, spanning from 1475 to 1492.[233] The author, editor and printer was born around 1443 in Naples, the son of an official of the Aragonese court. He was educated at court and studied with Spanish teachers and under the protection of Alphonsus of Aragon until the King's death in 1458, after which he passed into his son Ferdinandus' service, officially becoming one of his *familiares* in 1477. After his first collaboration with the German typographer Sixtus Riessinger for the printing of Antonius D'Alessandro's *Reportata Super II Codicis* in 1473 he continued editing and printing in collaboration with Riessinger, until the latter left Naples for Rome in 1478, as well as with other printers and on his own.[234] He printed around sixty editions before 1501, when the last known document mentioning him is dated. The opening text of del Tuppo's translation of Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae* is a dedicatory letter addressed to Onorato II Gaetani, son of Christophorus and nephew of Onoratus I, Count of Fondi, who was the main sponsor of del Tuppo's work and a renowned patron of his times, with close connections to the Aragonese court.[235]

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[233] See SANTORO 1984, pp. 12-60 and p. 22 in particular, who assigned fifty-seven editions to Moravus, of which one is of uncertain attribution, fifty-four editions to Riessinger and forty-four to del Tuppo, of which two were of uncertain attribution. Today, the ISTC registers a total of seventy editions attributed or tentatively attributed to Moravus, of which only thirty-five are signed by the printer, a total of eighty-two editions ascribed or tentatively ascribed to Riessinger, of which only forty-two are signed by the printer in the colophon; and a total of sixty-three editions related to the name of Francesco del Tuppo, of which only twenty-three are signed by the printer in the colophon (data ISTC, last checked November 2017). It is striking to see how much these three printers were collaborating in the course of their practice, often exchanging typesets and acting as editors, assistants or correctors for each other. On del Tuppo see also FRATTAROLO 1977, pp. 114-15, the *DBI* record by FARENGA 1990 and FUIANO 1996, pp. 76-78.

[234] ISTC ia00458000.

[235] Apart from del Tuppo's Aesop, Gaetani was also the dedicatee of a series of other contemporary texts such as the unpublished treatise *De rationalis animae immortalitate* written by the Dominican friar and inquisitor Philippus Barberius and of *novella* 46 of Masuccio Salernitano's *Novellino.* On him see the recent work by RAMADORI-POLLASTRI 2006, pp. XV-XX in particular.

In dedicating his translation of Aesop's life and fables to him, del Tuppo begins with suggesting a parallel between Gaetani and Scipio Africanus, who was praised for his moral values and his nobility and firmness in facing the slanderous accusations which the Romans laid against him. Carrying on this tone, the whole letter is dedicated to the celebration of Gaetani's qualities, with a mention of his father and of different biographical episodes exemplifying his very good relationship with King Alfonso, with particular reference to the episode of the death of Pietro di Castiglia (1471) and the meeting with the Viceroy of Sardinia in July 1481.[236]

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Naples: [Cristannus Preller, Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, for] Francesco del Tuppo, **13 Feb. 1485** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
Venice: Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **27 Mar. 1492** (ISTC ia00110000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **8 Nov. 1493** (ISTC ia00111000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.31 Francesco del Tuppo, *Proem* to the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «[N]ovum nimirum aucupium novasque...»; expl.: «...qui legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99].

This is a shortened rewriting of the letter addressed by Rinucius Aretinus to Antonius Cerdá, opening Rinucius' translation of Aesop's life and fables.[237] In this context, the text is not addressed to a specific recipient and it leaves out the passages specifically dedicated to the celebration of the virtues of Antonius Cerdá to develop a more philosophically-oriented introduction to Aesop's life. The first part of the text is dedicated to a celebration of the benefits and positive aspects of trope literature, which is claimed to descend directly from the ethical branch of philosophy as an endless source of moral models for the readers: «tropica figuratione (ex ipsa quam Ethicen appellant divina celebrique preceptione derivata)». For these reasons, the printer felt that it was necessary and important to restore Aesop's words from their status of

[236] To my knowledge, these episodes have not been examined in detail so far; some information can be found in SERRELLI 2015, pp. 1037-54.
[237] See section II.5 of this thesis.

abeyance, also because, in spite of its apparent formal simplicity, Aesop's life and fables contain a large quantity of 'images' of irreprehensible behaviours, i.e. of visual, and therefore easy to understand, representation of moral virtues.

The last part of the text distinguishes two periods in Aesop's life, that of the slavery and that of the freedom respectively, both containing episodes which resemble the fables themselves: «Que fabularum habent effigiem». The text, thanks to its many positive moral and narrative qualities, is meant to stimulate the soul of both «languentes et laboriosos».

No manuscript witnesses are known for this work.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Naples: [Cristannus Preller, Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, for] Francesco del Tuppo, **13 Feb. 1485** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
Venice: Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **27 Mar. 1492** (ISTC ia00110000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **8 Nov. 1493** (ISTC ia00111000), Latin and Italian;
L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, **31 May 1493** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⌘ II.32 Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi* after Rinucius' (Latin and Italian prose)

Inc. Latin: «Esopus philosophus fabulator clarissimus...»; inc. Italian: «Multo fo Esopo tutto el tempo della sua vita…»; expl. Latin: «…qui mortis Esopi auctores fuerunt»; expl. Italian: «...ad donarle la morte» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173].[238]

This text is a re-edition of Rinucius Aretinus' Latin translation of the life of Aesop, to which del Tuppo adds the Italian translation. In general, the Latin version follows Aretinus' model closely, in terms of the number and succession of the episodes included, textual structure and syntax. However, one major difference consists in the division of the text of the *Vita* into a series of twenty-three different chapters, each one being introduced by a specific title summarising the content and followed by the corresponding vernacular translation.

[238] The vernacular version was also published as an appendix to Petrocchi's edition of Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino* (see PETROCCHI 1957, pp. 459-530).

This arrangement was probably adopted by the author to facilitate the translation of the text and to make it more accessible; however, it also turned out to be useful for the purpose of illustrating Aesop's life, so that each episode could be more easily represented visually. It is not known which was del Tuppo's direct material source for his re-adaptation of the Latin text and for his vernacular translation. However, a series of textual features will help establish links with certain stages of the transmission of Rinucius' Latin version of the *Vita*. One point which is particularly telling in this respect is the treatment of the lacuna which appears in Rinucius' version and is probably attributable to some missing leaves in the Greek manuscript that Rinucius was using as a base for his translation.[239]

The lacuna concerns the episode of the widow and was remarked by Rinucius with a note which appears today in one of the most authoritative witnesses of the text, i.e. manuscript Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R I 39.[240] All 15th-century editors of Rinucius' *Vita* gave their personal solution to the presence of this lacuna in the text: while some of them highlighted it, leaving some blank space on the corresponding page, possibly hoping that it could be filled in afterwards. Others ignored it, and made it almost unnoticeable in the text; some omitted the beginning of the fragmentary passage, this way eliminating every trace of the lacuna.

Del Tuppo adopted the third solution. The passage containing the lacuna is part of the episode VA22, 'Quo pacto Esopus post sudores multos a Delphis inique circumventus capitur'. In this chapter, del Tuppo follows Rinucius' text until the beginning of the *lacuna*, after the sentence «habe spes bonas, ac teipsum consuleris». In between the end of this sentence and the beginning of the following paragraph of the text, instead of the beginning of the incomplete fable of the widow, del Tuppo inserts an editorial consideration which is absent from all the manuscript and printed versions of Rinucius' *Vita* hitherto known: «Tum Esopus subgemens dum varias fabularum rationes pro consolatione sue miserie recitaret, medium suspendere sermonem coactus

[239] See section II.7 of this study.
[240] WESTERMANN, p. 53 line 20 to p. 54 line 10.

est. Nam ecce delphii…». The Italian translation reads: «…habie bone speranze et consulate te medesmo. Esopo poverecto piangendo et gemendo se tristava. Ecco li Delphii che…».

The editor here is trying to notify the presence in the original story of something which is, at the current stage of the transmission, missing. Two hypotheses can be made around this editorial choice. First, that del Tuppo was copying the text from an unknown or now lost manuscript or printed edition of Rinucius' *Vita* and that his source had already introduced this remark, and secondly that del Tuppo's sample was one of the editions that somehow gave notice of the lacuna, which he then filled autonomously.

This circumstance suggests the exclusion of the hypothesis that del Tuppo's model was an edition of the kind of Filippus de Lavagna, 26 June 1476, in which the text passes from «teipsum consuleris» to the following paragraph, «Ecce Delphi…» without interruption. In these cases, the lacuna was probably as difficult to notice for del Tuppo as it is now for contemporary readers.[241]

The episodes in del Tuppo's *Vita* are listed as follows:

‘

[241] More on the different tratments of the lacuna in the 15th-cent. printed editions of the *Vita* will be said in section III.1.5 of this thesis.

VA1 De conditione et origine eiusdem';
VA2 'De fraude conservorum Esopi et eius astucia';
VA3 Quomodo Esopus per isidem habuit loquella et sapientia';
VA4 'Qualiter Esopus sub vili extimatione venditus fuerat';
VA5 'De Esopi in deferendi oneribus sagaci astucia';
VA6 'De diversis et facetis responsionibus Esopi et eius altera venditione';
VA7 'Introductio Esopi in domo Xanthi philosophi';
VA8 'Quomodo Esopus questiunculam olitori solverit patrono suo ignotam';
VA9 'De variis delusionibus per Esopum Xantho oblatis et prompto Esopi ingenio in solvendis problematibus';
VA10 'Quomodo Xanthus per Esopum convictus est uxore canicula, benivolentiorem sibirore quove pacto lingua optima sit et rerum pessima';
VA11 'Quo pacto Esopus Xanto compellitur hominem invenire incurium et quis pro nomine reputandus sit qui in se molestiam capit an qui dum potest repellit';
VA12 'Quomodo Xantus dum inter bibendum vino madidus pollicetur facturum se se quod natura negat Esopi consilio liberatus sit';
VA13 'Quomodo Esopus here sue cubantis inferiore detexerat';
VA14 'Quomodo Esopus epigramma interpretatus sit cuius occasione thesaurum domino sibi carceres repperit';
VA15 'De portento aquilino cuius augurium Esopus persolvens saniorum opera libertatem adipiscitur';
VA16 'Quomodo Esopus lidiam adorsus regi Creso se obtulerit liberando Samios a regis edicto';
VA17 'Quo pacto Esopus magnifice sub licuro rege Babilonie deguerit obviam enigmatum interpretationem';
VA18 'De Licuri regis anxietate super ambigui problematis nodo et Esopi simulata morte';
VA19 'Precepta Esopi quibus eeum insignivit ad optimum filium';
VA20 'Quomodo Esopus ad regiam rectanabi processerit atque insolita ad inventione temeritatem Egyptiorum propulerit';
VA21 'Quomodo Esopus in medio doctorum vario temptamine afflatus victor abierit';
VA22 'Quopacto Esopo post sudore multos a Delphiis inique circumventus capitur';
VA23 'De interitu Esopi clarissimi fabulatoris'.

No manuscript editions of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Naples: [Cristannus Preller, Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, for] Francesco del Tuppo, **13 Feb. 1485** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
Venice: Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **27 Mar. 1492** (ISTC ia00110000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, **8 Nov. 1493** (ISTC ia00111000), Latin and Italian;
L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, **31 May 1493** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, **23 Dec. 1497** (ISTC ia00156500), Latin and Italian;
Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, **8 Jul. 1498** (ISTC ia00157000), Latin and Italian.

⌘ II.33 Francesco del Tuppo, *Fabulae Aesopi* (Latin verse and Italian prose)

Inc. Latin: «Ut iuvet et prosit conatur...»; inc. Italian: «Ymago. A ciò che alli vivente iove et faza…»; expl. Latin: «… consortem tartara saeva negant»; expl. Italian: «...dio francho et mandolo con Dio» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 175-355].

Based on the Latin text and structure of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* this text represents one of the most complex and detailed examples of elaboration of an Aesopian text in late-medieval and Renaissance times. Del Tuppo was educated under the patronage of Alfonso of Aragon, and must have had a particular interest in subjects such as literature and philosophy, which he studied with the theologian Ferrante of Valenza.[242] The death of Alfonso and the subsequent constitutional crisis of the kingdom possibly changed something in del Tuppo's career, making it impossible for him to complete his studies.

The composition and production in print of this text in 1485, with a new series of characters and embellished with a rich series of illustrations, must have represented an effort for the printer.[243] In fact, it was followed by around five years of progressively slower and less intense production which, from what is left from those years, seems to have resolved in a phase of complete suspension and renewal from 1493-1494.

The author's philosophically-oriented education surfaces from the complex structure of the volume, which is divided into sixty-five units, all consisting of rather similar sequences of textual components: Latin title of the fable; Latin text in elegiac couplets from the *Aesopus moralisatus*; *Apologus* and *Tropologia* in Italian*,* representing the two parts of the translation and consisting respectively of a short prose narrative abstract of the fable and a brief summary of its moral meaning; *Allegoria* or *Anagoge,* or *Sensus anagogicus,* i.e. a more articulated interpretation of the fable, which penetrates beyond the allegorical setting and characters in order to show its relationship

[242] See the *DBI* record by FARENGA 1990, available online.

[243] The complex textual structure of Del Tuppo's translation has always created confusion among scholars. A recent case of mis-interpretation is that of CORFIATI 2004, p. 746 n. 5, who describes the beginning of each unit as «Per ogni apologo infatti è riportato il testo latino in distici elegiaci, ossia la traduzione latina di Rinuccio Aretino». The two things have nothing to do with each other. This case of confusion further underlines the necessity of a systematic work on the study of Aesopian texts circulating in the 15th cent. and on their mutual relationships.

with the real world; and *Confirmatio* or *Exemplum morale* or *Historia,* which usually contains a contemporary and more actual sample of the concept expressed by the fable. In addition to these six parts, each unit also has its own illustration, while other interpretative segments were only added from time to time, demonstrating the fluidity of the structure of this translation. This is the case, for instance, of the 'Descriptio invidie', which is part of the exegetical apparatus of fable FdT47 'De lupo vulpe et pastore', and of the 'Definitio mulieris', which completes the sequence of texts related to fable FdT50, 'De iuvene et thayde'.

The *Exemplum morale* in particular offers the author the occasion to place the fables in connection with contemporary social and political circumstances and recent history, and witnesses how, still in the late 15th century, fables derived from Aesopian tradition were not just a meaningless and empty repertoire: educated people were studying them and their significance was actual and discussed at different cultural levels. Furthermore, in this section, the author leaves traces of his engagement with contemporary social and political life, mostly related to the complicated situation in the Kingdom of Naples and the conspiracy of the Barons, by mentioning different episodes taken from contemporary history or chronicles of recent years.

The Latin text of the fables corresponds to that of the *Aesopus moralisatus*. Similarly to the *Esopo zuccarino,* this rewriting too includes the fable AM68, 'De rustico et plutone'.[244] The sequence of the fables is as follows:

[244] This similarity will be commented further in section III.3.

FdT1 'De gallo et iaspide' (AM1);
FdT2 'De lupo et agno' (AM2);
FdT3 'De mure et rana' (AM3);
FdT4 'De bane (*sic*) et ove' (AM4);
FdT5 'De cane gerente carnem in ore' (AM5);
FdT6 'De leone ove capra et iuvenca' (AM6);
FdT7 'De femina nubente furi'; (AM7);
FdT8 'De lupo et grue' (AM8);
FdT9 'De duabus caniculis' (AM9);
FdT10 'De viro et colubro' (AM10);
FdT11 'De apro et asello' (AM11);
FdT12 'De mure rustico et urbano' (AM12);
FdT13 'De vulpe et aquila' (AM13);
FdT14 'De aquila et testudine' (AM14);
FdT15 'De vulpe et corvo' (AM15);
FdT16 'De leone apro tauro et asello' (AM16);
FdT17 'De catulo hero et asello' (AM17);
FdT18 'De leone et mure' (AM18);
FdT19 'De milvo et matre' (AM19);
FdT20 'De irundine et rustico' (AM20);
FdT21 'De atheniensibus petentibus regem' (AM21);
FdT22 'De ranis et hidro eorum rege' (AM22);
FdT23 'De regio accipitre et columbis' (AM23);
FdT24 'De fure et cane' (AM24);
FdT25 'De lupo et sucula' (AM25);
FdT26 'De terra parturiente murem' (AM26);
FdT27 'De lupo et agno' (AM27);
FdT28 'De cane et eius domino' (AM28);
FdT29 'De silva leporibus et ranis' (AM29);
FdT30 'De lupo et hedo' (AM30);
FdT31 'De rustico et angue' (AM31);
FdT32 'De cervo ove et lupo' (AM32);
FdT33 'De musca et calvo' (AM33);
FdT34 'De vulpe et cigonia' (AM34);
FdT35 'De lupo et cervice humana' (AM35);
FdT36 'De graculo et pavonibus' (AM36);
FdT37 'De mula musca et mulione' (AM37);
FdT38 'De musca et formica' (AM38);
FdT39 'De lupo vulpe et simio' (AM39);
FdT40 'De viro et mustela' (AM40);
FdT41 'De rana et bove' (AM41);
FdT42 'De leone et pastore' (AM42);
FdT43 'De equo et leone' (AM43);
FdT44 'De equo et asello' (AM44);
FdT45 'De pugna avium cum quadrupedibus' (AM45);
FdT46 'De philomena et accipitre' (AM46);
FdT47 'De lupo vulpe et pastore' (AM47);
FdT48 'De cervo et fonte' (AM48);
FdT49 'De viro et uxore' (AM49);
FdT50 'De iuvene et thayde' (AM50);
FdT51 'De patre et eius filio' (AM51);
FdT52 'De vipera et lima' (AM52);
FdT53 'De lupis et ovibus' (AM53);
FdT54 'De villano luco et secure' (AM54);
FdT55 'De lupo et cane' (AM55);
FdT56 'De conspiratione membrorum adversus stomachum' (AM56);
FdT57 'De simia et vulpe' (AM57);
FdT58 'De asello et institose (*sic*)' (AM58);
FdT59 'De argo cervo et bobus' (AM59);
FdT60 'De iudeo et picerna regis' (AM60);
FdT61 'De cive et equite regis' (AM561);
FdT62 'De capone et accipitre' (AM62);
FdT63 'De pastore et lupo' (AM63);
FdT64 'De mercatore et eius uxore' (AM64);
FdT65 'De rustico et plutone' (AM68).

No manuscript witnesses of this work are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Naples: [Cristannus Preller, Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, for] Francesco del Tuppo, **13 Feb. 1485** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, **31 May 1493** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.34 Francesco del Tuppo, *Epilogus* of his translation of the *Fabulae* (Italian prose)

Inc.: «Lectore per la merce de dio e venuta…»; expl.: «…signoria fare comendato. Valete» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 355-56].

The conclusion of del Tuppo's work is also the occasion for the author to summarise the ultimate moral and educational objective of his reworking and interpretation of Aesop's fables. It opens with a topical declaration of modesty («e venuta la fine del trabaglio mio quale como megliore o saputo con basso et humile stile me so portato»), which is immediately followed by an explicit declaration of the scope of the book: «…quisto libello quale e tucto fundato ad fugire li vicii et sequitare le virtu». The long list of virtues and good values, which constitutes the largest part of this text, have been interpreted by 19th-century scholars as one of the elements reinforcing the link between del Tuppo's work and the medieval world and culture, to the point that it was considered «un prodotto essenzialmente medievale venuto fuori all'epoca del Rinascimento».[245] More recently, on the other hand, scholarship has focussed on the modernity and the originality of some of del Tuppo's narrative strategies, particularly that of inserting references to contemporary events in his *confirmationes*, although often carefully hiding them under the protection of metaphors and extremely subtle allusions. This has led towards the reading of this work more as a modern *speculum principis*, produced in the spirit of full appreciation and enjoyment of Reinassance courtly life, rather than a medieval encyclopaedic compilation of moral principles and philosophical assumptions.[246] The remark towards the end

[245] See DE LOLLIS 1886, p. 20, MORPURGO 1887, p. 79 and MAURO 1926, p. 196.
[246] See FARENGA 1991, pp. 83-94 and CORFIATI 2004, pp. 747-48.

of this text that «la gratia, lo honore, la reverentia, la compassione al proximo, la misericordia, la santita, la mansuetudine, la munditia, la constantia, la speranza, la fede, la innocentia, la puritia, lo timore de Dio, la castita, la continentia et la virginita virtute singularissime da regere li regni governare lo mundo et fare li homini cauti con tante cose che piaceno allo eterno Dio» further supports this interpretation, and once more contributes to place this work not in a dimension of private moral development, but rather in a wider courtly social environment. The text closes with a last mention of the dedicatee of the whole work, Onorato Gaetani, and with a celebration of his virtues and of his role as «protonothario et logotheta» of the Kingdom of Naples.

No manuscript witnesses of this work are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Naples: [Cristannus Preller, Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, for] Francesco del Tuppo, **13 Feb. 1485** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian;
L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, **31 May 1493** (ISTC ia00156000) Latin and Italian.

⌘ II.35 Anonymous, *Worship of the Virgin Mary* (Italian verse)

Inc.: «[V]ergine in parto e doppo parto…»; expl.: «…numero degli io son collui» [sonnet of 14 lines].

This sonnet in Italian vernacular, containing a praise of the Virgin Mary, does not seem to be known to scholarship or to have been published previously.[247] Its diplomatic transcription is given below:

«[V]ergine in parto e doppo parto e pria
Ab initio et ante secula creata
Dal spiritu sancto chamera chiamata
Di peccatori pentiti ferma via
summa imperatrice alma maria
Sopra de laltre vergine exaltata
Pura munda nocente immaculata

[247] It is not included in *IUPI*.

Recepto pretioso del messia
Gionto al extremo del mio vital corso
E per tuo priegi sanctissimi e casti
Dopol mio voto liberato fui
Felice te e chi te ama per lo corso
Cha peccator mai volto non voltasti
Et nel numero degli io son collui».

The sonnet is simple both in terms of structure, content and literary sources, which include the *New Testament,* as well as some typical images of Marian devotion. In particular, it has to be highlighted that the concept of Mary's virginity before and after Jesus' birth, with which the poem opens, is very close to that expressed in the *incipit* of the sonnet «Vergene in parto et dopo parto tale…» by the Bolognese poet Cesare Nappi (c. 1440-1518).[248]

In all its features, this anonymous poem is coherent with the *Ave Maria facta per lo antedicto Accio*, which precedes it in this edition and which appears in many of the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino.*

No manuscript witnesses of this work are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions: Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, **20 Nov. 1487** (ISTC ia00150400), Latin and Italian; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa, **1 Apr. 1491** (ISTC ia00155500), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.36 Franciscus Marius Grapaldus, abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Phrygia Ammonium pagum habet...»; expl.: «…graeciae sumpta supplicia. Vale lector».

Born in Parma in 1460, the son of a jurist and philosopher, the author of this abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi* was a pupil of Philippus Beroaldus and became professor of humanities and literature in Parma in 1486.[249] He was trained in Greek as well as in Latin, and repeatedly collaborated with representatives of the humanistic circle of his hometown, such as

[248] The *incipit* is included in *IUPI,* III, p. 261. The poem by Nappi can was published by FRATI 1908, p. 217; for Nappi's biography see the *DBI* record by QUAQUARELLI 2012, with further bibliography.
[249] A complete account of Grapaldus' biography and works can be found in the *DBI* record SIEKIERA, 2002, with further bibliography, on which this and the following information is based.

the poet Georgius Anselmi, author of a well-received series of epigrams and of a Greek-to-Latin translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, and the Ugoletus brothers, one of whom, Angelus, was also responsible for the only known edition of this text.[250] Outcomes of these humanistic interests and collaborations are the revised and commented editions of Plautus' *Comediae* with commentaries, scholiated and edited by Grapaldus and Ugoletus, with the addition of a partial commentary by Pilade Broccardus, and Grapaldus' best-known work, the *De partibus aedium*.[251]

The source for this *Compendium*, possibly composed in the 1480s and certainly before 1488, when it was issued in print, is Rinucius' translation of the *Vita Aesopi,* published for the first time in 1474 by Antonius Zarotus.[252] The correspondence is evident from the very first words, in which the origin and major details of Aesop's physical description are recalled. After a few lines of introduction, the first half of the short text is dedicated to the description of Aesop's look («Facie fuit haud liberali brevi collo....»), while the second half summarises some of the most significant episodes of the *Life,* which in Rinucius' translation spanned several pages and are here condensed in five or six sentences, with a special emphasis on how Aesop was gifted by the Goddess with an extraordinary ability as an orator because of his kindness towards guests, on how he was appreciated and respected by anyone because of his fables and on the circumstances of his death in Delphos: all this follows Rinucius' translation. What does not find an immediate literal parallel in Rinucius' version is the direct quotation from Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* II, 29, in introducing the character of Aesop: «Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi, qui haud immerito sapiens appellatus ad hominum eruditionem utiles salubresque cum quadam illecebra apologos reliquit, ut autor est. A. Gellius libro noctium atticarum secundo».[253] In adding this direct reference to the work of Gellius, the author proves his strong interest in classical writers and humanistic inclinations. See the table below for further comparison between the transcriptions.

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[250] Out of a total of eighty-three editions printed in Parma in the 15th century, twenty-three are signed or have been attributed to Ugoletus, twenty to Andreas Portilia, another printer of Aesop, and thirteen to the Lionese printer Stephanus Corallus (data ISTC); for general reference on this see BALSAMO 1986, pp. 77-95.
[251] More on this work can be found in TISSONI BENVENUTI 1986, pp. 136-37.
[252] ISTC ia00099000, edition nº 5 in the *Catalogue*.
[253] The reference edition for Gellius is MARSHALL 1990, I, p. 128.

F.M. Grapaldus, *Compendium Vitae Aesopi*, Parma: Angelus Ugoletus, 13 April 1488 (ISTC ia00103300)	R. Aretinus, *Vita Aesopi*, [Milan]: Bonus Accursius, c. 1478 (ISTC ia00098000)	A. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, II 29
«Phrygia Ammonium pagum habet natale solum Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi, qui haud immerito sapiens appellatus ad hominum eruditionem utiles salubresque cum quadam illecebra apologos reliquit, ut autor est. A. Gellius libro noctium atticarum secundo. Servivit autem primo: quod illi cum multis philosophis commune est: mox manumissus. Facie fuit haud liberali brevi collo et capitatus, praeterea furris crassis, pede lato et compernis, gibbo scapulas deformit etc.»	«Qui per omnem vitam studiosissimus fuit: Is fortuna servuus, natione phrygius ex ammonio phrygiae pago fuit Aesopus vir praeter caeteros faciem longe deformis. Nam magno fuit capite acutis oculis nigro colore, malis oblongis, brevi collo, furis crassis, magnis pedibus, bucculentus, gybrrosus etc.»	«Aesopus ille e Phrygia fabulator haut inmerito sapiens existimatus est, cum, quae utilia monitu suasuque erant, non seuere neque imperiose praecepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus res salubriter ac prospicienter animadversas in mentes animosque hominum cum audiendi quadam inlecebra induit etc.»

No manuscript witnesses are known for this work.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Parma: Angelus Ugoletus, **13 Apr. 1488** (ISTC ia00103300), Latin.

⚜ II.37 Andreas Guterrius, *Carta nuncupatoria*, introduction to the Libros minores (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Gratum me hominibus…»; expl.: «…angelico carmine salutare. Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum» [ed.: GUTIÉRREZ, pp. 607-608].

In this letter, the Castilian humanist and clergyman Andreas Guterrius (Andrés Gutiérrez de Cerezo), introduces his rewriting of the medieval collection of moral and didactic texts widely known as the *Auctores octo*.

Guterrius was born in 1459, not far from Burgos, and was a pupil of the humanist Antonius de Nebrija at the University of Salamanca, for whom he substituted in teaching while Nebrija was on a trip to Europe in 1479.[254]

Guterrius later worked as professor of grammar and rhetoric himself at the Colegio de Gramática in Burgos as well as in other places in Spain, a job which resulted in the publication of his *Ars Grammatica* by the Swiss-French printer Friedrich Biel in Burgos in 1485.[255] Guterrius also worked in other European countries, as suggested by the hypothesis of his employment as a rhetoric and grammar teacher in Leuven in 1486, the same year that the second edition of his *Grammatica* was printed in Basel by Miguel Wenssler.[256]

In 1491, the author entered the Benedictine monastery of S. Salvador de Oña, of which he became abbot in 1495. He had the third edition of his *Ars Grammatica* published in Burgos by the printer Juan de Burgos and the first edition of his *Libros minores* published in Venice, very likely by Bernardinus Benalius.[257]

In addition to these two works, certainly his best known, he also wrote a *Doctrinale,* a *Vida de San Vitores,* and a series of other *Obras menores*, all of didactic and moral content.[258]

In the first half of the introductory letter to his edition of the *Libri minores,* Guterrius addresses a prayer to the Virgin Mary, to whom the work is dedicated, who is able to promise eternal peace as the highest form of spiritual compensation, whereas human and mundane things in general only offer transitory rewards: «Quoniam si illi hoc est mortales favorem caducum mihi pollicebantur? Tu vero sempiternum promittis. Si illi pecunias et bona temporalia mihi erogabant quae omnia velut faenum arescunt, tu tamen sempiterna concedis quae assidue virescunt».

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254 More on the biography of Guterrius, with updated bibliography, can be found in GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO-LOBATO 2007, pp. 11-36 and GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, pp. 15-31.

255 As already mentioned in section I.3, this is the first extant dated edition printed in Burgos to be hitherto known.

256 ISTC ig00733000; see GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO-LOBATO 2007, pp. 73-74.

257 The ISTC number of the third edition of the grammar is ig00733050; the edition of the *Auctores octo* is ISTC ia01183800, nº 46 in the *Catalogue*.

258 According to the ISTC, a part from the *Ars Grammatica* and the *Libros minores,* only one edition of the *Vida de San Vitores* survives, the printing of which was attributed to Friedrich Biel and dated around 1486 (ISTC ig00733500): however, no copies of this edition are currently recorded by ISTC nor by GW.

In the second part of the introductory letter, Guterrius introduces the collection of the *Libri minores* and the reasons behind its publication. He claims that he came to realise the necessity of a new version of the fundamental texts for learning grammar and composition from the very beginning of his acquaintance with these topics, first as a student and later as a teacher in the University of Salamanca. Having noticed the difficulty of many students to get clear and complete copies of the texts they needed in order to learn the principles of grammar and rhetoric, he first decided to produce his own *Ars Grammatica,* «…in qua omnia praecepta continentur quibus ad congruam orationem rectae studiosissimus quisque poterit pervenire». After this effort, he realised that, besides a collection of grammar norms, there still was the need for texts which could be used by the students as examples of how to structure their writing, which he decided to collect in one single volume.

He then mentions some of the texts included, in some cases specifying their main functions. In particular, he defines the *Disticha Catonis* as a «libellum documentis fulgentissimis plenum», the *Floretus* as a book for the instruction of priests, and refers to «Aesopum poetam», to indicate the insertion of the verses of the *Aesopus moralisatus*.

The letter concludes with a reference to the medium of printing, chosen to reinforce the power and the usefulness of the text published, which also introduces the topical request of forgiveness for any possible mistake in the text, either due to him or to the printer. At last, Guterrius prays to the Virgin once more, and also exhorts all the scholars who will have the book in their hands to do the same.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice: [Bernardinus Benalius], **23 Mar. 1491** (ISTC ia01183800), Latin and Spanish.

⌘ II.38 Andreas Guterrius, *Libri minores* (Latin prose and verses)

Inc.: «Cum animadverterem quam plurimos…»; expl: «…perpetuus intercessor per Christum».

This compilation of Latin texts is based on a well-established cultural model which brought together grammar and ethics, both considered fundamental for the education of the young. The immediate precedent of this compilation is the so-called *Auctores octo*, the first extant printed edition of which is thought to have appeared in Lyon sometime around 1487.[259] This collection comprised a rather fixed series of texts, which in general represented valuable examples of the medieval set of knowledge. It was probably shaped as a gradual shift from the oldest and more common *Liber catonianus,* and has been interpreted as one of the attempts to constitute a canon of elementary Latin readings, including the *Disticha Catonis*, the *Ecloga Theoduli*, the *Facetus*, the *Aesopus moralisatus,* Matthew de Vendôme's *Tobias*, the *De contemptu mundi* and *Floretus* attributed to Pseudo-Bernardus and the *Liber Parabolarum* by Alanus de Lilla.[260]

After being extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages, considered as a necessary step to be taken by the 'latinantes' towards the reading of the 'maiores auctores', these texts were rejected by humanists and Renaissance scholars as they started being perceived as closely related to a medieval system of cultural development and education.[261] Nonetheless, the fortune they had throughout the whole 15th century and still in the first half of the 16th century in several European countries is witnessed to by the more than thirty known editions which appeared in print before 1501, which made the *Auctores octo* one of the most widespread anthologies of Latin texts of that period.

Guterrius' work, which represents the only surviving edition printed in Italy in the 15th century of a collection of this kind, is a re-elaboration of the *Autores octo,* characterized by a strong

[259] ISTC ia01181600; see section I.2 of this study.
[260] On the fortune of the *Auctores octo* see BLACK 1991, p. 328 and GEHL 1993, p. 13. On this miscellany see AVESANI 1967, pp. 14-28 and BISANTI 2007, p. 233.
[261] See AVESANI 1967, p. 17.

Spanish influence.[262] A list of the texts contained is given in Spanish at the beginning of the book. They are: the *Disticha Catonis,* pseudo-Bernardus' *Chartula,* the *Floretus,* the *Quinque claves sapientiae,* and the *Aesopus moralisatus*; further, the collection is closed by a series of *Hymna* and devotional orations collected by Guterrius himself. The relationship between the *Libri minores* and the *Auctores octo* is still open to discussion, and has been defined by some scholars as a choice, operated by Guterrius, of those texts among the ones included in the *Auctores octo,* which he considered to be the most popular.[263] As noted in GUTIÉRREZ 2009, p. 16, however, it would have been difficult for the author, as it is for us, to identify the works which were the most popular among those of the *Auctores octo,* often circulating together and all addressed to large-consumption reading practices. Furthermore, in the *Carta nuncupatoria* examined above, the author declares that he put all his efforts in bringing all the essential models for writing together in one single compilation, as they were before «dispersos itaque corruptos». From this consideration, later scholarship suggested that, although he had very likely came across manuscripts containing at least parts of the *Auctores octo,* Guterrius might have not known any of the editions which had been already printed in 1491, almost exclusively in France according to the ISTC.[264]

Scholars have also highlighted how the author insisted in the *Carta nuncupatoria* on affirming his adherence to the texts as they were, without introducing any major changes or corrections, and how his operation of putting together the new collection of texts, probably on the basis of the *Auctores octo,* did not only consist in eliminating some of the texts included in his models, but also in the addition of texts which, although being included in other medieval compilations of didactic works, such as the so called *Liber catonianus,* never entered the collection of the *Auctores octo.*[265]

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[262] See AVESANI 1967, p. 90 and GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, pp. 22-31.
[263] See GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, p. 16.
[264] See GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, p. 25.
[265] I am referring in particular to the *Quinque claves sapientiae*. For the evolution from *Liber catonianus,* to *Auctores octo* to the *Libri minores* see GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, p. 117.

The main criterion of Gutiérrez's textual selection was certainly the didactic value of the chosen texts, always combined with their moral utility. Out of those included in the selection of the *Auctores octo,* however, the most medieval texts, such as the *Facetus,* were left out in favour of works more related to Christian worship and to those which presented themselves as closer to classical antiquity, such as the *Disticha* and the *Aesopus.* In this sense, the inclusion of the *Quinque claves sapientiae* is particularly striking as the text includes both devotional Christian precepts and classical statements such as the invocation to the Muses.[266] These considerations suggest that, rather than the shortened and slightly modified rewriting of the *Auctores octo,* the *Libri minores* should be considered as a different collection of texts, incidentally drawing from similar sources. In particular, as per what was seen above and declared by Guterrius in the prefatory letter, this compilation appears to be closely related to his experience as scholar and teacher, as well as to the new possibilities of communicating and producing texts related to the introduction of printing: «hoc brevi volumine simul omnia novo caractere imprimere sum conatus».[267]

Although there are several manuscript witnesses of each of the works included in the *Libri minores,* and several manuscripts of the *Auctores octo,* not one of them witnesses the entire collection as it was edited by Guterrius and printed in Venice in 1491.[268]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice: [Bernardinus Benalius], **23 Mar. 1491** (ISTC ia01183800), Latin and Spanish.

⚜ II.39 Anonymous, *Epigram* (Latin verse)

Inc.: «Outinam sese posset spectare...»; expl.: «…musa latina canit» [4 elegiac couplets].

This short poem praises the quality of the Latin versions of Aesopian fables in comparison with the corresponding Greek ones, and opens three extant incunable editions of the collection of

[266] See GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, p. 17.
[267] More on the supposed involvement of Bernardinus Benalius in this operation and on the textual features of the *Aesopus moralisatus* included in the collection will be said in section III.1.
[268] See GUTIÉRREZ GALINDO 2009, throughout, for specific information on all of the works included in the collection.

Fabulae authored by the humanist Laurentius Abstemius, all printed in Venice between 1495 and 1499.[269]

In light of the documented habit of the humanist Domitius Palladius Soranus, whose life and works are introduced in the section below, of composing celebratory short-poems and inserting them as introductions in the editions he was editing and curating, I propose here the attribution to him of this hitherto anonymous poem.

No extant manuscript witnesses of these verses are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC ia00010000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC ia00011000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC ia00012000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.40 Domicus Palladius Soranus, *Letter* to Pollio Gerus Vadius (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Iam pridem tuo sermoni de Abstemius...»; expl.: «...liquidos constabit. Vale».

The author of this letter was born near Frosinone around 1460.[270] Before moving from his native Sora to Rome in 1478, he must have made several short trips there from the early 1470s, and it is likely that during one of those trips he met Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, who became one of his friends and protectors. At the same time, he was in touch with the Venetian humanistic environment, being listed among Iohannes Bembus' *condiscipuli* at the school of Benedictus Brugnolus in Venice.[271] According to ISTC, from 1494 Palladius was actively involved in the Venetian printing environment, collaborating in different capacities with a series of printers, among whom were Franciscus Lapicida, Simon Bevilaqua, Iohannes Tacuinus and Iohannes Baptista Sessa. He was an editor, commentator and above all a poet himself, author of a long series of poems, mainly couplets, *carmina, elegiae* and *epigrammata,* often addressed to

[269] See below, section II.39.
[270] The following information on Soranus' life and works is based on MARTINI 1979, pp. 81-124 and MARTINI 1998.
[271] See MAGLAQUE 2015, p. 47 n. 12. The reference to Iohannes Bembus' autobiography comes from MOMMSEN 1861, p. 607 which also contains other information about this friendship: «Paladius Soranus, poeta et iam condiscipulus meus in Gymnasio Brugnolino, baptizavit filiam meam Angelam quae matris meae nomen reportabat».

friends or major cultural or political personalities of the time or composed to celebrate special occasions ranging from the feast of Assumption of the Virgin Mary to the day of the foundation of Rome. He also composed one «In laudem Abstemii litteratissimi», included in a collection printed in Venice in May 1498 and attributed to Bernardinus de Vitalibus, for Iohannes Baptista Sessa.[272] Besides entire editions exclusively dedicated to his poetical works, Soranus also used to insert short compositions in verse on the title page or colophon of editions he curated. A range of examples of this is available, among which the *carme* «Ad lectorem» at the end of Johannes Baptista Abiosus' *Dialogus in astrologiae* printed in 1494 (leaf e6v), or the poem beginning «Mos Cynici laudandus erat collecta docentis | Omnia discipulos…» that opens the 1497 edition printed by Johannes Tacuinus. This latter edition contains a collection of rhetorical works, among which are Antonius Mancinellus' *Opuscula,* the *Epitoma Elegantiarum Laurentii Vallae,* the *Lima in Valla,* the *Rethorica ad Herennium,* and others (leaf a1r).[273]

This prefatory letter is addressed to another member of Sabellicus' circle in Venice, Pollio Vadius; it consists of a praise of Abstemius' virtues and contains the literary and moral justification to the publishing of his works. Many points of this introduction suggest that the two humanists were in touch before and that they had already discussed the qualities of Abstemius' composition.[274]

The content of Soranus' letter strongly focuses on the celebration of the humanist Laurentius Abstemius and of his writing, of which many virtues are enumerated in a list full of classical echoes, from the «incredibilis eloquentia» to his «singularis doctrina», «perfecta verborum concinnitas» and «insignis ingenii amoenitas». This letter therefore discloses many details on the context of production of a series of editions of Aesop's fables containing humanistic translations or rewritings, which, aside from the specific characteristics of the texts themselves, contribute to

[272] ISTC ip00012000.
[273] ISTC nos. of the two mentioned editions are ia00008000 and im00119500 respectively.
[274] A similar example of contact between the two humanists might be seen in the prefatory letter of support sent by Vadio to Palladio in 1498, to accompany and promote Polydorus Vergilius' collection of proverbs printed by Christophorus de Pensis in Venice (ISTC iv00147000). On this episode and on the printing of this version, see ATKINSON 2007, pp. 87-88.

place them not among the popular readings printed for an uncultivated public of scholars, but rather at the centre of one of the most refined humanistic circles of the time.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC ia00010000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC ia00011000), Latin and Italian;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC ia00012000), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.41 Laurentius Abstemius, *Dedicatory letter* addressed to Octavianus Ubaldinus Mercatelli (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Editurus hunc apollogorum (*sic*) libellum…»; expl.: «…gratia iocos appetere. Vale».

When writing this letter, Laurentius Abstemius was in Rimini, where he had been living since 1490 in the capacity of tutor of Pandolfo and Carlo Malatesta, sons of Roberto, and in Urbino. In 1501 he was about to move to Fano to work as a grammar teacher and as an editor, but also as a trusted agent of Guidobaldo, able to represent the Duke's interests in town.[275] The dedicatee of this letter was Octavianus Ubaldinus, blood-brother of Federico, who after Federico's death (1482) became tutor of his ten-year-old son Guidobaldo, the new Duke.[276] The letter is structured as a praise of Ubaldinus' virtues, and contains a justification of the dedication of the fables to him. It also contains a mention of the small treatise *De quibusdam locis obscuris,* composed by Abstemius a few years before, published in Venice around 1494 by Bernardinus Benalius and dedicated to the young count Guidobaldo.[277] Throughout the letter, Abstemius interprets the

[275] Information on Abstemius' biography comes from the *DBI* record by MUTINI 1962.
[276] On Ubaldinus and his relationship with his natural brother Federico da Montefeltro, to whom he always remained an affectionate and close friend, see at least MICHELINI TOCCI 1986, pp. 297-344 and HOFMANN 2008, pp. 25-30 in particular, both with bibliography. Notably, Ubaldinus had previously been the dedicatee of another humanistic collection of apologues, i.e. that composed by Christophorus de Fano and published in Brescia around 1480, with the false attribution to Franciscus Philelphus (ISTC ip00603000, see PIACENTINI 2009, pp. 163-90 and PIACENTINI 2012, pp. 1-76, both with bibliography). A list of several contemporary literary works by humanists, which were dedicated to Ubaldinus is available in HOFMANN 2008, pp. 44-45.
[277] ISTC ia00013000.

rhetorical theme of false modesty, listing a series of scholars or courtly officers who insisted that he should dedicate his book to Ubaldinus, to the point that, in spite of being not entirely confident about the quality of his work at the beginning, he convinced himself that a book which was praised and appreciated by so many refined readers could not have been unwelcomed by such a cultivated man: «Non putavi igitur tam humano principi hoc munus ingratum futurum, quod tot eruditis viris ante placuisse cognoveram». Some of the names mentioned in this list help to localise the composition of this letter, and more broadly of Abstemius' *Apologi centum,* in Rimini. Abstemius also anticipates the presence of a small «prefatiuncula», in which he will clarify how the aim of the fables is to give pleasure, to be helpful and to stimulate thoughts and reflection on different aspects of everyday life. In this respect, Abstemius declares his commitment to give to the work a serious and literary refined look, rather than the appearance of a comic and ridiculous series of stories: «Sedulo dedimus operam ut seria potius quam iocos saperent». To achieve this result, he carefully avoided the content that seemed to him too salacious or indecent for a prince («Non tamen ita agrestis esse volui quin eas aliqua urbanitate aspergerem»), despite being constantly aware that a prince, more than anyone else, needs some pleasant and lighthearted distraction from everyday business.

No manuscript witnesses are known for this text.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC: ia00010000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC: ia00011000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC: ia00012000), Latin.

⌘ II.42 Laurentius Abstemius, *Prologue* to his *Apologi centum* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Cogitanti mihi varia scriptorum genera...»; expl.: «…Graecis est cum summa omnium laude concessum».

Following the dedication letter addressed to Mercatelli, this prologue refers to the qualities of the writers of fables in literary history, who are able to communicate philosophical concepts and moral values through the medium of short and simple stories, and who «in legentium animos quadam iocunditate penetrant». Abstemius interprets this as a successful strategy of communicating moral values and concepts, effective in particular against the selectivity of human understanding. In this respect, he mentions three examples of how fables, more than all other literary forms, can move the heart and mind: among these three is also is Agrippa's moral speech to the crowd during the Roman secession. Abstemius takes advantage of the three examples to reaffirm the strength and effectiveness of fables in different contexts, which is the reason why that literary form was often used by Latin and Greek poets, but also very popular among ancient philosophers. This, according to Abstemius, explains why extremely knowledgeable men such as Omnibonus Leonicenus and Valla chose to dedicate time and energy to the translation of series of Aesopian fables. On this note, he concludes with the hope that the operation of composing a new sets of fables based on the Aesopian model shall bring him the same glory that was achieved by the previous Latin translators: «Non video igitur cur has componendo fabulas laude fraudari debeam, quam ceteri latini ex translatione consecuti sunt».

No manuscript witnesses are known for this text.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC: ia00010000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC: ia00011000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC: ia00012000), Latin.

⚜ II.43 Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum* ('Hecathomythion'), edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Mus in cista natus omnem...»; expl.: «...sint allatura tormentum».

As declared by the author in the *Prologue*, this collection of Latin fables in prose is a rewriting of

literary apologues based on the Aesopian ones, where classical allegories and Christian exempla are combined with some prurient anecdotes, which follow the widespread model of Boccaccio's *novelle*. In this context, the Aesopian structure, the didactic nature and the strategy of the narration, based on concise paratactic sentences, become a setting which confers dignity and coherence to the narrative composition, which includes a wide variety of themes and ideas.

However, from the context of their composition and printing, and from what is said in the *Prologue,* the intention of the author and of the editor must have been, at least at the beginning, that of creating cultural and literary links between Abstemius' work and that of the humanistic translators of Aesop's fables. This idea is reinforced by the association of Abstemius' collection of fables with the collection translated by Laurentius Valla in all 15th-century printed editions. Although Abstemius' fables have never been the subject of a specific study, and a modern critical edition is still not available to scholars, these texts, in spite of the fact that they had little to do with the original textual benchmark of Aesopian compositions, proved to be of some success throughout the following centuries, possibly due to the variety of the subject and to their superficial irreverence. Some years after the first edition of 1495, a second collection of another 100 fables was printed by Abstemius in his native region in 1505: *Granii Corococtae Porcelli testamentum. Laurentii Abstemii Maceratensis Hecatomythium secundum. Eiusdem libellus De verbis communibus*, Fani 1505. Later in the 16th century, this work was reprinted many times, often together with the first 100 fables, not only in Venice, but also abroad. Abstemius' fables were also translated into foreign languages and served as popular models for French, English and Italian works of the same genre. Recent scholarship focused on the emergence of new textual sources for some of the fables, such as the resemblance between fable Phaedr. 1,15 and Abstemius' *Hecatomythium,* I,8. If confirmed, this would mean that Abstemius had among his sources a witness of Phaedrus' *Fables,* which would contradict the general belief that there was a rupture in the knowledge and circulation of Phaedrus' compilation between the 13th and the late

15th century.[278]

The sequence and titles of the fables in the first extant edition is as follows:

[278] As seen in chapter I, scholars have identified a break in the textual transmission of Phaedrus' fables between the works of Gualtherius Anglicus and Alexander Neckam (13th century) and the publication of the *editio princeps* in 1596 by Pierre Pithou, whose brother François was responsible for rediscovering of essential bits of the manuscript tradition. The only certain exception to this break in the diffusion of Phaedrus' work seems to have been Nicolaus Perottus, who quoted some of Phaedrus' apologues in his *Epitome.* More on these considerations in ZAGO 2012, pp. 96-103.

LA1 'De mure in cista nato';
LA2 'De rustico imperante, ut triticum absque arietis nascentur';
LA3 'De accipitre columba insequente';
LA4 'De aranea et irundine';
LA5 'De rustico amnem transituro';
LA6 'De columba et pica';
LA7 'De cuculo et accipitre';
LA8 'De asino et vitulo';
LA9 'De vulpe et mulieribus gallinam edentibus';
LA10 'De caponibus pinguibus et macro';
LA11 'De trabe et bobus eram trahentibus';
LA12 'De arboribus pulchris et deformis';
LA13 'De cygno in morte canente reprehenso a ciconia';
LA14 'De muliere virum morientem flente et patre eam consoleante';
LA15 'De muliere amatoris dicessum flente';
LA16 'De musca quae quadrigis insidiens pulverem se excitasse dicebat';
LA17 'De anguilla conquerente quod magis quam serpens infestaretur';
LA18 'De asino simia et talpa';
LA19 'De nautis sanctorum auxilium implorantibus';
LA20 'De piscibus e sartagine in prunas disilentibus';
LA21 'De quadrupedibus societatem adversus aves cum piscibus ineuntibus';
LA22 'De legato auro tubicines decipiente';
LA23 'De viro qui ad cardinalem nuper creatum gratulandi gratia accessit';
LA24 'De iuvene senis curvitatem irridente';
LA25 'De sene peullam in uxorem accipiente';
LA26 'De aquila et pica' (LA26);
LA27 'De turdo amicitiam cum irrundine ineunte';
LA28 'De rustico et mure';
LA29 'De heramita virgine aegrotante';
LA30 'De divite quodam et servo';
LA31 'De vidua virum petente';
LA32 'De canibus urbanis villaticum insequentibus';
LA33 'De anu daemonem accusante';
LA34 'De testitude et ranis';
LA35 'De gliribus quercum eruere volentibus';
LA36 'De cane et hero';
LA37 'De avibus scarabaeos timentibus';
LA38 'De urio et apibus';
LA39 'De aucupe et franguilla';
LA40 'De milite et equo';
LA41 'De sue et cane';
LA42 'De trabe bovum pigritiam increpante';
LA43 'De carduele et puero';
LA44 'De scurra et epro';
LA45 'De upupa indigne honorata';
LA46 'De sacerdote et pitis';
LA47 'De mulo et equo';
LA48 'De porco et equo';
LA49 'De coriario emente pellem ursi a venatore nondum capii';
LA50 'De heremita et milite';
LA51 'De viro et uxore bigamis';
LA52 'De leone et mure';
LA53 'De ulmo et silere';
LA54 'De cera duritiem appetente';
LA55 'De agricola militiam et mercaturam affectante';
LA56 'De asino et scurra';
LA57 'De amne suum fontem conviciis lacessente';
LA58 'De viro maligno et daemone';
LA59 'De avibus plures reges eligere volentibus';
LA60 'De mulier quae pro viro se mori velle dicebat';
LA61 'De adolescente in funere matris canente';
LA62 'De virgo gelotypo qui uxorem dederat custodiendam';
LA63 'De viro clysteria recusante';
LA64 'De asino aegrotante et lupis visitantibus';
LA65 'Quod nuci asino et mulieri prosunt verbera';
LA66 'De asino laborum finem non inveniente';
LA67 'De mure qui cum fele amicitiam contrahere volebat';
LA68 'De asino qui hero ingrato serviverat';
LA69 'De lupo suadente istrici ut tella peponeret';
LA70 'De mure liberante miluum';
LA71 'De cochlea petente ab Iove ut suam domum secum ferre posset';
LA72 'De erinacio viperam hospitem eiiciente';
LA73 'De lepore sese vulpi praeferente ob pedum velocitatem';
LA74 'De sene ob impotentia libidinem carnis relinquente';
LA75 'De agricola et poaeta';
LA76 'De lupo ovis pelle induto qui gregem devorabat';
LA77 'De patre filium ad virtutes frustra hortante';
LA78 'De cane oves domini sui occidente a quo suspensus est';
LA79 'De ariete cum tauro pugnante';
LA80 'De vidua et asino viridi';
LA81 'De aquila filios cuniculi rapiente';
LA82 'De lupo pisce fluvii maris regnum affactante';
LA83 'De ove pastori conviciante';
LA84 'De auriga et rota currus stridente';
LA85 'De viro amicos experiri volente';
LA86 'De vulpe carnem leporis cani laudante';
LA87 'De lepore caliditatem et vulpe celeritatem a Iove petentibus';

LA88 'De equo inculto sed veloci';
LA89 'De rustico per vocem haedi ad iurisconsultum admisso';
LA90 'De adolescente ex coitu infirmo et lupo';
LA91 'De sene iuvenem poma sibi succipientem satis deiiciente';
LA92 'De luscinia cantum accipitri pro vita pollicente';
LA93 'De leone porcum sibi socium eligente';
LA94 'De culice cibum et hospitum ab ape petente';
LA95 'De asino tubicine et lepore tabellario';
LA96 'De accipitribus inter se inimicis quos columbe pacaverant';
LA97 'De muliere ignem in mariti domum ferente';
LA98 'De praetore repetundarum damnato';
LA99 'De sene mortem differre volente';
LA100 'De avaro saculum numorum alloquente'.

No manuscript witnesses are known for this text.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC: ia00010000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC: ia00011000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC: ia00012000), Latin.

⚜ II.44 Faustino Perisauli, *Tetrasticon* on Laurentius Abstemius' *Hecathomythion* (Latin verse)

Inc.: «Quod nemus hesperidum panchaia bactra sabaei | Helysium quod habet, quod tagus, astur arabs | cuncta tuo Abstemi nascuntur sponte virecto | cuius haben siliquae seria: non apinas» [4 lines]

Faustino Perisauli, whose name was probably Petrus Paulus, and whose humanistic nickname Phantinus, 'Fantino' in Italian, likely originated from his minute and fragile physical complexion, met Abstemius while they both were in Rimini serving the Malatesta family.[279] Perisauli was born in Tredozio, near Bologna, after 1450 and was probably educated in Bologna. He had frequent contacts with Bolognese, Florentine and possibly even Roman humanists, among whom were Philippus Beroaldus, Antonius Urceus, Landinus and Angelus Politianus.

He was the author of a series of humanistic works in poetry and prose, among which are the short poems *Il trastullo delle donne, Vatten via melanconia,* the *Sylva tota moralis,* a collection of pastoral poetry inspired by the model of Virgil's *Bucoliche* written in an extremely elaborate humanistic

[279] The following information on Perisauli's biography and literary production is based on the recent *DBI* record by CAMAIONI 2015.

style, and the famous satyrical poem *De triumpho stultitiae* (late 15th century), which has been considered by scholars as the possible inspiration of Erasmus' *Moriae encomium* (1511).

This short poem celebrates the literary virtues of his friend Abstemius, and is written in refined humanistic Latin, as suggested, among other things, by the use of the very rare plural 'apinas' to indicate 'worthless things', and by the quote of the Virgilian expression «amoena virecta» (*Aen.* VI 267).[280]

No manuscript witnesses are known for this text.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC: ia00010000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC: ia00011000), Latin;
Venice Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC: ia00012000), Latin.

⚜ II.45 Iohannes Antracinus, *Tetrasticon* on Laurentius Abstemius' *Hecathomythion* (Latin verse)

«Doctiloquos aliis scriptis superare Latinos | Quaere, sumus lepidis graecia docta pares | Texanthi servus technis celebravit amaenis, | Non minus abstemi nos decoravit opus».

Like Laurentius Abstemius, Antracinus was born in Macerata around the mid-15th century. He studied medicine and became the personal doctor of Pope Adrian VI. Very little is known about his biography and literary production, apart from a series of letters exchanged with different personalities of the time, particularly with the scientist, doctor and writer Giovanni da Vigo, for whom Antracinus was also the editor and corrector of a long scholarly work on practical surgery, *Practica in Chirurgia. Copiosa in arte chirurgica*, completed in 1514.[281] In a simpler and less refined style, significantly different from that of Perisauli, he too celebrates here the virtues of Abstemius' work, comparing it to those of other humanists who had translated Aesopian texts from Greek into Latin before him.

[280] The reference critical edition for the *Aeneid* is CONTE 2009.
[281] On this relationship and on the role of Antracino see the *DBI* record by MUCCILLO 1978.

No manuscript witnesses are known for this text.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC: ia00010000), Latin;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC: ia00011000), Latin;
Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC: ia00012000), Latin.

⚜ II.46 Laurentius Valla, *Preface* to his translation of Aesop's *Fabulae*, dedicated to Arnaldus Fonolleda (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Promiseram nuper me tibi...»; expl.: «...modo coturnices: sed etiam perdices. Ex urbe Caieta. Kalendis Maii. Mcccc.xxxviii» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-13].

Arnaldus Fonolleda, chosen by Laurentius Valla as the dedicatee of his Greek-to-Latin translation of thirty-three of Aesop's fables, was one of the author's colleagues in the service of King Alfonso V of Aragon in Gaeta in the late 1430s, when this work was accomplished.[282]

Fonolleda, of Spanish origin and a member of the royal chancery since 1436, was known for his humanistic interests and literary qualities and is mentioned by Valla as one of his closest friends in the *Antidotum in Pogium* IV.[283] His career ended in Spain, where he returned in 1458, after Alfonso's death, to take up the role of 'baile general' of the province of Catalunya.[284]

This introduction is based on the celebration of the literary and cultural virtues of the dedicatee and is built around the fictional *topos* of the small collection of fables sent as a gift to Fonolleda in place of a covey of partridges which Valla had originally promised, but which he was eventually unable to hunt. He therefore decided to turn his efforts to a sort of hunting at which he was better, i.e. that of letters: «ad venationem meam idest litteras me converti».[285]

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282 See section II.46 below. See BESOMI-REGOLIOSI 1981, pp. 151-60, cited by and PILLOLA 2003, p. 12 together with further bibliography on this period of Valla's life.
283 Which can be read in the anastatic reprint of the 1540 Basel edition (GARIN 1962, p. 360). Fernando arrived at his father's court in Naples in the summer of 1438 (BESOMI-REGOLIOSI 1981, p. 172 n. 4).
284 Some documents on Fonolleda's life and on his literary interests are mentioned in PILLOLA 2003, p. 22 n. 54 and 55, with further bibliography.
285 The use of the metaphor of hunting for describing the activity of translation, and the possible references to the actual practice of hunting in the Aragonese court, as well as the classical references of these images, have been analysed by PILLOLA 2003, pp. 24-27. Pillola also noticed the correspondence between the metaphor of the gift of

The letter proceeds with references to classical Roman figures such as Octavian and Mark Antony, both very active in the *ludus coturnicum,* to whom the dedicatee is compared. In particular, Valla celebrates Fonolleda's knowledge and his love for literary composition, hoping that he would appreciate a work such as the fables, presented as a literary divertissement and a sample of the «genere ludendi». Nonetheless, echoing the prologue of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* the didactic and useful nature of the fables, which follows the Horatian principle of 'miscere utile dulci'*,* is reaffirmed at the end of the letter, where Valla concludes that «oblectant enim hae fabellae, et alunt. Nec minus fructus habent quam floris». This conclusion helps Valla to place this translation in the context of a refined literary production oriented towards a set of noble moral and cultural values, often to be searched for in the work of classical authors and rediscovered through the humanistic scholarly approach, and in particular through the literary practice of philologically reliable translation.[286]

Manuscripts:
[287] Baltimore (MD), Walters, 454 (15th cent.); Basel, UB, F VI 15 (15th cent.); BAV, Chig. A IV 91 (15th cent.); BAV, Urb. Lat. 886 (late 15th cent.); Holkham Hall, 483 (15th cent.); Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 550 misc. (15th cent.); Florence, Ricc. 717; Jena, ULB, Op. 9.37 (15th cent.); London, BL, Harl. 2561 (15th cent.); London, BL, Harl. 3830 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., R 21 sup. (15th cent.); Munich, UB, 2 cod. Ms 682 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Lodge 23 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Plimpton 23 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Canon. Misc. 169 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490); Oxford, Bodl., Laud. Lat. 52 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Naples: Christian Preller, c. **1495**] (ISTC ia00107000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC ia00010000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC ia00012000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC ia00011000), Latin.

partridges and in general of natural firstfruits used by Valla and that of the moral and literary values of the fables described as fruits and flowers picked from a lush garden which is part of the *Aesopus moralisatus* prologue.
[286] The basis for these considerations is PILLOLA 2003, pp. 29-30.
[287] The list is based on PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-11.

⌘ II.47 Laurentius Valla, Greek-to-Latin translation of Aesop's *Fabulae* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Vulpes et caper sitibundi puteum descenderunt...»; expl.: . «…potest nobis cum perpetuo permanere» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 114-81].

As seen above, Valla's translation of thirty-three fables derived from the Greek text of Aesop was accomplished in the late 1430s, when he was in Gaeta serving as the personal secretary of Alfonso V of Aragon. By this time Valla, who had been taking Greek lessons from Iohannes Aurispa in the 1420s and later from Rinucius Aretinus, had already produced a translation of Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte* while he was in Florence in the mid-1430s. In a letter written to Giovanni Tortelli in 1439, Valla informed his friend that «Transtuli anno superiore tres et triginta fabellas Esopi», while he was also attending to the translation of the first volume of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and of four books of Homer's *Iliad*, and writing the *Elegantiae* and the *Dialectica*.[288] In the following ten years, he also completed Latin translations of Basilius Magnus' oration *In quadraginta martyres* and, while he was in Rome at the service of Nicholas V, of historical works by Thucydides and Herodotus. The examination and comparison of all these works has allowed scholars to discover more about Valla's approach to the literary practice of translation, which he considered simultaneously a technique of emulation, in the humanistic sense, of classical authors, but also a way of increasing one's own scholarly knowledge of the features of Greek language and of classical literary culture.[289]

Valla's translation is based on a Greek manuscript, which was first recognised by Thomas Achelis as possibly related to the *recensio* III of the Greek fables, and later tentatively identified by the

[288] BESOMI-REGOLIOSI 1981, ep. 11 rr. 21, and following. Alfonso is the dedicatee of the *Cyropaedia,* with an explicit parallel between the education of the king's son, Fernando, and the young years of Ciro's life. The source of bibliography and information on those years of Valla's life and on the circumstances of his translation of Aesop's fables are based on PILLOLA 2003, pp. 12-21.

[289] All translations have been researched separately and several studies have been dedicated to Valla's theory of translation, more generally. More references can be found in PILLOLA 2003, pp. 9-21 and, for the theory of translation in particular, in PADE 1984, pp. 285-306 and in REGOLIOSI 2001, pp. 449-70.

same scholar with a manuscript close to BAV, Urb. Lat. 886, mostly referring to the order of the fables in relation to the sequence in which the text was assembled in the manuscript.[290]

Later scholars, and particularly Finch and Pillola, have focussed on the close relationship existing, in terms of content, between Valla's translation and manuscripts Milan, Ambr., P 47 sup. and BAV, Pal. gr. 122.[291] Although none of them was identified as the manuscript possibly used by Valla, the former containing a number of separative textual variants and the latter having being copied in the 16th century, Pillola's hypothesis is that they both derived from a lost antigraph, itself derived from an *excerptum* of thirty-three fables which might also have been the antigraph of Valla's manuscript.[292]

Of the many features of Valla's translation analysed by scholars, one that seems particularly relevant in this context is the rhetorical and philosophical nature of the author's interest in the text he was translating. Following the path traced by some classical authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, who attributed to simple texts, such as fables, anecdotes or jests, the function to enrich and make more vivid the rhetorical arguments in an exposition or a discussion, Valla himself made use of some of the apologues in several of his works, to reinforce and strengthen his ideas and convictions. These are the cases of the fables 'De homine et apolline', mentioned in the *De libero arbitrio,* 'De agricola et filiis eius' in the *Retractatio totius dialecticae,* and of the fable 'De asino et lupo' mentioned in the *Collatio Novi Testamenti.*[293]

The sequence of the fables is as follows:[294]

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290 See ACHELIS 1913, pp. 239-78 and ACHELIS 1929, p. 208.

291 See FINCH 1960, pp. 118-20, followed by PILLOLA 2003, pp. 31-35.

292 See PILLOLA 2003, pp. 43-44. According to scholarship, this same branch of the Greek textual tradition included the manuscript that served as a basis for Ermolaus Barbarus' translation of Aesop's fables, which contains in fact the same thirty-three fables translated by Valla and might have been copied from the now-lost *excerptum* which was also the antigraph of Valla's Greek source (see COCCO 1994, pp. 22-23).

293 See PILLOLA 2003, p. 29.

294 To help identifying the Greek fables, as well as those translated from Greek to Latin by Omnibonus, Rinucius and Valla, and to highlight the similarities between the collections, I give the number of each fable according to the Chambry index (CHAMBRY 1926), this reference being the one generally adopted by scholars such as PILLOLA 1993, PILLOLA 2003 and GIUNTA 2011.

LV1. 'De vulpe et capro' (Ch40e);
LV2. 'De vulpe et leone' (Ch42c);
LV3. 'De gallis et perdice' (Ch22c);
LV4. 'De vulpe et capite quodam' (Ch43c);
LV5. 'De carbonario et follone' (Ch56c);
LV6. 'De homine glorioso' (Ch51c);
LV7. 'De homine et appolline' (Ch50c);
LV8. 'De piscatore et smaride' (Ch26c);
LV9. 'De equo et asino' (Ch142a);
LV10. 'De homine et satyro' (Ch60d);
LV11. 'De vulpe et pardo' (Ch37a);
LV12. 'De cata et venere' (Ch76b);
LV13. 'De agricola et canibus' (Ch80d);
LV14. 'De agricola et filiis eius' (Ch86b);
LV15. 'De muliere et gallina' (Ch90c);
LV16. 'De quodam admorso a cane' (Ch178);
LV17. 'De duobus amicis et urso' (Ch255b);
LV18. 'De duobus adolescentibus et coquo' (Ch248);
LV19. 'De arundine et olea' (Ch101g);
LV20. 'De tubicene' (Ch326a);
LV21. 'De tymno et delphino' (Ch133c);
LV22. 'De aucupe' (Ch138c);
LV23. 'De castore' (Ch154b);
LV24. 'De cane et lanio' (Ch184b);
LV25. 'De vaticinatore' (Ch234b);
LV26. 'De egroto et medico' (Ch250c);
LV27. 'De asino et lupo' (Ch282c);
LV28. 'De aucupe et merula' (Ch284c);
LV29. 'De viatore et iove' (Ch261c);
LV30. 'De filio et matre' (Ch297e);
LV31. 'De pastore et mari' (Ch312e);
LV32. 'De patre et filio' (Ch296b);
LV33. 'De calvo quodam' (Ch344a).

Manuscripts:[295]
Baltimore (MD), Walters, 454 (15th cent.); Basel, UB, F VI 15 (15th cent.); BAV, Chig. A IV 91 (15th cent.); BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2112 (15th cent.); BAV, Urb. Lat. 886 (late 15th cent.); Holkham Hall, 483 (15th cent.); Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 550 misc. (15th cent.);[296] Florence, Ricc. 717; Jena, ULB, Op. 9.37 (15th cent.);[297] London, BL, Harl. 2561 (15th cent.); London, BL, Harl. 3830 (15th cent.); Milan, Ambr., R 21 sup. (15th cent.); Munich, UB, 2 cod. Ms 682 (15th cent.);[298] New York (NY), Columbia, Lodge 23 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Plimpton 23 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Canon. Misc. 169 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512 (1490); Oxford, Bodl., Laud. Lat. 52 (15th cent.); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., 4 37 (15th cent.).

15th century printed Italian editions:
[Naples: Christian Preller, c. **1495**] (ISTC ia00107000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **3 Aug. 1495** (ISTC ia00010000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **1 Jun. 1499** (ISTC ia00012000), Latin;
Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino, **1 Jun. [1499]** (ISTC ia00011000), Latin.

⚜ II.48 Anonymous, *Accessus and commentary* to the *Aesopus moralisatus* (Latin and Italian prose)

Inc. of the *accessus*: «Grecia disciplinarum mater...»; expl.: «...de singulis moraliter concludit»; inc. of the comment: «Ante quam procedatur ad textum...»; expl.: «...virtutibus que trahuntur ex fabulis».

This *accessus* was already in circulation in 14th-century manuscripts and its existence has been traced back to the so-called *Romulus* LBG, a collection of fables in Latin prose based on that of Marie de France (late 12th century); its content is essentially divided into four parts.[299] First, Aesop is listed among the wise men of Greek origin, here most likely intended in a broad sense with reference to Greek culture in general, and his virtues are praised. The second section introduces Aesop's fables as an «opusculum. In quo et parvuli diligentes instruantur et iucundi reddantur adulti», according to the fundamental aims of literature since Horace's time: *prodesse* and *delectare*. The *accessus* also traces a very brief history of the text of the fables, which were initially composed

[295] The list is based on that included by PILLOLA 2003, pp. 78-87 in the critical edition.
[296] PILLOLA 2003, p. 106 classified this manuscript as *descriptus* from the printed tradition.
[297] PILLOLA 2003, p. 106 classified this manuscript as *descriptus* from a reprint of the *editio princeps*.
[298] PILLOLA 2003, p. 106 classified this manuscript as *descriptus* from the printed tradition.
[299] See WHEATLEY 2000, p. 72 and MANN 2009, pp. 9-10, and what was said in section I.1 about the collections of fables derived from the *Romulus*.

by Aesop and afterwards translated into Latin «a Romulo imperatore romano ad instruendum Tiberium (*sic*) filium suum». To these first two steps in the evolution of the text of the fables, a third is added, namely the translation of the fables «in anglicam linguam» by a certain «rex Angliae Afferus», to be identified with Alfred the King of England.[300]

The fourth and last section of the prologue illustrates the features and the structure of Aesop's fables, which are characteristically built around the adventures of talking animals or objects, and always end with a moral consideration. The way this prologue is structured and some of its manuscript appearances have led scholars to think that it was probably conceived for a textual stage of the fables which was earlier than that of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* possibly to be identified with one of the *Romuli* in prose.[301]

The rest of the commentary has been defined as Aristotelian and is structured in different sections in prose, each one preceding the corresponding fable, upon which it comments on the moral significance but also the features of the characters and the meaning of their interaction, often perceived as allegorical.[302]

The commentary is completed by a series of interlinear glosses structured to guide the translation into Italian vernacular of the Latin verses. In particular, excerpts of the Latin text are quoted, either in the original form or with a slightly modified order of the words, and a vernacular translation for each syntagm is provided.

Scholars suggested that the commentary, which often introduces the *Aesopus moralisatus* when it appears in the French editions of the collection of the *Auctores octo*, inc.: «In principio huius libri quinque sunt inquirenda…», might also derive from this version.[303]

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[300] This information is derived from Marie de France's fables and reinforces the relationship between this *accessus* and commentary and the French rewriting. Although scholars have always been doubtful that she could have actually understood old English, and have always remarked that several non-*Romulus* fables in her collection are strictly related to contemporary continental and particularly French bestiary epic, rather than to the English production, the possible existence of an 'Anglo-Latin *Romulus*' has been suggested and investigated several times in the history of Medieval Aesopian studies (see WHEATLEY 2000, pp. 69-70, LAPIDGE-MANN 2002, pp. 15-33 and MANN 2009, p. 10 n. 49 in particular).

[301] See WHEATLEY 2000, p. 72.

[302] The definition of Aristotelian prologue and commentary are based on WHEATLEY 2000, pp. 72.

[303] See WHEATLEY 2000, p. 72.

Surviving manuscripts: Kiel, UB, Bord. 58 F (15th cent.); Lübeck, BH, Ms. philol. 2. Misc (15th cent.); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB XII, 4 (15th cent.).[304]

15th-century printed Italian editions:
[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis, for Angelus Britannicus, **26 Mar. 1495** (ISTC ia00144000), Latin and Italian;
[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis, **28 Sept. 1497** (ISTC ia00144200), Latin and Italian.

⚜ II.49 Anonymous, *Verses* in Italian vernacular

Inc.: «Esopo phrigio ingegno pellegrino | hospitio…»; expl.: «…gratioso | illuminato mi ha di buon latino» [8 verses; rhyme scheme: ABBA ACcA; metre: Italian hendecasyllables and one heptasyllable].

Written in the first person like the more famous sonnet inc.: «Sapi ch'io sono Esopo…», which was used as the main opening in many editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*, these eight verses were probably composed by the Florentine editors of the 1496 edition of the *fables* in Italian vernacular.[305] It is a short, poetic account of the life of Aesop, with focuses on his origin, «phrigio», on his virtues and his role as guide for the wanderers «…hospitio di virtude et buon costume | sempre son stato dando vero lume | et mostrando agli erranti el buon camino», and concludes with a mention of the episode of the gift of loquacity as a reward from the Goddess: «Et questa dea che vedi qui vicino | poiche son stato io molto pietoso | illuminato mha di buon latino». Although the way the text is formulated is very similar to that of the sonnet mentioned above, it is interesting to note that the content of these verses comes from a different source, namely the *Vita Aesopi*. In this respect, two main circumstances deserve particular attention. First, the fact that this short text in poetry based on episodes from the *Life* of Aesop appears only once, introducing a vernacular version of the text of the fables, and is accompanied on that occasion by a single bipartite woodcut, in the same style as those representing the fables in the same edition,

[304] KRISTELLER 1992 remarks that this manuscript was copied by a series of Northern European hands.
[305] See section II.21.

illustrating the episode of the *Vita* where Aesop shows the way to the foreigner and subsequently received the gift of loquacity by the Goddess.[306]

The second element is the fact that, even more than in the sonnet «Sapi ch'io sono Esopo…», the writing in the first singular person creates an ambiguity of subjects between the biography of Aesop as author, and the story of the text. As well as its author, the text also aims at helping the wanderers to navigate its moral statements; and as well as the author the text also received the gift of being written in good Latin, later to be translated into the vernacular.[307]

No extant manuscripts transmitting this text are known.

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi for Pietro Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian.

⚜ II.50 Anonymous, *Esopo toscano* (Italian prose)

Inc.: «Per una stagione con grande sollecitudine…»; expl.: «…ciò ch'egli ha in cuore» [ed.: BRANCA 1989, pp. 65-255].[308]

This text consists of a transposition of the fables contained in the *Aesopus moralisatus* in Italian vernacular prose. Its origin was in central Italy, most likely in Tuscany, in around the second half of the 13th century.[309] Its author has been identified by scholarship as a lay member of the Dominican order, possibly one of the merchants who were very active in the environment of Dominican brotherhoods at the time.

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306 The illustration, in particular, is a mirrored copy of that found in the edition of the *Vita* printed in Naples in 1485. These considerations on the source of these verses and on the presence of the woodcut illustration in edition ISTC ia00153700, printed in Florence in September 1496 (nº 61 in the *Catalogue*), will have to be put in relationship with the idea that the same printers of this edition were probably also responsible for an illustrated edition of the *Vita Aesopi,* which does not survive today in its complete form but of which we have traces in this and other editions. This topic is developed further in section IV.2.4 of this thesis.

307 This second passage is that referred to and commented in the sonnet «Sapi ch'io sono Esopo…».

308 Branca's edition is based on manuscript Florence, Ricc. 1645 (14th cent.). Probably because of the small number (two) and very limited access to the surviving copies, the presence of this text in one Italian incunable edition is not acknowledged either in ISTC or in GW, and it seems not to have been recorded by KRISTELLER 1897, P. 45 n. 137 nor by SANDER 1943, p. 14 n. 68.

309 See BRANCA 1989, pp. 50-62, on which most of the following considerations are based.

Each fable of the *Aesopus moralisatus* is translated in a short story in prose, where the language and the moral content reflect a mixture of the religious *exempla* and *summae predicantium*, in Latin, well known to 14th-century preachers and the tradition of the *libri di memorie,* i.e. a sort of *zibaldoni* in Italian vernacular. These texts had became extremely popular within the mercantile class as they contained collections of family memories, anecdotes and lay moral precepts which could be transmitted from a father to his sons throughout the generations.

These two main sources were already combined in the preaching of the mendicant friars, begging for the salvation of all souls in an easy and comprehensible *sermo humilis,* and often referring to practical and mundane examples of morality as means to reach celestial perfection. As noted by scholarship, the manuscript transmission of this vernacular version of the fables is extremely difficult to analyse, as every scribe who produced a witness of the text modified it in its linguistic features, in the sequence of the words, the structure of some sentences and paragraphs, and references to specific geographic places, which changed according to the local interest of the scribe. The extent of these variations from one manuscript redaction to another makes it possible to identify only three clear relationships of descent out of the nineteen manuscripts constituting the tradition. This reflects, more than other cases of vernacular transposition, a certain commitment of each scribe to increase the specific moral significance and usefulness of the text that he was copying, in a practice which shares much with the oral systems of transmission.[310]

The redaction appearing in printed incunables and analysed here contains few references to actual geographical places or contemporary social facts, compared to other examples: see for instance the fable 'Della battaglia delle Bestie con gli Uccelli' in the redaction transmitted in manuscript Florence, Ricc., 1654, where the lion makes explicit reference to the area of Maremma and to the specific place of «Piano di Boccheggiano» or the absence of references to Asciano, Corsignano

[310] According to RICHARDSON 1994, p. 21, the extent to which texts were subject to reworking was inversely proportional to it being perceived by the reader as part of a literary canon. In particular, Richardson mentions the addition of different adjectives referred to the black and white swallow in fable, to stress its relationship with the black and white garment of the Dominican order (the circumstance is also mentioned in BRANCA 1961, pp. 69-83 and BRANCA 1989, p. 16).

and Monte Pulciano in the fable 'Della pecora e del cervo e del lupo', which are repeatedly recalled in the manuscript Florence, Ricc. 1654.[311] However, none of the manuscript witnesses of the *Esopo toscano* seems to contain more than the usual number of sixty-three fables, including the two fables 'De capone et accipitre' and 'De pastore et lupo', a setting which corresponds to branch β of the *Aesopus moralisatus* tradition.[312] In this context, it is rather surprising to find that the only known printed appearance of this text in the 15th century witnesses sixty-five fables, including the vernacular version of AM65, 'De mercatore et eius uxore', and AM68, 'De rustico et plutone'.[313]

The sequence of the fables is as follows:

311 See BRANCA 1989, pp. 160-61 and 199.
312 See section II.3 of this study.
313 The circumstance is examined in section III.3.1a of this thesis.

ET1 'Del gallo et della pietra pretiosa' (AM1);
ET2 'Del lupo et dello agnello' (AM2);
ET3 'Della rana et del topo' (AM3);
ET4 'Del cane et della pecora' (AM4);
ET5 'Del cane che portava la charne in bocca sopra lacqua o vero sopra el ponte' (AM5);
ET6 'Della compagnia che fece la capra la pecora la giovenca et il leone' (AM6);
ET7 'Del ladro che tolse moglie' (AM7);
ET8 'Del gru che trasse losso (sic) della gola del lupo' (AM8);
ET9 'Della cagna ricca che presto la casa allaltra (sic) cagna povera (AM9);
ET10 'Del villano che chavo el serpente' (AM10);
ET11 'Dellasino (sic) che salute il porco cinghiale' (AM11);
ET12 'Del topo della cipta et del topo della villa' (AM12);
ET13 'Dellaquila (sic) che tolse li suoi figlioli alla volpe' (AM13);
ET14 'Della aquila et della testuggine' (AM14);
ET15 'Del corvo et della volpe' (AM15);
ET16 'Dellione che venne in vecchezza' (AM16);
ET17 'Del signore et del cagniuolo et del asino' (AM17);
ET18 'Del leone et de topi' (AM18);
ET19 'Del nibbio che infermo et della madre' (AM19);
ET20 'Della rondina et degli altri uccelli' (AM20);
ET21 'Della cittade liber ache divento serva' (AM21);
ET22 'Delle rane che domandarono a Giove uno signore' (AM22);
ET23 'Dello sparvieri et delle colombe' (AM23);
ET24 'Del ladro et del cane' (AM24);
ET25 'Della porcella pregna et del lupo' (AM25);
ET26 'Della terra che gonfio et partori un topo' (AM26);
ET27 'Dello agnello delle capre et del lupo' (AM27);
ET28 'Del cane che venne in vecchiezza' (AM28);
ET29 'Delle lepore et della seva et delle rane' (AM29);
ET30 'Della capra et del capretto et del lupo' (AM30);
ET31 'Del villano che feri el pezzente' (AM31);
ET32 'Della pecora del cervo et del lupo' (AM32);
ET33 'Dell'uomo (sic) chalvo et della moscha' (AM33);
ET34 'Della volpe et della cycogna' (AM34);
ET35 'Del lupo che trovo un capo dhuomo facto per arte' (AM35);
ET36 'Della cornacchia et delli pavoni' (AM36);
ET37 'Della mula et del mulattieri et della moscha' (AM37);
ET38 'Della moscha et del la formica' (AM38);
ET39 'Del lupo che accuso la volpe' (AM39);
ET40 'Del villano et della donnola' (AM40);
ET41 'Del bue che bevea al fiume et della rana' (AM41);
ET42 'Del lione et del pastore' (AM42);
ET43 'Del lione et del cavallo' (AM43);
ET44 'Del cavallo ornato et del asino charico di grano' (AM44);
ET45 'Della battaglia delle bestie con gli uccelli' (AM45);
ET46 'Dello sparvieri et del lusignolo' (AM46);
ET47 'Del lupo et della volpe et del pecoraio' (AM47);
ET48 'Del cervio che si specchiava nella fonte' (AM48);
ET49 'Della moglie et del marito et del cavalieri' (AM49);
ET50 'Della meretrice et del giovane' (AM50);
ET51 'Del padre che amaestrava el figliuolo' (AM51);
ET52 'Della vipera et della forte lima' (AM52);
ET53 'Della battaglia che fu tra lilupi (sic) et lepecore (sic)' (AM53);
ET54 'Della accetta che non avea manico' (AM54);
ET55 'Del cane che sitrovo nella selva col lupo' (AM55);
ET56 'Delle mani et delli piedi che erano in discordia con il ventre' (AM56);
ET57 'Della scimmia et della volpe' (AM57);
ET58 'Del merchantuzzo che andava alme rchato con lasino (sic) charico' (AM58);
ET59 'Del cervo che fuggi in una stalla di buoi et delli buoi' (AM59);
ET60 'Del giudeo riccho et del servitore' (AM60);
ET61 'Del siscalcho del re et del cavaliere che combatteva col bifolco' (AM61);
ET62 'Dello sparver che stave sulla stangha et del cappone' (AM62);
ET63 'Dello accordo che fece el pastore con el lupo' (AM63);
ET64 'Del merchatante et della sua moglie' (AM65);
ET65 'Del villano che moriva et del diavolo' (AM68).

Manuscripts:[314]
Cambridge (MA), Houghton, Typ. 479 (14th cent.); Florence, BML, Gaddi Rel. 176 (14th cent.); Florence, BNCF, II 83 (15th cent.); Florence, BNCF, II IV 94 (14th cent.); Florence, BNFC XXI 87; Florence, Ricc.,

[314] A list of manuscripts is given both in BRUSH 1899, pp. 6-30 (with essential descriptions) and BRANCA 1989, p. 51.

1338 (14th cent.);[315] Florence, Ricc., 1591 (15th cent.; possibly 1462); Florence, Ricc., 1600 (15th cent.); Florence, Ricc., 1645 (14th-15th cent.); Florence, Ricc., 2805 (15th cent.); Ferrara, BC, II 340 (1719); Milan, Triv., 133 (15th cent.); New York (NY), Columbia, Lodge 7 (15th cent.); Siena, BC, A VIII 8 (18th cent.); Udine, BA, 83 (1449); Venezia, BN Marc., It. 4938 (15th cent.); Verona, BC, cod. 528-29 (15th cent.).

15th-century printed Italian editions:
Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi for Pietro Pacini, **17 Sept. 1496** (ISTC ia00153700), Italian.

⚜ II.51 Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, *Letter to the reader* (Latin prose)

Inc.: «Quanquam onus gravius esse…»; expl.: «…exigentius respondeat. Valete».

This letter appears in the edition of the Greek text of Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae*, printed in Venice around 1498. It contains a programmatic statement of intentions by the printers, committing themselves to the publication of new editions of texts by classical Greek and Latin authors, purified from all the mistakes and signs of wear derived from the manuscript tradition: «corruptissimi». The aim is to 'avenge' these texts and to give their literary content and moral meaning back to the audience in a polished and profitable form: «librorum a vitiis mendisque vindicandi nihil sordidi, nihil dedecoris habere, sed plurimum nitoris et decoris arbitramur».
In this context, the decision of starting from the Greek authors, without which the Latin literature would not exist, seemed natural and appropriate to the printers. Among the few surviving Greek texts they found Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae* particularly apt to satisfy the readers' taste, as they are at the same time useful but also enjoyable to read: «maxime ad hominibus expetita praestant, ut delectent, atque prosint». The second part of the letter is dedicated to explaining the structural choice of the printing and particularly the fact that, although Bartholomaeus Iustinopolitanus had realised a literal and accurate Greek-to-Latin translation of both Phalaris' *Epistolae* and Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae,* the printer eventually decided to include only the Greek text in the edition: «seorsum alioque volumine […] haberi voluimus graeca a latinis». The letter than concludes with the anticipation of different reactions from the audience,

[315] The variant contained in this manuscript was published by GHIVIZZANI 1866, II, pp. 3-154.

a justification of the many imperfections and things to be changed in the work, mainly due to the constraints of time, and the promise to put effort and energy in replying carefully («ad amussim») to all requests.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are known.

15th-century Italian printed editions:
[Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, about **1498**], Greek and Latin.

⌘ II.52 Statement claiming a ten-year printing privilege over Venetian territories (Latin prose)

«Si quis ad decem annos haec in terris felicissimi S(enati) veneti, aut imprimere ausus erit, aut alibi impressa, venalia habere, ex privilegio multabitur».

The presence of this privilege in an edition of Aesopian texts seems very telling about the new cultural *milieu* in which these texts were starting to be produced and read, and constitutes an appropriate ending to this chapter, as it provides the chance to introduce briefly some fundamental aspects of the printing of Aesopian texts in the early 16th century.

Two of the printers, who were reputedly responsible for this edition, i.e. Iohannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, were both originally from Modena, and had been sent to Venice by the Prince of Carpi, possibly in order to learn the art of printing from Aldus Manutius.

Manutius had been in Carpi from 1480 until around 1494, when he founded the Aldine press in Venice, and had always been extremely keen on promoting the development of the art of printing in the town, very likely because of the long-term friendship between him and Prince Alberto III Pio, Lord of Carpi, who had also contributed to fund the Aldine press. On the other hand, Manutius' supremacy in the field of Greek printing in Venice was formalised soon after the establishment of the Aldine press: in February 1496, he obtained from the Serenissima a privilege which condemned – on pain of the expropriation of the books and of a fine of ten ducats per edition – anyone who dared to print «tutti l libri greci, cussì cum la exposition latina

come senza, et latini traducti de greco non stampadi altra volta, che lui supplicante stampirà o farà stampir».[316]

Bissolus' and Mangius' apprenticeship at Manutius' workshop was certainly interrupted by the years 1497/1498, when the two printers associated with the editors Bartholomeus Pelusius, from Capodistria, and Gabriele Bracius, and started producing editions in Greek, imitating Manutius' types. For the editions that they had planned to print, they managed to obtain a privilege valid for a period of ten years, which condemned every other printer who produced or sold editions of the same texts in the Venice area to the payment of a fine.[317] In the original text of the supplication for the *privilegio,* which goes under the name of Gabriele Bracius, it is stated clearly that the request had a social and moral value, and was intended to protect the progress of knowledge in Venice, against the progressive wear of texts produced by the Venetian printers: «per damnosa negligentia et ignorantia de stampatori, li libri ogni zorno più siano depravati, la qual cosa è danno pubblico et ignominia de questa gloriosissima città». The *privilegio* itself was requested for the protection of the printers' work, in view of the great investment of energy and resources that they had put into this enterprise, and particularly as they feared that people in Venice would have tried to harm them, out of envy and hate: «molti per invidia, et odio cercaranno per ogni via, et modo nocere, et opprimer dicta Compagnia».[318] The privilege was originally asked for printing four Greek authors, namely Aesop, Phalaris, Pollux and Philostratus, and clashed with a more general privilege on the production of Greek books in Venice, which had been granted to Manutius in 1495/1496. What happened in the following years was that, out of the four editions for which the privilege had been granted, only two, namely Aesop's *Vita* and *Fabulae* and Phalaris' *Epistolae*, were actually printed by Bracius and his colleagues. By 1499, two of the members of the *Compagnia*, Mangius and Bissolus, had already

316 See ASVe, CN, reg. 14, fol. 133v, partly edited in FULIN 1882, p. 40 n° 41.
317 WITCOMBE 2004, pp. 28-40 describes the dynamics of the concession of privileges in Venice before 1517, with a brief reference to this case on p. 36. On this topic see also NUOVO 2013, pp. 195-217 and SQUASSINA 2016, pp. 42-61.
318 See ASVe, CN, reg. 14, fol. 157r; the text of the privilege was published by FULIN 1882, p. 51 n° 76.

left Venice and were working with Demetrius Calcondilas on the printing of the *Suida* in Milan.[319] Also in 1499, Aldus Manutius issued his own edition of Phalaris' *Epistolae,* edited by Marcus Musurus and without any reference to the 1498 edition, nor to the priviledge granted to his former pupils.[320]

This suggests not only that Manutius must have obtained the withdrawal of the privilege granted to Bracius and his *socii*, probably in view of the one that he had obtained in 1495, but also that the vague reference to the many who would have tried to damage the Company should be actually read as a precise reference to Aldus Manutius and his entourage.[321] Manutius himself printed an edition of the Greek and Latin text of Aesop's fables in Venice in 1505. The edition is based on the Greek text contained in the edition by Bonus Accursius, examined before in this chapter, to which Manutius added five fables, which he took from manuscript Milan, Triv., 775. Aldus also provided a new translation of the text.

No manuscript witnesses of this text are hitherto known.

15th-century Italian printed editions:
[Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, about **1498**], Greek and Latin.

319 ISTC is00829000.
320 ISTC ie00064000.
321 The circumstance is examined in BARKER 1985, pp. 93-97.

⌘ *Chapter III*

The Italian production in context: paths of textual transmission

As shown by the *Catalogue* of Italian Aesopian editions attached to this study, the production of incunable editions of Aesopian texts had a wide diffusion and extended to almost all major centres of printing in Italy. Fifty-two textual units, in different languages, literary forms and in various combinations, were included in the editions.

For each text it is possible to identify different lines of textual transmission and to follow the routes of its production in print over the last thirty years of the 15th century. Although necessarily based on what survives today, and therefore partial in a larger historical perspective, this operation allows us to track down a specific moment in the textual transmission of single texts and to draw a broad picture of the diffusion of a cultural phenomenon in print.[322]

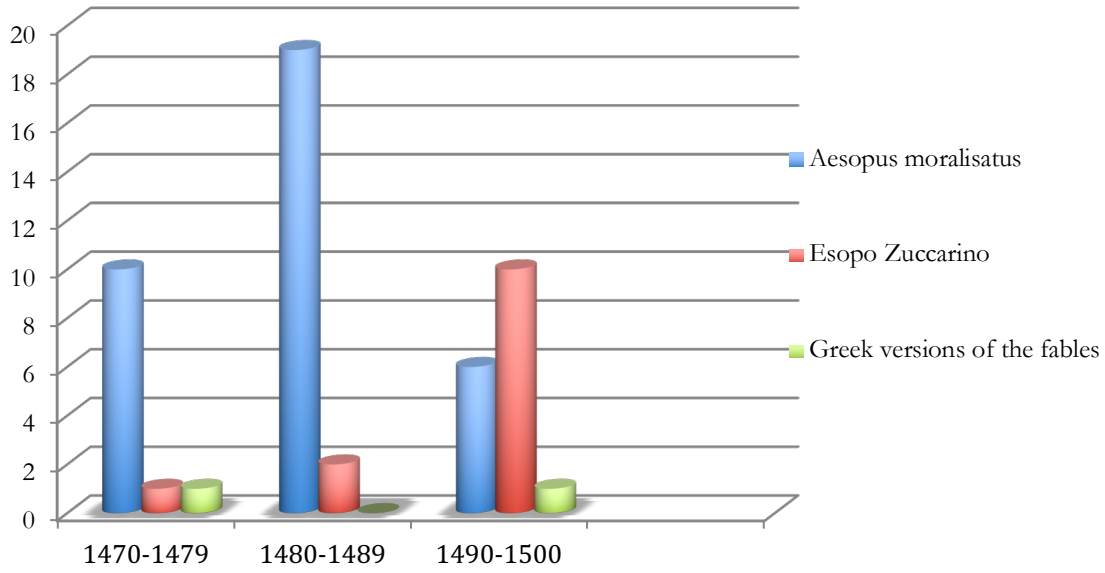
When considered from a geographical point of view, the printing of Aesopian texts in Italy in the 15th century seems to have been concentrated in two major centres of production, Milan and Venice, with seventeen and sixteen editions respectively. Other important locations of printing were Rome, Brescia and Bologna, where respectively six, six and five of the surviving editions were published before 1501. There were also minor centres of production, such as Parma and Florence, with three editions each, and Mondoví, Mantua, Vicenza and Naples, with two editions each surviving today.

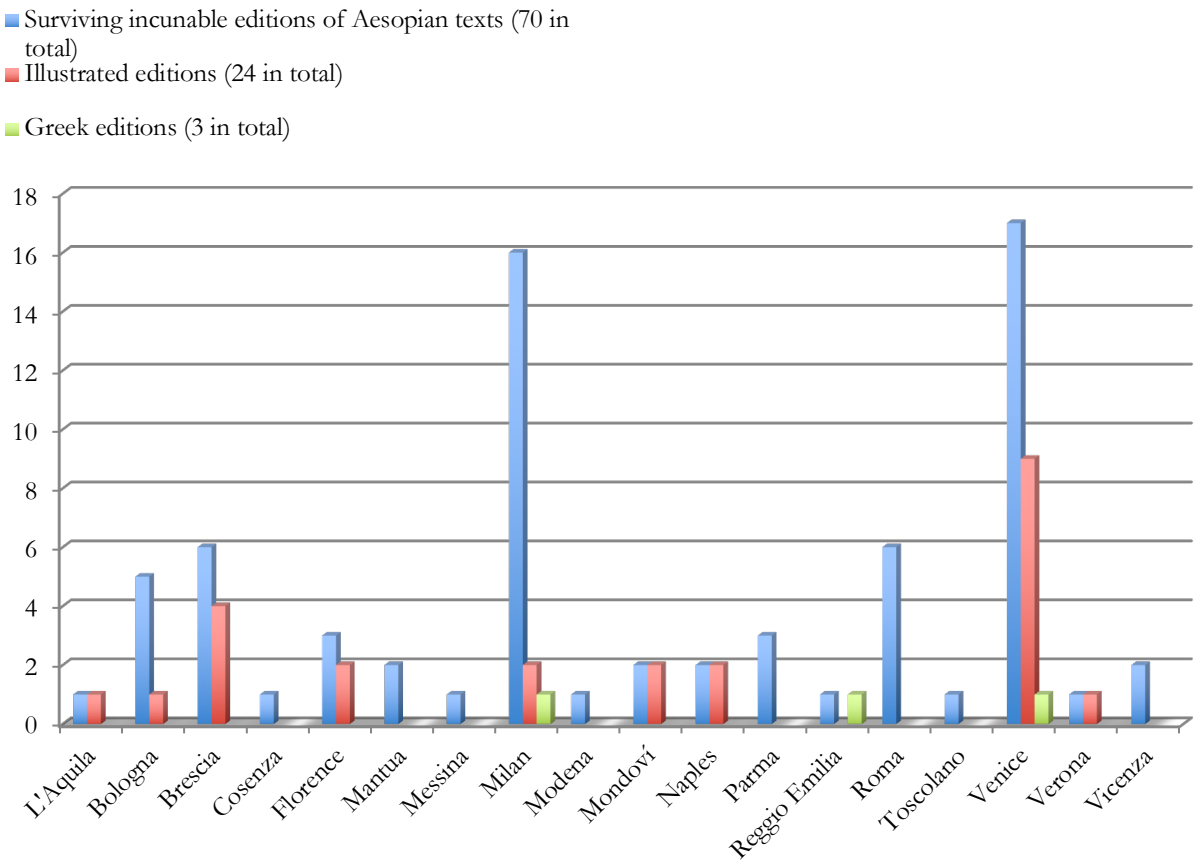
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322 «The risk is to concentrate too much on what has been lost before a proper investigation of what still remains, but only by mastering what we have can we begin to understand what we have lost» (DONDI 2016, p. 80). Studies conducted in the last twenty years have developed different methodologies and approaches to calculate the survival rate of early-printed editions, and to attempt to quantify what has instead been lost. These calculations are based on different factors such as the texts contained in different editions, the different contexts of use and genres, the variations in collecting tastes and habits. In general, scholars have often agreed in affirming that the survival of one single copy represents the most common case for 15th-century printed editions (see NEEDHAM 2004, p. 36 and HARRIS 2007, pp. 24-65).

Single editions also survive, which were printed in smaller printing places such as Toscolano on Lake Garda, Reggio Emilia, Messina, Cosenza, Modena, L'Aquila and Verona.

However, the predominant role of Venice remains unparalleled in the production of illustrated editions, since out of a total of twenty-four editions containing woodcut illustrations, nine were printed there. Peculiar in this context are the cases of Verona, L'Aquila, Mondovì and Naples, from where only a few editions survive today, but all illustrated.





The majority of Aesopian editions printed in Italy before 1501 is in quarto format, with the rare exceptions of five editions in octavo and four editions in folio. The editions in octavo are, in chronological order, those of the *Aesopus moralisatus* attributed to Petrus Adam de Michelibus [Mantua, 1472], and to Iacobus Rubeus [Venice, 1476]; the two editions of Rinucius' translations of the *Vita Aesopi* and of the *Fabulae,* printed in Milan by Philippus de Lavagnia respectively in June 1479 and September 1480, and the edition attributed to Christophorus Valdarfer [Milan, 1483/1484].[323]

The only examples of editions printed in folio include the two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Mondovì in 1476 and 1481 and the edition of Francesco del Tuppo's translation of the *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Naples 1485), together with its almost identical imitation printed in L'Aquila in

[323] Editions nos. 2, 11, 16, 19 and 32 in the *Catalogue.*

1493 by Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson.[324] Apart from these four editions, the presence of illustrations does not seem to have significantly influenced the choice of the format, which tended to remain that of a small, portable book for personal use and reading.

From a typographical point of view, the editions are almost equally divided between those printed in Roman and Gothic types, with a slight prevalence of the former. The choice between Roman and Gothic does not seem to be related to the kind of text printed for the *Aesopus moralisatus,* or for the translations by Rinucius Aretinus, Laurentius Valla and Omnibonus Leonicenus and the vernacular versions of the fables and of the *Vita,* as they all appeared in both styles. The situation is different, however, for the three editions containing Aesopian texts in Greek, i.e. those printed by Bonus Accursius in Milan around 1478, by Dyonisius Bertochus in Reggio Emilia in 1497 and by Gabriele Bracius *et socii* in Venice in 1498 respectively. All three editions, along with Greek types, employ Gothic characters.[325]

Within the considered *corpus,* some editions are clearly based on surviving ones printed before them, while others show structural and textual interventions which do not have any recorded precedent, and seem therefore to have been introduced by the printers. These similarities and differences between one edition and the others of the same text concerning the combination of texts included in the edition and their textual features – can only be established through collation, and constitute valuable clues to reveal the sources from where the content of the edition was derived. In this context, the chronological order of appearance of the editions must be kept in mind when examining their possible derivative relationships; never forgetting, however, that each edition could also be a reprint of something published earlier and now lost.

In order to carry out the analysis of the textual features of the Italian editions of Aesopian texts printed in the 15th century, it was necessary to establish a methodological framework, defining the elements which had to be taken into consideration, and why. I divide the editions into three main

[324] Editions nos. 12, 23, 34 and 52 in the *Catalogue.*
[325] The Greek editions are nos 14, 62 and 67 in the *Catalogue.*

groups according to the language of the majority of the texts that they contain. The three main groups correspond to the three sections of this chapter, namely Latin editions, Greek editions and Latin/vernacular editions. In each section, the editions are gathered together depending on the texts they contain, and the analysis of the different groups generally tends to follow the chronological order in which the editions were printed. The first section examines the large nucleus represented by the editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* plus those containing the humanistic Greek-to-Latin translations by Leonicenus, Valla and Rinucius. The second section explores the only three editions containing Greek versions of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae.* The third section focuses on the vernacular versions by Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, Francesco del Tuppo and on the so-called *Esopo toscano.*

In establishing and examining the genetic relationships between different editions of the same text, I paid attention to both macro and micro aspects of the composition, and in particular:

- structure of the edition: number and order of the texts included, paratextual material such as dedicatory letters, proems, comments by the editor or the printer etc.;
- structure of the texts included in the edition: number and order of the fables, noteworthy variants in the titles of the fables, list of the episodes contained in the Vita, completeness of the texts and major textual variants.

Different cases below will demonstrate that all these categories should be used as indicators of different lines of the textual transmission.

All these elements were recorded in detail in the *Catalogue* attached in appendix to this study. As for the textual variants examined, when a modern critical edition of the text, completed with a *recensio* of the witnesses and a study of the transmission, is available, I used it as a benchmark for the examination of the printed textual tradition as well. In this sense, fundamental references were Paola Busdraghi's recent critical edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* Maria Pasqualina Pillola's editions of both Rinucius and Valla's Greek-to-Latin translations, and Ben Edwin Perry's studies on the Greek tradition of the *Fabulae* and of the *Vita.*

In all other cases, I collated the texts myself and attempted an identification of the most meaningful variants characterising the text of each printed edition; in general, I relied on macro-variants, including features such as the addition of entire fables or extra lines in the *Aesopus moralisatus* or the different solutions adopted by printers to treat the lacuna at the end of Rinucius' translation of the *Vita Aesopi*, or the insertion of Greek printed characters where needed.[326]

Given the large number of texts examined, and their different nature, the present chapter cannot exhaust all the philological and ecdotic questions related to each of them. Furthermore, a complete reconstruction of the textual tradition and of the relationships between the surviving editions, not to mention a detailed record of the variants of each edition, would have exceeded the scope of this study. The fundamental objective of this chapter is instead to shed new light on the development of the transmission in print of Aesopian texts in Italy in the 15th century, as well as to distinguish the main different textual groups within the Italian editions transmitting each work, and to describe the most noteworthy variants and features of each group on the basis of the criteria listed above.

The high degree of complexity of the tradition of some of the texts included, and the frequent cases of contamination between different textual families that this chapter brings to light would require case-by-case attention to be dealt with, not to mention a systematic analysis of the manuscript transmission, which in most cases is currently lacking, and ultimately a complete reconsideration of the critical edition.

[326] In particular on these aspects see sections III.1.2 and III.1.5.

⌘ III.1 Latin editions

III.1.1 The Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Fabulae* by Omnibonus Leonicenus

Proceeding in chronological order, the first group of editions to be examined is that containing the Latin translation of the fables produced by Omnibonus Leonicenus, which seems to have been printed for the first time in Venice between 1470 and 1471, at a very early stage after the introduction of printing in the city and during Leonicenus' lifetime. At that time the printer of this edition, Christophorus Valdarfer, had just arrived in Venice, while Leonicenus was back to Vicenza where he kept working as a teacher after four years at the Ca' Gioiosa in Mantua.[327] Both in Vicenza and in general in Northern Italy, Leonicenus was a highly respected and influential cultural figure. Therefore, it does not seem unconceivable that it might have been Leonicenus himself who got in touch with one of the first printers to have settled in Venice to propose and possibly arrange the printing of two of his works, both notably related to the field of education.[328] On the other hand, along with a general trend in early Venetian printing, what remains of Valdarfer's production as a whole reveals a particular attention to classical texts, with special reference to his early edition of Cicero's *Orationes* in 1470, Pliny the Younger's *Epistolae* and Servius' commentary to Virgil in 1471, and to education, as suggested by the publication, after

[327] FATTORI 1995, pp. 1-12 mentions this among a group of editions usually attributed to Valdarfer but that she thought could instead have been printed in Verona by the Germans Paulus Butzbach and Georgius de Augusta. The attribution of this Aesop, however, remains ultimately uncertain even in Fattori's article, as the watermark does not correspond to those which characterise the majority of editions tentatievely assigned to this group. As in other cases of doubtful attribution, I have ultimately followed the typographical indication given by GW, that identifies the types as Valdarfer's; the same attribution is also followed in BMC V, p. 185.

[328] After moving from his native Regensburg to Venice in the late 1460s, Valdarfer eventually settled in Milan in 1473. Along with the fables' translation, Leonicenus also had his *De arte metrica* printed by Valdarfer in the same years (ISTC il00169500), another edition probably intended for education as suggested by the provenance evidence found in its two only surviving copies. The copy in Stuttgart (Inc.qt.10028b) has reading notes structuring the text and comments on the content throughout, by a late 15th-century Italian hand, while the copy now at the Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile in Padua (Forc. K.4.3) is bound together with a series of the 15th-century texts for education, including Paveri Fontana's *Grammaticae fontes* (ISTC ip00239000) and the collection of Franciscus Mataratius, *De componendis versibus hexametro et pentametro*; Nicolaus Perottus, *De generibus metrorum* and *De Horatii ac Boethii Severini metris*; Leonicenus' *De arte metrica* and the *Centimetrum* by Honoratus Servius Maurus, printed in Venice in 1491 (ISTC im00349000).

Leonicenus' translation of Aesop, of the *De liberis educandis* in the translation by Guarinus, accompanied by Hyeronimus' *De officiis liberorum* in 1471 and of Vergerius' *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis*, also in 1471.[329] Another Aesopian edition printed in the same years, this time containing the *Aesopus moralisatus,* is attributed to Valdarfer and assigned to Milan.[330]

After Valdarfer's edition, Omnibonus' translation was printed again in Brescia in 1492 by Baptista Farfengus, a secular clergyman and doctor in canon law.[331] Farfengus' activity as a printer was substantially influenced by the production of his competitors, namely the Britannico brothers, Jacobus and Angelus, who themselves had managed to prevail over the other central figure of printing in Brescia in the late 15th century, Boninus de Boninis.[332] The competition among the three printing shops was intense, and resulted in Farfengus' editions being usually addressed to a somewhat less cultivated audience compared to that of the Britannicos. In his reconstruction of Farfengus' biography, in particular, Giuseppe Del Torre pointed out how most of Farfengus' production consisted of popular texts in the vernacular, mostly characterised by a small printing format and poor editorial quality, so that they could be sold cheaply, as opposed to the legal, theological and classical texts, printed by the Britannicos in extremely refined and expensive editions for a selected public.

In this context, the choice of Farfengus of printing the *Fabulae* in Omnibonus' translation, rather than in the more popular *Aesopus moralisatus* or in one of the vernacular versions, seems to come as a contradiction. However, it should be put in relation with the fact that the latter had already been printed both by the Britannicos and by Boninis, in December 1485 and in August 1489 respectively.[333] Vernacular editions too, on the other hand, and specifically Accio Zucco's translation and reworking of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* were already been printed at least once in the

[329] ISTC nos. ic00542000, ip00804000, is00479000, ip00821000 and iv00129000. For many of these attributions, I rely on GW's typographical analysis.
[330] N° 32 in the *Catalogue*. None of the fifty-nine editions related to Valdarfer's name according to the ISTC appears to be illustrated.
[331] Edition n° 50 in the *Catalogue*..
[332] More on the development of the art of printing in Brescia and on the main historical figures involved can be found in VENEZIANI 1986, pp. 96-105 *et infra*; VENEZIANI in SANDAL 1986, pp. 2-18 and in the *DBI* record by DEL TORRE 1994, available online. On Farfengo see also PETRELLA 2018.
[333] Records nos. 35 and 42 in the *Catalogue*; editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* are commented below in this chapter.

city, in 1487, again by Boninis.[334]

In both the Valdarfer 1470/1471 and Farfengus 1492 editions, Leonicenus' translation is introduced by his dedication to Iohannes Franciscus Gonzaga, a feature that does not seem to be stable as far as the manuscript transmission is concerned.

According to the information contained in the corresponding *Catalogue* records, however, the two editions present a series of substantial separative textual variants, which point against the likelihood of a derivative relationship between them. In the absence of a critical edition of Leonicenus' translation, and of a complete *recensio* of its manuscript witnesses, it is impossible exactly to determine the respective position of these two textual variants in the *stemma*. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting here that the earliest printed edition, which was published when Leonicenus was still alive, shares many of its variants with manuscript London, BL, Harl. 6841. It is also worth noting that some variants included in the 1492 edition seem to be less correct, simplifying versions of those shared by the earliest edition and the Harleian manuscript. This is the case with 'fidem exituram' in the manuscript and the earliest printed edition where the later edition has 'fidem exibituram' (fable OL3, 'De vulpe et hirco'); or of 'ante oculos obversaretur' found in the manuscript and the earliest edition instead of 'ante oculos observaretur' in the later edition (fable OL25, 'De duobus inimicis').

The different attribution of the work, the second edition only containing the Greek, humanistic version of Leonicenus' name, 'Panagathus Vicentinus', also reinforces the idea that the 1492 edition, rather than being the result of an extensive re-elaboration of the one printed by Valdarfer in the early 1470s, with many words changed and simplified, very likely came from a different branch of the textual tradition.

[334] N° 38 in the *Catalogue*; see more considerations on the text and illustrations of this edition below and in chapter IV of this study.

III.1.2 Editions containing the *Aesopus moralisatus* only

The largest group represented in the *Catalogue* is that of the twenty-six editions which contain the Latin text of the *Aesopus moralisatus* only, without significant paratextual material, translation or commentary to accompany it. Among them, it is possible to distinguish separate textual families that rely on various elements, starting from the number and sequence of the fables. None of the editions has less than sixty-three fables, which includes the original nucleus of fables AM1-AM61 (from 'De gallo et iaspide' to 'De iudeo et pincerna'), plus two extra fables, i.e. 'De pastore et lupo' and 'De cive et equite regis'. According to the considerations made by Paola Busdraghi in her critical examination of the manuscript tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* this feature allows us to place all the extant editions printed in Italy before 1501 into the β branch of the tradition.[335] Busdraghi did not include in her examination any of the early printed editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus*. However, their link with the β branch of the tradition is supported by the fact that all the editions also share textual variants which are characteristic of this class. For reasons of space, it was impossible to include here a complete collation of all the variants. The most noteworthy ones are included in the *Catalogue* records in the appendix. Other variants, also listed in the *Catalogue* records, which allow us to further distinguish separate families within this branch, are discussed below.

Group 1) Editions containing sixty-three fables

This first group consists of four editions which only include fables AM1 to AM63, i.e. those printed in Bologna by Balthasar Azzoguidus in 1477, by Franciscus Plato de Benedictis in 1482,

[335] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 20-30.

and by Ugo Rugerius in 1486, plus one edition attributed to the press of San Jacopo of Ripoli, in Florence, and dated around 1488.[336]

Beside the number of fables, all three Bolognese editions share some formal features, such as the missing titles and initials and the lack of any introduction or title before the beginning of the text of the *Aesopus moralisatus*.[337] The textual layout of the three editions is very similar, too. The examination of the editions which are included in Group 8, printed in the 1490s by Bernardinus Misintis, also containing sixty-three fables, but accompanied by a Latin and vernacular commentary, will clarify that the editions contained in Group 1 belong to the same branch of the tradition, different from that of the Misintis editions.

Nonetheless, I believe that these four editions represent at least three different stages of the transmission of this version of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* as I will explain below introducing the most meaningful variants.

First, a series of differences separate the three editions printed in Bologna from the one assigned to Ripoli, such as: the insertion of the two lines «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa | credere prudenti lingua ministra verius» in fable AM14, «De aquila et cornicula decepta', with the variant «verius» instead of «necis» and after line 8 and not at the end of the text, as it is for the three Bolognese editions; in fable AM10, the line «Non exit coluber nec vult exire sed heret» occupies the seventh position in the Bolognese editions, while it is line number 4 in the Ripoli one. At a micro level, verse AM4.3 reads «Pro cane stat milvus vultur et lupus instat», while the same verse in the three Bolognese editions read «Pro cane stat milvus, stat vultur, stat lupus et instant». Similarly, verse AM4.7 in the three Bolognese editions reads «Ergo suum licet obstet hyems prevendit amictum» while the Ripoli edition reads «Ergo suum licet iemps obstet prevendit amictum»; the three Bolognese editions have «dulcia soli» in line AM12.27, while the Ripoli edition has «gaudia soli». Lines AM38.3-4 read «Torpes mersa cavis, levitas michi queritur

[336] Nos. 13, 29, 31 and 37 in the *Catalogue*.
[337] Titles have been added by hand in the single surviving copies of the first two out of three editions, but not in the examined copy of the 1486 one.

alis | dat tibi fossa domum nobilis aula michi» in the two Bolognese editions transmitting this passage, while in the Ripoli edition the same lines are inverted and read: «Dat tibi fossa domum nobilis aula michi | Torpes mersa cavis, levitas michi queritur alis».

The Ripoli edition contains a second noteworthy inversion in fable AM43, too, involving the second hemistich of lines 10-11. This results in the two lines reading «Imprimit et sopit vix audit vita reverti | vix fugit ille sopor membra leonis equus» rather than «Imprimit et sopit membra leonis equus| vix fugit ille sopor, vix audit vita reverti», the most common version, which is shared by the three Bolognese editions and, as will be seen below, by Misintis' editions as well.

The Ripoli edition also introduces the inversion of fables AM48 and AM49, not witnessed by any other of the examined editions, and a series of variants which seem to be unique among the editions with the same number of fables, such as the repetition of two lines in fable AM59 (lines 4, 5, 6) and the variant «letatur risu» in line AM60.16, where other editions usually have «Ridet et a risu».

In the three Bolognese editions, lines AM61.62-65 read «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat». In the Ripoli edition the mistake, owing to a *saut du même au même*, is not reported and the same lines correctly read «robur cedit eques: seque cadente sedet | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat».

After this first distinction, a variant in fable AM47, which is attested in the Bologna 1477 and Ripoli editions, against the other two Bolognese ones, can be useful to highlight the three different versions represented in this group. Lines 7-9, according to the main branch of the textual tradition, should read: «Fraude tamen munita venis falsoque venenum | melle tegis dolor est copia nostra tibi | extorquere paras aliquid furtumque minaris | sed mea furtivam respuit esca gulam»; this version of the text corresponds to that included in the 1482 and 1486 Bolognese editions, as well as in the two editions printed by Misintis. The situation changes in the 1477 Bolognese edition, where the printer introduced the variant «Fraude tamen munita venis

furtumque minaris | melle tegis dolor est copia nostra tibi | extorquere paras aliquid furtumque minaris | sed mea furtivam respuit esca gulam».[338] In the Ripoli edition, or in its direct source, this variant generated some confusion and a mistake owing to another *saut du même au même*, resulting in the suppression of lines 7 and 8: «Fraude tamen munita venis furtumque minaris | sed mea furtivam respuit esca gulam».

In addition to this variant, a series of differences further separate the Bologna 1477 edition from the 1482 and 1486 ones: for instance, line AM44.5, which in the 1477 Bolognese edition reads «Quod sibi claudat iter, sonipes inclamat asello», while it is «Quod sibi claudat inter sospes inclamat asello» in the 1482 and 1486 ones; line AM55.23 reads «pro dulci vendere lucro» in the 1482 and 1486 editions, as well as in the Ripoli one, while it reads «pro turpi vendere lucro» in Bologna 1477.[339] In both the 1482 and 1486 editions, verse AM31.9, in fable 'De rustico et angue', reads «item» instead of «iterum»; they both read «Sic iubet esse lupus. Paret timor ille iubenti» instead of «sic lupus iubet esse paret timor iste iubenti» in line 3 of fable AM32, 'De cervo et ove'; «sunt pauci mora parva dies» instead of «sunt pauci parva mora dies» in line 5 of fable AM34, 'De vulpe et ciconia'; «pro dape redit ovem» instead of «pro dape tendit ovem» in line 10, «hunc timet ille timenti» instead of «hunc timor ille timenti' in line 21 and «pensatque salute salutem» instead of «pensat pro salute salutem» in line 25 of fable AM42, 'De leone et pastore'.

Futhermore, the Bologna 1482 and 1486 editions share a structural variant in the disposition of the two fables AM26, 'De terra tumente'; and AM27, 'De agno et lupo', which can be considered a conjunctive error in the reconstruction of the genealogical relationships between the printed corpus.

In particular, in the 1482 edition, the two fables are placed in inverted order on leaves [a6r/v], the second one, 'De terra tumente', beginning at the top of leaf [a6v]. Although it looks like some

[338] This variant is reported by Busdraghi as one of the distinctive variants of manuscript Montecassino, Abbazia, 227 P (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 146).
[339] The variant with «dulci» is recorded in BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 166 as characteristic of manuscripts Paris, BNF, lat. 14381 and Florence, BML, Strozzi 80.

extra space was left in the top border of leaf [a6v] to be filled in with the title, the initial of the fable 'De terra tumente' was misprinted as if it were part of the text, and not left blank as all the other initials of the fables were. The result is that the two fables might well appear as two parts of a single text.[340]

In the 1486 edition the last lines of fable AM27, 'De lupo et agno', and the first lines of fable AM25, 'De terra tumente', are printed on the same leaf, a7r, this time without interruption, the *incipit* of the latter being completely indistinguishable from the end of the former.

Furthermore, at least one more case of misprinting must have happened during the preparation of the 1482 edition, as the last three lines of fable AM38, 'De musca et formica', and the first five lines of fable AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', are printed in a tight column on the right margin; the corresponding text starts at line 6 of fable AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe'. Unfortunately, the only surviving copy, now at the British Library, lacks leaf [a8], making it difficult to understand the exact context of this very unusual occurrence. However, what is supposed to be leaf [a7] of the same edition ends at line 11 of fable AM34, 'De vulpe et ciconia'. Momentarily excluding additions in the margin, this structure suggests that in the original plan of the printer, the single leaf height was meant to contain the last three lines of fable AM34, plus the whole fables AM35 (6 lines), AM36 (16 lines), AM37 (10 lines), AM38 (33 lines), and the first five lines of fable AM39, for a total of 73 lines, not counting the blank lines left for the titles. Considering that the average number of lines per page of this edition is thirty-two, it might well be the case that the printer did not manage to fit all the text into the dedicated space, and decided to add the lines, which were left out on the margins of the next leaf. However, this solution does not seem to have had consequences for the Bologna 1486 edition.

In my opinion, these circumstances suggest that the 1482 edition very likely represents the model, marked by cases of misprinting and confusion, sometimes involving also the order of the words

[340] As highlighted in the *Catalogue* (record n° 29), the inversion must have caused some confusion in the reader who annotated the titles in the spaces left blank. In the space above the fable 'De lupo et agno' he first wrote 'De terra tumente', which he later crossed out and substituted with the title actually corresponding to the fable printed. The space for the title of the following fable, at the beginning of leaf [a6v], however, was not filled in.

and the spelling, of the one printed in the same city in 1486, with which it shares the most meaningful variants, including the mistake in the order of fables AM26 and AM27, which become indistinguishable in the latter.[341]

Group 2) Editions containing sixty-three fables plus fable AM64

From the first extant edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Italy, possibly in Mantua in 1472 by Petrus Adam de Michelibus, onwards, a series of fables were added to the core group of sixty-three. A first group of such editions contains the standard sixty-three fables plus the addition of one more fable of eight hexameters, titled either 'De pueris ludentibus' or 'De puero suspenso' (AM64).[342] The group of editions of *Aesopus moralisatus* transmitting this fable in print includes a series of editions printed before the mid-1490s:

i. a series of editions dated or localised in Milan: one attributed to Antonius Zarotus in Milan, and dated around 1474;[343] those assigned to Philippus de Lavagnia, c. 1480, Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, c. 1481, to Christophorus Valdarfer, c. 1483/1484; and those dated and issued by Scinzenzeler in September 1495 and by Philippus de Mantegatiis in February 1496;[344]
ii. the edition assigned to Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, and thought to have been printed around 1476;[345]

[341] Nonetheless, it is impossible to state the exclusive dependence of the 1486 edition from the 1482 one, owing to the fact that the one printed in 1486 reintegrates at least one line that is missing in the 1482 (AM49.4). Franciscus Plato de Benedictis might have at some point realised the general weakness of the edition he was keeping as a model, and have relied on other exemplars to complete his work.
[342] Inc.: «Ludentes pueri suspendunt…», expl.: «…fiunt portantia mortem». Only two manuscript witnesses of this extra fable seem to date to the 14th century (Berlin, SBB – PK, Lat. qu. 564 and Bologna, BU, 2795), while eight other manuscripts are assigned to the 15th century (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.N. II. 42; Basel, UB, F. VIII. 1; Freiburg im Breisgau, UB 21; London, BL, Add. MS 11896; Milan, BNB, AD. X 43; Modena, BEU, Lat. 106; Venezia, BN Marc., Lat. XIV 289 and Madrid, Academia, 45, where only two lines of the poem were copied). See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 30.
[343] Nº 6 in the *Catalogue*.
[344] Nos. 6, 26, 32, 59 and 60 in the *Catalogue*.
[345] Nº 11 in the *Catalogue*.

iii. the edition printed in Modena in May 1481, by Dominicus Rocociolus, with the help of Thomas Siebenburger (*Septemcastrensis*) and Johannes Franciscus de Stellinis de Tironibus, also known as Iohannes Franciscus de Coronibus, and possibly copied from a lost Jenson's edition;[346]

iv. one edition printed in Parma in May 1481 and attributed to the printer Andreas Portilia, active between Parma and Bologna until 1484, who also printed, in 1482, an edition of Rinucius' translations of the *Vita Aesopi* and of the *Fabulae*[347];

v. two editions printed in Brescia, one by Jacobus Britannicus in 1485 and the other by Boninus de Boninis in 1489;[348]

vi. one edition assigned by ISTC to Zarotus (Milan, 1480).[349]

All the editions included in this group share a major structural variant in comparison with other editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* i.e. the addition of four lines in fable AM49, 'De viro et uxore', after line 26: «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi difficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[350] Within this group of editions, which include sixty-four fables, three sub-groups can be distinguished. The first includes the edition assigned to de Lavagnia, the one assigned by ISTC to Zarotus (c. 1480),

[346] *Catalogue* record n° 24 and FAVA 1947, pp. 93-102 for the hypothesis that this edition was copied from one printed by Jenson. De Coronibus was the son of a certain Iacobus de Stelinus de Brissia, and is recorded as living in Mantua in 1483, «in contrata Griffonis». This particular document has some importance for this research, as it registers the sale of a small shop, always in 'contrata Griffonis', from this Iohannes Franciscus to a printer who had just moved to Mantua from Parma in these years or slightly before: Stephanus Corallus. The existence of a privileged network of cultural exchanges, including repeated cases of movement of both books and book-related people from Parma to Mantua, both places where Aesopian editions were printed in the late 1470s/early 1480s, most likely related to the trading of books and paper, has been already suggested by scholarship. So have the reasons which might have convinced Corallus to move from one place to the other, namely the drop in the printing of law books in Parma after the failure of various attempts to reform the city university in 1477 (see GUALAZZINI 1977, pp. 325-36 and CANOVA 2004, p. 152).

[347] N° 25 in the *Catalogue*. On Portilia see the *DBI* record by MONTECCHI 2016, available online.

[348] Nos. 35 and 42 in the *Catalogue*.

[349] N° 22 in the *Catalogue*.

[350] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition: Göttingen, SUB, Philol. 106 (15th cent.); Munich, BSB, clm 7680 (15th cent.); Munich, BSB, clm 19667 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Canon. class. lat. 80 (14th cent.); Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Gud. Lat. Qu.162 (15th cent.); and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst 185 (1471).

and those printed by Scinzenzeler in September 1495 and by de Mantegatiis in February 1496. Below the *Aesopus moralisatus,* these four editions transmit the two proverbs in verse «Gutta cavat lapidem» and «Clamitat ad caelum». All four editions lack the last two lines of fable AM61, 'De cive et equite'. These hitherto unnoticed similar features, as well as a new typographical analysis and the Milanese origin of most of the editions belonging to this first group, allowed the GW team to confirm ISTC's attribution of the 1481 edition to Zarotus, against their original hypothesis that the edition ought to be attributed to the Neapolitan printer Sixtus Riessinger.[351]

The edition printed in Brescia by Boninus de Boninis in 1489 does not witness the two proverbs. The final couplet «Ingenium superat vires prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added at the end of fable AM14. Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque requirens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore suo». In fable AM53, 'De lupis et ovibus', the two couplets of lines 9-10 and 11-12 are inverted in comparison with the standard order: «Ergo pecus tutoris egens in viscera mergit | preside nuda suo sic tumulatur ovis | cum natura iubet natos ululare lupinos | turba lupina furit federa rupta querens»; fable AM54, 'De luco et securi', lacks the last couplet.

The third sub-group, which includes the remaining seven editions, is characterised by the inversion of fables AM61, 'De cive et equite', and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', and by the addition of two extra lines to the fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine'.[352]

[351] GW's initial attribution to Sixtus Riessinger (c. 1485) was corrected following my exchange with Oliver Duntze. On the basis of the textual features and of the types, I proposed that the edition could have in fact actually been printed by Zarotus; a more accurate analysis of the type by the GW team confirmed my supposition.

[352] This variant has been identified by BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74 as a characteristic feature of manuscripts Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 227 P (1308), one of the witnesses considered in the critical edition, and Bologna, BU, 2795 (14th century).

Group 3) Editions containing sixty-three fables plus fables AM64 and AM65

A small set of two editions containing only the *Aesopus moralisatus* have fables AM1-AM63, plus the fable AM64, 'De puero suspenso', seen above and a second extra fable, which often goes under the title of 'De mercatore et eius uxore' or 'De viro et moecha', of ten elegiac couplets.[353] Similarly to 'De puero suspenso', this fable also has a clear Aesopian inspiration and is thought to be a later addition to the collection rather than part of its original outline. Both editions included in this set have been assigned to Mantua and are thought to have been printed around 1472, the former probably by Petrus Adam de Michelibus and the latter probably by Johannes Vurster and Thomas Septemcastrensis.[354]

On top of this meaningful structural variant, both editions also have an inversion in the order of the fables, in that fable AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', stands in between fables AM59 and AM60. The confusion continues also for the following fables as AM63, 'De lupo et pastore', separates fables AM60 and AM61. Furthermore, in both editions, fable AM14, 'De aquila testudine et cornice', has the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» occupying lines 9-10, inserted before the closing couplet.[355]

Unfortunately, I was not able to conduct a more meticulous analysis of the textual variants on the edition assigned to John Vurster, and it is therefore impossible to form a hypothesis on which edition derived from the other, if this was the case. However, the series of variants just mentioned and the geographical proximity between the two editions suggest that they were probably related to each other.

[353] Inc.: «Absenti fingit dum cornua…», expl. «…suspicor esse pium». 'De pueris ludentibus' appears in two manuscripts of the 14th century and eight of the 15th century; 'De viro et moecha' appears in only four manuscripts, of which two date from the 14th century and two from the 15th century. Apparently in none of the surviving manuscripts the two fables are witnessed together (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 27-30, with further bibliography).
[354] Nos. 2 and 3 in the *Catalogue*.
[355] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.

Group 4) Editions containing sixty-three fables plus fables AM64, AM65 and AM67

Another small group consists of the edition printed in Toscolano by Gabriele di Pietro in 1479 and the two editions *sine notis* assigned to Vicenza, and attributed to Jacobus de Dusa, c. 1482, and Leonardus Achates de Basilea, c. 1485, respectively.[356] All three editions consist of sixty-five fables, i.e. fables AM1-AM63, plus fables 'De puero suspenso' and 'De mercatore et eius uxore', followed by a third extra fable, 'De leone, lupo et vulpe'.[357] All three editions also share other textual variants and two meaningful structural variants. First, the presence of the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» in lines 9-10 of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine'.[358] Second, the addition of three lines after line 26 of fable AM49, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil fecit dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro». This variant is different from the one shared by editions belonging to Group 2, where four and not three extra lines are found.[359] Another element that is worth highlighting is that the printer of the earliest edition, Gabriele di Pietro, was originally from Veneto, very likely from Treviso, and from 1472 to 1478 he had printed several editions in Venice, some of which in collaboration with other printers, before moving closer to Brescia, on the shores of Lake Garda.[360]

The three editions also testify the same inversion in the order of the fables which is found in Group 3, where fable AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', stands in between fables AM59 and AM60 and fable AM63, 'De lupo et pastore', separates fables AM60 and AM61.

[356] Nos. 17, 30 and 36 in the *Catalogue*.
[357] Inc.: «Tractavere lupus leo…» and expl.: «…mors manet atque salus».
[358] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
[359] The addition of these lines has already been commented on above in this section (Group 2); see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153. The missing line in this version of the variant is «Ne timeas inquit mulier lapidemque requirens».
[360] On him see the *DBI* record by PLEBANI 1998, available online.

Group 5) Editions containing sixty-three fables plus fables AM65 and AM68

Two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* printed in Bologna by Franciscus de Benedictis in 1493 and in Florence in 1500 by Francesco Bonaccorsi, the latter also illustrated, present another variation in the number of the fables included. To the standard sequence of fables AM1-AM63, both collections add fable AM65 'De mercatore et eius uxore', already mentioned above as it is also part of the collections included in Groups 3 and 4, as well as one more fable, entitled 'De rustico et plutone'.[361]

It appears therefore that the number and order of the fables contained in these two editions faithfully reproduces that of Accio Zucco's collection *Esopo zuccarino,* illustrated in section II.25 of this thesis. Although at first sight this situation might appear not dissimilar from the others described above for different groups of editions, this actually represents an unusual circumstance as far as the transmission of the text is concerned.

If it is true that the basis for the main structure of the *Esopo zuccarino* is the standard sixty-three fables collection of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* it is also true that scholarship has repeatedly pointed out how the last fable of Zucco's collection ('De rustico et plutone', AM68) does not find a precedent in any known written source. In particular, Paola Busdraghi did not list this fable among the *extravagantes* appearing from time to time in manuscripts of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* and both Leopold Hervieux and Stefania Martini, the only two scholars who have dedicated some attention to the construction of the text of the *Esopo zuccarino,* noted that this fable, which appears in all the printed editions and manuscripts of the Zucco's work, is never found in manuscripts of the collection attributed to Gualtherius Anglicus.[362] In light of this situation Hervieux, in particular, thought that it might have been Accio himself who found this anecdote and added it to the compilation. In this context, the most plausible explanation for the

[361] Inc.: «Cum timet agricola se debita solvere…», and expl.: «…quid cogitet omnis| fabula declarat datque quod intus habet». Nos. 51 and 70 in the *Catalogue.*

[362] For the first three fables and their circulation in the textual tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* see section II.3 of this study.

appearance of this sequence, including the fable in question, in two editions printed in the late 1490s, which both contain only the Latin fables of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* would be that the Latin collection was extracted from manuscripts, or editions, of the *Esopo zuccarino,* and separated from its Italian translation in sonnets, which represented in fact the most characteristic feature of Accio's work.

In order to investigate this circumstance, I first analysed the two editions to ascertain whether they can be considered textually related. Then, I compared their most peculiar textual features to extant Latin versions of the *Esopo zuccarino.*

Both editions share with the *editio princeps* of the *Esopo zuccarino* the inversion of lines 7-8 of fable AM7, 'De foemina nubente furi'. The standard order in which they appear in editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* reads*:* «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere fauorem, | Qui mala fecerunt uel mala facta parant»[363]. The order in which these two lines appear in the Bologna 1493 and Florence 1500 editions, as well as in the Verona 1479 and in the Rome 1483 editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* is «Qui mala fecerunt uel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere fauorem». The other extant editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* all include the lines in the correct order.

Similarly, both the Bolognese and the Florentine editions have line AM20.14, in fable 'De hirundine et lino', «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable. As will be seen below, the line is present in the Verona edition, in the Rome 1483 edition, as well as in the Naples 1485 edition and in its 1493 copy printed in L'Aquila, while it is missing in all the others, leaving the fable incomplete.[364]

At the end of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added both in the Bolognese and in the Florentine edition, as well as in the Verona edition and in all the following editions of Zucco's work.

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363 This is the order with which the lines have been recently published by the editor, see BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 58.

364 The two variants just mentioned are among the elements which allow us to distinguish between two different groups in the transmission in print of the *Esopo zuccarino*; the first group consists in the Veronese and Roman editions, while the second one includes the ones printed in Naples, Brescia, Venice, L'Aquila and Milan.

Nonetheless, it is worth noting a series of textual variants, which separate the Bologna and Florence editions, suggesting that it is unlikely that they derived one from the other. In the Bolognese edition, the fables AM26, 'De terra que peperit murem', and AM27, 'De lupo et agno', are inverted; in the Florentine edition, the standard order, adopted also by Paola Busdraghi, is instead respected. However, this point of the text remains problematic, as shown by the fact that the title of fable AM25, 'De lupo et succula', is missing, and replaced by that of AM26. The confusion continues as both fables AM26 and AM27 have the same title, i.e. that of fable AM27, 'De lupo et agno'; the situation goes back to normality from fable AM28 onwards.

In line AM38.17, the Bolognese edition has «fercula fructum», instead of the more correct «fercula furtum», which is attested by the Florentine edition.[365]

One more noteworthy separative variant is the presence in the Bolognese edition only of a mistake due to a *saut du même au même* in fable AM61, 'De cive et equite': lines 62-65 read «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat». In the Florentine edition, the mistake is not repeated and the same lines correctly read «robur cedit eques: seque cadente sedet | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat».

Still in fable AM61, the Bolognese edition witnesses the extra couplet «Fine fruor gemino quod cogitat omnis | fabula declarat datque quod intus habet» (lines 91-92), which is not inserted in the Florentine edition, nor in any of the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*.

At the same time, the Florentine edition also presents some variants which do not find any correspondence in the Bolognese one, such as the insertion of one extra couplet after line 4 of fable AM10, 'De viro et colubro': «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis». These lines are absent in the Bolognese edition, and Busdraghi identified

[365] «Fercula furtum» is also the variant accepted by BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 124.

their presence only in a few manuscripts.[366] More interesting to this research is the presence of these two lines in all the extant editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*.

On the basis of these elements, one can conclude that the two editions were not copied one from the other, nor did they derive from the same source. On the contrary, it is my belief that the Bolognese edition was the result of an original operation of combining different sources, or the copying of a previous collection obtained in that way. In particular, some of its features, such as the inversion of fables AM26 and AM27, seem to link this edition with the two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed, also in Bologna, in 1482 and 1486, both containing sixty-three fables and described above.[367] One might therefore suppose a case of contamination between the text contained in these two editions and one of the *Esopo zuccarino,* from which the editor could have taken the Latin text of the last two fables. Only a more accurate collation of the textual variants, which was not possible here because of space constraints, will unveil the nature and extent of this contamination.

The Florentine edition is also the result of an original, albeit different, operation by its printers, who, on the basis of the many editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* circulating at the time, isolated only the Latin version of the text, and printed it alone. In this respect, it is worth remarking that in 1496 an edition containing only the Italian text of the *Esopo zuccarino,* in combination with another Italian vernacular translation of the same fables in prose, had been printed in Florence and by the same group of people who, a few years later, produced the Latin-only text. Conceptually, therefore, this operation seems to represent the Latin counterpart of the 1496 edition.[368]

366 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 65 *nota* and record n° 71 in the *Catalogue*.
367 The two editions were included in Group 1.
368 The 1496 Florentine edition is n° 62 in the *Catalogue* and will be commented further in section III.3.

Group 6) The two editions printed in Mondovì

The two editions printed in Mondovì in 1476 and 1481, by the Piedmontese Dominicus de Vivaldis with the help of his sons Laurentius and Stephanus, constitute the last group of editions which transmit the *Aesopus moralisatus* alone, and differ from those examined above in a series of structural and textual features.[369]

In the two Mondovì editions, the fable AM61, 'De cive et equite regis', is divided into three distinct sections, all represented with a separate woodblock. The first section, beginning: «Civis eques sub rege…» and ending: «…sola procella docet», includes the first eighteen lines of the text of the fable as we know it from the other editions, and bears the usual title 'De cive et equite'. It is accompanied by an illustration where a knight and a civilian, wearing a gown, converse in front of the king, who is sitting on the throne. The second and the third sections, respectively beginning: «Cena trahit civem…», and ending: «…quid nituisse iuvat?» (eighteen lines); and beginning: «Desperat lugetque senex…», and ending: «…quod intus habet» (fifty-six lines), are grouped under the same title 'De dilacione duelli'. They correspond to two illustrations, of which one is placed just below the title while the other separates the two sections. Furthermore, only the two Mondovì editions witness the *fabula extravagans* 'De patre et filio' (AM66) at the end of the collection. The fable begins: «Filius est pater est hic patri credere nescit…», ends: «…ceca videre facit» and consists of twelve elegiac couplets. [370] Other variants, mentioned in the *Catalogue*, testify to the differences between the textual features of the Mondovì editions and the rest of the tradition.

This clear separation led some scholars to think that the Mondovì editions did not have any kind of influence on the following Italian printed production of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* to the point that it has been suggested that they might not have been read outside of Piedmont.[371]

[369] Nos. 12 and 23 in the *Catalogue*.
[370] This fable is not mentioned by BUSDRAGHI, among the *extravagantes* contained in some of the manuscripts.
[371] See MARDERSTEIG 1973, p. 18, DONATI 1978, p. 47 and PICCAT 1987, p. 330-33.

Nonetheless, in chapter IV, where the evolution of the printed illustrations accompanying the fables in Italian incunable editions is examined, I will suggest that, although the textual layout appears to be very different, at least some features of the iconographic tradition to which the Mondovì editions belonged had instead an influence on some of the following production of illustrated Aesopian fables in Italy.

III.1.3 Editions containing the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by other texts

In addition to the editions just examined, which include the *Aesopus moralisatus* only, six editions include it in combination with other texts. Among these, three include abridged versions of Aesop's life (Group 7); two include a Latin and Italian vernacular commentary and paraphrasis (Group 8); one includes the *Aesopus moralisatus* as part of Guterrius' compilation known as *Libri minores.*[372]

Among Italian editions, a peculiar textual form is the one that the *Aesopus moralisatus* takes when inserted by Andreas Guterrius in the compilation edited by him and printed in 1491 in Venice, very likely by Bernardinus Benalius, with the title of *Libri minores.* This text only contains sixty-one fables, lacking AM62 and AM63. Another peculiar structural feature, which is not shared by any other Italian printed edition, is the fact that the text is here divided into three books, the first one including fables AM1 to AM20, the second one including fables AM21 to AM41, and the third one including the last twenty fables. The division in books derives from the *Romulus* prose version of the fables, with the version known as the *Romulus Burneianus* being the one whose structure is closer to that of the transposition in verse of the *Aesopus moralisatus.* Only a few of the manuscripts of the *Aesopus moralisatus* maintain this division in books, and this feature alone is

[372] The texts in questions were described in sections II.4, II.36, II.38 and II.48 of this study.

enough to suggest the distance between this edition and all the other Italian ones. The printer's source, i.e. Guterrius's manuscript version, must have been based on the version of the text circulating in Spain or in Northern Europe.[373]

In the two sections below, I will particularly focus on editions included in Groups 7 and 8 to analyse the reciprocal derivative relationships among them and, when possible, with the rest of the corpus.

Group 7) Editions containing the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by abbreviated versions of the *Vita*

Among the editions which contain the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by other texts are the four in which the *Aesopus* is preceded by different abbreviated versions of the *Vita Aesopi*, usually consisting of one single page which summarises the most important episodes of Aesop's biography. Three of these editions, i.e. those printed in Rome in 1473 by Philippus de Lignamine and in 1475 by Windelinus de Wila, and one printed in Messina around 1474 by Heinricus Alding, place at the end of the *Aesopus moralisatus* an epitaph dedicated to Aesop, attributed to Petrus Paulus Pompilius.[374] All three editions contain sixty-three fables and show the same inversion between fables AM61, AM62 and AM63, where fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', follows fables AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', and AM63, 'De pastore et lupo', closing the collection. Within this group, the Roman editions also share the same Aesop's biography, which has been identified by scholars as an abridged version of the *Commentarium* written by Rinucius Aretinus to introduce his translation of the *Fabulae*.[375] As seen above, along with references to some episodes of Aesop's life and to elements gathered from the introductory proem of the

[373] Guterrius taught grammar in Leuven in 1486. For the division of the text in different books see BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 27-32.
[374] The two editions printed in Rome and the one printed in Messina are 4, 7 and 9 in the *Catalogue*.
[375] See PILLOLA 1993, pp. 98-99 and section II.8 in this thesis.

Aesopus moralisatus, this short text also quotes Rinucius' explanation concerning the order of the fables, which was alphabetical in the Greek version of the fables and therefore impossible to follow in the Latin translation. However, this specific reference to Rinucius' text does not seem to be relevant to the *Aesopus moralisatus,* which follows this introduction in all the editions where it appears. This is an incongruence that scholars tentatively explained not only as a lack of attention by the first printer, Philippus de Lavagnia, who was also identified as a possible author, but also as evidence of his supposed intention of inserting also Rinucius' version of the fables in the edition, along with the *Aesopus moralisatus.*[376] The two Roman editions and the one printed in Messina also share an inversion in the order of the fables, in that fable AM43, 'De equo et asello', precedes fable AM42, 'De equo infirmitatem simulante et medico leone'. The Messina edition, however, and the one printed in Parma by Angelus Ugoletus in 1488, which was put together following the same structure of abbreviated version of *Vita* followed by *Aesopus moralisatus,* contain different versions of the *Vita.*[377] The latter, in particular, transmits a compendium of the *Vita* composed in all likelihood for this edition by the humanist Francesco Mario Grapaldo, from Parma, whereas the *Vita* inserted in the Messina edition remains anonymous. The Parma edition, which does not transmit the so called *Epitaphium Aesopi,* also witnesses some confusion towards the end of the collection, where the position of fables AM61, 'De cive et equite', and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', is inverted. Despite involving the same fables, the inversion is slightly different from the one which is found in the other three editions of this kind, and this, together with other elements – such as the variant «verba movat» for «verba canis», which is instead common in all other three editions, in line AM24.2; «iniquus homo» instead of the variant «iniquus amor», in line AM28.18, shared by the Messina and the two Roman editions against the Parma one; and the presence in the fable AM14 of the Parma edition of the extra couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis», which is not found in any of the other three – combine to suggest that, in spite of the structure being

[376] See PILLOLA 1993, p. 99 n. 9.
[377] N° 41 in the *Catalogue.*

similar, the textual source for this edition was probably different from the other three. Another separative variant is constituted by some lines added to fable AM38, 'De musca et formica'. While the edition printed in Parma transmits the standard version of the fable, consisting of thirty-two lines, as it also appears today in critical editions, the other three editions add four lines between lines 24 and 25: «Si tibi nil prestet probitatis sive decoris | Aurea si tangas nil tibi laudis emunt | Non tibi dant speciem qui tangis aurea vasa | multa queunt oculi cernere nilque iuvat…». Furthermore, the two Roman and the Messina editions also change the final part of the fable, adding the four lines «Oscula regine sudas ut sanguinis haustum | summa quo sanguinis et tibi vita fugit | dumque tenella caro morsu mordetur amaro | Dum morso mordes tu ratione cadis» before the two final couplets.[378]

A series of variants distinguish further the Messina edition from the two printed in Rome, such as «fluentum», in the Messina one, instead of «fluentem», in the Roman ones in fable AM2.1; or the absence, in both Roman editions, of line AM22.14 («Iupiter, exaudi Iupiter, affer opem»). On the other hand, the Rome 1475 and the Messina editions share the similarity of some titles such as 'De cane querente domum', against 'De cane que ede alteram suscepit' in the Rome 1473 one. The Messina and Rome 1475 editions also share the version «causaque iusta perit» in line AM9.10 instead of the inversion «iustaque causa perit», contained in Rome 1473; the version «immensa voluntas» instead of the wrong «in mensa voluntas» in fable AM12.3, «clementia vultus» instead of «clementia multus» of the Rome 1473 edition in fable AM12.9; «lenit amicum» instead of «levit amicum» in fable AM12.17; «aquilam premunit ineptum» instead of «aquilam prevenit in eptem» in fable AM14.3, and also entire lines such as AM51.2 «nam fugienda facit et facienda fugit», instead of «nam facienda fugit et fugienda facit», of edition Rome 1473; «nuntio tutam» instead of «munere tutam» in line AM55.5. In general, the differences witnessed by the first Roman edition, printed in 1473, all seem less correct and simplifying variants, which are absent from the version contained in the Messina and Rome 1475 editions.

[378] See for reference the text published by BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 122-25.

Two considerations originate from this analysis. First, it is very likely that the two Roman editions are related to each other. This is strongly suggested on a macro level both by the combination of the three texts contained, that is i) the abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi,* ii) the *Aesopus moralisatus* and iii) the *Epitaphium,* and by the peculiar inversion of the fables AM42 and AM43. It is also supported by the fact that no major variants in terms of number of lines, or inversions separate the two editions. Nonetheless, it appears that the text contained in the second of the two Roman editions is more correct and polished. The case might be that the two editors copied from the same source, one introducing several mistakes and errors, or that the second editor copied the structure and text from the first edition, but corrected its mistakes. On the other hand, the strong relationship between the text of the *Aesopus moralisatus* of the second Roman (1475) and the Messina editions seem to make it plausible that Alding, printer of the latter, had the text of the former as a model, and might have only decided to include a different version of the abbreviated *Vita* to introduce it. This suggestion also provides new support to the hypothesis advanced in the GW, where the Messina edition is dated on a typographical basis to the period 1477-1480, i.e. after the printing of the second Roman edition, rather than to 1474, as it is in ISTC.

Group 8) Editions containing the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by the commentary *Graecia disciplinarum*

The two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* containing the commentary *Cum Graecia disciplinarum* consist of sixty-three fables with no major changes or inversions in the order. The text of the two editions, probably printed in Brescia by Bernardinus de Misintis in 1495 and 1497, shares a series of variants with that of the three Bolognese editions included in Group 1, containing the *Aesopus moralisatus* only, in its sixty-three fables version, such as «…nec reddere iure tenetur» for «…nec

habet quod reddere possit» in line AM4.5; «…rodi perpete cura» instead of «cura perpete rodi» in line AM12.23.[379]

As already mentioned while analysisng the editions included in Group 1, Misintis' editions share with the three Bolognese ones included in that group the standard sequence of lines AM43.10-11, «Imprimit et sopit membra leonis equus| vix fugit ille sopor, vix audit vita reverti», against the inversion «Imprimit et sopit vix audit vita reverti | vix fugit ille sopor membra leonis equus», found in the edition attributed to the Ripoli monastery.

However, a series of variants, both textual and structural, suggest that the tradition of the text included in Misintis' editions was not derived from any of the earlier surviving sixty-three fables editions. Among the textual variants, in fable AM26.4 the Misintis editions have «stare cavent», while the three Bolognese editions and the Ripoli edition read «stare timent»; in fable AM28.18, Misintis' editions and the Ripoli edition have «iniquus amor», while the three Bolognese editions have «iniquus homo»; «calvus vult ledere musca» instead of «muscam vult cedere calvus» in fable in AM33.2; «nescis acre bibis» instead of «bibis acre nescis» in fable AM38.26; AM51.2 «nam fugienda facit et facienda fugit», instead of «nam facienda fugit et fugienda facit», shared by the three Bolognese and the Ripoli editions; in AM51.9 «gaude laetus ara quem domat usus arandi», instead of the version substituting «ara» with «aratrus», variably inflected in the Bolognese and Ripoli editions;[380] and «aut surgat aut superatus eat» for «aut pugnes aut fuge, tempus abit» in fable AM61.78.

Both the Bolognese and the Ripoli editions share the variant «rupta fluunt» in line AM41.6, while the Misintis editions have «rupta patent», the variant which is also accepted by Busdraghi. Similarly, while the three Bolognese editions and the Ripoli edition have «Fit timor et surda» in

[379] The editions were printed in Bologna in 1477, 1482 and 1486 respectively. They are nos. 13, 29 and 37 in the *Catalogue* attached. Their reciprocal relationships are analysed at the beginning of section III.2.1. Misintis' editions are nos. 57 and 64 in the *Catalogue*.

[380] The correct version of this verse, as published by Busdraghi, is «Gaudet, laetus ara, tu quem domat usus arandi»; the two words «ara» (imperative verb), and «tu», explain the introduction of the error «aratrus» in this point of the text.

line AM44.10, the two Misintis editions have «Tutior et surda», the variant accepted by Busdraghi.[381]

In addition, the editions printed by Misintis transmit the addition of the two lines «Ingenium superat vires; prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescit» at the end of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', while they are added before the final couplet in the Bolognese editions;[382] further, fable AM61 does not have the final couplet «Fine fruor gemino quod cogitat omnis | fabula declarat datque quod intus habet» in Misintis' prints, while the couplet is recorded in all Bolognese editions.

III.1.4 Laurentius Valla's Greek-to-Latin translation of thirty-three *Fabulae*

As seen in chapter I of this study, the Greek-to-Latin translation of thirty-three fables composed by Laurentius Valla had a widespread printed circulation in Europe throughout the second half of the 15th century, with many editions printed in the Netherlands, where the *editio princeps* is thought to have been printed around 1470, and in Germany. It is worthy noticing that all the editions printed outside Italy contain the same number of fables in an order that is completely different from that transmitted by the manuscripts. In particular, the order of the fables in the *princeps* is as follows: LV1, LV14, LV15, LV16, LV17, LV18, LV19, LV20, LV21, LV22, LV2, LV3, LV23, LV4, LV5, LV24, LV7, LV6, LV8, LV9, LV25, LV26, LV27, LV10, LV28, LV11, LV12, LV29, LV30, LV31, LV13, LV32, LV33.[383] Maria Pasqualina Pillola, who curated the most recent critical edition of Valla's fables, put this peculiarity in relationship with an

[381] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 138.
[382] The couplet is missing in the Ripoli edition.
[383] The comparison with the order of the fables in the *editio princeps* with the order of the fables in the main manuscripts is summarised in PILLOLA 2003, p. 108.

inversion of some gatherings in the printing of the *princeps*.[384] What Pillola does not highlight, however, is that all the four editions printed in Italy share instead the same order of the fables, which is that transmitted by most of the manuscripts, and are in this respect different from all the surviving European editions. In particular, the four editions can be divided into two groups, distinguishing the one attributed to Christian Preller and containing Valla's translation only, preceded by its preface, from the three surviving editions printed by Iohannes Tacuinus, in which Valla's work is accompanied by Laurentius Abstemius' *Apologi centum*. The last three editions share the same version of the text; they are essentially reprints of each other and belong to a different branch of the tradition.[385]

On the basis of the distinction traced by Pillola in her critical edition, however, the two versions of the text printed by Preller and by Tacuinus seem to descend from manuscripts belonging to the branch ψ of the tradition, one that has been described by the editor as a second redaction of the text, where the author added a number of corrections and improvements in order to polish the work. In particular, in the redaction represented by the manuscripts of branch ψ, the author modified a series of choices which are instead characteristic of the initial redaction of the text, represented in the manuscripts of branch ζ, and which, according to Pillola, must have been perceived as too basic or redundant, in the final stage of the composition.

In this respect, all four editions seem to reflect the second stage of the compositional process, as they have, among others, «conditionem statumque», instead of «fortunam, conditionem statumque» in fable LV12; «aspiciunt» for «vident» in fable LV21; «volucribus» for «volatilibus» in fable LV28; «proprius stans», instead of «proprius astans» in fable LV32. Furthermore, the dating of the introductory letter is in the Roman Latin form rather than in Arabic numbers, a feature

[384] PILLOLA 2003, p. 56.
[385] Nos. 58, 68 and 69 in the *Catalogue*.

that in itself constitutes the main distinctive element between the two redactions of the textual tradition.[386]

In spite of their relatively small number, all the four Italian editions share a text that is closer, compared to that of all European ones, to the final stages of the redaction of Valla's fables, both in terms of order of the fables and editorial choices.

However, the four Italian editions also represent two different branches of this more correct and polished text. In particular, a series of variants separate the text printed by Preller from that printed by Tacuino. This analysis has not been attempted by Pillola, and lack of space precludes a detailed comparison here. However, the table below summarises some particularly noteworthy variants distinguishing the two versions of the text:

Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Lorenzo Valla) [Naples: Christian Preller, c. 1495; n°56 in the *Catalogue*	Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum* (edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus), and Aesopus, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla) Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, 3 August 1495, n° 58 in the *Catalogue*[387]
LV16: «per luxum rerum et copiam marcessentes ab instituta industria retardantur»;	LV16: «homines propter luxum et copiam rerum marcescentes ab instituto retardantur»;
LV17: «porrige eam qui te momordit comedendam»;	LV17: «porrige cani qui te momordit comedendam»;
LV20: «interceptus ab hostibus»;	LV20: «interceptus ab hominibus»;
LV20: «quippe nil aliud quam hanc buccinam habeo»;	LV20: «Quippe nihil buccinam aliud quam hanc tribam habeo»;
LV31: «ad mercandum»; «venundatibus»; «palmularum»;	LV30: «ad mercatum»; «venundatis»; «palmarum»;
LV32: «venatorem canum»; «includens»; «febris subsecuta est brevisque adulescens mortus est nihil adiuvante patris sophismate».	LV32: «venaticorum canum»; «inducens»; «brevisque tempore adolescens est motuus. Ita leo adolescentem occidit. Nihil adiuvante patris».

Additionally, in all editions by Tacuinus, the collection of Valla's translation has an inversion in the order of the fables compared to those contained in the manuscripts and in Preller's edition, in which fable LV21, 'De thunno et delphino', occupies the twenty-third position. All these variants clearly suggest that the textual sources for the two editions were different.

386 See PILLOLA 2003, pp. 87-98.

387 These variants are shared also by the two following editions printed by Tacuino in June 1499 (nos. 68 and 69 in the *Catalogue*).

III.1.5 Rinucius Aretinus' Greek-to-Latin translation of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae*

Another considerable group consists of the editions containing the Latin translation of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* made by Rinucius Aretinus. As seen in chapter II, the appearance in print of Rinucius' translation of the fables was always in conjunction with that of his translation of the *Vita,* whereas his translation of the *Vita,* which also served as the basis for del Tuppo's vernacular reworking, had a more independent circulation in print.

Eleven Italian incunables contain both works. None of them is illustrated and they were mostly printed in, or attributed to, Milan – six editions – and Rome – three editions -, with the sole exception of the 1482 edition printed in Parma by Andreas Portilia, also presumed to have been responsible also for at least one edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus*.[388]

As for the number and order of texts, this group of editions is clearly divided in two on the basis of the number of dedication letters included and of the presence of the elegiac couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. On the one hand, seven editions comprise only one dedication, i.e. that beginning with «[N]ovas nimirum merces», addressed to Antonius Cerdá, the *Argumentum* to the *Vita,* the *Vita* itself, the *Argumentum* to the fables, the fables, the general *Anacephaleosis* and the closing couplets. This group includes the edition printed in Parma by Portilia in 1482 and all the editions printed in Milan, respectively by Antonius Zarotus in 1474 and c. 1476; by Philippus de Lavagnia in June 1479 and in September 1480; by Gasparus de Cantono in November 1480; and by the association of the two printers Bernardinus de Castilliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis in October 1491.[389]

A separate set of three editions have not one but three dedication letters, i.e. the letter beginning: «Ad duo potissimum nititur…», addressed to Laurentius Lavina, followed by the one beginning with: «Quo tempore sanctissimo dominus noster Nicolaus…», addressed in these three editions

[388] See above. ia00102000 is the ISTC number of Portilia's edition of Rinucius' translations, n° 27 in the *Catalogue.*
[389] The Milanese editions are nos. 5, 16, 19, 20, and 48 in the *Catalogue.*

to Cerdá, and by a third letter, beginning: «Novas nimirum merces Reverendissime pater…», addressed in these three editions to Tommaso Parentucelli, in contrast with the previous group, where it is addressed to Cerdá. This second structure is shared by the three editions which are either Roman or assigned to Rome on a typographical basis, i.e. the one printed around 1475 and attributed to Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, the one attributed to Eucharius Silber and thought to have been printed around 1482 and probably in Rome and a third edition, this time signed by Silber and printed in 1487 in Rome.[390]

In this context, a different structure is that of the edition printed in Milan by Bonus Accursius around 1477.[391] In this edition the translations by Rinucius are collected in one volume (II) together with other Aesopian materials, and the translation of the *Vita* is introduced by the letter «[N]ovas nimirum merces», dedicated to Cerdá. On the other hand, the final elegiac couplets are missing.

According to the *Catalogue* presented in appendix to this research, eleven editions of the *Vita Aesopi* translated into Latin by Rinucius Aretinus survive today. The text was always printed in conjunction with Rinucius' Latin transation of the fables. In this group, elementary lines of transmission can be traced looking at how different printers approached the lacuna towards the end of the *Vita Aesopi*. The printer of the earliest extant Roman edition, ultimately identified with Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck by GW, left some blank space, possibly hoping for the lacuna to be restored. He kept the beginning of the incomplete episode of the *arator* and the woman: «…esto forti animo, habe spes bonas, ac teipsum consuleris. Tum Esopus subgemens ait. Mulier quedam de recenti virum sepelierat; ac singulis diebus ad sepulcrum proficicens plorabat. Arator quidam sepulcro appropinquans…» on leaf [d6v], then he left a space corresponding to around five empty lines, before the end of the leaf [d6v]. Leaf [d7r] begins with the first words of the following scene: «Ecce delphii qui esopum publico decreto…»..[392] In the two editions of the

[390] The Roman editions are nos. 8, 28 and 40 in the *Catalogue*.
[391] N° 14 in the *Catalogue*.
[392] The edition is record nº 8 in the *Catalogue*..

Milanese group that he printed respectively in 1474 and c. 1476, Antonius Zarotus does not remark the lacuna in the text of the *Vita,* and the narration jumps from the episode of Aesop talking to Demas, to the imprisonment of Aesop by the Delphians: «…spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris. Ecce Delphii, qui Esopum…». This model was followed by the later Milanese printers, namely Philippus de Lavagnia, Gasparus de Cantono, Bernardus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis, and by Andreas Portilia in his Parma edition. On the other hand, the two editions printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber in the 1480s derive their text from the Guldinbeck 1475 Roman edition. However, while Guldinbeck had left some space between the *incipit* of the story of the *arator* and the episode of Aesop and the Delphians, suggesting that he was aware of the lacuna in that passage of the *Vita* and that he was probably hoping for it to be restored, the two later Roman editions do not mark it out with any special sign of punctuation nor any extra space.

At this point, it is clear that the edition printed in 1474 by Zarotus served as the main source for many of the following editions, and particularly for those produced in the area of Northern Italy and particularly in Milan and Parma.[393] On the other hand, the edition printed in Rome in 1475 and attributed to Bartolomaeus Guildinbeck seems to be independent from the ones produced by Zarotus and was the source for another, Roman, branch of the printed tradition.

In this context, it is worth asking where Bonus Accursius' c. 1478 edition stands. In this case, the missing portion of text was completed with the relevant episode. As seen in the *Catalogue* record for this edition, this addition was probably a new translation by Accursius himself, presumably directly from the Greek manuscript of the text of the *Vita Aesopi,* which Accursius used, and which was more complete than the text used by Rinucius. The close relationship between the 'Rinucius section' of Accursius' edition and the 1474 Zarotus edition has been convincingly accounted for by scholars through the hypothesis of an involvement of Accursius in the 1474

[393] PILLOLA 1993 also mentions one more edition of this collection printed by Philippus de Lavagnia, and derived from the Zarotus 1474 edition. It is referred to with the GW n° 338a and dated 'Impressum Mediolani ad impensas Philippi Lavagniae civis Mediolanensis MCCCCLXXIX pridie Kal. Novembris': currently, no extant copies are included in the GW record and this edition is not listed in ISTC.

edition, in view of the documented collaboration between the two printers in that period.[394] In spite of the several modifications and improvements to the texts of Rinucius' *Vita* and *Fabulae,* which were inserted in the 1478 edition, among which is, notably, the correction of Rinucius' name at the beginning of the dedication letter «Novas nimirum merces…», Accursius' edition should nonetheless be included in the Milanese branch of the tradition. It did not, however, influence the following editions of Rinucius' translations printed in Parma in 1482 by Andreas Portilia, and in Milan in 1491 by Castelliono and Mantegatiis, both still based on Zarotus' model. As seen above, the two editions issued in Rome in c. 1483 and 1487 respectively, depend instead on the Guldinbeck model and can be considered part of the Roman branch of the tradition.[395]

⌘ III.2 Greek editions

Accursius' 1478 edition introduces a fundamental turning point in the history of printing of the Aesopian texts, as well as in the history of printing in general, marking the first printed appearance of the *Vita* and of the fables in Greek. When compared to the rest of the Aesopian *corpus* printed in Italy in the 15th century, the production in Greek constitutes a small percentage, counting only three editions completely or partially in Greek.[396] As far as we know, no traces of editions of the Greek versions of Aesopian texts printed outside Italy before 1501 survive today, highlighting the fact that this was an exclusively Italian phenomenon.

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394 See PILLOLA 1993, p. 105. Accursius collaborated as editor to at least two editions printed by Zarotus in the 1470s, i.e. Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* printed in 1475 (ISTC iv00027000) and Ovid's *Opera* printed in 1477 (ISTC io00130000).

395 See PILLOLA 1993, p. 107. I could find no trace of the edition supposedly printed in Rome in 1483 which Pillola mentions among the reprints of Rinucius' work in the 15th century: the GW number which the editor refers to does not currently correspond to an Italian edition of Rinucius' work.

396 I do not include here all the editions of the Latin translation of Rinucius' *Vita Aesopi,* where Greek words appear; the insertion of the Greek words in each edition by the respective printer is indicated in each catalogue record, under the section 'Remarks and transmission'.

The three editions are all different in terms of content. Nonetheless, it is impossible not to note the influence that Bonus Accursius' substantial work, structured as a scholarly anthology of Aesopian texts, had on those that followed. Not only for the first time did Accursius publish the Greek versions of the *Vita* and *Fabulae,* which until then had only been printed in Rinucius' Latin translations, but he published them with his recently devised Greek types and as part of a composite volume, which also included Rinucius' works and the new Latin translation made by Accursius himself.[397]

Accursius' operation was innovative in many ways and his own translation of the fables clearly responded to the need of students wanting to learn Greek and the desire for a text organised in a way that could facilitate the process of translation from one language to the other, as well as comparison between the two versions. The potential of this solution must have soon been understood by other printers. Nonetheless, the technical challenges of printing in Greek – in this case made even more difficult by the fact that Greek and Latin texts were facing each other on the same page, in two columns – delayed the reprint of Accursius' translation, together with his own preface, until parts of it were eventually issued again in 1497, in the types of Dionysius Bertochus.[398] Bertochus' interest in the *genre* of Greek-to-Latin humanistic translations is expressed by the presence in his production of other Greek works, among which are Johannes Crastonus' *Lexicon Graeco-latinum*, also edited by Bonus Accursius, printed in 1483 and later in 1497 and 1500;[399] Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* in the edition edited by Guarinus Veronensis, printed in Venice in 1484 in collaboration with Peregrinus de Pasqualibus; and Demetrius Moschus' Greek poem *Ad Helenam et Alexandrum,* in the Latin translation by the Italian humanist Ponticus Virunius.[400]

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[397] As none of the Greek editions published by Accursius was dated, it is difficult to establish an internal chronology and state clearly which was the first one to be issued. Accursius' biographers, however, generally identify Crastonus' *Lexicon graeco-latinum* as his first extant attempt of Greek printing (see BALLISTRERI 1969).

[398] For Bertochus and his family of typographers see the *DBI* record by CIONI 1967.

[399] ISTC nos. ic00959000, ic00964000 and ic00961000. Accursius' first edition was from c. 1478 and probably printed in Milan (ISTC ic00958000).

[400] ISTC nos. ic00494000 and im00865000.

The edition printed in 1498, probably in Venice, by Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius is the first to contain only the Greek *Vita* and *Fabulae.* In this edition, the texts are virtually identical to those contained in the first section of Accursius' 1470s collection. Nonetheless, the addition of the last fable, Περί όνου καί δοράς λέοντος (ζ7) finds no correspondence with any of the earlier sources in print.

The text corresponds to that of fable number 280 in Chambry's and 358 in Perry's list, and was probably derived from *recensio* IV, since it is found, with the textual features that it has in the Venetian edition, in the most important manuscript of this class, Oxford, Bodl., Auct. F. 4.7 and BAV, Pal. gr. 367.[401] As with most of the fables of *recensio* IV, this too was probably derived from the collection in verse ascribed to Babrius. In particular, the content of the fable corresponds to number 139 in Babrius' collection.[402]

⌘ III.3 Latin/vernacular and vernacular editions

III.3.1 Editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*

Fourteen editions that were printed in Italy before 1501, containing the *Esopo zuccarino,* with different paratextual materials, survive today. All but one are illustrated.

Since most of them are closely related to the *editio princeps,* printed in Verona, which is not far from where the text was composed about a hundred years earlier, in 1479, both in terms of structure and textual content, the transmission in print of this text has always been considered relatively straightforward and the features of its transmission in print have never been taken into

[401] CHAMBRY 1925, I, pp. 17-18 and II, pp. 453-54.
[402] PERRY 1936, p. 469.

consideration before.[403] Nonetheless, I will demonstrate that an analytic approach to the structure and content of the vernacular editions, not only of the *Esopo zuccarino,* but also of the translation of the life and of the fables by Francesco del Tuppo, is fundamental to understand the complexity of the first fifty years of transmission in print of the Aesopian *corpus,* and to emphasise further how the introduction of printing acted as a driving force towards new compositions, cases of contamination and, ultimately, of literary creativity.

Of the fourteen editions mentioned above which transmit the collection translated by Zucco, eleven contain the *Esopo zuccarino* only as main text; two editions contain both the *Esopo zuccarino* and the vernacular version of the *Vita* realised by Francesco del Tuppo, and one edition contains parts only of the *Esopo zuccarino*.[404]

All editions with the *Esopo zuccarino* only have the same number of fables, sixty-five, which, as already specified section II.25, was the standard number for this collection. To an original nucleus of sixty-three fables plus AM65, 'De mercatore et eius uxore', derived from the β branch of the textual tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* Zucco added the fable 'De rustico et plutone' (EZ65).[405]

With reference to the paratextual material accompanying the main poem, seven editions contain versions of the introductory sonnet probably composed at first for the Verona edition: Verona, 1479, printed by Iohannes and Albertus Griffisolis; Rome, 1483, printed by Eucharius Silber; Brescia, March 1487, printed by Boninus de Boninis; Venice, November 1487, printed by Bernardinus Benalius; Venice, c. 1490, printed by Bernardinus Benalius; Venice, April 1491, printed by Bernardinus Benalius and Matthaeus Capcasa; Florence, September 1496, printed by

[403] As a matter of fact, neither has the manuscript transmission, which to my knowledge has hitherto been examined only by MARTINI 2014 in her MA thesis; see section II.25.

[404] The peculiar case of the edition printed in Florence in 1500 for Piero Pacini, which derives the sequence of the fables from the *Esopo zuccarino* but contains only the Latin version of the text is illustrated in the section above, about Latin editions.

[405] As mentioned in chapter II, while the fable 'De mercatore et eius uxore' was probably derived by Accio from the same manuscript source that he used as a basis for the translation also of the other fables, the last fable might have been an original addition by him, as it does not seem to have a circulation in *Aesopus moralisatus* manuscripts. Furthermore, in the source used by Accio, fable 'De mercatore' was probably missing lines 15-16, which never appear in manuscripts or early printed editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* the fable always counting 9 couplets instead of 10, as in the *Aesopus moralisatus.*

Franciscus Bonaccorsi, for Petrus Pacini.[406] The edition attributed to Silber, the earliest extant after the Veronese edition, contains an exact copy of the sonnet, while from the 1487 Boninis edition onwards every printer changed the last few lines according to their name and in some cases according to specific features of their edition. Nonetheless, the overall meaning of the sonnet never changed and it therefore became a sort of *manifesto* of the main reasons for printing this text in the 15th century.[407]

The operation of bringing back the text to its pristine condition was practically conducted by the first printer, but subscribed and signed by many others after him. For the scope of clarifying the results of this analysis, all the variants in the last four lines, which appeared in printed editions before 1501 are listed below in chronological order.[408]

Year	Place of printing	Printer	Lines 12-16
1479	Verona	Giovanni Alvise and Alberto	«Vien poi chi per pietà quella reforma Reducendole a quel ch'erano innanti. Ond'io corretto son sotto tal norma ; Da Gioanni Alvise e da compagni sui Con diligentia bene impresso fui»;
1483	Rome	[Eucharius Silber]	«Vien poi chi per pieta quella reforma Reducendole a quel cheranno innanti. Ondio corretto son sotto tal norma ; Da Gioanni a Ivise e da compagni sui Con diligentia bene impresso fui»;
1487	Brescia	Boninus de Boninis	«Vien poi chi per pieta quelle reforma Reducendole a quel cherano innanti. Ondio corretto son sotto tal norma E per Bonin Ragusino con lingegni sui Con diligentia bene impresso fui»;
[1490]	Venice	Bernardinus Benalius	«Vien poi chi per pieta quelle reforma Reducendole a quel cherano innanti.

406 Nos. 18, 32, 38, 39, 43, 44 and 61 in the *Catalogue*.

407 In this sense, I disagree with the considerations expressed by QUONDAM 1986, PP. 162-63 about the presence of this sonnet in the edition printed by Boninis in 1487. Quondam thought that the insertion of Boninis' name at the beginning of the edition (in a sonnet which he seems to attribute wrongly to Boninis himself), represented a strong statement of authorship: «Questa dichiarazione, da parte di uno dei grandi protagonisti della prima stagione editoriale bresciana, costituisce una preziosa testimonianza sul lavoro tipografico nell'età dell'incunabolo per quanto concerne la cura di correzione – anzi di 'reforma' – cui sono sottoposti testi logorati da una vasta e lunga tradizione / diffusione, in riferimento esplicito alla destinazione d'uso di libri come questo: scolastica, per 'fanciulli' e per 'ignoranti', anzi proprio 'ad utilitatem discipulorum'». In my opinion, Boninis was actually following a tradition, which had been established by the Veronese edition and already followed, although not personalised, by Silber.

408 Notes on the variants between the 1479 Veronese edition of the poem and the 1487 Brescia one are included in QUONDAM 1987, pp. 139-205 and RICHARDSON 1994, p. 4.

			Ondio corretto son sotto tal norma E per Bernardino di benalli adesso Con diligentia son sta bene impresso»;
1491	Venice	Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa	'Vien poi chi per pieta quelle reforma Reducendole a quel cherano innanti. Ondio corretto son sotto tal norma Et per Matthio et Bernardino suoi Compagni insieme bene impresso fuoi»;
1496	Florence	Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini	«Ma vagho di cerchar piu dolci canti Parlar piu soave, piu delectevol stato Havendo molti luoghi gia mutato Diposto ho fermar qui lemie pianti Come tu vedi piu che mai ornato Di questa gentil lingua alta e soprana Lectore intendi, dico la Thoscana Si di dioma et habito cambiato». (lines 15-22)

All seven editions listed above also contain the Latin poem inc.: «Aesopus (*sic*) fueram deformis…» and do not introduce major variations in the text.

All fourteen editions, including the Florentine one and the two Milanese ones, transmit Accio Zucco's proem to the translation, inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir de laltrui fronde», as well as the second prologue, inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor indrio...», again without major textual variations.

The three poems in vernacular Italian, which follow the *Esopo zuccarino,* i.e. the *Canzonetta, Canzon morale* and the *Ave Maria* translated by Zucco, are repeated in twelve editions only out of fourteen. The Florentine edition printed in 1496 is concluded by the 'Moralità Temporale', which comments on the fable 'Del villano che moriva e del diavolo'. The last 15th-century edition printed by Bonellis differs from the previous ones, including those by Bonellis himself, in that the *Canzon morale* is incomplete, lacking twenty-eight lines, and the *Ave Maria* is entirely missing. This lacuna, most likely due to a mistake of the printer, who probably thought he would have more space than he actually did, is not found in any of Bonellis' previous editions and did not have any

impact or consequence on the later editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* printed in Milan in 1497 and 1498.[409]

If, as will be discussed in chapter IV, the cultural importance of the edition printed in Verona in 1479 by Iohannes and Albertus Griffisolis has been widely highlighted as far as its illustrations are concerned, its text and the editorial operations accomplished by the editors to put it together deserve some attention. First, if the structure and the paratext of the edition have an almost complete precedent in manuscript London, BL, Add. MS 10389, dated 1462, the linguistic *facies* of the text as it was printed by the Griffisolis brothers is very different from that of the London manuscript and does not, in my opinion, find any plausible source among the other known surviving manuscripts of the *Esopo zuccarino,* i.e. Venezia, Correr, 1029 and Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 512.[410] As already mentioned in the section II.25, it is my opinion that the Oxford manuscript should be considered *descriptus* from one of the printed editions and therefore not taken into consideration when searching for the textual model for the *editio princeps*. My comparison will therefore include only the Venice and the London manuscripts, taking into account the fact that the former is incomplete, and only includes fables AZ40.[411] In this context, a few examples will suffice to show the significance of the adjustments introduced by the first editors of the printed text.

In the 'Sonetto morale' of fable AZ8, line 5, 'De lupo et grue', the Venetian manuscript has «Cunvene che la gruda tenutta li fosse»; the London manuscript reads «come tenuta la gruda gli fosso»; while the Verona *princeps* has «Come se con ragione fosse mosso». Similarly, in line 14 of the 'Sonetto morale' of fable AM17, the Venetian manuscript has «E lui atento da lui sì lo discazo»; the London manuscript has «e quel atento da se il cride scaza», repristinating the right

[409] Nos. 65 and 66 in the *Catalogue*.
[410] The only manuscript, which shares most of the variants introduced in the *editio princeps,* Oxford, Bodl. D'Orville 512, was not known to MARTINI 2004, who only considered manuscripts London, BL, Add. MS 10389 and Venezia, Correr, 29. The Oxford witness, however is dated 1490 and is likely to have been copied from the printed tradition rather than the other way around. Owing to space constraints, I could not develop this topic in the present study, but a dedicated article will follow. On the identity of Iohannes Albertus Griffisolis, long time debated by scholarship, see FATTORI 2002, pp. 7-18.
[411] See section II.25 of this thesis.

rhyme; and the *princeps* has «E quello attento da sé sì lo discacia».[412] In line 2 of the 'Sonetto materiale' of fable AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', the Venetian manuscript reads «Ch'era zudexe, el lupo dimandava», with the right rhyme; the London manuscript has «quale era zuxe, il lupo dimanda» and the *princeps* has «Fatto iudice, el lupo domandava».

From these three examples, the Griffisolis' commitment towards the suppression of vernacular forms, both morphological and semantic, and the regularisation of the metrics and of the rhyme scheme, surfaces clearly, in line with what is claimed in the introductory sonnet that opens the edition.[413]

Another feature which is absent from all the surviving manuscripts, but common to all the surviving printed editions, consists in the insertion at different points of the text of quotations in Latin, always accompanied by the corresponding vernacular Italian translation, from different sources, both known and unknown, including passages from Petrarch's *Trionfi* and the *Psalms.*[414] The number of these quotations and insertions throughout the edition, and the fact that they are highlighted with blank spaces, *fleurons* or paragraph marks in the *princeps,* show that they were known to be additions to the text, at least by its earliest printers.

However, their significance and meaning did not remain always clear to the following printers, and they were often printed immediately after the text that they followed, with no interruption, as if they were extra lines of the fables or of the sonnets. The quotations are repeated in full in the first edition printed after the Verona one, which was published in Rome in 1483. The edition printed in Venice in March 1487 by Boninus de Boninis reduced the number of these insertions from seventeen to sixteen, by eliminating the couplet «Res insana magis conferre potentibus arma | obscoena est minimi dubitanda potentibus eque» and its vernacular translation «Combatere col mazor et mato studio | vergogna col minor colpar dubio», after the Latin text of the fable AM18,

412 More variants are highlighted in MARTINI 2004, although this work, consisting in an analysis of the incomplete Venetian manuscript, stops with fable AM40.
413 See section II.21 and the considerations below in this chapter.
414 Details of these additions can be found in the corresponding catalogue records.

'De leone et mure'. This new version of the text was then followed by all the printers until the end of the 15th century.

Although the Latin and vernacular versions of the text tend to remain quite stable throughout the editions, other macro variants help identifying separate lines of descent.

The first variant concerns the lines 7-8 of fable AM.7. In the Verona edition, this passage reads: «qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem»; the text appears like this also in the edition printed in Rome in 1483, attributed to Eucharius Silber. However, the two lines are inverted in the 1487 editions printed by Boninus de Boninis and Bernardinus Benalius, and in all the following ones by those printers, as well as in the editions printed by Manfredus de Bonellis in 1491, 1493 and 1497, in the edition printed by Ercole Nani in 1494 and in the two Milanese editions printed respectively in 1497 and 1498.[415]

A similar case is that of line 14 in fable AM20, 'De hirundine et lino', «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable. The line is inserted in the Verona edition and in the Rome 1483 edition, while it is missing in all the others, leaving the fable incomplete.

In all editions apart from those of Verona and Rome, lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of fable AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola». In the Verona and Rome editions, however, the two lines are placed in the opposite order: «Gola domanda solo per si sola | larghezza non ma prodigalitade».

The 'Sonetto materiale' of fable AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', counts sixteen lines in the Verona, Rome 1483 and Boninis' editions. In all other editions, line 7, reading «vedi quanto e giocundo el suo retire» is missing and the sonnet counts only fifteen lines.

One last major variant is found in the text of the *Canzonetta,* one of the three poems that normally close the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*.[416] Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta,* in the Verona

[415] The two lines are inverted also in the edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed by Boninis in August 1489 (nº 42 in the *Catalogue*).

[416] As seen in chapter II, the poem is also included in one of the manuscripts transmitting the *Esopo zuccarino,* i.e. London, BL, Add. MS 10389, plus in the manuscript Oxford, Bodl. D'Orville 512; as already mentioned in sections II23-II.28, I consider the latter to be derived from the printed tradition.

edition, read «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato». This feature is repeated in the Rome 1483 edition, as well as in editions printed by Bernardinus Benalius, Boninus de Boninis, the two editions printed in 1491 by Manfredus de Bonellis and the two Milanese editions printed respectively in 1497 and 1498. On the other hand, in the edition printed by Manfredus de Bonellis in August 1493, the two lines are inverted, reading «che collui che non vol sir consigliato | non te curar del suo mal talento»; the variant is repeated both in the last incunable edition printed by Bonellis in 1497, and by the edition printed in Bologna by Ercole Nani in 1494. This last variant suggests that the model from which Nani derived his edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* in 1494 was in all likelihood Bonellis' 1493 edition.

III.3.1a The 1496 Florentine edition: *Esopo zuccarino* and *Esopo toscano*

Among the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* that printed in Florence in 1496 by Franciscus Bonaccorsi, for Petrus Pacini, deserves some attention. This edition is listed in the ISTC as if it contained the compilation of fables by Accio Zucco: «Aesopus moralisatus [Latin and Italian] (Adapted, with additions, by Accio Zucco, tr)».[417] As demonstrated in the *Catalogue* record, however, a detailed examination of the text highlights an extra level of complexity and the need to update the information. This edition does not include the Latin text of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* which, as seen in chapter II and as confirmed by all the other early printed editions, constitutes a fundamental part of the *Esopo zuccarino* itself.

Following the number and order of the fables of the *Esopo zuccarino* (from 'De gallo et iaspide' to 'De rustico et plutone'), the Florentine edition contains only the vernacular part of Zucco's work, namely the two sonnets commenting upon the fables. In this case, these are combined with

[417] The source of the information was probably IGI (111); the edition is n° 61 in the *Catalogue* .

another three vernacular textual units derived from a different rewriting of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* which is known as *Esopo toscano.*[418]

Not only does the *Esopo toscano* not appear in any other incunable edition, but the juxtaposition of these two texts is not attested in any of the manuscripts considered by Vittore Branca in his preparatory study to the critical edition. On the basis of these circumstances, one might speculate that this was probably an original operation conducted by the 15th-century Tuscan editors.

As per the *Catalogue* in appendix to this study, the collection included in this edition counts sixty-five units, each one including an illustration, the two sonnets of the *Esopo zuccarino,* and three texts in prose, constituting the *Esopo toscano* and respectively entitled 'Favola', 'Moralità spirituale' and 'Moralità temporale'. The number and order of the fables follows that of the *Aesopus moralisatus* and of all the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* seen above, including the two fables 'De mercatore et eius uxore' (AM65) and 'De rustico et plutone' (AM68), the latter thought to be an original addition of Accio Zucco to his sources. The presence of these last two fables, not only in the vernacular sonnets of the *Esopo zuccarino*, but also in the prose translation of the *Esopo toscano,* however, raises a question, as they do not appear in the known manuscripts transmitting the *Esopo toscano,* and none of them is mentioned by Branca in his edition, which in fact stops with the vernacular version of fable AM63, 'De pastore et lupo'.[419]

As seen in section II.49, the form of the *Esopo toscano,* a sequence of texts in prose, with a certain number of texts dedicated to commenting upon and explaining each fable, is very similar to that of the vernacular prose translation of the *Aesopus moralisatus* devised by Francesco del Tuppo in the early 1480s and printed in Naples in 1485.[420] Del Tuppo's collection was based on the *Esopo zuccarino* as far as the number of fables contained, although it is possible that the author also knew and used other sources as models and inspirations for the sections of prose commentary,

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[418] I rely on the title chosen by BRANCA 1989 when publishing the version of the *Esopo toscano* witnessed by manuscript Florence, Ricc. 1645. In that context, Branca rejected the former title and definition of *Esopo volgarizzato per uno da Siena,* on the basis of the Florentine linguistic features of the text (see BRANCA 1989, p. 58).
[419] BRANCA 1989, pp. 254-55.
[420] N° 34 in the *Catalogue.*

where different sections, with different significance (spiritual, moral etc.), are distinguished. If it is plausible to think that among the sources that del Tuppo used to structure his commentary there were other vernacular versions in prose of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* among which there might have also been the *Esopo toscano,* I suggest that the editor of the 1496 Florentine edition is likely to have used del Tuppo's work to integrate the texts in prose related to the explanation and interpretation of the last two fables, for which he had the two sonnets of the *Esopo zuccarino* but no corresponding text in the *Esopo toscano.* This hypothesis is supported first by the striking similarity between the prose transpositions of the last two fables in the Florentine edition with the corresponding ones in del Tuppo's. This similarity, which is concentrated particularly between del Tuppo's section *Apologus* and Pacini's *Favola* of the last two fables, does not involve any other group of texts within the two editions. Furthermore, my hypothesis is reinforced by the significant role played in the contemporary cultural environment by the editor of the Florentine edition, Ser Piero Pacini from Pescia, a notary and man of letters who had been collaborating with the printing and editing of many classical and literary texts.[421] As will be further clarified in chapter IV through the analysis of the illustrations of the two editions, it is very likely that Pacini knew del Tuppo's work, and he would have certainly been able to integrate the portions of texts missing in the *Esopo toscano* through the re-adaptation of an existing source in the same vernacular language.

Until a more extensive *recensio* of the manuscripts of the *Esopo toscano* is conducted, and until it is proved that the printer had a pre-existing model at his disposal from which he could copy all the sixty-five fables included and not only sixty-three, the above hypothesis about the integration of the last two fables in the Florentine edition seems to me the most convincing.

At the beginning of the edition, the editor includes the standard texts which were present in the previous editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* that is the editorial opening poem beginning: «[S]api chio son Esopo o tu lettore…», and the two proems written by Accio Zucco to introduce his work,

[421] On Pacini see the recent *DBI* record by CASETTI BRACH 2014, available online, with further bibliography.

which begin «[E]l me convien vestir de laltrui fronde…» and «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor indrio…» respectively, adding to this combination the short poem beginning: «Esopo phrigio ingegno Pellegrino…», which is not known to appear anywhere in manuscript form. On the other hand, none of the texts that normally close the *Esopo zuccarino,* i.e. the *Canzonetta*, the *Canzon morale* and the *Ave Maria*, all allegedly composed by Zucco himself, were included in the edition.

The structure of the editions printed by Bonellis, the only ones, apart from the Florentine edition, to exclude the lines inc.: «Aesopus fueram deformis non satis istud» from the beginning of the collection, was also the basis for the two Milanese editions respectively printed in 1497 and 1498. This, together with some of the variants examined above and features of the illustrations, which will be analysed in chapter IV, highlights a strong derivative link between the two Milanese editions and the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Manfredus de Bonellis. In particular, this link can be established with the three editions printed by Bonellis between 1491 and 1493, since the one printed in 1497 lacks portions of text towards the end of the volume, namely part of the *Canzon morale* and the whole *Ave Maria*, which are instead present in both Milanese editions.

Even in this case, however, the derivative process of one edition from its model was all but a passive copy, since the first of the two Milanese editions added one extra fable to the collection, which no longer ends with fable AM66, 'De rustico et plutone', but rather with fable AM64, 'De puero suspenso'.

As there is no trace of this fable in manuscripts or in printed editions of the *Esopo zuccarino,* one must assume that it was derived from those circulating collections of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* either manuscript or printed, which included it at the end of the collection, and added to Accio Zucco's work. Furthermore, a 'Sonetto materiale' and a 'Sonetto morale' had to be produced, to fill the gap in comparison with the other fables.

Given the high number of editions produced for both texts, it is possible to think that this operation took place after the introduction of printing, almost 100 years after the composition of the *Esopo zuccarino*, and that it was based on the printed circulation of the text.

Similarly to the already-mentioned case of the Florentine edition of the *Esopo toscano,* the addition of the fable 'De pueris laudentibus', and the two vernacular sonnets which translate it, to the collection of the *Esopo zuccarino*, which represents one of the characteristic features of the two Milanese editions, does not find a precedent in any other incunable edition, nor in any of the manuscripts transmitting Zucco's work. Therefore, until evidence is found of a branch of the manuscript tradition or of an earlier edition sharing the addition of this last fable, it seems to me a plausible hypothesis that this was an original operation of the contemporary editors.

These last two cases highlight how, even after the introduction of printing, Aesop's collections of fables seem to have maintained their character of open repertory, constantly susceptible to changes, additions and modifications.

In this respect, the wide circulation of Aesopian texts in the earliest years of the introduction of printing not only contributed to their transmission to the modern age, but also stimulated the creativity of authors and printers, enhancing the richness and variety of the Aesopian *corpus*.

III.3.2 The *Vita Aesopi* translated and adapted by Francesco del Tuppo

Another innovation introduced by the two Milanese editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* consisted in the fact that the vernacular translation of the fables by Accio Zucco was accompanied here by the Latin and vernacular version of the *Vita,* in the text composed on the basis of Rinucius' Latin translation and printed for the first time by Francesco del Tuppo in 1485. As seen above, Rinucius' translation was printed in Italy eleven times before the end of the 15th century, and

always appeared in editions which also included his translations of the fables. Its vernacular translation, accomplished and printed by Francesco del Tuppo in Naples in the 1480s, also had a wide circulation. Three main characteristics of del Tuppo's version, i.e. the division into episodes, the introduction of the vernacular translation and the presence of a rich programme of illustrations, certainly contributed to make this work the model for a series of following editions.

After its first appearance in 1485, del Tuppo's reworking in episodes of Aesop's life was printed another five times, in the two Venetian editions printed by Manfredus de Bonellis respectively in 1492 and 1493, both containing the *Vita* only, in the edition printed in L'Aquila in May 1493, copied from del Tuppo's one and including the text of the fables too, and in the two Milanese editions printed in 1497 and 1498, containing the *Vita* accompanied by the *Esopo zuccarino.*[422]

Excluding the case of an identical copy printed in L'Aquila, the relationship between the editions is interesting to follow. At a first stage after the 1485 *princeps,* del Tuppo's *Vita* was printed alone twice by Manfredus de Bonellis, although both editions were issued shortly after the earliest printer's editions of the *Esopo zuccarino.* In particular the first extant of the two was printed in March 1492, around a year after the two 1491 editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* already mentioned. The second one is dated November 1493, and may be undoubtedly considered to be a biographical counterpart of the edition of the fables printed only three months beforehand, in August of the same year.

Bonellis' idea of creating a correspondence between the two texts was reinforced not only by the chronological proximity of the publication, but also through the use of woodblocks cut in a very similar style, framed by the same borders which were used both for the illustration of the *Vita* and of the fables. The reason why this combination was created is easy to understand if one looks at the structure and nature of the texts chosen by Bonellis. As for the *Vita Aesopi,* del Tuppo's translation probably represented the only complete version in a vernacular form ever to be printed, and its simple structure and striking illustrations must have represented a strong

[422] Records nos. 49, 52, 54, 65 and 66 in the *Catalogue.*

commercial inspiration for Venetian printers. As for the *Fabulae,* however, the version included in del Tuppo's edition must have seemed to Bonellis too sophisticated, philosophically oriented and possibly even too long when compared with the editorial enterprise that he had in mind. At the same time, considering his close relationships with the Venetian cultural environment and with books produced in northern Italy, he was certainly exposed to the influence of the Verona and Venice editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in previous years, hence the choice to reproduce them.

To reinforce the continuity between the two texts, however, Bonellis reused the same title-page illustration at the beginning of the editions of both texts. This was a feature that was adopted, together with the essential textual features and the style of images surrounded by borders, from time to time divided into different blocks, by the two printers of the Milanese editions.

In all but the Milanese ones, the *Vita* is preceded by the dedicatory letter to Onorato Gaetani, while all the editions, without exceptions, contain the prologue modelled on Rinucius' translation, which begins: «Novum nimirum aucupium novasque merces…».[423]

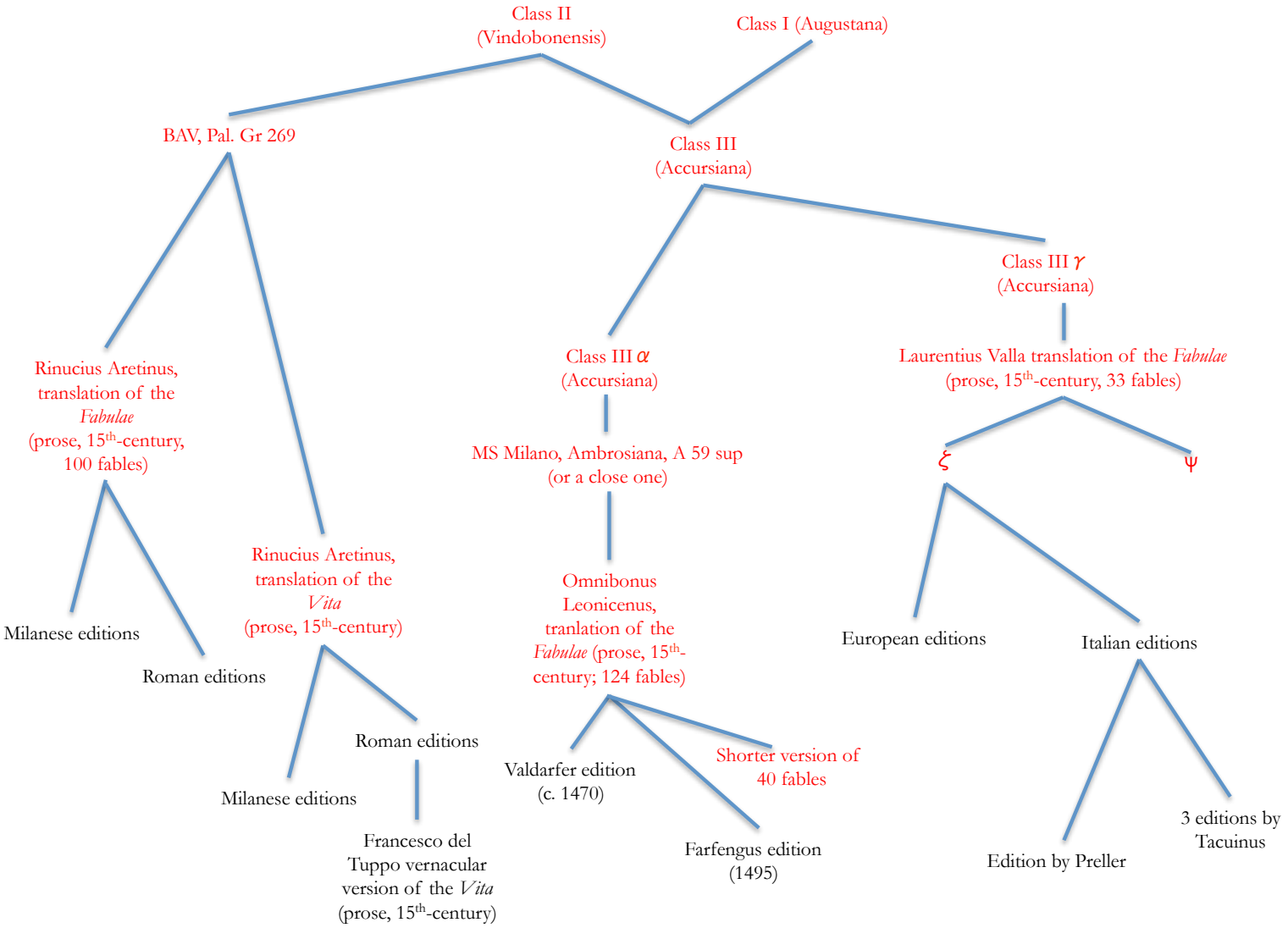
⌘ *Stemmata editionum*

The two *stemmata* below summarise the most noteworthy passages of chapter III. The first *stemma* presents the development of the textual tradition of the Greek-to-Latin translations by Rinucius Aretinus, Laurentius Valla and Omnibonus Leonicenus, and the texts which derive from them.

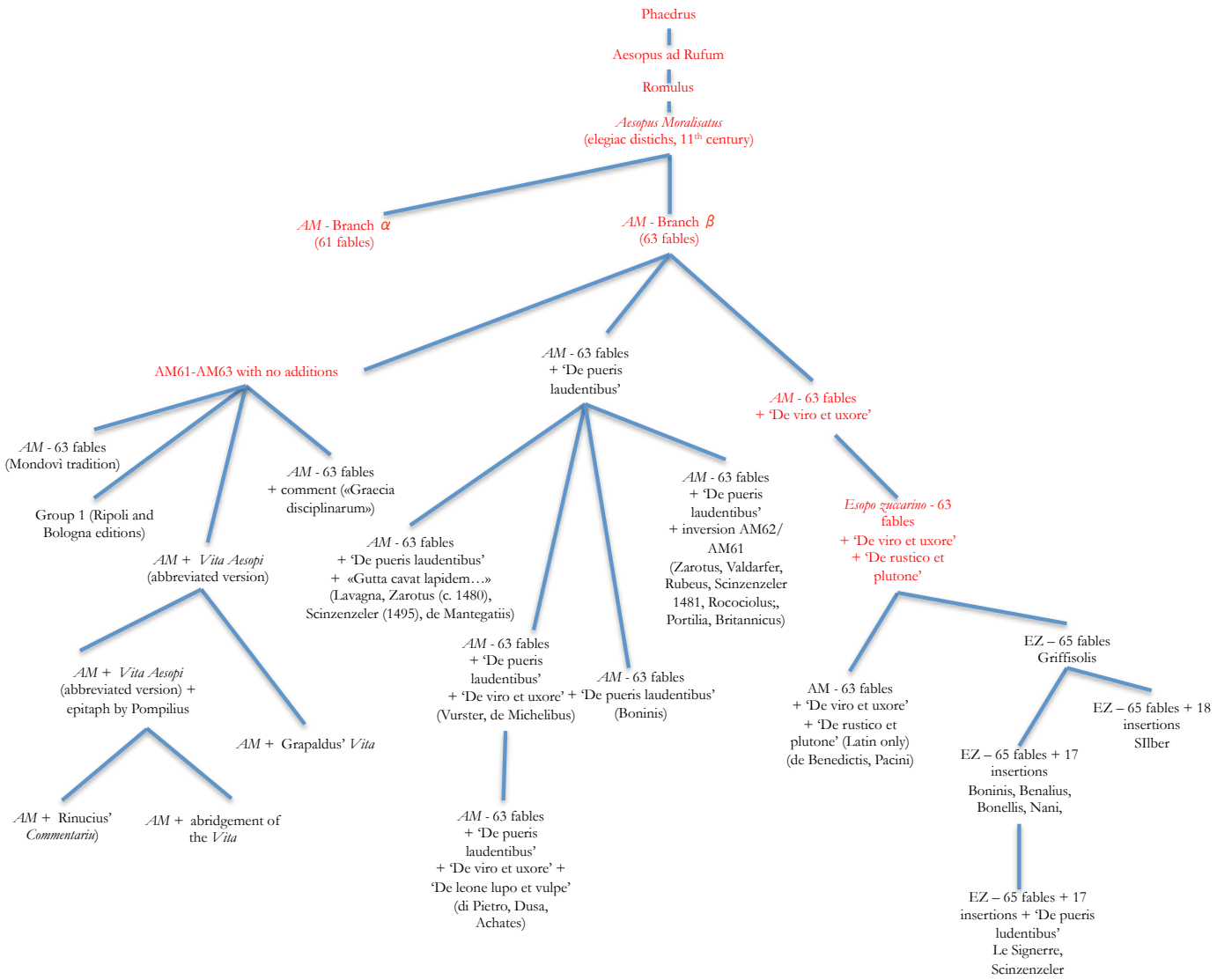
The second *stemma* represents the main families that constitute the tradition in print of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* and that of the *Esopo zuccarino.* In both *stemmata,* red is used for manuscripts and manuscript circulation, while black is used for printed editions.

[423] For the two texts see sections II.30 and II.31.

Development of the textual tradition of Aesopian fables in Italian incunable editions: the humanistic translations



Development of the textual tradition of Aesopian fables in Italian incunable editions: the *Aesopus moralisatus* and the *Esopo zuccarino*



⌘ *Chapter IV*

The Italian production in context: illustrated Italian editions

If Aesopic fables were «λόγος ψευδής εικονίζων αλήθειαν», words pronounced to illustrate a truth of some kind by means of a story, the single images accompanying them constituted their visual counterpart, and were therefore meant to convey the moral significance of each fable through the representation of one or two single scenes.[424]

Focusing only on the illustrated Italian editions of Aesopian texts printed before 1501, this chapter aims at tracing the features and the development of their figurative content, with the objective of exploring the relationship between text and iconography and their intersections within every illustrated edition; how this relationship developed throughout all the 15th-century printed Italian editions and, ultimately, the genetic relationship among these editions, visually represented through a *stemma figurarum.*[425]

Twenty-four editions of Aesopian texts printed in Italy in the 15th century have illustrations. Among these, four editions contain both the *Vita Aesopi* and the fables, i.e. the Naples 1485 edition and its copy, printed in L'Aquila in 1493, and the two illustrated editions printed in Milan in 1497 and 1498 respectively.[426] Two editions out of twenty-four contain the *Vita Aesopi* alone, and were printed in Venice by Manfredus de Bonellis in March 1492 and November 1493, most likely following the success of his 1491 and 1492 editions of the *Esopo zuccarino.*[427] Of the remaining illustrated editions, three contain Latin-only versions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* i.e. the two printed in Mondovì by Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis in 1476 and 1481, plus the edition printed in Florence in 1500 by Antonio Tubini *et socii* for Piero

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[424] This definition of the fable is based on Aelius Theon's *Progymnasmata*, 3 (see PERRY 1959, p. 23 n. 1).
[425] Two different *stemmata illustrationum* were drawn for the *Vita Aesopi* and for the *Fabulae,* at the end of sections IV.2 and IV.3 of this study.
[426] Nos. 34, 52, 65 and 66 in the *Catalogue.* As was seen above, while del Tuppo's edition and its copy contain del Tuppo's vernacular translation of the fables in prose, the two Milanese editions contain the *Esopo zuccarino.*
[427] Nos. 49 and 54 in the *Catalogue.*

Pacini.[428] The largest group consists of illustrated editions transmitting the *Esopo zuccarino* only, i.e. not in combination with the *Vita Aesopi*; this group consists of the editions printed in Verona by Giovanni Alvise and Alberto de Grifisolis (one edition), in Brescia by Boninus de Boninis (one edition) and in Venice by Bernardinus Benalius (three editions) and Manfredus de Bonellis (four editions), the latter copied in Bologna by Ercole Nani (one edition).[429] The edition printed in Florence in 1496, although textually representing a mixed vernacular version of the fables, contains a cycle of illustrations, which is modelled on those accompanying the earlier editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* and del Tuppo's vernacular translation of the fables in prose.[430]

Four editions are considered as part of this count despite containing only one image, i.e. the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Boninus de Boninis in Brescia in August 1489, which is concluded by the image of the pedestal of classical inspiration with the author's name and title engraved on it; the two *Aesopus moralisatus* with commentary printed by Bernardinus de Misintis in 1495 and 1497, also in Brescia, all containing an introductory portrait of the author, and Laurentius Valla's translation of the fables printed in Naples in 1495.[431]

Fundamental features of the illustrated Italian editions of Aesopian texts are simplicity, specificity and repetitiveness, particularly in the use of decorated borders. As for the first feature, both the *Fabulae* and the *Vita Aesopi* are medium-length texts articulated in an episodic structure. The visual side of the representation of the single units, as well as their figurative construction, always turns out to be rather accessible and easy to interpret; features which shall be put in relationship with the plain content and with the short and self-contained textual

[428] Nos. 12, 23 and 70 in the *Catalogue*. The last edition in particular, as it was mentioned in chapter III, has often been mistaken for a reprint of the Florentine 1496 edition (nº 61 in the *Catalogue*), which it is not, in that both the text contained and the way images are used is different.

[429] Nos. 18, 38, 39, 43, 47, 44, 45, 53, 63, 55 in the *Catalogue*. As already said, Bonellis' illustrated editions of the *Vita Aesopi* were probably intended from the beginning to be a counterpart to the *Esopo zuccarino*. Nonetheless, the editions have different colophons, dates of printing and ISTC numbers, and will therefore be considered separately. As will be seen below, in addition to the Neapolitan, Milanese and complete Venetian examples by Bonellis, traces of editions of the *Vita Aesopi* which were probably printed by Bernardinus Benalius and Mattheus Capcasa in Venice and for Piero Pacini in Florence close to their respective illustrated editions of the fables in 1491 and 1496 suggest that printers were often keen on printing the two works together.

[430] Nº 61 in the *Catalogue*.

[431] Nos. 42, 57, 64 and 56 in the *Catalogue*.

nature of the episodes. Nevertheless, the iconographic content of these images is usually extremely specific. In this sense, the percentage of cases of reuse of the same blocks to illustrate different texts, in comparison with the quantity of blocks created *ex novo* to illustrate Aesopian editions, appears to be low and is generally limited to the sporadic reoccurrences of single blocks extracted from the iconographic programme for which they were conceived. This limited reusability shall be put in relationship with the figurative content of the *Fabulae,* and particularly of those with animals as principal characters, which represent in fact the majority of the narrative vignettes. It was undoubtedly easier for printers to reuse and convert to the representation of a different story or subject an image which portrayed a human figure. This idea is supported by the known cases of reuse, listed in the relevant records of the *Catalogue* in appendix, all of which involve vignettes representing human subjects.

Apart from the reuse of the title-page images of Aesop and his pupils, which will be examined further below, it is worth highlighting here some cases of reuse. The first is that of the illustration of fable FdT49, 'De viro et uxore' produced for the copy of the 1485 del Tuppo's edition, printed in L'Aquila in 1493, which is also found as the title-page illustration of the brief popular text in quatrains *Ammaestramento de una vecchia che impara a un juvene innamorarse*, currently attributed by ISTC to the Roman printer Johann Besicken (plate I).[432]

Likewise, the central narrative scene used to illustrate the fable EZ37, 'De musca et mulione' in all the four editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Manfredus de Bonellis between 1491 and 1497, appears again in the edition of the poem dedicated to *La morte del duca Galeazzo,* by Lorenzo Rota ([*2v]), thought to have been printed around 1493 and attributed to Bonellis himself by the ISTC on the basis of the presence of this woodblock and of other typographical features (plate 2).[433]

A similar case is that of the illustration of fable EZ50, 'De iuvene et thaide', appearing in the edition printed by Bernardinus Benalius in November 1487, and also reused as the title-page

[432] ISTC ia00563700, the only surviving copy of the short poem is owned by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, FOAN TES 938, a1.
[433] ISTC ir00338500.

image in the January 1487 edition of the poem *Buovo d'Antona,* printed in Venice by Hannibal Foxius.[434]

Repetitiveness refers to the multiple appearance of the same block in different editions of the same text or within one single edition. While the same blocks were often reused by printers to illustrate later editions of both the *Fabulae* and the *Vita Aesopi*, such as the cases of Bonellis, Benalius and Pacini, discussed below, the multiple appearance of the same image in one single edition mainly concerns the decorated borders. In all the cases mentioned, the programme of narrative vignettes was already quite long, and it is very likely that printers did not have time, or possibly even resources, to have a set of borders large enough to allow for them to be different for each illustration. Also, they must have been aware that the appearance of the edition as a whole was benefiting from a certain degree of visual repetition and consistency throughout, guaranteed by the use of a limited variety of borders.

Multiple appearances of central narrative vignettes in the same edition are usually limited to the case of the portrait of Aesop surrounded by his pupils used as title page, when it marks the beginning of different sections of the same edition. This repetition is found, for instance, at the beginning of the two sections of the 'Esopo con la vita sua historiale vulgare et latino' and 'Le fabule de Esopo vulgare et latine historiade' in the two editions printed in Milan by Scinzenzeler in December 1497 and by Le Signerre in 1498.[435] This setting was very likely inspired by the editions of the *Vita* and the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis between 1491 and 1493.[436]

The only other exception that I identified is the reuse of the same image for two representations of Aesop being sold as a slave in the edition of the *Vita* printed in Milan in 1498: the image is

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[434] ISTC ib01275950; this circumstance is also relevant in establishing the relationship between the illustrations of Venice cycle A and those of the Brescia cycle, and will be commented further below.

[435] In both editions, the *Vita* and the *Esopo zuccarino* have different dates of printing. Both ISTC and GW, however, consider them as single editions.

[436] Although Bonellis printed the *Vita* and the *Esopo zuccarino* separately, the editions were probably intended to be combined, as usually happened for the Milanese editions, and all were opened by the same title page, introducing for the first time the scene of Aesop teaching. In these cases, Aesop is identified by the name drawn on the top of his desk. Throughout the following years, Bonellis kept using this block as the opening illustrations for all his Aesopian editions, including the *Esopo zuccarino* and the *Vita Aesopi,* through the years 1491-1493, and also for non-Aesopian ones. As far as I am aware, the last appearance of the block is in Albertus Magnus' *Liber aggregationis* printed in June 1495 (ISTC ia00267400), with no reference to the name of Aesop.

repeated twice, on a6r and b1v to illustrate episodes VA4 and VA6, namely the two times in the story when Aesop is sold as a slave, and is surrounded by different borders.

How woodcut illustrations were used in printed editions has always to be considered in close connection with the structural constraints of printed books, and primarily with its format. An analysis of how central vignettes and borders were used in each illustrated Italian edition of Aesop printed before 1501 is contained in the relevant records in the *Catalogue*. Such an investigation highlights important aspects of each printer's individual practice, of the equipment he had at his disposal and of the developments of his business.

These concepts are essential for the new methodology of researching early-printed images which I contributed to develop during my DPhil, working within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project. After briefly introducing it (IV.1), this chapter analyses the illustrated editions of the *Vita Aesopi* (IV.2) and those of the *Fabulae* (IV.3). Both sections are concluded by a *stemma illustrationum,* summarising the development, derivative relationships and reciprocal influences of the different cycles of illustrations.

Specific criteria have been identified and taken into consideration in analysing the evolution of the figurative and iconographic tradition and the derivative relationships between different editions, such as:

- the identification of different cycles, or programmes of illustrations, devised to illustrate the texts;
- the number of illustrations contained in each cycle and printed in each edition, and their composition (number of cuts used; type of woodblocks; distinction between central narrative scene, borders, initials etc.);[437]
- the iconographic content and its relationship with the text;
- presence of a title page/dedicatory image or of other images which have no specific relationship with the text but serve as ornaments, such as the classical capital appearing for the first time in the 1479 Verona edition;[438]

[437] these considerations are based on the data gathered in the relevant records of the *Catalogue*.

- orientation of the images;[439]
- conjunctive and separative figurative variants between different cycles of illustrations and the evolution of these elements across editions;
- stylistic features, in order to ascertain links to the main contemporary trends or to establish the influence of one edition over others;
- the impact of some editions and of some cycles on the establishment of a figurative model, to be copied, repeated and in some cases further developed by the following ones.

⌘ IV.1 Early-printed illustrations: from a brief history of traditional cataloguing to the '15cIllustration' database

Woodcut illustration consists in the exact repetition of individual figurative statements in a book. Any attempt to understand how book illustrations were used in the 15th century must therefore be based on an in-depth knowledge of the bibliographical features of the editions in which they appear, establishing chronological and genetic relationships between them. In the definition of the bibliographic identity of an edition, the presence or absence of printed illustrations and the way woodblocks or metal blocks were used by printers throughout the book ought to be considered as important and meaningful as the other standard elements on which we normally rely such as 'author', 'title', 'place of printing', 'printing shop', 'year of

[438] See the considerations below and record n° 18 in the *Catalogue*.

[439] The following passage clearly explains the importance of the orientation of the images when trying to establish derivative relationship between different cycles of illustrations: «The alternatives for a printer wishing to copy an early illustrated book were as follows: he could borrow or buy the original woodblocks, or he could have the woodcuts as they appeared on paper copied. In the latter case the illustration as found in the earlier book could be pasted on top of the new block and the wood cut through the paper; or the design could be redrawn. Either of those methods will lead to everything in the picture being reversed, the right becoming left and the left right, since a woodblock, like a piece of type, is the mirror image of the impression it leaves on the page. For a draughtsman who wanted to have his own image print in the same way as the original ('right-reading'), a tracing could be made of the printed woodcut and laid face down on to the new block. Much more rarely a confident woodcutter might make a careful copy in reverse of everything he saw on the paper, so as to have the same outcome of a right-reading image in the new edition» (DAVIES 2006, pp. 261-63).

printing', 'number of leaves', '*mise en page*', 'type', etc. In the printing business, woodblocks were part of the capital, as much as types and the press itself. They had an economic value, they could be loaned to other printers, they were exchangeable and they were marketable: they must have represented a key factor of financial potential.[440]

At a time when the spread of printing facilitated the availability of books to wider sections of society, more than ever images in books acted as a primary intellectual tool in the reading process, helping the general public to picture the content of verbal signs; this was useful not only in making the meaning of the text more accessible, but also in fixing its content in the memory. In early editions, images also have the added value of aiding in the reconstruction of the transmission of the text in print, particularly as they might help to identify links with the manuscript transmission, which preceded and continued to coexist during the early years of printing.[441]

Over the last century, much has been said and discovered on how the role and the creative process of book decoration changed with the introduction of printing, and on the relationship between painting, illumination and the different stages of printed production and decoration.

From the late 19th century, a series of fundamental resources on early-printed illustrations and illustrated editions were produced in various European countries. The most influential works on Italian early-printed illustrations include Paul Kristeller's *Early Florentine woodcuts* (1897), and two repertoires by Victor Masséna, Prince of Essling, who in 1895 published his *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les Missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600,* followed in 1914 by the

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[440] Fundamental on these aspects are LIPPMANN 1888; POLLARD 1914; HIND 1928, pp. 131-43; HIND 1963, I-II; DONATI 1964, pp. 207-64; FIELD 1965; LANDAU-PARSHALL 1994, pp. 33-38 in particular; PALMER 2005, I, pp. 4-5 of the introduction in particular; PARSHALL-SCOTCH 2005; PALMER 2009, pp. 93-117.

[441] This topic cannot be mentioned without referring to Vittore Branca's extensive study on the relationship between the textual and iconographic tradition in the transmission of Giovanni Boccaccio's works, which is summarized in the monumental *Boccaccio visualizzato* (BRANCA 1999, vv. I-III), with bibliography. The high cultural and ecdotic value attributed to the presence and to the features of an iconographic apparatus has influenced a large number of recent scholarly approaches which can be seen as somehow related to Branca's model. I will just mention here the work on four 16th-century printed editions of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* which is being gathered on the web-site www.orlandofurioso.com by the Centro Elaborazione Informatica di Testi e Immagini nella Tradizione Letteraria, in order to facilitate research on and access to examples of extensive interaction between word and image, and Giancarlo Petrella's research on the technical and iconographical features of the illustrations contained in the 1487 edition of Dante's *Commedia* printed by Boninus de Boninis in Brescia, from the analysis of which he was able to shed new light on the actual process of making of the book (PETRELLA 2012).

monumental *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, i.e. a comprehensive catalogue of all known illustrated editions printed in Venice before 1530, where for each edition particular attention is devoted to the description of figurative subjects.

Essling's example was followed in Italy by Max Sander, who in the late 1960s published a catalogue modelled on the same structure but with a shift of interest from editions printed in Venice to all those printed in Italy between the 15th and early 16th centuries, and then in Germany by Albert Schramm, with his *Bilderschmucke der Frühdrucke* (1990).[442]

The argument that research on woodcut illustration should be carried out within the framework of analytical bibliography was again reinforced by Wytze and Lotte Hellinga in the 1960s, and has inspired a number of works and scholarly approaches in the past decades, such as the recent analysis conducted by Ina Kok in her *Woodcuts in incunabula printed in the Low Countries* (2013). Both works by Schramm and Kok are organised by printer and woodcut, rather than by edition, as the earlier works.[443]

Meanwhile, the rise of digital technologies facilitated the establishment of new tools for cataloguing incunables, such as the ISTC online, and stimulated new developments of the work on early-printed images. In 1994, in the footsteps of ISTC, Lotte Hellinga launched the *Illustrated Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (IISTC), which made images from many early-printed editions available on a CD-ROM.[444] The substantial digitization campaigns of the *Index of Christian Art* (Princeton University) and of the Warburg Institute photographic collection, the development of the digital collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Münich), and other online tools such as the database Arkyves, suggest how much time and resources have been invested by cultural institutions to take advantage of digital technologies and to make large

[442] See KRISTELLER 1897; ESSLING 1896; ESSLING 1914; SANDER 1969; SCHRAMM 1990 in bibliography.
[443] The Hellingas developed this idea as one of the fundamental methodological bases for their extensive research on printing types in the Low-Countries (see HELLINGA 1966, I, pp. XI-XIII in particular; KOK 2013, pp. I-IV of the introduction).
[444] See *Illustrated incunabula short-title catalogue on CD-ROM*, (Reading: Primary Source Media in association with The British Library, 1996).

quantities of images available to scholars and the public.[445] Some of these efforts have particularly focused on early printed images, in the attempt to overcome the weaknesses of the traditional ways of cataloguing illustrations with particular reference to the storage of images and their availability to scholars.

Among these, the project Icono15, developed between 1988 and 2000, consists of an electronic census of illustrated French editions and a catalogue of illustrations of French incunables stored in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[446] Although Icono15 represents so far the project that has come closest to the idea of a systematic work towards the creation of an incunable image-database, this electronic catalogue of illustrations has always remained an offline tool on CD-Rom and the entries of image descriptions mentioned above do not have any visual reproduction attached.

These two major shortcomings of the Icono15 database were overcome on a smaller size project by the Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads Project, developed by the Visual Geometry Group, Department of Engineering Science, University of Oxford (VGG) and hosted by the Bodleian Library.[447]

The Icono15 database and the Broadside Ballads Project were the starting points for the development, within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project, of a new method to integrate an in-depth analysis of the illustrations of 15th-century editions within the major tools for bibliographical cataloguing. Based on preliminary studies conducted by Clementina Piazza, in collaboration

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445 Arkyves is supported by the publisher Brill and contributed by partners such as the Dutch Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands Institute for Art History, the Herzog August Bibliothek, and the university libraries of Milan, Utrecht, Glasgow, and Illinois.

446 Icono15 was based on the model of the database *Mandragore*, storing images from the illuminated manuscripts owned by the BNF (http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html). All the following information on Icono15 is based on FIROBEN-PETIT 2010, pp. 295-316. In the Icono15 system, each block appearing in one edition was assigned by a serial identifier which contained reference to the number of editions in which that block had already been used. The description of every block was then structured according to a series of metadata fields which pertain to the position where it was printed within an edition, the number of its occurrences in one single edition, the folio where it was printed, its measurements, a synthetic description of the scene that it represents (i.e. 'crucifixion'), and a series of descriptive keywords referring to figurative and iconographic elements of the representation.

447 The Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads Project was developed in collaboration with Giles Bergel of the English Faculty, relying on data previously gathered by Dr Alexandra Franklin (see http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/).

with the VGG, Cristina Dondi and I have conceived and developed the database 15cI ('15cILLUSTRATION').[448] Digital reproductions of early-printed illustrations uploaded in the 15cI are tagged with bibliographic metadata automatically sourced from ISTC, and with metadata assigned manually, which describe different features (figurative content, artistic style, measures, etc.). For the first time, the database enables scholars to track the cases of reuse, circulation and copy of single woodcuts through the research of visual instances only, such as part of a border, an entire vignette or a small detail, as well as through textual keywords and metadata.[449] These two ways of searching the database can also be combined together.

Due to space constraints, I will not venture here into a detailed description of the 15cI database, its technical features and different stages of development. The illustrations included in 15th-century printed Italian Aesopian editions were chosen as a pilot dataset to build and test the application of this tool.[450]

IV.2 *Vita Aesopi*

Copies of six illustrated editions of the *Vita Aesopi* printed in Italy before 1501 survive today. Del Tuppo's edition, published in Naples in 1485 had a lasting influence on all of them, as already pointed out in the outline and examination of their textual features in chapter III.

The extant complete cycles of illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi* can be referred to as follows:

1) Naples cycle – Naples: Francesco del Tuppo, 13 February 1485 (SANDER 52);
   1a) copied in L'Aquila, Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, 31 May 1493 (SANDER 62);

[448] See PIAZZA 2018.
[449] On the technical aspects and on their application to different subjects of art history see CHUNG-ARANDJELOVIĆ-BERGEL-FRANKLIN-ZISSERMAN 2014, ARANDJELOVIĆ-ZISSERMAN 2015 and CROWLEY 2016, with further bibliography.
[450] More on the 15cI can be found in MALASPINA 2017, pp. 19-24 and MALASPINA-ZHONG 2017, pp. 287-92.

2) Venice cycle – Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis de Monteferrato, 27 March 1492 (ESSLING 611; SANDER 61); reused in Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 8 Nov. 1493 (ESSLING 612; SANDER 64);
3) Milan cycle A – Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 23 December 1497 (SANDER 71);
4) Milan cycle B – Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, or Gotardus de Ponte, 15 September 1498 (SANDER 72).[451]

The only known manuscript transmitting examples of the iconographic tradition of the *Vita Aesopi* is also the oldest surviving witness of this text: manuscript New York (NY), Morgan, 397. The volume contains seven drawings representing respectively: i) a portrait of Aesop; ii) Aesop scolded by his master and iii) the punishment of the thieves, both from the episode of the figs (VA2); iv) the meeting between Aesop and the priestess, v) the prayer of the priestess to the Goddess in favour of Aesop, and vi) Aesop asleep, all from the episode of the gift of loquacity (VA3); vii) Aesop kneeling in front of a seated figure, tentatively identified by scholars with the king Lycurgus.[452]

Portraits of Aesop as author, with no figurative reference to circumstances of his life, are more commonly found at the beginning of the collection of fables in manuscripts from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance. On these occasions, Aesop is often represented under the semblance of a wise man or a philosopher in contemplative poses, which have nothing to do with his deformed appearance, nor with his social position of slave and his biography as it is known from the narration of the *Vita*.[453]

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451 This census is based on BODEMANN 1998. A few years ago, a preliminary inventory of iconographic cycles of the *Vita* was published by BISCÉRÉ 2013, pp. 13-71. Biscéré, however, did not make any reference in his *census* to the illustrations of the Milanese editions of the *Vita*.

452 Other examples are limited to portraits of Aesop, and do not include representation of episodes from the *Vita*. See AVERY 1941, pp. 103-16 and BISCÉRÉ 2013 p. 16.

453 To my knowledge, a repertoire of Aesop's portraits has never been put together by scholars. However, images such as the ones I have described can be found in several manuscripts of the fables, particularly among those produced in Italy in the 15th century. Two interesting examples are the portraits contained in manuscripts Florence, Ricc., 1591, 84v and London, BL, Add. MS 10389, 3r. In particular, the Riccardiano manuscript contains (leaves 85r-74v) the vernacular translation of Romulus' *Fabulae* (inc.: «Chomincia il libro d'Isopo delle favole e prima del ghallo che ciercava della escha e trovò la pietra preziosa. [P]er una stagione con grande sollecitudine…»), which was included in the incunable edition printed in Florence in 1496 (ISTC ia00153700, n° 61 in the *Catalogue*). The manuscript is on paper, with the main body of text written by one single *mercantesca* hand, and its decoration was commissioned to the workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio and paid for in 1462 (see LAZZI 1998, p. 68). The British Library manuscript is one of the surviving manuscript witnesses of the *Esopo zuccarino*. It was produced in Verona in 1462. The opening portrait of Aesop and in general all the illustrations have a close relationship with the Verona

Previous scholarship has researched the models for these figurative representations in the tradition of the *Vitae Christi,* to the point that the portrait of Aesop surrounded by symbols that refer to different episodes of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae,* included by Zeiner in his edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel's German translation of the fables, has been repeatedly put in relationship with the iconographic subject of the *Arma Christi.*[454]

In this context, the importance of the edition printed by Zeiner (Ulm, 1476-1477) as the first known structured visual representation of all the episodes of the *Life*, and its influence on the great majority of the following publications, already pointed out in chapter I, appears even more remarkable.

The style, figurative content and structure of the Ulm program of illustrations of the *Life,* however, do not find precise correspondence in any of the extant Italian editions of the *Vita*. In comparison to the first extant Italian edition, i.e. that printed by del Tuppo in 1485, the Ulm edition has a larger number of illustrations (thirty, rather than twenty-three), and shows different choices regarding the scenes that are represented and how they are distributed throughout the cycle of images.

1479 edition of Accio Zucco's text (for more on this manuscript and its relationship with the Verona edition see the forthcoming article MALASPINA 2018).

[454] See ALVAR-CARTA-FINCI 2011, pp. 246-60.

Table comparing the figurative content of the Ulm edition with that of Italian incunable editions of the *Vita Aesopi*[455]

	Ulm 1476	**Naples 1485**	**Venice 1492**	**Milan 1497**	**Milan 1498**
Aesop's portrait	Introduction / Title page	-	Title page	Title page	Title page
Beginning of the figs episode	-	VA1	VA1	VA1	VA1
Figs thrown up	1	VA2	VA2	VA2	Missing in the copy examined
Aesop helps the traveller	-	VA3	VA3	VA3	Missing in the copy examined
Aesop sleeping	2	VA3	VA3	VA3	Missing in the copy examined
Isis priestess and gift of loquacity	2	VA3	VA3	VA3	Missing in the copy examined
Aesop being sold as a slave for the first time	-	VA4 (merchant's wife with two children)	VA4	VA4	VA4
Episode of the weight of the baskets	3	VA5	VA5	VA5	VA5
Aesop being sold as a slave for the second time	4	VA6	VA6	VA6	VA6
Episode of Xantus urinating while walking	5	-	-	-	-
Aesop's arrival at Xantus' house	6	VA7	VA7	VA7	VA7
Aesop and the gardener	7	VA8	VA8	VA8	VA8
Episode of the pork legs	8 (Aesop standing and facing the table)	VA9 (Aesop standing in the act of attacking the pork)	VA9 (Aesop sitting astride the pork)	VA9 (Aesop sitting astride the pork)	VA9 (Aesop sitting astride the pork)
Episode of the food given to the dog	9	VA10	VA10	VA10	VA10
Aesop convinces his mistress to come back	10	-	-	-	-
Episode of the tongues	11	-	-	-	-
The rude guest	12	VA11	VA11	VA11	Missing in the copy examined
Xantus and the bath	13	-	-	-	-
Episode of Xantus' bet	14	VA12	VA12	VA12	VA12
False signals and Aesop risking punishment	15	-	-	-	-
Aesop and the mistress' buttocks	16	VA13	VA13	VA13	VA13
Aesop deciphers the acronym	17	VA14	VA14	VA14	VA14
Aesop jailed	18	VA14	14	VA14	VA14
Prodigy of the eagle and the ring/Aesop explains it	19	VA15	VA15	VA15	VA15
Story of the wolves and the lambs	20	-	-	-	-
Aesop and Cresus	21	VA16	VA16	VA16	VA16
Story of the man and the locusts	21	-	-	-	-
Adoption of Ennus	-	VA17	VA17	VA17	VA17
Aesop condemned and hidden in a grave	22	VA17	VA17	VA17	VA17
Lycurgus' sadness and reconciliation between Lycurgus and Aesop	23	VA18	VA18	VA18	VA18
Warning of Ennus		VA19	VA19	VA19	VA19

[455] The table represents the division of the iconographic content between the illustrations of different episodes in the Ulm edition and in the Italian editions. It is based on BISCÉRÉ 2013, pp. 44-47, who, as already mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, did not include the two Milanese cycles in his analysis.

Ennus' suicide	24	VA19	VA19	VA19	VA19
Enigma of the tower in the air	25	VA20	VA20	VA20	VA20
Enigma of the mares (beating of the cat sacred to the Egyptians)	-	VA21	-	-	-
Last two enigmas	-	-	VA21	VA21	VA21
Aesop returns to Babylon; statue of Aesop	26	-	-	-	-
The Delphians plan to kill Aesop and trap of the golden vase	27	VA22	VA22	VA22	VA22
Aesop hides in a sanctuary	28	-	-	-	-
Aesop thrown from the cliff	29	VA23	VA23	VA23	VA23
Desperation of the Delphians	-	VA23	VA23	VA23	VA23

As the table above clearly shows, the selection of episodes represented in woodcuts in the Ulm edition is different from that contained in del Tuppo's and in all other Italian ones influenced by it.[456]

IV.2.1 Cycle 1: the editions of the *Vita* printed in Naples and L'Aquila

In del Tuppo's 1485 edition, the *Vita* occupies leaves a1r-f4v and is decorated with twenty-two squared central narrative vignettes measuring 100 x 100 mm framed by four segments cut together from the same block, of which two (the side ones) are very thin and only serve as a balancing element for the whole frame, whereas the top and the bottom contain different, normally quite simple, architectonic or decorative elements such as arches and vaults, but also branches and tendrils.[457] The top and bottom segments normally measure 20 x 100 mm, and four combinations of them are used alternatively through the *Vita*. A different, larger border concludes the *Vita* surrounding the last vignette, which is larger than the others and occupies almost the whole page (f3v).

Del Tuppo's illustrations are characterized by a refined style of drawing and attention to the representation of details, particularly those of the indoor environments such as floors, ceilings, decorated walls etc., which are rendered in an almost pictorial way, in contrast with the simpler compositions of the Ulm edition. The space of the image is often bipartite, sometimes with the help of architectural elements dividing the foreground, in order to represent two different scenes relating to the same episode.[458]

The lack of any known earlier figurative tradition of the *Vita* in manuscript, and the stylistic and

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[456] See the section II.33 of this study for a description of del Tuppo's text including an account of the division in episodes that he introduced, and section III.3.2 for comments on the influence it had on the following editions.

[457] As was already noticed in the catalogue record and will be remarked below, the borders surrounding illustrations of the *Vita* are different from those surrounding illustrations of the *Fabulae* in del Tuppo's edition.

[458] This is the case in the representation of episodesVA3 (a5v),VA7 (b4v),VA10 (c2v),VA11 (c5r),VA14 (d3r),VA17 (d8r),VA19 (e2v). In other cases, the scene is divided in two halves even without the contemporary representation of two different scenes, only to enhance the narrative strategy.

compositional distance between the figures decorating the Naples edition and those included in the earlier surviving printed editions, all somehow related to the Ulm model, suggests that the Naples cycle was for the largest part an original creation of the illustrator working for del Tuppo, identified by Lamberto Donati as the so-called Maestro dell'Esopo di Napoli.[459] The decorative and figurative style of his production led scholars to locate his origin in Spain.[460] Donati and later scholars have conventionally considered the «Maestro dell'Esopo di Napoli» responsible both for the frames and the vignettes illustrating the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* in the 1485 edition.[461]

As happened for the textual transmission, it is clear that the 1485 *Vita* established a new model for the organization and the representation of the iconographic content, which was then followed by both the Venetian and Milanese cycles. Nonetheless, a few exceptions can be identified. In the representation of episode VA4, when Aesop is sold as a slave for the first time to a merchant, del Tuppo's illustration includes, on the right side of the image, a portrait of the merchant's wife, with their two children. This element disappears in both Bonellis' and the Milanese versions. In the illustration of VA21, a specific reference is made by del Tuppo to the episode of the enigma of Egyptian mares through the presence of the cat which Aesop had asked his fellows to torture in order to demonstrate to the king the nonsensical nature of the question he was asked to solve. The episode is actually contained in VA20, according to del Tuppo's own division. In both the Venetian and the two Milanese cycles, the absence of the cat suggests a more correct identification of this scene with VA21, where Aesop is in front of the king in the act of responding to more generic enigmas (plate III).

In the illustration of VA9, Aesop is portrayed by del Tuppo while standing in front of the pig

[459] See DONATI 1948, p. 72 and BISCÉRÉ 2013, p. 18.

[460] An account of the early 20th-century studies is given by SANDER 1943, I, p. 10. DONATI 1934, pp. 73-106 and DONATI 1948, pp. 53-72, also provided a detailed reconstruction of the figurative background and of the corpus of production of this artist.

[461] The illustrations of the *Fabulae* will be examined in section IV.3 of this study. Donati's analysis is detailed although his attribution simplistically reduces different identities (the designer, the woodcutter, etc.), to only one artistic personality (see ROVERE 2017, p. 44).

and holding an axe in his hands. In the Venetian and Milanese versions Aesop is instead sitting astride the pig, in the act of holding it while cutting off its leg.

The 1493 edition printed in L'Aquila (cycle 1a) is a close reproduction, both in terms of textual content and of illustrations, of the edition printed in 1485 in Naples by del Tuppo. All the illustrations, their layout in the book, the iconographical and stylistic structure of the images as well as their relationship with the text are identical to del Tuppo's edition, and all the narrative vignettes are mirrored copies of the 1485 ones.[462] The last narrative scene of the *Vita,* portraying the death of Aesop, and the ornamental border of the first page of the *Fabulae* (g1r), are identical in both editions as well. Taking a closer look, though, only one out of the four different border settings, which had been used in the Naples edition for the illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi* (a1-f4), was copied and used in this edition for all the illustrations of the *Vita.* It consists of four different segments, always combined together and part of the same block, which is why they are considered as a single impression in the *Catalogue* and throughout this study. The richest segments in terms of iconographical representation are the large top and bottom ones, respectively containing some branches and foliage and with what would appear to be a tent opening on the main narrative scene, and a very simple decorative pattern of vaults and floral tendrils (plate 4).

IV.2.2 Cycle 2: the editions of the *Vita* printed in Venice

The Venetian illustrations of cycle 2 are mirrored copies of the ones by del Tuppo's, in smaller scale and in a less refined and detailed style. Both Bonellis' editions included in this cycle contain one full-page illustration of 70 x 70 mm used in the title-page, comprising one border and one central scene, plus twenty-three in-text illustrations. Each one of the illustrations

[462] The genetic derivative relationship between the two editions has been misunderstood by scholars in the past, and in particular by HERVIEUX 1899, I, pp. 572-73, who, mistakenly transcribing the date of the L'Aquila edition, thought that this was the model for del Tuppo's composition of text and images (see DONATI 1948, p. 107).

portrays one of the episodes included in the *Vita* and consists of a central narrative scene measuring 70 x 70 mm and of a series of borders combined diversely.[463] While the central scenes do not appear in any other surviving edition printed by Bonellis before 1492, all the borders in use in the two editions can be found already in use in the two earlier editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis in 1491, as well as in the third surviving one, printed in August 1493.[464]

The only differences in the use of woodcuts between the two editions of the *Vita Aesopi* printed by Bonellis are introduced in the borders surrounding the illustration of episodes VA4, the first scene of Aesop being sold as a slave, on a8r and VA23, the death of Aesop, on e10v. In the 1492 version, on a8r was used a combination of four segments appearing together three more times in the same edition and appearing in the same positions in the 1493 edition as well (a4v; d5v; e5r). In the 1493 edition the illustration on a8r is surrounded by a border not found anywhere else in this edition, although its appearance in the two 1491 editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* informs us that it was already in Bonellis' possession and not made anew.[465] The central cut remains exactly the same (plate 5). Around the illustration of the death of Aesop (VA23), the same two borders were used in the two editions, but in inverted positions (plate 6).

As pointed out in the *Catalogue,* evidence of reuse of woodcuts from this cycle can be found in Venetian books of the following decades. For instance, the title-page border, including the battle scene, is used on the title page of the edition of the *Storia della Regina Oliva* printed in Venice around 1500 by Iohannes Baptista Sessa. In the same edition, the vignette conceived to illustrate episode VA18, namely the meeting between Aesop and Lycurgus, king of Babylon, in the *Vita Aesopi*, is used on b4v, after the colophon.[466]

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[463] ISTC nos. ia00110000 and ia00111000; see records nos. 49 and 54 in the *Catalogue* for a detailed account of the use of borders and illustrations.

[464] In particular, I am referring to the editions printed by Bonellis in January and February 1491, ISTC nos. ia00151000 and ia00152000; and to ISTC ia00153000.

[465] See note above.

[466] ISTC ic00909825, surviving only in the copy London, BL, IA.24578; see leaves a1r and b4v.

IV.2.3 Cycles 3 and 4: the editions of the *Vita* printed in Milan

Cycle 3 contains twenty-four illustrations consisting of twenty-three central narrative vignettes of 60 x 80 mm usually framed by six borders (1 top border, 2 left borders, 1 bottom border, 2 right borders) plus a title-page illustration, the same as that which was also used to introduce the *Esopo zuccarino*. Cycle 4 too contains twenty-three central vignettes of 60 x 80 mm, each surrounded respectively by four borders, plus a title-page illustration which was also used to introduce the *Esopo zuccarino*. In both cases, the title-page illustration consist of a central scene of 155 x 100 mm with the portrait of the teacher and his pupils, in the style of the one first introduced by Manfredus de Bonellis, surrounded by a unique block border decorated with tendrils and branches.

In terms of figurative composition, these illustrations are closely related to those of cycle 2.

In this respect, one might wonder whether these two editions derived from the Venetian model separately or one through the other.

Both the editions in which these cycles appear were printed in Milan and are dated. One was printed in December 1497 and the other one in two parts in July and September 1498. Woodblocks appearing in the 1497 edition are closely related to the 1492 Venice cycle and the figurative content clearly suggests that they were copied from Bonellis' edition. However, not all the images are mirrored representations of those in cycle 2. Some, despite being identical copies, share the same orientation of their models. In particular, I am referring to all but the last illustrations contained in the first two gatherings of the edition, i.e. those of episodes VA1, VA2, VA3, VA4, VA5, VA6, VA7, VA8, VA10 and VA11. Furthermore, both Milanese editions share common separative variants against the Venice cycle. For instance, in episode VA11 the floor is decorated with small dots which are missing in the corresponding illustration of cycle 2; in episode VA21, the turban worn by king Nectanabus in cycle 2, possibly to suggest an oriental garment, becomes a crown in both Milanese editions (plate 7).

When comparing the illustrations contained in cycles 3 and 4, the orientation of all scenes appears to be mirrored except for the first scene of Aesop being sold as a slave (VA4). The attention to detail and to the accuracy of representation in the 1498 edition is noteworthy, whereas the 1497 edition seems in general to be characterised by a tendency towards simplification of the lines, to the point that one could suppose an inversion to the development of the tradition suggested by chronology, assuming that the 1498 woodblocks had actually been devised at least two years before, to be then copied in a simplified form in 1497 and reused in 1498 in the edition that we know today. However, the 1497 Milanese edition contains features of the Venice cycle, which are missing in the 1498 edition, such as the grating in the top right corner in the illustration of episode VA17. The presence of these elements, along with the common variants separating the Milanese cycles from the Venetian ones, suggest that the illustrations of cycle 4 derived from those of cycle 3, and not from cycle 2 directly.

As for the lack of mirroring of some of the illustrations in cycle 3, all copied from Venetian ones as is evident from the iconographic content, this feature seems to suggest that the images were copied with different techniques. To my knowledge, it was never noted beforehand that the cases of different orientation in cycle 3 correspond to a different style of cutting. In particular, the first group of images, i.e. those which share the same orientation of their model, show a less developed ability in the portrayal of facial expressions, but also in the rendering of bent lines and of parts of the body. The two different techniques of copying and styles of cutting could therefore correspond to two different individuals employed to copy these images.

IV.2.4 Lost cycles of illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi*

In addition to the known cycles, the existence of at least two more programmes of illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi*, probably meant to embellish editions of the work, which are now lost, is suggested by extant images reused in different contexts.

The first in chronological order is likely to be the one designed for the printer Matteo Capcasa, the existence of which is currently suggested by the illustration opening Benalius and Capcasa's edition of the *Esopo zuccarino,* printed in Venice in April 1491.[467] The illustration is on a1r and portrays the second part of the episode of the figs, in which Aesop convinces the master to make Agathopus and another slave drink hot water to prove that they, and not him, were guilty of eating the fruits (VA2).

The preceding scene, in which Agathopus and the other slave eat the figs, already plotting to blame Aesop, was portrayed in a different woodcut, which appears in another edition by Capcasa, namely a *Fior di Virtu* printed on 6th November 1493 (d6v).[468]

The appearance of these two woodcuts in Venetian editions of the early 1490s suggests that an illustrated edition of the *Vita* was planned and issued in those years, possibly to be paired with the one of the *Esopo zuccarino* published by Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa in 1491. This idea is indeed confirmed by Capcasa's will, in which he mentions an edition of the «Ixopi historia» printed on 6th April 1491, i.e. only a few days after the *Esopo zuccarino,* which is dated 1st April.[469]

From an analysis of the iconographic content of the surviving fragments, it seems that the Benalius-Capcasa edition was essentially derived directly from del Tuppo's model, as is suggested in particular by the presence in the second illustration of a fourth figure on the scene (plate 8). This fourth figure, represented as kneeling on the ground, is however moved in the Capcasa edition from the centre of the foreground, where it appears in del Tuppo's edition, towards the left side and in the background, becoming barely visible behind Xanthus' legs. This

467 ISTC ia00155500, n° 47 in the *Catalogue.*

468 ISTC if00185400. Interestingly, an earlier edition of the *Fior de Virtu,* printed by Capcasa in January that year, had the same arrangement of illustrations throughout the work, but at the end was decorated with two rectangular vignettes representing the Annunciation and the Adoration of Christ (ISTC if00185150, d6v; the only extant copy is listed by ISTC as Otto Schäfer's copy, now sold. It is now in Princeton, University Library, and I was able to see it thanks to Dr Eric White and Dr Paul Needham).

469 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Sezione Inferiore, Cancelleria Inferiore, Testamenti di Notai Diversi, n° 2758 28r; it was first mentioned in ESSLING 1907, p. 330 n. 2 and later by BISCÉRÉ 2013, p. 19 n. 39.

might be the reason why it later disappears from Bonellis' edition and it is then not included in any of the Milanese editions either.

The second scene surviving from the Capcasa edition is also very close to del Tuppo's use of the space and distribution of the characters, with only four human figures in the scene and a table on which the jug of hot water stands. Conversely, Bonellis' editions and the Milan editions all have six people on the scene, and the jug of water is held by one of the servants in the background, in the act of drinking.

Two examples out of twenty-three figures are certainly not enough to elaborate a theory. Both of them, however, suggest that the edition printed by Benalius and Capcasa might have had an intermediary role in the transmission of figurative compositions from del Tuppo's edition to Bonellis' one, highlighting the degree of innovation inserted by Bonellis in his images.

Another case in which it is possible to assume the existence of an illustrated edition of the *Vita* devised by the printer to accompany an edition of the *Fabulae* from the appearance of scattered images in following editions is that of a hypothetical Florentine cycle. In several 16th-century editions, all attributed to Florence, vignettes appear which, despite being used to represent a wide range of subjects, all contain episodes clearly derived from the iconography of Aesop's life.

In order of episodes, the known images include:

i) the episode of the hospitality of Aesop and the epiphany of the goddess, according to Biscéré mixed with the beginning of the episode of the figs – appearing on a1r of the two editions of the fables printed in Florence in 1496 and 1500;[470]

ii) the episode of Aesop and the other slaves carrying weights, appearing in an edition of the *Rappresentazione del Carnevale e Quaresima* printed in 1554 and then again in 1568;[471]

[470] See BISCÉRÉ 2013, p. 62; I will comment on the identification of this episode below.
[471] KRISTELLER 1897 n° 86.

iii) the episode of the arrival of Aesop at Xanthus' residence, and the meeting with the female servant, printed in a *Rappresentatione d'uno miracolo di due pellegrini che andavano a San Jacopo* dated August 1554;[472]

iv) the episode of Aesop and the gardener, printed in an edition of *La historia di Florindo e Chiaristella* dated c. 1550;[473]

v) the episode of Aesop with Xantus, his wife and the dog, contained in a *Rappresentazione di San Grisante e Daria* printed around 1559;[474]

vi) the episode of Aesop scolding Ennus, who is standing in front of him, appearing in an edition of Antonia Pulci's *Rappresentazione del figliuol prodigo*, also printed in the 16th century.[475]

All the illustrations are surrounded by the characteristic Florentine borders and share the same measurements (c. 65 x 90 mm without border, 85 x 110 mm with border) of the illustrations found in the 1496 edition of the *Fabulae* printed in Florence for Pacini, and then reused in the 1500 one, also for Pacini.[476]

The Florentine incomplete cycle of the *Vita* seems to add to the figurative representation of the episodes details that were not included in any of the earlier known editions. I refer in particular to the vignette appearing on a1r of the two editions of the *Fabulae* printed in Florence in 1496 and 1500 (plate 9). The illustration is bipartite, representing on the left side Aesop asleep under a tree, lying on some rocks from where a stream of water is flowing, and the goddess appearing in the sky on a cloud, with open arms. In this episode, the illustrator has left out many of the elements that had been introduced by the Naples edition and taken up by the later ones. In particular, in the Naples edition Aesop was portrayed lying not on rocks but rather on a stone

472 KRISTELLER 1897 n° 185d.
473 KRISTELLER 1897 n° 154d.
474 KRISTELLER 1897 n° 214c.
475 KRISTELLER 1897 n° 148a. See BISCÉRÉ 2013, p. 62.
476 Nos. 61 and 70 in the *Catalogue*.

well, with water inside in the Naples edition and from which a stream of water departed in the Venice and Milan A cycles.[477] But apart from this change, it is in the right half of the image that the illustration of the Florentine cycle shows a certain degree of originality. All other editions show the episode of the hospitality of Aesop, where he is ploughing the land and gives directions to a priest of the goddess Isis who is lost and wants to get to the nearby city. In the other cycles, beginning with Naples 1485, Aesop is represented standing with a shovel in his hands and making signs to give directions to his interlocutor standing next to him. In the Florentine edition instead, the two men are facing each other and some fruits and food are placed between them on top of a low tree stump. Aesop is holding a jug of water, which he offers to the priest. This iconography shares similarities with that of the preceding episode of the figs, and this has led scholars such as Antoine Biscéré to think that the scene represented here might in fact be that of the figs.[478]

In the text of the episode of Aesop's hospitality, however, there is a clear description of how, before giving the priest directions on how to get to the city, Aesop invited him to rest under a tree, to eat dates, bread and figs, and of how he went to a nearby well to get some water for the stranger: «Aesopus adiens leto vultu illum manu ducens sub arbore fici consedere fecit. Tum eum de pane oleis ficubus ac dactulis apposuit, atque manducaret ortatus est. Tum ad puteum profectus aquam hausit illique bibitum obtulit».[479] It appears therefore that the Florentine edition is not blending two episodes, as speculated by Biscéré, but rather representing the episode of Aesop's hospitality with an iconography which is different, and more detailed, than all the earlier surviving examples. Nonetheless, the general similarity of the scene, and particularly its bipartite structure, which closely recalls that of the Naples edition, make it highly plausible that the primary figurative source for the Florentine designer remained the Neapolitan illustration of this episode.

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[477] As noted in the table at the beginning of this section, I was not able to see how this imae appears in the Milan B cycle.

[478] See BISCÉRÉ 2013, p. 62.

[479] I quote from Bonellis' 1492 edition (nº 49 in the *Catalogue*), leaf a6r.

This direct derivation of the Florentine cycle from the Neapolitan one, which somehow excludes the mediation of the Venetian cycles (the surviving images from Benalius'-Capcasa edition and Bonellis' one), is further supported by the fact that all images which have been related to the lost Florentine cycle are oriented in reverse in comparison with the Neapolitan one, as well as by a series of other variants which associate them against the rest of the production. In the episode of the weights (VA5), the building in the background in the Neapolitan and Florentine illustrations shows Northern-European features, such as towers and spires, and it is partially hidden by high rocks and mountains through which Aesop and the other slaves have to pass (plates 10-11). In the Venetian and Milanese editions, the mountains disappear and the landscape looks softer. Furthermore from Bonellis' edition onwards an amphora is introduced on the shoulders of the third character, which is absent in the Neapolitan and the Florentine editions, while it reappears in both Milanese ones.

Another illustration in which the Florentine edition follows the Neapolitan one without the mediation of Bonellis' cycle is that of the episode of Aesop and the gardener (VA8); in both editions, the three characters are portrayed in front of a low wall which defines the background; this does not appear in the Venetian or in the Milanese cycles, where the background is an empty landscape.

As already mentioned, the Florentine designer also shows a certain degree of autonomy in the representation of some of the preserved scenes, such as that of Aesop's arrival at Xanthus' home. In all other cycles, starting from the Neapolitan one, the illustration of this episode represents the meeting of Aesop with Xanthus' maid at the door of the house, on one side of the scene, and Xanthus and his wife inside the house, visible through a window, occupying the other side of the scene. The Florentine edition portrays instead only the meeting between Aesop and the maid, excluding from the representation the rest of the iconography.

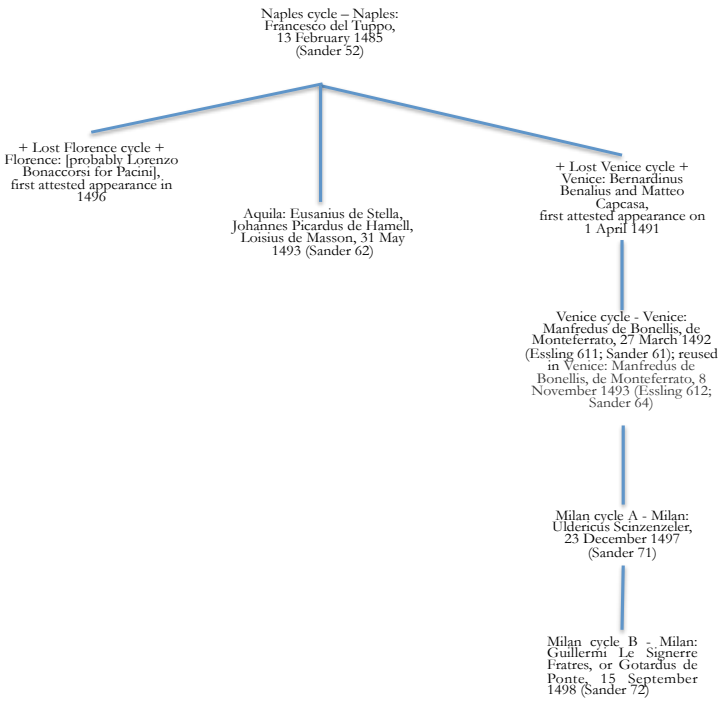
The remaining two illustrations of what is left of the Florentine cycle also show the introduction of some minor differences in comparison to the Neapolitan edition. In the episode

of Aesop and the mistress' dog (VA10), the two figures portrayed outside the window in the Neapolitan edition (and in all following cycles), are missing in the Florentine one. Nonetheless, it is the shape of the double-arched window, which is almost identical to that of the del Tuppo's illustration and different from the other editions, where the window is square shaped, which leaves few doubts on the link between the two (plate 12).

Similarly, in the last remaining vignette from the Florentine edition, portraying Aesop's scolding of Ennus, the image of Ennus throwing himself from the cliff, which is visible outside the archway in the Neapolitan and in the background in the Venetian and later in the Milanese editions, is missing. However, the rest of the setting of the scene is derived from the Neapolitan version, including the archway, only partially visible, and the trilobite window in the background.

In light of the above, the *stemma illustrationum* of the *Vita Aesopi* can be traced as follows.

IV.2.5 *Stemma illustrationum* of the Italian incunable editions of the *Vita Aesopi*



⌘ IV.3 *Fabulae*

Among the illustrated editions of the *Fabulae* it is also possible to identify a series of cycles of images appearing in the Italian incunable editions.[480]

1) Mondovì cycle – Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis, 16 Nov. 1476 (SANDER 49); reused in Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis, 8 May 1481 (SANDER 51);
2) Verona cycle – Verona: Giovanni Alvise and Alberto de Grifisolis, 26 June 1479 (SANDER 50);
3) Naples cycle – Naples: Francesco del Tuppo, 13 February 1485 (SANDER 52);
   3a) copied in reverse in L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson, 31 May 1493 (SANDER 62);
4) Brescia cycle - Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, 7 March 1487 (SANDER 53); only one image reused in Brescia: Boninus de Boninis 21 August 1489 (SANDER 57);
5) Venice cycle A - Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 20 November 1487 (ESSLING 358; SANDER 55); reused in Venice: Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, c. 1490 (without borders; SANDER, *Addenda* 2); reused in Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), 1 April 1491 (with the same borders, used differently; ESSLING 359; SANDER 60);
6) Venice cycle B - Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato 31 Jan. 1491 (ESSLING 360; SANDER 58); reused in Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 15 Feb. 1491 (ESSLING 361; SANDER 59; with the same borders); reused in Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 17 August 1493 (ESSLING 362; Sander 63; with the same borders); reused in Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 27 June 1497 (ESSLING 363; SANDER 69; with new borders);

480 The identification of the cycles is based on the illustrated editions included in the *Catalogue*. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, fifteen of them are editions either of the *Esopo zuccarino* (twelve, two of which also contain the *Vita Aesopi*) or of other Latin/vernacular versions of the *Fabulae* (del Tuppo's version and the *Esopo toscano*); three contain only the Latin text of the *Aesopus moralisatus* only and four do not include full cycles of illustrations, but rather introductory or closing images.

6a) both vignettes and borders copied in reverse in Bologna: Ercole Nani, 22 February 1494 (SANDER 65);

7) Florentine cycle - Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini, 17 September 1496 (SANDER 68); partially reused (only thirty-five woodblocks out of sixty-six) in Florence: Antonio Tubini, Laurentius (Francisci) de Alopa, Venetus and Andrea Ghirlandi, for Piero Pacini, 28 March 1500 (SANDER 76);

8) Milan cycle A - Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 23 December 1497 (SANDER 71);

9) Milan cycle B - Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, or Gotardus de Ponte, 1498 (SANDER 72).

Table comparing the figurative content of the Ulm edition to that of Italian incunable editions of the *Fabulae* and summarising the main iconographic variants

Fable	Mondovì 1476 / 1471	Ulm c. 1476	Verona 1479	Naples 1485	Brescia 1487	Venice A 1487	Venice B 1491 / 1493 / 1497	Florence 1496 / 1500	Milan 1497	Milan 1498
Introductory image (Aesop receiving the translation)			x		x	x				
Introductory image (Aesop as master with pupils)							x		x	x
Other introductory image								x (episodes from the *Vita*)		
Classical style capital			x		x					
'Ut iuvet et prosit'	x		x (border only)	x (border only)						
'De gallo et iaspide'	x	x	x	x	x (two cocks)	x (two cocks)	x	x	x	x
'De lupo et agno'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De mure et rana'	x	x (one scene only)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cane et ove'	x (judge: monkey)	x (judge: man)	x (judge: donkey)	x (judge: monkey)	x (judge: donkey)	x (judge: donkey)	x (judge: monkey)	x (judge: monkey)	x (judge: monkey)	x (judge: monkey)
'De cane gerente carnem in ore'	x	x (no bridge)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De leone capra iove et iuvenca'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De femina nubente furi'	x	x (sun; only one more human figure)	x	x (sun)	x	x	x (musician sitting on a tree)	x (sun)	x (musician sitting on a tree)	x (musician sitting on a tree)
'De lupo et grue'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cane et alia cane'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De viro et colubro'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De asello et apro'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De mure rustico et urbano'	x (no human characters)	x (human figure: *carnevaro*)	x (human figure: *carnevaro*)	x (human figure: *carnevaro*)	x (human figure: *carnevaro* and barrels)	x (human figure: *carnevaro* and barrels)	x (human figure: *carnevaro* and barrels)	x (human figure: *carnevaro*)	x (human figure: *carnevaro* and barrels)	x (human figure: *carnevaro* and barrels)
'De vulpe et aquila'	x	x (the fox has a small stick in its mouth; eagle in the nest only)	x (the fox looks at the eagle; eagle in the nest and eagle flying)	x (the fox has a stick in its mouth; eagle in the nest and eagle flying)	x (the fox has a small stick in its mouth; eagle in the nest only)	x (the fox has a stick in its mouth; eagle in the nest and eagle flying)	x	x	x	x
'De aquila et testudine'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

'De vulpe et corvo'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De leone apro tauro et asello'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De catulo hero et asello'	x (man standing and no servant)	x (man sitting on a throne and servant)	x (man sitting on a throne and servant)	x (man sitting on a pedestal and servant)	x (man sitting on a throne and servant)	x (man standing and servant)	x (man standing and servant)	x (man sitting on a pedestal and servant)	x (man standing and servant)	x (man standing and servant)
'De leone et mure'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De milvo et matre'	x (kite in bed and no hand)	x (kites standing with no hand)	x (kites perched with hand)	x (kites perched with hand)	x (kite in bed and no hand)	x (kite in bed with no hand)	x (kites perched without hand)	x (kites perched with hand)	x (kites perched without hand)	x (kites perched without hand)
'De irundine et rustico'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De civitate carente rege'	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De ranis petentibus regem'	x (hydra; nimbus)	x (king, frogs in a pond and a stork)	x (hydra; Jupiter; constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; no constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; no constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; no constellations)	x (hydra; Jupiter; no constellations)
'De accipitre et columbis'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De fure et cane'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De lupo et sucula'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De terra que peperit murem'	x (man and woman only)	x (group of civils)	x (group of soldiers)	x (soldier and civilians)	x (group of soldiers)	x (group of soldiers)	x (group of soldiers)	x (group of civilians)	x (group of soldiers)	x (group of soldiers)
'De lupo et agno'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cane et domino'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De silva et leporibus'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De lupo et haedo'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De rustico et angue'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cervo et ove'	x (judge sitting but not on a throne)	X (judge: wolf, sitting but not on a throne)	x (judge standing)	x (judge standing)	x (judge sitting on the throne)	x (judge sitting on the throne)	x (judge standing)	x (judge standing)	x (judge sitting but not on a throne)	x (judge sitting but not on a throne)
'De musca et calvo'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De vulpe et ciconia'	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)	x (only the stork eating)	x (only the stork eating)	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)	x (two scenes)
'De lupo et cervice'	x	x (entire human body)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De graculo et pavonibus'	x	x	x	x	x (no wheel)	x (no wheel)	x	x	x	x
'De mula musca et mulione'	x	x (horse pulling cart)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De musca et formica'	x (three human characters)	x (no human character)	x (human character); trees in the background	x (human character); just one tree in the background; round fan	x (no human characters)	x (human character); just one tree in the background; round fan	x (human character)	x (human character)	x (human character)	x (human character)
'De lupo et vulpe'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De viro et mustela'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De rana et bove'	x	x (two frogs)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De leone et pastore'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De equo et leone'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De equo et asello'	x (two couples of animals)	x (one couple of animals)	x (two couples of animals)	x (two couples of animals)	x (two couples of animals)	x (two couples of animals)	x (only one couple of	x (two couples of animals)	x (only one couple of	x (only one couple of

							animals)		animals)	animals)
'De quadrupedibus et avibus'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De philomena et accipitre'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cane et lupo'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cervo et fonte'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De iunone et venere et aliis feminis'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De viro et uxore'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De iuvene et thayde'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De patre et eius filio'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De vipera et lima'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De lupis et ovibus'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De luco et secure'	x	x (two human figures)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De lupo et cane'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De ventre pedibus et manibus'	x (two human figures only)	x (naked body only)	x (five human figures)	x (two human figures only)	x (five human figures)	x (five human figures)	x (two human figures only)	x (two human figures only)	x (two human figures only)	x (two human figures only)
'De simia et vulpe'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De asello et institore'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De argo cervo et bobus'	x	x (two human figures)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De leonis fallaci conversatione'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De iudeo et pincerna regis'	x	- (missing in the 1478 edition)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De cive et equite regis'	x	- (missing in the 1478 edition)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De capone et accipitre'	x	- (missing in the 1478 edition)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De pastore et lupo'	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De dilacione duelli'	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De dilacione duelli' (pt. 2)	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De patre et filio'	x	-								
'De vulpe et uva'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De mustella et mure cauto'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De lupo et bubulco'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De pavone et iunone'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De panther et agrestibus'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De vervecibus et lanione'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De avibus et aucupe'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De homine verace et	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

fallace et de simiis'										
'De equo cervo et senatore'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De asino leone'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De vulture et aliis avibus'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De leone et vulpibus'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De puero et scorpione'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De asino et lupo'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De hirco maiore et avibus minoribus'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De homine et de leone'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De camelo et pulice'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De vulpe et gallo gladio et viatore'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De cornice et ove'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De abiete et arundine'	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'De mercatore et eius uxore'	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De rustico et plutone'	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De pueris ludentibus'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
'Ave Maria' – annunciation	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-

Abbreviated table comparing the presence of two-scene illustrations in the Ulm cycle and in Italian incunable editions[481]

Fable	Mondovì 1476 / 1471	Ulm c. 1476	Verona 1479	Naples 1485	Brescia 1487	Venice A 1487	Venice B 1491 / 1493 / 1497	Florence 1496 / 1500	Milan 1497	Milan 1498
'De mure et rana'	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-
'De cane gerente carnem in ore'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
'De femina nubente furi'	-	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	-	-
'De viro et colubro'	-	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
'De vulpe et aquila'	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	-
'De aquila et testudine'	-	-	x	x	-		-	x	-	-
'De vulpe et corvo'	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
'De leone et mure'	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
'De cane et domino'	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-
'De vulpe et ciconia'	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x
'De equo et asello'	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
'De cane et lupo'	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
'De cervo et fonte'	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
'De lupis et ovibus'	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x
'De iudeo et pincerna regis'	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

[481] The fables illustrated with single-scene images in all editions are not included in the table.

Unlike the *Vita Aesopi,* it is very likely that printers venturing into the production of an illustrated edition of the *Fabulae* drew the figurative inspiration for their illustration from existing visual sources, as several illustrated manuscripts of the *Fabulae,* in their different versions and textual arrangements, remain from the 14th and 15th century.[482] Unfortunately, a census of such manuscripts and of their figurative content, either complete or partial, has not yet been produced so that it is not possible, at present, to have a precise view of how these iconographic subjects were distributed and how they evolved over time. Although very few direct links between manuscript and early printed illustrations have hitherto been acknowledged by scholarship, traces of this richness in visual sources also remain in the higher level of contamination between different iconographic traditions, which can be detected when examining the main variants occurring in the illustrations of the *Fabulae.*[483]

IV.3.1 Cycle 1: the editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Mondovì

Strong connections have been identified between the iconography and stylistic features of the illustrations belonging to the Mondovì cycle - assigned to Northern Italy, possibly with some French influence in the design, the outline of the iconographic subjects and the style of clothes - and manuscript Bologna, BU, 1213, very likely produced and illuminated in Lombardy in the

[482] I am referring in particular to the connection between the Mondovì cycle and the manuscript Bologna, BU, 1213 (*Aesopus moralisatus*), which will be further explored below.

[483] During my research on early printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts, I came across a series of illustrated manuscripts of Aesopian fables which in some fortunate cases have been studied individually by scholars but have never been considered and researched as a *corpus.* Among the most important for the study of Aesopian iconography are Cambridge (MA), Houghton, Typ. 479 (Italy, 14th cent.); Florence, BNCF, II.II.83 (Italy, 15th cent.); Florence, Ricc., 1185 (Italy, 15th cent.); Florence, Ricc., 2085 (Italy, 15th cent.); London, BL, Add. MS 10389 (Italy, 1462); New York (NY), Morgan, 397 (Eastern Europe, 10th cent.); New York (NY), Morgan, Spencer 50 (Italy, 15th cent.); Paris, BnF, lat. Nouv. Acq. 1132; Udine, BA, Bartolini 83 (Italy, 15th cent.). Fundamental on this topic, although mostly focussing on earlier manuscripts (9th-10th centuries), are THIELE 1905, AVERY 1941, pp. 103-116 and GOLDSCHIMDT 1947; on manuscript Florence, BNCF, II.II.83 see BOTANA 2012.
A survey of the iconographic transmission of the illustrations of the fables is certainly complicated by the fact that not only the Latin, Greek and vernacular compilations linked to the name of Aesop, should be taken into consideration, but all those transmitted from the classical age onwards, such as Phaedrus', Babrius', Romulus', Ademarus', the *Ysopet*s, etc. and even books such as the Indo-Arabic *Kalila-wa-Dimna* and the German *Eldstein*, as the same fables are often shared by different collections and the iconographic transmission could well have followed different and more intricate paths than the textual one.

second half of the 14th century.[484] The Mondovì cycle consists of sixty-seven narrative scenes, with one title-page woodcut and sixty-six smaller blocks (113 x 60 mm), each one different from the others and each one comprising a very simple border.[485]

The examples of Italian illustrated manuscripts that I was able to examine directly suggest continuity between the hand-made and the printed illustrations of the *Fabulae,* particularly as far as the relationship between text and images is concerned, in that all the cycles share in their complete form the same arrangement by which every fable corresponds to one illustration, and most illustrations represent only one scene, which summarises the meaning of the entire fable.

In this aspect, as well as in the representation of many of the subjects of the fables*,* the Mondovì cycle is in line with the earlier and later tradition. Nevertheless, a series of features convinced scholars that illustrations belonging to the Mondovì cycle, appearing in the 1476 edition and its 1481 reprint, are unrelated to all the subsequent illustrated Aesopian editions printed in Italy, and that this very early editorial enterprise had a limited impact on the following production both in terms of text and of illustrations. Among others, Lamberto Donati thought that the editions might in fact not have been read outside Piedmont.[486] As already mentioned in chapter III, the textual features of the two editions printed in Mondovì are not to be found in any of the other surviving Italian editions printed in the 15th century. Furthermore, the vignettes of the Mondovì cycle are notably smaller compared to any other Italian edition of the fables of the 15th century, and apparently the technique with which the blocks were realised was not woodcutting, as in all other cycles, but most likely *criblé*.[487] The figurative style of the Mondovì illustrations is also

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484 The rich programme of illustrations decorating the Bologna manuscript has always been attributed to artists active in the Lombardy area towards the end of the 14th century. In particular, it was linked to the production of Michelino da Besozzo and Giovannino de' Grassi and to the so-called Maestro del Libro d'ore di Modena (see SANDER 1943, I, p. 10 and DE TATA 2004, p. 41). More generally, both the illustrations of the Bologna manuscript and of the Mondovì cycle have been linked with the genre of the *Tacuinia sanitatis,* which provided throughout the whole Middle Ages a wide range of visual sources for the representation of animal characters (see PICCAT 1987, pp. 230-36).

485 For the history of printing in Mondovì see in general the *DBI* record dedicated to Baldassarre Cordero, known as the first typographer active in Piedmont, in association with two Belgian printers, by VENEZIANI 1983, available online.

486 DONATI 1980, p. 48.

487 In the *criblé* method, round holes are punched in a metal plate to produce a white spotted background in the print; for a definition see STARITA 1991, pp. 52-53. PICCAT 1987, p. 331, ascribed the bad quality and

peculiar: they are still horizontally oriented, as in most of the illuminated manuscripts of the fables, with small borders which were most likely part of the same matrix of the central vignettes; characters are rendered with little expressiveness and with a very basic use of perspective.

IV.3.2 Cycle 2: the edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona

The peculiar features of the Mondovì cycle emerge even more strikingly when the illustrations are compared with the realistic, expressive and skilfully-designed vignettes of the Verona cycle, printed only three years later. All illustrations of the Verona cycle are larger, occupying almost the whole page, and show a remarkable ability to convey feelings and emotions and a proficient use of perspective in the construction of the image. In fact, for the first time they manage to describe in one single image the development of each fable, rather than just depicting one precise moment of its premises or consequences.

However, the predominant and almost exclusive role generally assigned by scholars to the Verona edition in the establishment of a canon of illustrations of the fables to be followed by all the later editions, should probably be reconsidered in light of a closer analysis of the main iconographic variants characterising the whole *corpus* of illustrated Italian editions. In particular, a series of iconographic parallels suggest that the Mondovì edition, or at least the iconographic tradition of which it was part, continued to have an influence on the illustrated editions printed throughout the whole 15th century.[488] Further, many variants introduced in editions which are later than the Verona one, such as those printed by del Tuppo, Benalius and Bonellis, often managed to overcome its model, establishing new lines of figurative transmission.

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poor clarity of some images to the fact that he considered them to have been realised with a different technique of woodcutting (embossing) and that they were most likely the work of engravers and fabric printers, rather than of specialist wood-cutters, who applied to woodcutting the other techniques they knew. A decisive conclusion on this point was provided by PALLOTTINO 2009, p. 1133-34.

[488] This consideration is based mainly on the meaningful variant of the representation of fable 'De milvo et matre' (see below and plates 22-23a).

From a stylistic point of view the illustrations of the Verona cycle have been widely studied, especially since, in 1973, Giovanni Mardersteig attributed their design to the well-known painter and illuminator Liberale da Verona.[489]

The first full-page woodcut portrays Aesop sitting on a wooden throne and receiving the book of translated fables from the hands of Accio Zucco, kneeling in front of him, surrounded by a monumental arch mounted by two putti sitting opposite each other and holding a garland. The scene was portrayed in a classicizing style which was already one of the codified features of book decoration in the Veneto area.[490] The same classical style is evident in the border framing the *incipit* of the text on a4r, all from a single block decorated with tendrils and branches and depicting two putti in the lower margin, holding an empty laurel crown to be filled in with the arms of the owner, and in the second full-page woodcut contained in the text, on a3v. This represents a small capital in the style of those frequently made by book designers and decorators such as Bartolomeo Sanvito from Padua and, in particular, the Veronese typographer and calligrapher Felice Feliciano. Scholars actually suggested that Feliciano himself could have conceived the design of the decorated borders and of the title page of the Veronese Aesop, and in general the graphic design of the whole edition.[491]

This antiquarian inspiration was followed only by Boninis (cycle 4), who inserted the image of the capital both in his edition containing the whole cycle of illustrated fables, printed in March 1487

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[489] The attribution of the woodcuts to Liberale was suggested for the first time in MARDERSTEIG 1973 and in MARDERSTEIG-MAGAGNATO 1973. FATTORI 2002, pp. 7-18 considered plausible instead that the illustrations of *Esopo* printed in Verona were the work of the Griffisolis printers, both active not only as printers but as book decorators and illuminators in the Veneto at the time (see section III.3.1 of this study for more detailed information about the printers). The debate on Liberale's authorship is summarised in the contribution by EBERHARDT 2006, pp. 291-93 and in NUVOLONI 2016, pp. 66-69. On this topic, see also DONATI 1976, pp. 138-46 and DONATI, 1978, pp. 47-55.

[490] This scene is commented in DONATI 1976, p. 146.

[491] This particular figurative element, the structure of which recalls that of classical gravestones, with inscriptions, was considered by scholars to be very close to those contained in manuscripts copied and decorated by Felice Feliciano, such as Modena, BEU, Lat. 992=alfa.L.5.15, containing a copy of Giovanni Marcanova's *Collectio antiquitatum*. This, together with the presence of other decorative elements such as the fleuron borders and paragraph marks, described in chapter II, suggested to scholars that the graphic arrangement and supervision of this edition could be attributed to Feliciano. On this topic see the record by NUVOLONI 2014, pp. 66-69; on Feliciano, see at least the *DBI* record by PIGNATTI 1996, available online with bibliography. For updated bibliography and considerations on the work of Sanvito and Feliciano and on their contribution to the development of a new style of designing title pages and frontispieces, see the recent article by NUVOLONI 2016, pp. 248-52 in particular.

(a3v), as well as in the one printed in August 1489, where this is the only image present (c4v), marking the end of the edition.[492]

In terms of figurative composition the Verona cycle is also richer and more complex than the Mondovì one. This increased level of complexity appears evident in the illustration of fables such as EZ12, 'De mure rustico et urbano' (c7r in the Verona edition, a5r in the Mondovì edition), where the human figure and other elements are inserted next to the mice, EZ17 'De catulo hero et asello' (d7r in the Verona edition and a8r in the Mondovì edition), in which the master is sitting on a wooden throne rather than standing, and the figure of the servant is added. Another example is that of the illustration of EZ26 'De terra tumente' (f6r in the Verona edition and b5r in the Mondovì edition): in this case, the illustration of the Mondovì cycle only portrays two human characters, a man and a woman, while in the Verona illustration the appearance of the mole from the ground is witnessed by a group of four people (plate 13).

As suggested in the table at the beginning of this section, the source for all the listed changes introduced in the Verona edition is likely to have been the same branch of the tradition from which the illustrations included in the German translation of the *Vita Aesopi* and of the fables edited by Heinrich Steinhöwel and printed in Ulm by J. Zainer around 1476/77 derived, if not the Ulm Aesop itself, as opposed to that of the Mondovì cycle.[493]

IV.3.3 Cycle 3: the editions of the *Fabulae* printed in Naples and L'Aquila

The cycle of images illustrating the edition of the *Fabulae* printed by Francesco del Tuppo in 1485 contains sixty-five central narrative vignettes (100 x 100 mm) framed by three different kinds of

[492] Nos. 38 and 42 in the *Catalogue*.

[493] On the collection of Aesopian texts printed by Steinhöwel in Ulm (ISTC ia00116000), see section I.3 of this thesis.

borders repeated through the whole book with small variations.[494] The subjects depicted in the lunettes on the upper margin of the borders are two horsemen fighting, two men fighting each other, possibly Hercules *versus* Antaeus, and a man, possibly Hercules again, or David, fighting a lion. One last border, carved out of one piece of wood and left empty to frame the text, is used on the title page to mark the beginning of the *Fabulae* after the end of the *Vita Aesopi* (g1r).[495] In general, most of the illustrations of the Neapolitan edition are either mirrored copies or close reinterpretations of the Verona ones, often simplified in terms of figurative composition in order to adapt their content to a neater and more graphically sophisticated figurative style: the landscape is reduced to a minimum, buildings and skylines very rarely appear in the background, and usually fewer elements are included in the picture.

Nonetheless, the designer of the Neapolitan illustrations introduced several components of novelty: not only elaborate references to buildings and architectural structures in the foreground, but also a few changes in the composition of the scene or details in the representation of characters and objects. Some of these differences are worth noting because they reveal the iconographic connections between the Naples cycle and its models and also because some of them reappear in subsequent Italian cycles, suggesting a Neapolitan influence.[496] Among others, the presence of only two human figures, a doctor and a patient, in the illustration of FdT56, 'De ventre pedibus et manibus' (t8v), in which the figure of the doctor holding a jar was probably derived from the illustration of the fable 'De leonis fallaci conversatione', of the Ulm edition. The illustration of the Veronese edition (n1r) includes five human characters (plate 14). The detail of the sun inserted in the illustration of FdT7, 'De foemina nubente furi' (h3v), also finds a close precedent in the corresponding image of the Ulm cycle (plate 15). The rounded fan used by the man in the illustration of FdT38, 'De musca et formica', to chase away the fly (see p4r), which

[494] See record n° 34 of the *Catalogue* for a more detailed analysis and for reference to the different stages of production of the borders identified by DONATI 1934, pp. 92-98.
[495] See section IV.2 of this study for more considerations on del Tuppo's illustrations of the *Vita* (cycle 1). The several cases of reuse and modifications of this border by Hebrew printers in Naples from 1487 onwards are accounted for in record n° 34 of the *Catalogue*.
[496] See DONATI 1948, pp. 53-72.

replaced the stick of the Veronese vignette, seems instead to have been an original modification introduced by the Neapolitan illustrator (plate 16).[497]

As those of the *Vita,* the Neapolitan illustrations of the *Fabulae* were also copied eight years later in the edition printed in L'Aquila in 1493, in which each central cut (90 x 90 mm) is framed by borders consisting of seven segments. Throughout the whole edition three fixed combinations of borders are used, suggesting that they were originally carved together from single blocks of wood, as was probably the case for del Tuppo's edition as well. In this context, the process of simplification of the decorative apparatus from the Naples edition to its copy becomes evident by the drastic reduction in the number of borders employed for the illustrations of the *Vita* and by some poorer stylistic features compared to the ones used in the *Fabulae*. The style of the central vignettes is also poorer and the drawing and the cuts are cruder and less refined. All this results in images of lower quality, with less vivid representations of the character's feelings and less visual harmony.

IV.3.4 Cycles 4 and 5: the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Brescia and Venice

Another point touched upon by Donati in his contribution on the Maestro dell'Esopo di Napoli concerns the reciprocal relationship of the figurative vignettes included in the Brescia and Venice A cycles, printed only a few months apart, and their relationship with the Verona cycle. The Brescia cycle printed by Boninis, the oldest to survive, consists of sixty-five vertical narrative vignettes illustrating the fables (120 x 80 mm), surrounded by different combinations of simple borders with geometric decorations. They are accompanied by two full-page introductory illustrations, both printed from one single block of wood, which can easily be put in relationship with the images contained in cycle 2. The first introductory illustration, on a2r, is a portrait of the

[497] As pointed out in the first table at the beginning of this section, this last element cannot derive from the Ulm cycle, where there are no human characters in the illustration of AM38, 'De musca et formica'.

author, Accio Zucco, offering his translation to Aesop, represented as a bearded man wearing a laurel wreath. As in the Verona edition, this scene is set in an outdoor landscape, and the only original addition is the view of a castle in the background. Even the external frame is very similar to the Veronese one, in spite of the fact that the putti are missing and the architectural features of the archivolt are less elaborate. The second full-page woodcut too, representing the classical capital with the inscription detailing author and title, was clearly inspired by the one opening the Veronese edition.[498]

In general, most of the Brescia illustrations are mirrored identical copies of those contained in the Verona cycle.[499] Such a strong figurative connection is not difficult to explain, in light of the long stay of the printer of the Brescia cycle, Boninus de Boninis, in Verona, where he was connected to many printers in town as well as to the local intellectual and artistic milieu.[500] On the other hand, the Brescia cycle also contains elements which are not included in any of the previous editions, such as a series of figurative variants shared with Venice cycle A, which distinguish the two editions from all the other Italian ones.

Venice cycle A also contains sixty-five narrative vignettes, generally consisting of figurative borders combined with a central narrative scene (80 x 75 mm), different for each fable. Like the Verona and Brescia ones, this cycle is opened by a portrait of Aesop and Accio Zucco, in the style of the Verona and Brescia editions, and closed by one final narrative woodcut (m2v)

[498] The typographical material used by Boninis, though, seems to have Venetian origins. For general bibliography on printing presses in Brescia and information on all the main printers see VENEZIANI 1986, p. 70; this edition is listed as n° 73 in Veneziani's inventory. All the other six editions printed in Brescia are listed as well, with n° 73, 76, 78, 95, 117, 230, 254.

[499] Mirrored copies of the Verona illustrations: EZ2, EZ3, EZ4, EZ5, EZ13; EZ20, EZ21, EZ22, EZ27, EZ28, EZ29, EZ40, EZ41, EZ42, EZ43, EZ44, EZ45, EZ46, EZ47 EZ48, EZ 49, EZ50, EZ51, EZ53, EZ55, EZ56, EZ57, EZ58, EZ59, EZ60, EZ61, EZ62, EZ63, EZ64, EZ65. Images which are very similar to the Verona ones, and oriented in the same direction: Dedication image; EZ9, EZ17, EZ33, EZ52, EZ54.

[500] Another consequence of these contacts was the printing in February 1483 of the *De re militari* by Roberto Valturio, in two illustrated editions, one in Latin and one in the vernacular, translated by Paolo Ramusio (ISTC nos. iv00089000 and iv00090000). These works were certainly influenced by the most famous edition of the *De re militari,* which had been printed probably in Verona more than ten years before (ISTC iv00088000), and soon after being printed became well known for its outstanding design and for the splendour of its woodcuts.

representing the last text contained in the edition, the *Ave Maria* in Italian.[501] The vignette is smaller than those illustrating the fables (49 x 67 mm) and it represents the scene of the Annunciation, with Mary kneeling in front of a book-stand (right side visible only) and the winged Gabriel kneeling in front of her (left side visible only) and holding a lily. None of the other printers seems to have followed Benalius in the introduction of this last scene, which appears in all three Aesopian editions printed by him (1487, c. 1490 and 1491 with Matteo Capcasa).

Within the series of Venice A it is possible to distinguish at least two styles of design or, more probably, of craftsmanship: a more refined and polished one, showing a certain roundness in the trait and an attention to perspective and realism, and a rougher, simpler and more linear style, less committed to realism and to portraying the emotions of the characters. A sample of this juxtaposition of styles can be discerned when comparing the illustration of EZ17, 'De catulo hero et asello' (c7v), to EZ18, 'De leone et mure' (c8v) (plate 17). A distinction of different personalities in the production of these illustrations was already proposed, with particular reference to the borders, by Lilian Armstrong, who put the figurative style and the iconographic subjects of the three borders in relationship to the work of the so-called Master of the Rimini Ovid.[502]

Most of the woodblocks of Venice A share the same orientation as the corresponding illustrations of the Verona cycle, and appear therefore as identical mirrored copies of the Brescia cycle.[503] Nevertheless, as anticipated in the table above, a series of variants link the Brescia and

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501 Although the vignette does not seem to appear in any of the surviving editions printed by Benalius before 1487, it is possible that the printer had it at his disposal, having used it already before the *Esopo*. More on how images are used in this edition is said in the *Catalogue* (record n° 39).

502 See ARMSTRONG 1993, p. 343. For a description of the combinations of borders and of their use see record n° 40 in the *Catalogue*.

503 In particular the illustrations of EZ2, EZ3, EZ4, EZ5, EZ8; EZ9, EZ16, EZ30, EZ31, EZ47 (only the scene in the foreground is reversed), EZ48; EZ52, appear as mirrored copies of the Verona illustrations. The dedication image and the illustrations of EZ21, EZ22, EZ27, EZ28, EZ29 EZ38; EZ40; EZ41; EZ43; EZ44; EZ46; EZ49; EZ50; EZ51; EZ53; EZ55; EZ56; EZ57; EZ58; EZ59; EZ60; EZ61; EZ62; EZ63; EZ64; EZ65 are very similar to the corresponding illustrations in the Verona cycle, and oriented in the same direction.

Venice A cycles against the illustrations of the Verona edition, revealing the influence of figurative traditions different from Verona's. Examples of these variants are the illustrations of EZ1, 'De gallo et iaspide', where the Brescia and Venice A cycles add a second cockerel to the one finding the pearl (plates 18-19), and EZ12, 'De mure rustico e urbano', where the Brescia and Venice A cycles introduce the figurative element of the barrels; in both cases, the added elements are absent in the Mondovì, Ulm, Verona and Naples cycles (plates 20-21). A third example is the illustration of EZ19, 'De milvo et matre' (plates 22-23). In this fable, the Latin text tells of a kite that «aegrotaret et multis mensibus infirmus iaceret…», and contains the dialogue between the kite and its mother. The Ulm edition shows the two birds standing face to face on the ground, with branches and rocks behind them. This composition was followed by the Veronese and the Neapolitan illustrators. However, the Brescia and Venice A cycles insert an original element in the figurative composition, which relates strictly to the use of the verb «iaceret»: the kite is portrayed lying in bed. Interestingly enough, this element finds a close exemplar in the Mondovì cycle.

Another variant which unites the illustrations of the Brescia and Venice A cycle against Verona appears in EZ32, 'De cervo et ove', in which the two cycles introduce the element of the wolf judging the argument between the deer and the sheep while sitting on a throne and dressed in human clothes; a feature which is missing from any earlier representation, Italian or otherwise. Among the variants separating the Brescia and Venice A cycle from Verona and from the rest of the surviving iconographic tradition in print, the case of EZ34, 'De vulpe et ciconia', is also worth mentioning (plates 24-25). While all editions represent the two central scenes of the fable, in which the two animals drink from different vessels, the Brescia and the Venice A cycle limit the figurative choice to the scene of the stork eating.

IV.3.4a The origin of Brescia and Venice A and their relationship

The variants listed above raise questions about the relationship in which the two editions stand, and about their common source, if any. The absence of a systematic census of the manuscript figurative tradition of the fables makes it virtually impossible at present to determine whether these changes can be tracked down to manuscript sources, or if they were introduced by the illustrators specifically for the printed editions.

As for the first part of the question, in his 1948 essay Lamberto Donati, stated that «Non mi sembra possibile che l'edizione Venezia, 20 Novembre 1487, sia copia di Brescia, 7 marzo 1487, perché il tempo intercorso tra le due è breve ma ancora di più per alcuni fatti peculiari, uno dei quali è che la favola 55, 'De luco et secure', non ha alcunché di comune con quella di Brescia e naturalmente con quella assai simile di Verona».[504]

As already mentioned, most of the illustrations included in the Venice A cycle appear to be mirrored identical copies of the Brescia cycle, and share therefore the same orientation as the Verona illustrations. This double change in the orientation of the images, along with the close similarities and the shared variants, represents in my opinion a strong element to suggest the derivation of at least part of the Venice A images from Verona, through the mediation of Brescia. As seen in chapter III, the two editions also share a series of textual features that make their connection more evident. It is true, however, that the figurative composition of at least some of the illustrations of Venice A must have derived from a source other than the Brescia cycle. Several examples support this thesis (plates 26 and 27).

In the illustration of EZ9, 'De cane et alia cane' the door on the side of the ground floor has been replaced by a small grated window in the Brescia cycle, and the shape of the buildings is different. Furthermore, an urban background has been added and the dog's hair is spotted. The illustration in Venice A, on the other hand, almost entirely recalls, in reverse, the structure of the

[504] DONATI 1948, p. 66.

building in the Verona cycle, except for the opening on the façade of the building: this is a feature which the printer could not have found had his only source been the Brescia cycle. Nonetheless, the dog is spotted as in the Brescia cycle.

Similarly, the illustration of fable EZ13, 'De vulpe et aquila' lacks the element of the flying eagle in the Brescia cycle; an element which is however present in Verona, Naples and Venice A.

A third example is the illustration of the fable 'De musca et formica' (plates 27-27a). In the Verona edition a man struggles to keep a fly away from some food on a table, while an ant walks on the ground. In the Brescia cycle only the two insects appear and there is no man; this variant is found also in the Ulm edition. The designer of Venice A, instead, produces a faithful mirrored copy of the illustration contained in the Naples cycle, taking up even the tiniest details introduced by the Ulm illustrator, such as the rounded fan and the shapes of the vessels on the table.[505]

The only example mentioned by Donati to state the distance between Brescia and Venice A, that of fable EZ53, 'De luco et secure', also presents a similar case: while the image in the Brescia cycle derives from the Verona model, the one in Venice A faithfully reproduces, in reverse, the features of the Naples illustration.

Donati, however, states the impossibility of a direct derivation of the illustrations of Venice A from those of Naples: «[…] si potrebbe arguire che l'edizione Venezia, 20 novembre 1487, proviene da quella di Napoli, 13 febbraio 1485, ma ciò s'esclude soltanto confrontandole». This motivation is not convincing; furthermore, I have already demonstrated above in this chapter the existence of a figurative relationship between the illustrations of the *Vita Aesopi* printed by del Tuppo in 1485 and the lost cycle issued in the late 1480s by Benalius and Capcasa.[506] The style of the borders of the fables, made of four segments and mounted by a lunette with mythological characters, also reinforces the links between the two editions.

At this point, in order to explain the different influences which merge in the Venice A cycle, Donati hypothesises the existence of a series of lost editions preceding the Verona one: a first

[505] The illustrations of this scene in the Verona and Venice A cycles have the same orientation.
[506] See section IV.2.4 of this thesis.

edition, from which the Verona and Naples illustrations derived, and a second edition, which inspired the Brescia and Venice A cycle.

According to this analysis, resumed in the table of variants at the opening of this chapter, the terms of the situation can be summarised as below:

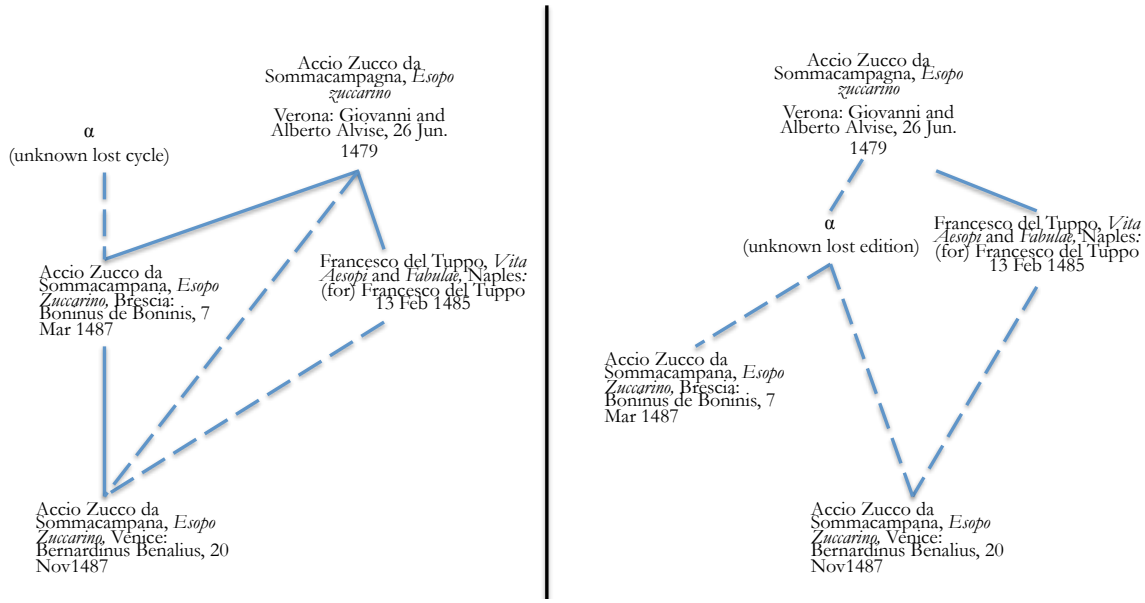
- most of the narrative vignettes included in the Brescia cycle are mirrored copies of the ones included in the Verona edition;
- most of the vignettes included in the Venice A cycle are mirrored copies of the Brescia ones, and therefore oriented as the ones in Verona;
- Brescia and Venice A contain variants that separate them from the rest of the iconographic tradition;
- some illustrations in Venice A contain elements derived from Verona which are missing in Brescia;
- some illustrations in Venice A contain elements derived from the Naples cycle which are absent in Brescia.

In this context, the already-mentioned appearance of one of the illustrations belonging to the cycle Venice A in the edition of the Italian vernacular version of the poem *Buovo di Antona*, printed in Venice by Hannibal Foxius on 2nd January 1487, does not really change the scenery.[507] The situation is intricate and Donati himself struggled to find a convincing solution. Furthermore, the assertion repeatedly made by him that all illustrations are 'copies' of lost earlier editions, a feature that he claimed to be able to distinguish through stylistic features, does not

[507] ISTC ib01275950 (see ESSLING 376 and SANDER 1433). The edition opens (a1v) with the woodcut later to be found in the November 1487 edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* to illustrate the fable 'De iuvene et thayde' (h8v). On this occasion, the illustration is surrounded by a border which, despite being one of the three employed by Benalius in his 1487 *Esopo* edition, was not the same one precisely surrounding this illustration. At first, the appearance of this narrative vignette and border in January 1487 might suggest that they had been extracted from an existing cycle, conceived and realised for the illustration of an edition of the fables which was likely to be already in existence and which therefore preceded the known one, dated only November 1487. However, Foxius' edition was in all likelihood dated *more veneto,* this meaning that the actual date of printing was probably January 1488. This leads me to think that the woodcut and border inserted in Foxius' edition may have been only lent to him by Benalius and then returned to the original owner.

seem to be particularly nt to the scope of this analysis. The subject depicted has, as already mentioned, a long and rich iconographic tradition, and it is therefore natural to suppose that each of the printed cycles had a model by which it was inspired. This, however, does not mean that the model had necessarily to be a printed one: given the time when these illustrations were issued, the interaction between printed and manuscript iconographic sources is still entirely conceivable. Further, the fact that all these illustrations probably had a model behind them, does not mean that illustrators had no space for the insertion of original features, or for slightly different interpretations of the subject.

All this seems to suggest two possible scenarios, which only a systematic analysis of the figurative manuscript transmission will confirm or contradict. First, the Brescia cycle was copied directly from Verona, with the insertion of elements derived from a different iconographic tradition, whether manuscript or printed. Venice A was then copied from Brescia, but with further contaminations from the Verona edition and from the Naples edition. A second option would imply that Venice A and Brescia had an antigraph in common, i.e. a now-lost printed edition derived from Verona with the introduction of some original features (the conjunctive variants shared by the two cycles), from which they derived separately, and Venice A with the contamination of the Neapolitan iconography. The two options are represented in the scheme below:



IV.3.5 Cycle 6: the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Manfredus de Bonellis

Cycle Venice B (6) also contains sixty-five narrative illustrations - one for each fable - plus a first one occupying the whole title page (a1r), and consisting of a central narrative scene (70 x 70 mm) portraying a teacher, identified as Aesop by the inscription above his desk, surrounded by his pupils, framed by a border of five segments. Similarly, the illustrations dedicated to the fables consist of one central narrative scene (c. 70 x 70 mm) surrounded by different combinations of borders.

The illustrations of Venice cycle B are certainly to be recognised as part of the iconographic tradition established by the Verona edition, and in particular many of them have a structure which corresponds, in reverse, to that of Venice A.

The idea that Venice A probably served as a medium between the illustrations of the Neapolitan edition and Venice B is supported not only by the overall stylistic similarities of the images but also by the fact that, as seen above, this is probably what happened for Benalius' illustrated edition of the *Vita Aesopi* as well.

Nonetheless, Bonellis' images also contain a series of features which derive directly from the Naples edition, without the mediation of Venice A.

Examples of this contamination are the judge represented as a monkey in fable EZ4, 'De cane et ove' (a5r), as well as the rounded fan used by the human character in EZ38, 'De musca et formica', to keep the fly away (p4r), and the presence of only two human figures in EZ56, 'De ventre pedibus et manibus' (82r).

Bonellis also introduced a series of new elements, which do not find a correspondence in any other Italian edition. This is, for instance, the case of the illustration of EZ44, 'De equo et asello' (f6r), where only one pair of animals is portrayed in the foreground: a choice that was then also adopted by the two following incunable editions printed in Milan in 1497 and 1498.[508]

Similarly, the substitution of the usual image of Accio Zucco dedicating his translation to Aesop in the title page seems somehow to mirror the intentions of the printer to shift the attention of the reader and the inspiration of the book from its value as a literary work, where the figure of the translator and of the author had an essential role, to its importance as a school-book. Hence, the idea of representing a teacher in the act of talking to his students.

This iconography was welcomed not only by Ercole Nani, when producing his close copy of Bonellis' editions in Bologna in 1494, but also by the Milanese printers of cycles 8 and 9.

The scene of the presentation of the translated book to the author was very likely introduced by the Verona 1479 edition, closely followed by cycles 4 and 5. The original introduction of the Ulm edition, i.e. the portrait of Aesop surrounded by the characters of his fables as opening image of the collection, was not picked up by any of the following Italian printers. The Mondovì cycle, which does not accompany a translation, simply opens with a vignette illustrating the prologue: two men picking flowers and fruits in a garden. The Naples cycle does not have an opening image, which, as seen above, was later re-introduced by Bonellis' set of illustrations (cycle 7), substituting the image of Accio Zucco and Aesop with one of Aesop, identified by the

[508] See below.

inscription on top of his desk,surrounded by pupils.

IV.3.6 Cycle 6a and the change of Bonellis' borders from 1493 to 1497

Bonellis printed the highest number of surviving Aesopian editions in the 15th century, and the evolution of his production deserves particular attention. In particular, a change in his use of illustrations is recorded between his 1493 and 1497 editions. Throughout the three editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis respectively in January and February 1491 and in August 1493, the same combinations of central narrative scenes and borders were reproduced in the examined copies.[509] However, when printing his last known incunable edition of the fables in 1497, Bonellis employed an introductory image of Aesop and his pupils which is different from the one used in the previous three editions, as well as in the 1492 and 1493 editions of the *Vita*. Further, in the 1497 edition the borders previously used by Bonellis in his Aesopian editions were substituted by new ones, which later reappear in Bonellis' 1502, 1508 and 1515 edition of the fables.[510] The central vignettes illustrating the fables remained instead those used for the previous editions.

This shift in Bonellis' 1493 and 1497 editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* was vaguely mentioned by Essling and Sander.[511] However, borders were a peculiar decorative element in Bonellis' practice, as well as in that of other printers operating in Venice at the time, and this circumstance deserves

[509] Some minor changes were only introduced in the text from one edition to the others.

[510] The design of the reproductions has been put in relationship already by Fava in 1939 with the work of the Venetian editor and designer Pietro Ciza, active in Bologna until the first quarter of the 16th century (see FAVA 1939, pp. 165-80). All the scenes in the Bolognese editions appear mirrored in comparison with Bonellis' ones and are almost identical in terms of iconographic composition and structure of the images. Nonetheless some minor modifications can be spotted in the transfer from the Venetian edition to the Bolognese one. In the fable, 'De mercatore et eius uxore', for instance, the tree and the hills, suggesting a countryside scenery, were substituted with some sketched battlements in the background. The merchant's wife's also hair appears slightly differently in Ciza's representation. From this close comparison, though, another element of change is suggested, which can perhaps be understood better from these following images.

[511] In describing the illustrations of the 1497 edition, the Prince of Essling noticed: «Bois de l'édition 31 janvier 1491, sauf quelques différence dans les encadrements»; Sander instead wrote: «Dans le corps de l'ouvrage, 65 vignettes encadrées de bordures ornamentales variées, de l'édit. 31.I.1491» (see ESSLING 363 and SANDER 69).

further consideration.[512] The significance of decorated borders in the practice of several Venetian 15th-century printers, including Bonellis, has to be put in relationship with the influence of renowned artistic personalities and workshops of the time, such as the so-called Pico Master, famous for the beautifully-decorated title pages that have been attributed to him.[513]

In the case of Bonellis' first set of borders, used in all Aesopian editions before 1497, it is not easy to establish whether the different segments composing each of the borders actually corresponded to different blocks of wood. However, as already noted in the *Catalogue,* each of the segments never appears in different combinations, and the distances between the segments in each combination never change. These two circumstances suggest in my opinion that all the segments composing each of the borders were originally part of one single carved woodblock.[514]

In a paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians (Loughborough, April 2017), I suggested the hypothesis that the change in Bonellis' use of borders during the years 1493 and 1497 might be somehow related to the appearance in those years of the illustrated edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Ercole Nani in Bologna in February 1494 (Cycle 6a).[515] Everything in this edition, including the text, the format, the design, the *mise en page,* and the images, is faithfully copied from Bonellis' first three 1490s editions. Some peculiarities contained in the text, already examined in chapter III, allowed me to establish a more precise connection between Nani's edition and Bonellis' 1493.[516] The illustrations in particular include the title page and sixty-five narrative scenes, all mirrored reproductions of those included

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[512] I am referring in particular to Johannes Hamman, active in Venice in the last twenty years of the 15th century, for which see ROGERS 1970, pp. 349-68. An analysis of the use of borders in some of Hamman's editions was conducted by PIAZZA 2012.

[513] On the Pico Master, his workshop, the fundamental features of his production and his influence on the contemporary and following developments of book decoration, see in particular ARMSTRONG 1990, pp. 7-39; the features and figurative evolution of the Pico Master's title pages have been examined again recently in ARMSTRONG 2015.

[514] In the edition by Ercole de Nani, this technique of production is lost, and all the borders are divided in at least four segments, as in this case. This has certainly to be put in relationship with the desire of producing a simpler, cheaper copy to be put on the market relatively quickly. Four pieces of wood instead of one to print a border were undoubtedly easier to make and also easier to substitute in case one got broken. Furthermore, in some cases they could be combined slightly differently from the original version. I suspect that this process of re-combination might also have contributed to protect the printer from accuses of plagiarism.

[515] ISTC ia00153500.

[516] See section III.3.1 of this thesis.

in cycle Venice B.

The only difference between the two editions concerns the borders. In particular, the ones including top, bottom, left and right margins, which in Bonellis' illustrations were most likely cut together in a single block of wood, were divided by Nani into separate block segments, normally one for each segment. This was probably a consequence of the less-advanced technical skills of Nani's workshop, as it would have been much more difficult to cut and carve all four margins from one single woodblock. Furthermore, it would have been much easier and cheaper to substitute one single margin, rather than the whole four-segment block, in case it got worn or broken (plate 28). This division of multi-segment borders into smaller units allowed the printer to use them in combinations which were from time to time slightly different from his model.

Why Bonellis decided to change all the borders surrounding the illustrations of the *Esopo zuccarino* in his later editions, while keeping the same central cuts, as well as a very similar textual structure, remains unknown. The hypothesis that for some reason he had lost, or sold, or lent only the borders and not the central narrative vignettes is certainly plausible, although not supported by evidence of those borders appearing in any other contemporary or following edition. One could at this point speculate that it took Nani's edition in 1494 to persuade Bonellis to innovate his following Aesopian editions through the insertion of completely new figurative borders, in order to distinguish them from the Bolognese imitation. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the tangibly higher quality of the new series of Bonellis' borders in terms of subjects portrayed and manufacturing.

IV.3.7 Cycle 7: the editions of the fables printed in Florence

The Florentine cycle of illustrations for the fables appears in its complete form in the edition

printed for Pacini in September 1496.[517] It includes sixty-five central narrative scenes illustrating the fables, (60 x 90 mm), all surrounded by a border (85 x 110 mm), and a first illustration (a1r) serving as title page and depicting an episode of Aesop's life.[518] The borders are made up of four segments, which are either entirely decorated with the same patterns, or with different patterns on the four sides. Despite some of the patterns looking closely similar, none of the segments are ever repeated more than once within the edition, which suggests that, as happened in the Mondovì cycle, the frames were not separated cuts mounted around the central vignette in the preparation of the printing *forme* but rather were part of the same block where the central narrative scene was also cut.[519] The production of this cycle of illustrations and of the editions including it, is related to the notary Pietro Pacini - a major figure of the Florentine printing environment, already mentioned in chapters I and II - whose career as a printer started around 1480 through a collaboration with the printing press of the Ripoli Monastery.[520]

An examination of the most noteworthy figurative variants collected in the table at the opening of this section highlights a series of elements which separate the Florentine cycle from the ones immediately preceding it, i.e. the Brescia, Venice A and Venice B cycles. On the other hand, conjunctive similarities connect the Florentine illustrations with those included in the Verona but most of all in the Naples cycles. Four cases in particular seem to be extremely significant:

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517 ISTC ia00153700, n° 62 in the *Catalogue*.

518 See the section above on the Italian cycles illustrating the *Vita Aesopi*.

519 This is reinforced by the fact that those of the woodcuts which were reused in the 1500 edition printed in Florence under the supervision of Pacini (ISTC ia00128400) appear again with the same border.

520 Pacini's name appears for the first time in the monastery's registers in December 1480: from that moment onwards he played the role of coordinator and was responsible for the printing process in general, but also for the distribution of the volumes and as a mediator between the main printer Fra' Domenico da Pistoia and other collaborators in the venture. His collaboration with the Monastery ended in 1484, when the printing activity of the monastery itself stopped owing to the death of its leader, Fra' Domenico da Pistoia. On the printing activity of the monastery, see CONWAY1999, with further bibliography. Many of the woodcut settings, which decorated 15th-century printed books, were probably realised following Pacini's instructions and inspiration. In particular, three editions published by or with the support of Pacini have been thought to represent the beginning of the popular xylographic tradition of vernacular Florentine editions: the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (Florence: Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri [for Piero Pacini], 27 July 1495; ISTC: ie00094000); the *De ludo scachorum* (Florence, Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1 Mar. 1493/94; ISTC: ic00419000) and this *Aesopus moralisatus*, which seems to have inaugurated a new mixture of stylistic features later bound to become a common characteristic of the early 16th-century woodcut cycles. On Pacini see at least the recent record by CASETTI BRACH 2014, available online with bibliography.

i) In the illustration of EZ19, 'De milvo et matre', the birds in the Florentine edition are perching on a tree, facing each other, as in cycles 2, 3 and 6 (Verona, Naples, Venice B); furthermore, a hand descending from the sky appears in the image. This hand is an element which was present in both cycles 2 and 3, but was later ignored by the illustrator working for Bonellis and is therefore missing in cycle 6 (plate 23a).

ii) The illustration of EZ56, 'De ventre pedibus et manibus', only depicts two human characters, as the corresponding image in the Naples cycle did, against the one included in cycle 2, 4, 5 (Verona, Brescia, Venice A).

iii) In the illustration of fable EZ32, 'De cervo et ove', the judge is standing, although not on the throne, as in cycles 1, 2, 3 and 6 (Mondovì, Verona, Naples and Venice B). In the illustration of fable EZ4, 'De cane et ove', the judge is not a donkey, as in cycles 2, 4, 5, and 6 (Verona, Brescia, Venice A and Venice B), but rather a monkey, an element which, as for what remains today, the designer of the woodcuts contained in Pacini's editions could have found only in the Neapolitan cycle.

iv) The construction of the Florentine version of the illustration of EZ7, 'De femina nubente furi', with particular reference to the element of the sun in the sky over the scene of the wedding, finds a precedent only in the Neapolitan edition (plate 31).

On top of these correspondences, a series of more generic similarities in the style and in the figurative features of the images, such as the detailed depiction of the landscape and the reduced presence of buildings in the background, as well as the fact that most of the illustrations which are part of the Florentine cycle are oriented in reverse in comparison with those of the Neapolitan one, strengthen the connection between the two. The hypothesis already formulated in section IV.2 on the basis of the few examples left of the supposedly Florentine cycle of illustrations of the *Vita,* finds here further confirmation and at the same time allows the

conclusion that the illustrators working for Pacini very likely had a full copy of del Tuppo's edition, including both the *Vita* and the *Fabulae,* at their disposal and used it as their main model.

IV.3.8 Cycles 8 and 9: the editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Milan

The sixty-seven illustrations of the *Esopo zuccarino* of the cycle Milan A (one for each of the sixty-six fables, plus the title-page) seem less elaborate in terms of composition than those of the *Vita* included in the same edition. They consist in one central narrative scene (80 x 80 mm) framed by only four borders (upper border, left border, lower border, right border), against the six borders framing the vignettes of the *Vita* in the same edition. The two title-pages of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae* are however identical, obtained through the reuse of the same centrepiece, depicting Aesop and his students, and of the same full page border, which is designed and carved in one piece of wood.

Cycle Milan B also includes sixty-six vignettes for the fables plus one on the title page depicting Aesop and his pupils, all derived from the 1497 cycle through a relatively flexible process of interpretation already illustrated for the *Vita.*

As is apparent from the table at the beginning of this chapter, these two editions agree on all the iconographic variants which were considered most significant in my analysis. They also share meaningful similarities with cycle Venice B, and these help to identify their figurative source. In particular, in the illustration of EZ7, 'De foemina nubente furi', they both adopt the organisation of the scene first introduced in print by Bonellis, with the bagpipe player sitting on a tree on one side of the image, an element which is not found in any other of the earlier editions (plates 29-31). A similar case is that of EZ19, 'De milvo et matre', where the Milanese illustrators followed the construction of the scene already adopted by the Verona cycle, with the two birds perched on a tree and facing each other, but the image does not contain the element of the hand descending

from the sky, which is instead present in the Verona, Naples and Florence cycles, while missing in cycle Venice B (plates 22, 23 and 23a). Almost all the illustrations contained in Milan A are mirrored copies of Venice B. Those few which are not mirrored are still very accurate reproductions of their model. The only significant difference in terms of figurative representation is the judge of the fable EZ32, 'De cervo et ove', where the judge, a wolf, is represented while sitting and holding a stick in the Milanese edition, while only part of his right profile was visible in Venice B.

All the images in Milan B are mirrored copies of Milan A, and the change in the iconography of EZ32 is copied as well.

IV.3.9 Four editions with one illustration only

The remaining four illustrated editions of the fables do not contain a developed programme of illustrations, but rather one image only, which is used either in the opening or after the conclusion. In particular, the two editions by Bernardinus de Misintis printed in Brescia in March 1495 and September 1497, the first of which he produced in collaboration with Angelo Britannico, from the powerful family of printers in Brescia, contain the *Aesopus moralisatus* accompanied by a commentary in prose.[521] The other two editions containing one illustration only are the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed by Boninus de Boninis in Brescia in August 1489 and the edition printed in Naples around 1495, assigned to Christian Preller, which contains Valla's Latin translation of the Greek fables.[522]

The first two of these editions begin with the same iconographic subject, i.e. a scholar sitting in front of a desk and writing, although the two woodcuts used are different. The second one, which appears in the 1497 edition, is larger as well as more accurate and elaborate in the representation of the scholar and of details such as the pattern of the floor and that of the ceiling,

[521] Nos. 58 and 65 in the *Catalogue*; for the Britannico brothers and the circumstances of production of incunable editions of Aesop in Brescia see what was said above in sections III.1 and III.3.
[522] Nos. 57 and 43 in the *Catalogue*.

and the design of the flowers and fruits which are visible both inside and outside, in contrast with the simplicity of the figure used in 1495 which is smaller and portrayed in less detail.

The edition of Lorenzo Valla's translation of the fables opens with the image of a man kneeling on the floor and portrayed in the act of offering something to a second man, sitting on a throne. A third young man, of whom only the top part of the chest and the face are visible, observes the scene from a corner behind the shoulders of the man sitting on the throne. When contextualised among other Aesopian editions, and particularly among those containing the translation by Accio Zucco, this image could be interpreted as a coherent development of the subject of the translator dedicating the book to the author.

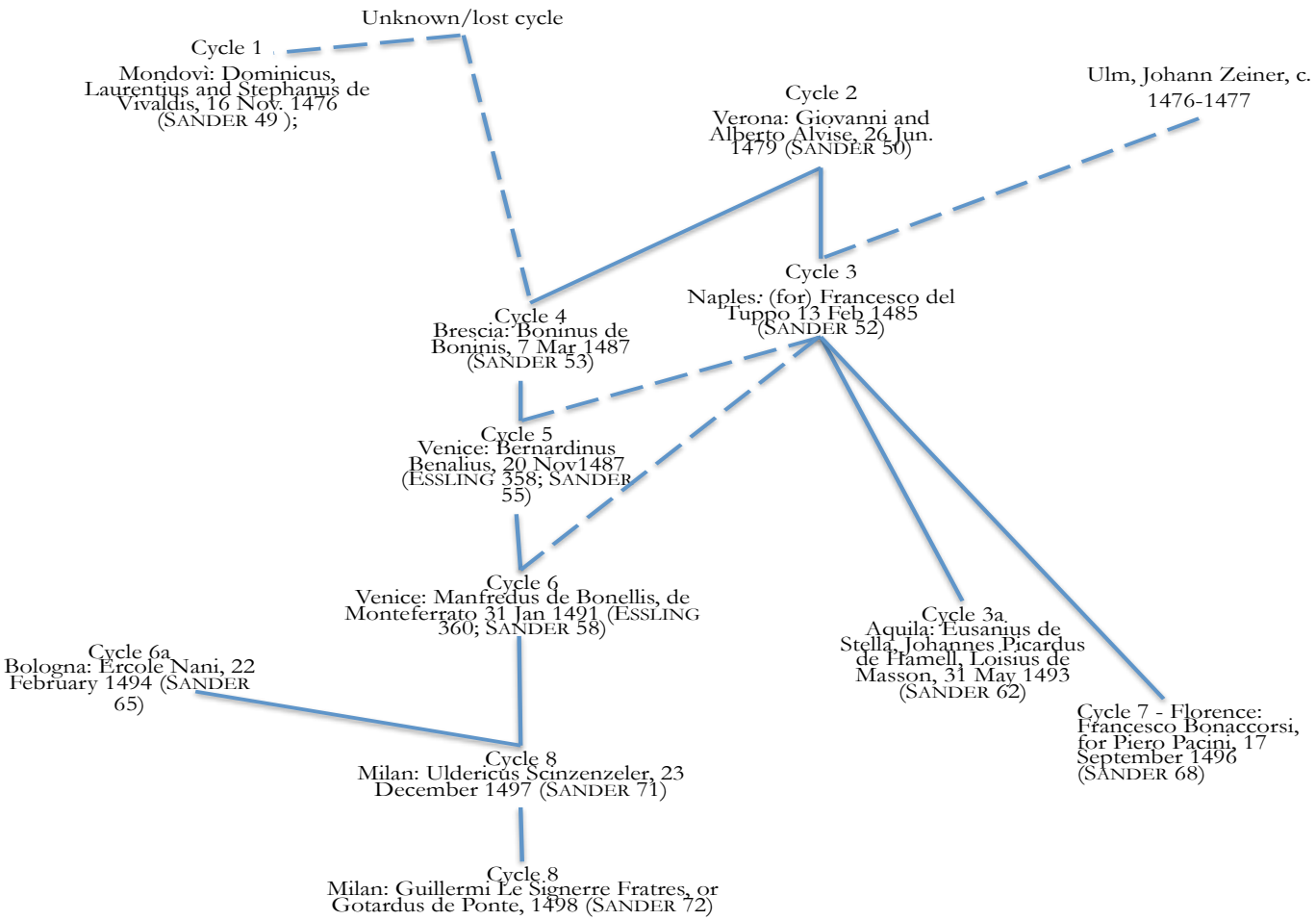
Lastly, the edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed by Boninis in 1489 contains only the woodcut of the classical capital, extracted from cycle 4 of the illustrations of the *Esopo zuccarino,* by the same printer.

IV.3.10 *Stemma illustrationum* of the Italian incunable editions of the *Fabulae*

Owing to the higher number of Italian cycles illustrating the *Fabulae* printed in the 15th century, the definition of a *stemma illustrationum* to visualise the transmission of the iconographic tradition is undoubtedly more intricate and subject to contamination than the one drawn for the *Vita Aesopi.* As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this will also have to be put in relation with the multiplicity of illustrated manuscripts of the fables, witnessing the existence of a rich iconographic tradition that preceded the introduction of print, and certainly continued to exist along with the printed examples for at least some decades. These circumstances must have provided the designers and printers with more possible sources of contamination, particularly when compared with the more limited existing figurative tradition of the *Vita.* In general, it is

possible to distinguish among figurative cycles those which constitute close copies of existing models, such as cycles 4, 6a, 8 and 9, and cycles which started from a model but expanded it with several elements of innovation. What emerges from my analysis is that the printers responsible for the cycles belonging to the latter category, such as cycle 3, 5 and 6, all seem to have relied on different printed sources in the arrangement of their figurative repertoire, much more than they did for the selection of their text. One could wonder at this point whether this multiplicity of choices was determined by a specific preference of the printer or, more plausibly, in my opinion, by practical circumstances. If, as it was likely, the design of the illustration was divided between more than one person, so that each designer was assigned a number of images to draw, it does not seem inconceivable that, rather than having different copies of the same edition used as models, they might well have been given what was available, i.e. copies of different editions.

Stemma illustrationum of the Italian incunable editions of the *Fabulae*



In his study on the *Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop,* Perry insisted on the tendency of Byzantine scribes to create their own collections of fables, extracting them from different sources. Perry placed this practice in relation with the handy nature of small textual units such as the fables and with the fact that «a definitive edition of the fables never existed, at least none that was universally recognised as such and as coming from the pen of Aesop himself».[523] Perry was looking at the transmission of the Aesopian *corpus* from a classicist's point of view, and his enquiry mostly involved its early stages, in classical times. This idea that Aesopian texts, and particularly the fables, were not considered as part of a *canon*, was extended also to the later vernacular manuscript production by scholars such as Branca and Richardson. The latter, in particular, used examples drawn from Branca's analysis of the Tuscan version of the fables to support the thesis that «The further a work was, in its readers' perception, from the literary canon, the more subject it was to reworking».[524]

In this thesis, I assessed the state of the transmission of the Aesopian *corpus* in print in Italy immediately after the introduction of the new medium, in the last thirty years of the 15th century. In so doing, I aimed at providing new elements to increase our understanding of the impact that movable type printing had on the production and circulation of a group of texts which represents one of the milestones of Western culture. The geographical boundary of this analysis has been Italy, where one third of the Aesopian incunable editions surviving today was produced: more in quantity and more diverse in quality than in any other European country.

Through a comprehensive textual and iconographic analysis of all surviving editions of Aesopian texts printed in Italy, I have demonstrated that the trend illustrated by Perry, Branca and

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[523] See PERRY 1936, p. 73.
[524] See RICHARDSON 1994, p. 21.

Richardson did not stop in the 15th century. On the contrary, the introduction of printing had an effect of amplification on the production and circulation of Aesopian texts, stimulating not only the production of a high number of illustrated and non-illustrated editions, but also the composition of a variety of new rewritings, translations, elaborations. These considerations on the Aesopian *corpus* ultimately support the idea that the introduction of printing in the West, with its technical ability of producing potentially endless copies of the same text, with the same layout and illustrations, printed and circulated at the same time throughout a vast geographic area, did not correspond to a standardization in the production of European written culture.

As stated in the *Introduction*, the most important criterion for the inclusion of a 15th-century printed text in the examined *corpus* consists in its direct link with the authority of Aesop himself. On this basis, texts appearing in seventy editions were included in this analysis: all those printed in Italy in the 15th century, which contain an explicit reference to Aesop as author of the text, or of the original version of the text that they were transmitting. Among these, only two editions contain solely vernacular texts, namely the edition of the vernacular version of the *Aesopus moralisatus* accomplished by Facius Caffarellus from Faenza and printed towards the end of 1470s, and the composite edition printed in Florence for the notary and editor Petrus Pacini in 1496.[525]

One edition, printed in 1498 and probably in Venice, contains only the Greek versions of the *Vita Aesopi* and the *Fabulae,* accompanied by an introductory letter in Latin and a printing privilege for Greek texts, while two more editions, respectively printed around 1477 and in 1497, contain both Greek versions of the text and their Latin translations.[526]

The remaining sixty-five editions are divided between those containing Latin-only texts and those which contain a combination of Latin and vernacular, the latter usually taking the form of translations, commentaries or introductory texts. This simple summary suffices to highlight how one of the most interesting features of Aesopian incunables can be identified in its

[525] Nos. 15 and 61 in the *Catalogue.*
[526] Nos. 67, 14 and 62 in the *Catalogue.*

multilingualism: Aesop appears to be one of the very few texts for which we have evidence that it had a printed circulation in Latin, Greek and the vernacular before 1501.

As far as the *Vita Aesopi* is concerned, apart from some less popular 15th-century abridgements, the long versions contained in Italian incunable editions are essentially of three different kinds, i.e. the Greek life, in the version attributed to Planudes, the Latin translation by Rinucius Aretinus and its Latin and vernacular adaptation by Francesco del Tuppo. The main difference of the last consists in its division into episodes, which made it an ideal text to be illustrated.

The systematic analysis of the fifty-two texts included in the *corpus*, and the comprehensive reconstruction of their characteristics and context of production, carried out in chapter II, allowed me to highlight the importance of less-known figures such as translators, editors and dedicatees, in the production and circulation of the *corpus* in the Renaissance. Several of these figures certainly deserve to be better explored by scholars in the future. Among others, the humanist Omnibonus Leonicenus, whose Greek-to-Latin translation of the fables was printed at least twice, one of them probably while the author was still alive, but remains largely unknown to this day; Iohannes Franciscus Turrianus, the dedicatee of the first edition containing the Greek texts of the *Vita* and *Fabulae* and an official at Galeazzo Maria Sforza's court, whose support was fundamental to Accursius for the printing of most of his first editions; the late 14th-century author Facius Caffarellus, author of one of the first vernacular versions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* which stands out as a contemporary prose counterpart of the very popular *Esopo zuccarino,* by Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna; the Neapolitan editor and writer Francesco del Tuppo who, very likely stimulated by the circulation of printed editions of both Aesop's life in Rinucius Aretinus' translation, and of the *Esopo zuccarino,* put together the first Latin and vernacular compilation of the two, which had a major impact both on the text and illustrations of many following editions.[527] But also Franciscus Marius Grapaldus, professor of humanities and literature in Parma and author, in the 1480s, of an abridged version of the *Vita Aesopi* which

[527] While this thesis was being written, the critical edition of del Tuppo's *Vita Aesopi* and *Fabulae,* based on the 1485 edition, was published (ROVERE 2017).

represents one of the many original contributions to the *corpus* likely to have been stimulated by the advent of print; and the humanist Domitius Palladius Soranus, born in Lazio but with close contacts with the Venetian humanistic environment, and possibly the mind behind the first attempts at combining humanistic texts and contemporary authors in late 15th-century Aesopian editions to promote the work of the poet Laurentius Abstemius.

Particularly significant appears to be the role of dedication letters which are often found at the opening of 15th-century Aesopian translations. As noted by Brian Richardson, these texts were generally meant to respond to the need to generate authority for a text and to defend it against possible criticism. Further, such introductions clearly aimed at raising the public consideration of the text, by associating it with noteworthy cultural and political personalities of the time: an operation which seemed particulary important after the introduction of printing, when the content of the book and of the letter was going to be ingested by thousands of readers.[528] Aesopian texts being often perceived as too simple, or childish, translators such as Rinucius even questioned themselves upon the appropriateness of their choices of one dedicatee rather than the other.[529]

While highlighting and discussing these and more figures, chapter II follows the chronological order in which texts were printed for the first time, building a narrative which begins in the early 1470s with the publication of the humanistic translation of Aesop's fables accomplished by Leonicenus, one of the pupils of Victorinus Feltrensis and Guarinus, and ends in the shadow of Aldus Manutius, with the mention of the privilege for printing Greek texts claimed and obtained from the Venetian government in 1498 by Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius.[530] In between these two circumstances, a mass of authors, editors, texts, ideas and relationships develops, involving the extremely popular tradition of the medieval *Aesopus moralisatus* and of the *Auctores octo* as well as renowned Greek-to-Latin

[528] See RICHARDSON 2018, pp. 13-32.
[529] See sections II.5-II.12 of this study.
[530] See section II.52 for the circumstances of this privilege.

translations by Laurentius Valla and Rinucius Aretinus, popular vernacular rewritings such as the *Esopo zuccarino* and the *Esopo toscano,* commentaries, and a large number of letters of introduction, accompanying verses, and epigrams. In particular, it appears evident how many of these texts were conceived by contemporary authors, who were probably reading Aesopian texts in printed editions and writing for the press: it is the case, among the others, of Leonicenus, Grapaldus, Abstemius, del Tuppo, Soranus.

Chapter III brings to scholarship new information about the transmission in print of many Aesopian texts, which has not been systematically considered so far. I consider to be particularly interesting the identification of several separative variants in the only two surviving editions of the Latin translation by Omnibonus Leonicenus, as well as the new links established between the *Esopo toscano* and the vernacular translation printed in Naples by Francesco del Tuppo in 1485, the highlighting of possible cases of contamination between different traditions which brought to the addition of one extra fable at the end of the *Esopo zuccarino* in the two Milanese editions printed in 1497 and 1498 and the identification of at least nine different textual groups among the editions which had hitherto simply been classified as *Aesopus moralisatus*.

Along with the specific novelties brought to the knowledge of every single text, I believe that one of the most significant accomplishments of chapter III is to demonstrate how, even after the introduction of printing, in most cases, and particularly for the *Fabulae,* the form of the text and its relationship with the paratext were always left open to a certain degree of modification. This aspect particularly highlights the creative role of editors such as Accurius, the Griffisolis brothers, del Tuppo, Pacini, and Scinzenzeler, in putting together new editions, often producing original paratextual material or intervening directly on the structure and language of the collections of fables themselves: some of the novelties they introduced influenced much of the later production and contributed to shape the literary image of Aesop in the Renaissance.

Similarly, this work also challenges the traditional views of scholarship as far as the transmission of iconography in the illustrated editions is concerned. While many scholars have insisted on the

predominance of the iconographic tradition established by the 1479 edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona over all the later ones, in chapter IV I suggest the coexistence, in 15th-century printed illustrated editions of Aesopian texts, of different iconographic traditions, through a systematic analysis of all the main iconographic variants in the illustrated editions both of the *Vita* and of the *Fabulae.* In particular, I have highlighted for the first time the importance of the iconography transmitted by the two editions printed by the Vivalda brothers in Mondovì in 1476 and 1481 also for the following editions, and examined several cases of contamination, where in the same cycle illustrations inspired by different branches of the iconographic tradition coexist. While previous scholarship, and in particular Donati, found very complicated explanations to these cases of contamination, postulating the existence of a series of now lost editions used as antigraphs, I formulated for the first time the hypothesis that these circumstances might be related to the technical aspects of producing a printed edition. When a printer wanted a cycle of vignettes copied, especially if they were as many as those illustrating the more than sixty fables of the *Esopo zuccarino*, he would probably have had more than one person working at the same time, and the images to be copied divided between different designers, as it is suggested by the different styles often found in the illustrations. In this context it is plausible that, rather than all having different copies of the same edition as a model, each designer had an illustrated edition of the fables to use as an antigraph for his work, this resulting in the mixture of images copied from different sources in the final cycle.

To carry out this analysis, I identified a series of cycles out of the twenty-four illustrated editions of Aesopian texts, and examined their specific iconographic features and mutual relationships.

In the *Catalogue*, particular attention was also dedicated to tracking the noteworthy cases of reuse and circulation of the blocks in other Aesopian and non-Aesopian editions, and to the count, for each edition, of the total number of impressions and of woodblocks used, which provides an insight into the equipment of each printer and how it was used. This operation also brings to the surface a question still unanswered by historians of typography and illustations: in many cases the

same border was printed multiple times within the same printing sheet. How did printers used their woodblocks? Did they have multiple identical copies of the same border, which they could use simultaneously in one impression, or did they reuse the same single block in successive stages of printing of one sheet? The question is still open but I hope that my analytical approach will contribute to a clearer understanding of this matter.

Of the seventy surviving Italian 15th-century editions, a total of more than 540 known copies exist.[531] The average rate of survival is, from a strictly mathematical point of view, of around 7.70 copies per edition. As a matter of fact, though, forty-four editions survive in less than five copies; ten survive in six to ten copies; seven in ten to twenty copies and only six editions survive in more than twenty copies. Among the editions with the highest survival rate there are two famous illustrated ones, the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona by Giovanni and Alvise (June 1479), and the *Vita* and *Fabulae* printed in Naples for Francesco del Tuppo in 1485.[532] The general tendency of survival can be assessed on an average of three or four copies per edition.

Although provenance research never represented the main focus of this thesis, in order to analyse the features of the editions included I personally inspected at least one copy, either physical or digital, of all of them, for a total of ninety-eight copies included and described in the *Catalogue*. This aspect of the work has brought to light several cases of provenance evidence, and interesting previous owners that suggest how much this research path would be worth systematic exploration. There are obviously many cases of anonymous annotations based on considerations of grammatical, literary or metrical nature, as well as notes of synonyms and remarks on the text, or on the quality of the translation, if the case. Very common are also the moral comments, which take the form of both quotations from the text itself on the margins or of the annotation of moral thoughts inspired by a particular passage.

[531] Source: ISTC (last verified: May 2018); copies were counted manually. A provisional count of the copies for the relevant editions is given in the attached charts.
[532] More information on each edition will be found below.

All these circumstances, involving editions in Latin, Greek and the vernacular, confirm that in the second half of the 15th century Aesop remained an author in use for education, moral development and literacy in different languages, with different purposes including school, private study and personal reading, and by a wide range of audiences. Among the former owners who left inscriptions, drawings or coats of arms on the copies, are ordinary people as well as politicians and noblemen of the time. Only to mention a few, the ownership note on one of the only three surviving copies of the edition of Omnibonus Leonicenus' translation of the Greek fables, probably printed in Venice around 1470, reads «Iohannes Franciscus Picus Mirandolanus», the Lord of Mirandola and nephew of the more famous nobleman and philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.[533] The coats of arms of Federico I Gonzaga (1441-1484), Marquis of Mantua, and his wife Margaret von Wittlesbach of Bavaria, were left on their copy of the *Esopo zuccarino,* from the 1479 Verona edition and now owned by the Biblioteca Teresiana in Mantua.[534] Several copies, both of illustrated and non-illustrated editions, contain drawings, scribbles or rudimentary colouring of the woodcuts. For instance, the Huntington Library copy of the edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in October 1483 and attributed to the Ripoli press, contains a series of accurate, although very rudimentary, drawings with the application of watercolour, which figuratively represent the interactions between the characters, also through the use of captions (plate 32).[535]Noteworthy is also the case of the Tuscan judge and writer Giuliano Guizelmi da Prato, whose name and annotations are found in two copies of different editions of Aesopian Italian incunables, respectively one of Rinucius Aretinus' translation of the *Vita* and *Fabulae,* very likely printed in Rome in 1475, and a copy of Valla's translation, printed together with Laurentius Abstemius' *Apologi centum* in Venice in 1495 by Iohannes Tacuinus.[536] As noted in the *Catalogue*, Guizelmi's ownership and his extensive moral annotations in both Aesopian

533 ISTC ia00108500, n° 1 in the *Catalogue;* the copy is Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Pal. 80.
534 ISTC ia00148000, n° 18 in the *Catalogue.*
535 ISTC ia00125000, n° 31 in the *Catalogue*; the copy is San Marino, Huntington, 99969.
536 ISTC ia00099500, n° 8 in the *Catalogue*; the copy is Berlin, SB, Inc. 8° 3393; and ISTC ia00010000, n° 58 in the *Catalogue*; the copy is Florence, BNCF, Magl. L.5.19.

editions appear to be particularly interesting when considering that at the beginning of the 16th century he was about to complete a work on the education of children, 'Regulae quibus pueri diriguntur ad bene vivendum', and Aesop very likely represented one of his sources for this composition.

Italian Aesopian incunables were also used outside Italy or by non-Italian annotators, as witnessed by the only extant copy of the *Aesopus moralisatus* attributed to Jacobus Rubeus and probably printed around 1476 which bears notes by a North-European, probably German hand, including two 'Hymna ad St. Anna' copied on the final flyleaves.[537]

The methodology for reaching the objectives of this thesis was largely analytical and based on the direct examination of the primary sources, namely of at least one copy of all the surviving editions included in the researched *corpus,* and on bibliographic and textual comparison among them.

This operation brought me to access, either in person or through digital reproductions, editions that had never been considered specifically by scholars, and many features of which had remained hitherto virtually unknown. This is true, for instance, for most of the twenty-two editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* surviving in unique copies, but also for editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* and of Rinucius and Valla's translations. For several of them, the pictures I sent to the team of the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke allowed their research team to classify the types for the first time, which in itself represents a valuable contribution to the advancement of scholarship. This operation was done in particular for editions ia00103500, ia00124000, ia00128200, ia00128000 and ia00153700.[538]

This study is the result of an extensive operation of collecting and comparing editions and copies. For the time being, I decided to favour the construction of a complete picture of the *corpus*, including at least one copy per edition. However, my thesis demonstrates that in many cases, a systematic survey of all existing copies will be the only way to fully understand the genesis of

[537] ISTC ia00123520, n° 11 in the *Catalogue*; the copy is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 15. G. 12.
[538] Nos. 48, 25, 59, 51 and 61 in the *Catalogue*.

each edition and the printer's practice. This is particularly true for editions such as the illustrated ones printed in 1493 and 1497 by Bonellis, in which the use of illustrations, and particularly of borders, changes from one copy to the others.[539]

In addition to the new elements that this thesis brings to scholarship, we are now also able to focus more clearly on what still remains to be done. On this note, I envisage at least four paths for future investigation, which could fill gaps in scholarship and further our knowledge of the production, reception and circulation of Aesopian texts in the Renaissance.

First, a systematic work of recognition and cataloguing of the material and textual features of all manuscripts transmitting Aesopian texts produced between the 13th and the 16th centuries. This operation would unveil crucial information on the way these texts were actually read, which were the texts circulating with them, on their intended and actual audience, maybe on their prices and on the way they were bought, sold, used and exchanged among readers. All aspects that are, for the time being, still unclear.

Second, an extension of the work that I have carried forward, focussing exclusively on Italian editions, to all editions printed in Europe before 1501. As this study clearly demonstrates, many of these editions have never been really considered in detail by scholars, and much about their bibliographic, textual and iconographic features, as well as about the circumstances of their production, remains unknown.

Third, a systematic investigation about the use and circulation of incunable editions, both Italian and European. With this thesis, I have provided an in-depth analysis of the bibliographical aspects of Italian Aesopian editions, of the transmission of the texts they contain, of the woodcuts that were used to illustrate them, and of the context of their production. However, we still do not know who was reading these texts and using these books. A research project focusing on the recording and interpretation of provenance evidence found in the books themselves, as well as in library inventories, booksellers' stocklists and ledgers such as the ones briefly

[539] See records nos. 53 and 63 in the *Catalogue* for a more extensive description of the use of illustrations.

mentioned in the *Introduction*, would eventually provide an extensively documented insight on how and by whom one of the milestones of Western culture was approached during the Renaissance period. It would also broaden our understanding of the impact that printing had on the circulation of culture at all social levels in the first decades after its introduction in the Western world and on how the presence or absence of images influenced the reception of early printed books.

Fourth, a comprehensive work concerning the production and circulation of Aesopian texts in manuscript and in print in the 16th century, which is also still lacking. Considering that, as seen in the *Introduction,* Aesop was part of the reading, and also part of the literary production of figures of major cultural importance, such as Leonardo da Vinci and Luther, it would be of great importance to be able to better understand how Aesop was read, printed and copied after 1500.

The paths for future research are visibly many, wide and long to pursue. This does not come as a surprise, when considering the width, variety and complexity of the Aesopian *corpus*, and its importance in the development of Western culture. In this context, my hope is that this thesis might constitute a valuable benchmark and a useful working tool in the exploration of the topics listed above; and prove to be an effective contribution to the advancement of academic studies in this field.

15th-century printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts

Catalogue and analysis of the textual and iconographic transmission within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project

vol. II

Appendix, Bibliography and Plates

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages
University of Oxford – Trinity Term 2018

⌘ *Appendix*

Descriptive catalogue of 15th-century printed Italian editions of Aesopian texts

This *Catalogue* lists and describes the seventy 15th-century printed editions that constitute the primary sources of my research. Its contents are based on first-hand, direct examination. Each edition is presented in chronological order. Every record is structured in different sections, i.e.:

- information about date of printing, author and title;
- general bibliographical and typographical information, including printer, standard bibliographic references, format, number of leaves, collation, average number of lines printed per page, type;
- two sections to register the presence of printed 'Initials' and 'Titles';
- 'Sequence of the fables' and/or 'Sequence of the episodes of the *Vita*';
- 'Remarks and transmission';
- 'Extant copies';
- 'Examined copies':
- 'Provenance notes'.

Records describing illustrated editions also include three more sections, namely:

- 'Location of the illustrations in the book';
- 'Use of the illustrations';
- 'Cases of reuse or copy of the illustrations'.

Date, author and title generally follow the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) format; typographical information and information on the collation, number of leaves and number of lines per page is based on the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW). When the attribution of an edition is uncertain, I ultimately relied on GW's typographical analysis.

The section 'Textual content' contains a detailed list of each textual unit included in the edition, comprising primary and secondary works, introductory texts and other paratextual material. Each text is identified and the transcription of its *incipit* and *explicit* is given. In the 'Sequence of the fables and/or of the episodes of the *Vita*', fables and episodes of the *Vita* are referred to through the numbers assigned in chapter II. The titles and the foliation are given within round brackets if they are printed, in square brackets if missing, inferred or handwritten in examined copy. Titles are transcribed only if they present major differences from the corresponding titles given in chapter II, and can therefore be considered of philological interest. Variations in the order of the fables or of the episodes of the *Vita* are highlighted in bold.

The main textual variants and some essential considerations on the features of the texts transmitted in each edition are recorded in the field dedicated to 'Remarks and transmission'. Information given in this field constitutes the basis of the textual analysis carried out in my thesis and is usually commented upon more extensively in the relevant sections of chapter III.

The sections 'Extant copies', 'Examined copies' and 'Provenance notes' record the number of extant copies as well as the location and provenance information of those that I personally examined. Locations and shelfmarks of each copy are given according to the section 'Citations of libraries and book repositories', at the beginning of my thesis.

If an edition is illustrated, three dedicated fields record the 'Location of illustrations in the book', the 'Use of illustrations' and the 'Cases of reuse', the latter specifically dedicated to list the multiple occurrences of one block in other editions. Illustrated editions are marked with a star (*) in the Table of contents at the beginning of in volume I and in the *Catalogue*.

The data gathered in this *Catalogue* bring together, with the necessary adjustments and changes, the work I did over the past years using some of the digital tools for recording and analysing data developed by the 15cBOOKTRADE. In particular, the description of the textual content comes in all cases from the corresponding Text-Inc records, created by myself.[540] The provenance

[532] The Text-Inc number is given, together with the ISTC and GW number, at the beginning of each record. See Text-Inc at http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/.

information of many of the examined copies was recorded in the respective Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) records, and hopefully more MEI records will be created in the future on the basis of the data gathered in this thesis.[541] The information recorded in the sections dedicated to the illustrations was collected with the help of the 15cILLUSTRATION (15cI) database.[542]

As already mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, for all the editions listed in the *Catalogue* only ISTC and GW numbers are given, plus the Text-Inc number. It is intended that further reference to other standard tools for cataloguing incunable editions, as well as reference to more specific bibliography (essays, articles etc.) can be accessed through these three main sources. Therefore, other references are only mentioned when expressly relevant for my analysis.

Editorial note to the *Catalogue*

Large parts of the *Catalogue*, particularly in sections such as 'Textual content', 'Remarks and transmission' and 'Provenance evidence', consist of transcription of either portions of printed text contained in the examined editions, or of manuscript notes, library stamps, *ex-libris* contained in the examined copies. In transcribing these sources, I have usually applied the following criteria:

- I have normalised the use of capital letters and punctuation according to the current custom, e.g. 'LAURENTIUS ABSTEMIUS OCTAVIAno UBALDINO COMITI MERCATELLI S.P.D.' transcribed as 'Laurentius Abstemius Octaviano Ubaldino comiti Mercatelli s.p.d.';[543]
- When transcribing dates in Roman numbers, I have usually opted for lowercase letters;

[541] The MEI number is given, when available, next to the shelfmark of the corresponding copy in the section 'Examined copies'. See MEI at https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search.
[542] See the 15cI at http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/.
[543] Edition n. 69 in the *Catalogue*.

- In the presence of unambiguous abbreviations and / or contractions – such as 'dni' for 'domini' –, as well as of the most common abbreviation signs, I have expanded them with no indications;
- The explanation of more complex or ambiguous abbreviations is given in round brackets, e.g. 'ad S(er)colla' in the transcription of the inscription on copy Milan, BNB, AM X 78;[544]
- I have integrated parts of the text, titles or leaf numbers which are absent or currently illegible in the source in square brackets. Thus, in the section 'Textual content', square brackets are used to indicate inferred foliation and to provide an introductory description of a textual unit, when this description was not given by the printer in the title or in the editorial note. For instance, if an edition of Accio Zucco's *Esopo zuccarino* begins at leaf a1r straight with the text, and with no indications by the printer about the work or its author, this *Catalogue* would state: a1r – [Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: etc…;
- If the author and title of the work were indicated by the printer in the title or in the editorial note, or in general if a title or an editorial note are present, they are transcribed between single inverted commas;
- Among the quotations, I used guillemets («») to transcribe portions of the printed text, such as *incipit, explicit* and variants;
- Single inverted commas (''), as mentioned above, indicate printed paratextual material, such as titles, editorial notes, printed initials etc.;
- I used double inverted commas ("") when transcribing portions of text which were added to a certain copy after the process of printing: this category includes manuscript annotations but also the transcription of library stamps and *ex-libris*;

[544] Edition n. 21 in the *Catalogue*.

- I did not intervene on the morphology of the words neither on their local nuances, rather transcribing the sources with strict adherence; mistakes by printers or scribes are highlighted by the use of *sic,* in round brackets.

In addition to the seventy editions listed and described below, ISTC records one more Aesopian Italian edition, assigned to Boninus de Boninis and supposedly printed in Brescia around 1487.[545] The only two copies that ISTC records as witnesses of this undated Aesop are presented as belonging to the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, and to the Library of Congress in Washington DC. However, in the course of my research, I verified that the Cini copy of this supposed second Boninis edition is instead a copy of the March 1487 edition by the same printer. I suppose that the misunderstanding came from the fact that the colophon, where the name of the printer and the place of printing are mentioned, is on leaf m8v, whereas the text actually ends at leaf n3v with the closing of the table of contents.

In an email exchange with Michael North, Head of Reference and Reader Services, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, he confirmed that the Washington copy of the book as well has the colophon on leaf m8v, and is dated 7 March 1487. [546] Therefore, out of the total three editions of Aesopian texts currently attributed by ISTC to Boninis, only two have been considered for the scope of this research.[547]

⌘ Note to the *Plates*

The plates presented at the end of volume II of this study are related to different aspects of the analysis of the illustrations included in 15th-century printed Italian Aesopian editions. Reference to the plates is made in the relevant passages of chapter IV and of the *Catalogue,* in round

[545] ISTC ia00150000. In the same year, Boninis printed his first edition of the *Esopo zuccarino*, dated in the colophon 7 March 1487 and recorded as n° 38 in this *Catalogue* (ISTC ia00149000).
[546] E-mail received on 17th May 2016.
[547] Nos. 38 and and 42 in this *Catalogue.*

brackets. Each plate contains one or more images. For each image, the number of the edition in which it is contained is given according to the sequence of the *Catalogue*. For the sake of clarity, bibliographical information such as author, title and imprint are also repeated every time. Information on the copy from which the image was taken is included only in cases of comparison between different copies of the same edition.

⚜ 1) c. 1470/1471 – Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Omnibonus Leonicenus)

[Venice: Christophorus Valdarfer] (ISTC ia00108500; GW 333; Text-Inc: tia00108500).
Format: 4°; 42 leaves. Collation: [a-c^{10} d^{12}]. 26 lines per page; type: 1:110R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – Omnibonus Leonicenus, preface to the *Fabulae* [addressed to Johannes Franciscus Gonzaga]. 'Omniboni Leoniceni in Aesopum praefatio'. Inc.: «[R]espicienti mihi aetatis pristinae viros...»; [a2r] expl.: «...id omne contribuas»;
[a2r] – [Aesop, *Fabulae,* translated by Omnibonus Leonicenus]. Inc.: «Vulpes et aquila amiciciam...»; [d12r] expl.: «...suis officere videmus». 'Aesopus e graeco in latinum traductus per Omnibonum Leonicenum foeliciter explicit'.

INITIALS: Present throughout the text; only the first 'R', of «[R]espicienti» is lacking with no guide letter.
TITLES: Lacking, with blank spaces left between one fable and the other.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: OL1 [a2r]; OL2 [a3r]; OL3 [a3r]; OL4 [a3v]; OL5 [a4r]; OL6 [a4r]; OL7 [a5r]; OL8 [a5r]; OL9 [a5v]; OL10 [a5v]; OL11 [a6r]; OL12 [a6r]; OL13 [a6v]; OL14 [a7r]; OL15 [a7r]; OL16 [a7v]; OL17 [a7v]; OL18 [a8r]; OL19 [a8v]; OL20 [a9r]; OL21 [a9v]; OL22 [a10r]; OL23 [a10r]; OL24 [a10v]; OL25 [a10v]; OL26 [b1r]; OL27 [b2r]; OL28 [b2v]; OL29 [b2v]; OL30 [b3r]; OL31 [b3v]; OL32 [b3v]; OL33 [b3v]; OL34 [b4r]; OL35 [b4v]; OL36 [b5r]; OL37 [b5v]; OL38 [b5v]; OL39 [b6r]; OL40 [b6r]; OL41 [b6v]; OL42 [b7r]; OL43 [b7v]; OL44 [b8r]; OL45 [b8r]; OL46 [b8v]; OL47 [b9r]; OL48 [b9v]; OL49 [b9v]; OL50 [b9v]; OL51 [b10r]; OL52 [b10r]; OL53 [b10v]; OL54 [b10v]; OL55 [c1r]; OL56 [c1r]; OL57 [c1v]; OL58 [c2r]; OL59 [c2v]; OL60 [c2v]; OL61 [c3r]; OL62 [c3r]; OL63 [c3v]; OL64 [c4r]; OL65 [c4v]; OL66 [c4v]; OL67 [c5r]; OL68 [c5v]; OL69 [c6r]; OL70 [c6r]; OL71 [c6v]; OL72 [c7r]; OL73 [c7v]; OL74 [c7v]; OL75 [c8r]; OL76 [c8r]; OL77 [c8V]; OL78 [c8v]; OL79 [c9r]; OL80 [c9r]; OL81 [c9v]; OL82 [c9v]; OL83 [c10r]; OL84 [c10r]; OL85 [c10v]; OL86 [d1r]; OL87 [d1v]; OL88 [d1v]; OL89 [d2r]; OL90 [d2v]; OL91 [d2v]; OL92 [d3r]; OL93 [d3v]; OL94 [d4r]; OL95 [d4v]; OL96 [d4v]; OL97 [d5r]; OL98 [d5r]; OL99 [d5v]; OL100 [d5v]; OL101 [d6r]; OL102 [d6r]; OL103 [d6v]; OL104 [d7r]; OL105 [d7r]; OL106 [d7v]; OL107 [d7v]; OL108 [d8r]; OL109 [d8r]; OL110 [d8v]; OL111 [d8v]; OL112 [d9r]; OL113 [d9r]; OL114 [d9v]; OL115 [d9v]; OL116 [d10r]; OL117 [d10r]; OL118 [d10v]; OL119 [d10v]; OL120 [d11r]; OL121 [d11r]; OL122 [d11r]; OL123 [d11v]; OL124 [d11v].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text presents a series of variants that distinguish it from the only other known edition.[548] Among the most noteworthy are «instituendos» for «imbuendos», «sentirem» for «intelligerem» and «accessit» for «accedebat» in the *Preface*; «descenderant» for «descendere constituunt» in fable OL3; «languens» for «aegrotans» in OL41; «securim» for «machaeram» in fable OL42.

EXTANT COPIES: 3.
EXAMINED COPY: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Pal. 80.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Ownership note on leaf a1r on the top margin: "Iohannes Franciscus Picus Mirandolanus" (1469-1533); the same hand is also responsible for reading marks and foliation.[549] Below, the signature "Caroli Francisci Zampiccioli", by a later Italian hand (18th

[548] Printed in 1492, n° 50 in this *Catalogue*.
[549] Lord of Mirandola and nephew of the nobleman and philosopher Iohannes Picus Mirandolanus (see the *DBI* record by SCAPPARONE 2015, available online).

century) in black ink. Bound in green morocco and marbled paper, with paper pastedowns and simple gilded decorations. "Biblioteca Palatina" stamp on the first and last leaves.

⚜ 2) c. 1472 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Mantua: Petrus Adam de Michaelibus] (ISTC ia00123300; GW 0038110N; Text-Inc: tia00123300).
Format: 8°; 22 leaves. Collation: [ab^{8} c^{6}]. 25–27 lines per page; type: 1:106R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; [c6r] expl.: «...suspicor esse pium» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Present and not marked in different character. The first letter of each line is capitalised on the left margin and distanced from the rest of the text.
TITLES: Present, in small caps.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a1r]; AM2 [a1r]; AM3 [a1v]; AM4 [a2r]; AM5 [a2r]; AM6 [a2r]; AM7 [a2v]; AM8 [a2v]; AM9 [a2v]; AM10 [a3r]; AM11 [a3r]; AM12 [a3v]; AM13 [a4r]; AM14 ('De aquila testudine et cornice') [a4r]; AM15 [a4v]; 'De leone apro tauro et asello' (AM16) [a4v]; AM17 ('De catulo et domino') [a5r]; AM18 [a5v]; AM19 [a6r]; AM20 ('De hirundine et avibus') [a6r]; AM21 ('De terra attica querente regem') [a6v]; AM22 ('De ranis querentibus regem') [a6v]; AM23 ('De miluo accipitre et columbis') [a7r]; AM24 [a7r]; AM25 [a7v]; AM26 ('De terra tumente') [a7v]; AM27 [a8r]; AM28 [a8r]; AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus') [a8v]; AM30 [b1r]; AM31 [b1r]; AM32 ('De cervo ove et lupo') [b1v]; AM33 [b1v]; AM34 [b2r]; AM35 [b2r]; AM36 [b2v]; AM37 [b2v]; AM38 [b3r]; AM39 [b3v]; AM40 [b4r]; AM41 [b4r]; AM42 [b4v]; AM43 [b5r]; AM44 [b5v]; AM45 [b6r]; AM46 [b6r]; AM47 ('De cane et lupo') [b6v]; AM48 ('De cervo speculante se in fonte') [b7r]; AM49 [b7r]; AM50 [b8r]; AM51 [b8r]; AM52 [b8v]; AM53 [b8v]; AM54 [c1r]; AM55 [c1r]; AM56 ('De ventre pedibus et manibus') [c1v]; AM57 [c2r]; AM58 [c2v]; AM59 [c2v]; **AM62 ('De capone et accipitre') [c3r]**; AM60 [c3v]; **AM63 ('De lupo et pastore') [c4r]**; AM61 ('De cive et equite') [c4r]; **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus') [c6r]**; **AM65 ('De viro et moecha') [c6v].**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is part of the branch β of the tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus*, as testified by distinctive variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; fable AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris». Fables AM61 and AM62 are misplaced. Furthermore, this edition also witnesses two extra fables. i.e. AM64 'De pueris ludentibus' and AM65 'De viro et moecha'. Fable AM14, 'De aquila testudine et cornice' has the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» occupying lines 9-10, inserted before the closing couplet.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Wien, ÖNB, Ink. 2.H.1 (through digital reproduction; MEI 02107894).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Inscription in black ink in the top margin of leaf [a1r]: "Anonimi veteris Fabule latino carmine redditae sexaginta extant reimpressa in Neveleti Mythologia Aesopica de an. 1510" (17th century).

3) c. 1472 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Mantua: Johannes Vurster and Thomas Septemcastrensis] (ISTC ia00123400; GW 0038120N; Text-Inc: tia00123400).
Format: 4°; 24 leaves. Collation: a-c^{8}. 25-26 lines per page; type: 1:98R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; [c7v] expl.: «...suspicor esse pium». 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Present throughout the text; only the first 'U', opening the *Prologue*, is missing with no guide letter.
TITLES: Present, in small caps.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a2r); AM2 (a2r); AM3 (a2v); AM4 (a3r); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 (a3v); AM8 (a3v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro alia cane' - a4r); AM10 (a4r); AM11 (a4r); AM12 (a4v); AM13 (a5r); AM14 ('De aquila testudine et cornice' - a5v); AM15 (a5v); AM16 ('De leone apro tauro et asello' - a6r); AM18 (a6r); AM19 (a6v); AM20 (a6v); AM21 (a7r); AM22 (a7v); AM23 (a7v); **AM17 (a8r)**; AM24 (a8r); AM25 (a8v); AM26 (a8v); AM27 (b1r); AM28 (b1r); AM29 (b1v); AM30 (b2r); AM31 (b2r); AM32 (b2v); AM33 (b2v); AM34 (b3r); AM35 (b3r); AM36 (b3v); AM37 (b3v); AM38 (b4r); AM39 (b4v); AM40 (b5r); AM41 (b5r); AM42 (b5v); AM43 (b6r); AM44 (b6v); AM45 (b7r); AM46 (b7r); AM47 (b7v); AM48 (b8r); AM49 (b8r); AM50 (c1r); AM51 (c1r); AM52 (c1v); AM53 (c1v); AM54 (c2r); AM55 (c2r); AM56 (c2v); AM57 (c3r); AM58 (c3v); AM59 (c3v); **AM62** (c4r); AM60 (c4v); **AM63** (c5r); AM61 (c5r); **AM64 (c7r); AM65 (c7v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is part of the branch β of the tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus*, as confirmed by variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; fable AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; AM49.17: «amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris». Fables AM17, AM61 and AM62 are misplaced. Furthermore, this edition also has the extra fables AM64 'De pueris ludentibus' and AM65 'De viro et moecha'. Fable AM14, 'De aquila testudine et cornice' has the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» occupying lines 9-10, inserted before the closing couplet.

EXTANT COPIES: 2.
EXAMINED COPY: BAV, Stamp. Ross. 1380 (MEI ia00123400).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Initial 'U' on leaf [a1r] supplied in blue pen ink (poor quality), and some notes by a late 15th-century hand: reading marks, *maniculae,* aids for translation and comprehension of the text (Italy, 1480-1530). These interventions are particularly frequent from leaf [c3] onwards; see for instance the synonym "pondus" added as an interlinear note above «onus» [c4v] or "fingit" above «mentitur». The same hand could be held responsible for the wrong foliation in the bottom right corner of the first four leaves of each gathering.
Paper *ex-libris* on the front pastedown: "Giovanni Francesco De Rossi" (1796-1854); binding in black leather, with small gilt decorations (19th century).[550]

[550] After De Rossi's death, his collection was left to the Compagnia di Gesù in Rome. In 1920 the Jesuits donated the library to Pope Benedictus XV (1914-1922), and that was how the books eventually became part of the Vatican Library. See the *DBI* record by FAGIOLI VERCELLONE 1991, available online and D'AIUTO-VIAN 2011, II, pp. 863-64.

⌘ 4) 1473, November 6 – *Aesopus moralisatus* preceded by *Vita Aesopi* (abbreviated)

Rome: Johannes Philippus de Lignamine (ISTC ia00128450; GW 00395a; Text-Inc: tia00128450). Format: 4°; 24 leaves. Collation: [a-c^{8}]. 24-26 lines per page; type: 1:125R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1v] – [Anonymous, *Vita Aesopi*]. Inc.: «[E]sopus maximus fabularum...»; expl.: «…operi suo imposuit»;
[a2r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], 'Phrygii philosophi Aesopi moralitas e grecia (*sic*) in latinum traducta incipit'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; [c7v] expl.: «...quod intus habet». 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
[c7v] – [Colophon]: «MCCCCLxxiii. Impressus est hic libellus Rome in domo nobilis viri Iohannis Philippi de Lignamine Messanensis S.D.N. familiaris anno eius tertio sexta mensis novembris»;
[c8r] – [Anonymous, *Epitaph* dedicated to Aesop], 'Aesopo Phrygio Philosopho Pomphilius'. Inc.: «Hoc iacet in tumulo, Phrygiisque natus in oris…»; expl.: «…igitur supplex, quod transis care viator | Dicere ne pudeat, culte sophista Vale» [4 elegiac couplets].

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a2r]; AM2 [a2v]; AM3 [a2v]; AM4 [a3r]; AM5 ('De cane gerente carnem per pontem') [a3v]; AM6 ('De ove capra iuvenca et leone venantibus') [a3v]; AM7 [a3v]; AM8 ('De lupo osse et grui') [a4r]; AM9 ('De cane que ede alteram suscepit') [a4r]; AM10 [a4v]; AM11 [a4v]; AM12 [a4v]; AM13 ('De vulpe et aquila rapiente vulpis natos') [a5v]; AM14 ('De testudine et aquila et cornice') [a5v]; AM15 [a6r]; AM16 [a6r]; AM17 ('De domino catulo et asello') [a6v]; AM18 [a6v]; AM19 ('De miluo et matre sua') [a7r]; AM20 ('De yrundine predicante') [a7v]; AM21 ('De atheniensibus querentibus regem') [a7v]; AM22 [a8r]; AM23 ('De columbis et ancipitre') [a8v]; AM24 [a8v]; AM25 ('De lupo et succula pregnante') [b1r]; AM26 ('De terra pregnante') [b1r]; AM27 ('De lupo et agno et capellis') [b1r]; AM28 ('De cane senescente et venatore') [b1v]; AM29 ('De silva leporibus et ranis') [b2r]; AM30 ('De capra lupo et hedo') [b2v]; AM31 [b2v]; AM32 [b3r]; AM33 ('De muscis percucientibus calvuum') [b3r]; AM34 [b3r]; AM35 ('De lupo et capite marmoreo') [b3v]; AM36 [b3v]; AM37 ('De musca et mula et mulione') [b4r]; AM38 [b4v]; AM39 ('De lupo vulpe et simia') [b5r]; AM40 ('De mustela muribus et homine') [b5v]; AM41 ('De rana volente se equari bovi') [b5v]; AM42 ('De leone et pastore istoria') [b6r]; AM44 [b6v]; **AM43 ('De equo infirmitatem simulante et medico leone') [b7r]**; AM45 ('De pugna avium et animalium') [b7v]; AM46 [b7v]; AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe') [b8r]; AM48 [b8v]; AM49 ('De viro et uxore se diligentibus') [b8v]; AM50 ('De meretrice et iuvene') [c1v]; AM51 [c1v]; 52 [c2r]; AM53 ('De pugna ovium et luporum') [c2v]; AM54 ('De rustico et luco') [c2v]; AM55 ('De cane faciente societatem cum lupo') [c3r]; AM56 [c3v]; AM57 [c3v]; AM58 [c4r]; AM59 [c4r]; AM60 [c4v]; AM62 [c5r]; AM63 [c5v]; **AM61 ('De milite et sene') [c6r].**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition, the fables 'De equo et asello' and 'De equo et leone' (AM42 and AM43) are inverted. Lines AM9.6-9, 'De cane querente dominum' in this edition read: «Obserat hec aurem nec minus aure domum. | Plus prece posse minas putat hec plus bella minisque | Altera iam cogitat posse iuvare sibi | cum dolor hanc armet».[551] Fable AM22 lacks line 14: «Iupiter, exaudi Iupiter, affer opem». In line AM28.18 this edition witnesses the variant «iniquus amor» instead of «iniquus homo».

[551] In the critical apparatus Busdraghi notes the possible presence of a corruption in the couplet 7-8, but does not mention this variant (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 62).

Major variants concern fable AM38: four lines were added between lines 24 and 25: «Si tibi nil prestet probitatis sive decoris | Aurea si tangas nil tibi laudis emunt | Non tibi dant speciem qui tangis aurea vasa | multa queunt oculi cernere nilque iuvat…». Furthermore, four extra lines were added before the two final couplets «Oscula regine sudas ut sanguinis haustum | summa quo sanguinis et tibi vita fugit | dumque tenella caro morsu mordetur amaro | Dum morso mordes tu ratione cadis».[552] Fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', is postponed after AM62 and AM63, and closes the edition. Line AM2.1 has «fluentem» instead of «fluentum». This edition witnesses the inversion «iustaque causa perit» instead of «causaque iusta perit» in AM9.10; the wrong variant «in mensa voluntas» in fable AM12.3; «levit amicum» instead of «lenit amicum» in AM12.17; «aquilam prevenit in eptem» in AM14.3; «nam facienda fugit et fugienda facit» in line AM51.2; «munere tutam» instead of «nuntio, tutam» in AM55.5.
Another peculiar feature of this edition is that the *Aesopus moralisatus* is preceded by an abbreviated version of the *Vita* and followed by an epitaph attributed to Pompilius.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Rome, BNCR, 70.6.F.15 (MEI 00201628).
PROVENANCE EVIDENCE: Gilt initial on leaf [a2r], decorated in 'bianchi girari' style, on a pink and green/light blue background. Pen initials in red and blue ink at the beginning of each fable (Italy, 15th century). Notes, reader's marks, paragraph signs and pointing hands by a 15th-century Italian hand throughout, concerning matters of prosody and metrics, corrections and considerations about the content: see for instance «igue» corrected interlinearly in "igne", leaf [a4v], and the marginal note "minor non se maiori conferat" corresponding to the passage «Cum maiore minor conferri desinat», leaf [b6r].
The book was in possession of Mark Masterman Skyes (1760-1823), Thomas Thorpe (1791-1851) and John H. Thorold (1773-1831). Early 19th-century olive green morocco binding with simple gilt decorations, among which Masterman's stamp. An excerpt from a 19th-century catalogue pasted on the front pastedown attributes the binding to the London binder Charles Lewis (active 1807-1836).

5) 1474 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marcus Roma] (ISTC ia00099000; GW 335; Text-Inc: tia00099000). Format: 4°; 52 leaves. Collation: [a–c^{8}d^{4}e–g^{8}]. 27 lines per page; types: 3:110G, 4:110G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rimicium (*sic*) fatta ad Reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primo prohemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces…»; [a2v] expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
[a2v] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi his…»; expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 71];

[552] See for reference the text published by BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 122-25.

[a2v] – [Rinucius Aretinus], Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi*; 'Incipit vita Esopi'. Inc.: «Qui per omnem vitam vite...»; [d8r] expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Finis' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
[e1r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum fabularum Esopi e greco in latinum'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...potest: hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
[e1r] – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Fabulae*]; 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «Aquila et vulpe confatta…»; [g7r] expl.: «…obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
[g7r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «Habes vitam pariter...»; [g7v] expl.: «…fumantia solvere colla». 'Finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
[g7v] – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Inc.: «Si placet hybernas…»; expl.: «…tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac couplets];
[g7v] – [Colophon]: «Impressit Mediolani Antonius Zarotus parmensis mcccclxxiiii».

INITIALS: The 'N' of «[N]ovas», leaf [a1r], and the 'E' of «[E]sopus», leaf [e1r], are lacking with blank spaces left but no guide letter. The 'V' of «[V]itam», leaf [a1v], is also missing but with a smaller blank space left.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 [e1r]; R2 [e1v]; R3 [e2r]; R4 [e2r]; R5 [e2v]; R6 [e3r]; R7 [e3r]; R8 [e3v]; 'De piscatore et sinaryde pisciculo' R9 [e3v]; R10 [e3v]; R11 [e4r]; R12 [e4r]; R13 [e4v]; R14 [e4v]; R15 [e4v]; R16 [e5r]; R17 [e5r]; R18 [e5v]; R19 [e5v]; R20 [e6r]; R21 [e6r]; R22 [e6r]; R23 [e6v]; R24 [e6v]; R25 [e7r]; R26 [e7r]; R27 [e7v]; R28 [e7v]; R29 [e7v]; R30 [e8r]; R31 [e8r]; R32 [e8v]; R33 [e8v]; R34 [f1r]; R35 [f1r]; R36 [f1r]; R37 [f1v]; R38 [f1v]; R39 [f2r]; R40 [f2r]; R41 [f2r]; R42 [f2v]; R43 [f3r]; R44 [f3r]; R45 [f3r]; R46 [f3v]; R47 [f3v]; R48 [f4r]; R49 [f4r]; R50 [f4r]; R51 [f4v]; R52 [f4v]; R53 [f4v]; R54 [f5r]; R55 [f5r]; R56 [f5v]; R57 [f5v]; R58 [f6r]; R59 [f6r]; R60 [f6r]; R61 [f6v]; R62 [f6v]; R63 [f7r]; R64 [f7r]; R65 [f7r]; R66 [f7v]; R67 [f8r]; R68 [f8r]; R69 [f8r]; R70 [f8v]; R71 [f8v]; R72 [g1r]; R73 [g1r]; R74 [g1r]; R75 [g1v]; R76 [g2r]; R77 [g2r]; R78 [g2v]; R79 [g2v]; R80 [g3r]; R81 [g3r]; R82 [g3r]; R83 [g3v]; R84 [g3v]; R85 [g4r]; R86 [g4r]; R87 [g4r]; R88 [g4v] R89 [g4v]; R90 [g4v]; R91 [g5r]; R92 [g5v]; R93 [g5v]; R94 [g5v]; R95 [g6r]; R96 [g6r]; R97 [g6v]; R98 [g6v]; R99 [g6v]; R100 [g7r].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «Novas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Spaces for Greek words in the *Vita* were left blank and the lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* was fixed with an intervention which has no known precedent in manuscripts and which suggests a substantial knowledge of the text. The editor eliminated the beginning of the incomplete episode of the mourning widow, which is instead copied in most manuscripts, and established a direct connection between the words of Demas and the next episode: «spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris. Ecce delphii, qui esopum» (leaf [d6v]).[553] Scholars identified the antigraph used by Zarotus for this edition with an unknown manuscript belonging to class τ of the *stemma codicum*. Nonetheless, the presence of several textual lessons which seem to have no preceedings at all in the manuscript tradition, mainly consisting in the substitutions of certain words with simpler variants or synonyms, suggest an original intervention by the editor.[554] These variants include the use of «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine' and «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis'. The opening of the *Prohemium* addressed to Cerdá is likely to represent the beginning of the confusion in the spelling of the name of the author («Rimicius» for «Rinucius») among the following editors and scholars.

[553] See PILLOLA 1993, p. 101, also for the following considerations.
[554] See LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 65 and PILLOLA 1993, p. 102.

EXTANT COPIES: 15 of which 2 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Oxford, Bodl., Auct. O inf. 1.50; London, BL, G.7736; Bergamo, BC, Inc. 3.107.2 (MEI 02009816); Milan, BNB, AM XI 2 (MEI 00200989).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Oxford copy** has a four-line decorated initial 'N' in gold on blue background with vine-stem tracery, and red and green infill, on [a2r] and pen-trials on [g8r/v], some of which are on a small fragment of paper, presumably removed from an earlier binding.[555] It is bound in 19th-century gilt-tooled diced calf. The spaces left blank for Greek types and words were not filled in this copy.
The **Bergamo copy** has red 15th-century pen initials and is now bound together with a copy of Plutarchus' *De liberis educandis*, in the Latin translation by Guarinus, with the addition of Hieronymus' *De officiis liberorum erga parentes*.[556] On the bottom edge, monogram with the letters "GRB" surmounted by a cross, referring to the ownership of the franciscan convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, in Bergamo (1422-1810).[557]
The copy owned by the **BNB** in Milan has several reading marks and signs of "Nota" by a 16th-century hand, particularly concentrated within the first half of the volume. From the same period are the red and blue decorated initials throughout the book and a *bianchi girari* initial coloured in green, pink, light blue on the title page. The same page most likely contained a coat of arms illuminated with roughly the same colours, which was then cut out but traces of which remain on the verso of the preceding leaf. Handwritten ownership incription on the first front flyleaf, in light blue ink: 'Brixiae | Haec Esopi vita est mei Gabrielis Getii Calini. Et amicorum'.[558]
The **BL copy** has two initials on leaves [a1r] and [e1r] supplied by hand and simply decorated in brown and red pen ink (16th century). Signs of manuscript notes by an Italian late 15th/early 16th-century hand, later washed, are still visible on the margins, see for instance leaves [a5r], on the top right-hand corner, [a8r], on the right-hand margin, etc. The volume was owned by Thomas Grenville before entering the British Museum and later the British Library. Grenville's paper label is pasted on the first front flyleaf and red morocco binding with his arms gilted on the front and rear boards.[559]

⚜ 6) c. 1474 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Milan: Antonius Zarotus] (ISTC ia00123450; GW 382; Text-Inc: tia00123450).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: ab^{10}. 29 lines per page; type: 3:110G.

[555] The initial is listed and described in PÄCHT-ALEXANDER II, p. 114 n° 131; the copy is also listed in the Bod-Inc online catalogue with n° A-045(1), available online.
[556] Italy: [s.n.], about 1480, ISTC ip00823500.
[557] The book must have entered the city library of Bergamo after the soppression of the religious institution.
[558] He might well have been one of the brothers of Cardinal Ludovico Calini (1696-1782), on whom see the *DBI* record by PIGNATELLI 1973, available online.
[559] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; b9v expl.: «…fiunt portantia mortem». 'Finis | Deo Gratias Amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: present. The first letter of each line is in capital and separated from the rest of the text on the left margin. Only the first 'U' was left blank.
TITLES: present.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro alia cane pregnante' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4r); AM16 (a4v); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 ('De irundine et homine' - a5v); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a5v); AM22 ('De ranis petentibus regem' - a6r); AM23 (a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7r); AM27 (a7r); AM28 (a7v); AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus et ranis' - a7v); AM30 ('De capra lupo et hedo' - a8r); AM31 (a8r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - a8v); AM33 (a8v); AM34 (a9r); AM35 ('De lupo et capite humano' - a9r); AM36 (a9r); AM37 (a9v); AM38 (a9v); AM39 (a10r); AM40 (a10v); AM41 (b1r); AM42 (b1r); AM43 (b1v); AM44 (b2r); AM45 ('De avibus et quadrupedibus pugnantibus' - br); AM46 (b2v); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b3r); AM48 (b3r); AM49 (b3v); AM50 (b4r); AM51 (b4v); AM52 (b4v); AM53 ('De federe luporum et ovium' - b5r); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b5r); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupi' - b5r); AM56 ('De ventre et aliis membris' - b5v); AM57 (b6r); AM58 (b6r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo' - b6v); AM60 (b7r); **AM62 ('De capone et accipitre' - b7r)**; AM61 ('De cive et equite regis' - b7v); AM63 (b9r); **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - b9v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is part of the branch β of the tradition of the *Aesopus moralisatus*, transmitting sixty-three fables plus AM64 'De pueris ludentibus'. Textual variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris» confirm that the text contained in this edition is that of branch β of the tradition.
Fables AM61, 'De cive et equite', and AM62, ' De capone et accipitre' are inverted. Fable AM14 has two extra lines: «De se stultus homo subversus turbine lingue | corruit et fortes ista procella rapit». Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[560]

EXTANT COPIES: 3.
EXAMINED COPY: Paris, BNF, B. Nat. myc 130 et 131.
PROVENANCE NOTES: BNF stamp on the first and last leaf. Leaves b4 to b10 are damaged towards the centre of the page, this resulting in at least one or two words for each page made unreadable.

[560] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition: Göttingen, SUB, Philol. 106 (15th cent.); Munich, BSB, clm 7680 (15th cent.); Munich, BSB, clm 19667 (15th cent.); Oxford, Bodl., Canon. class. lat. 80 (14th cent.); Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Gud. Lat. Qu.162 (15th cent.); and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst 185 (1471).

⌘ 7) c. 1474 – *Aesopus moralisatus* preceded by the *Vita Aesopi* (abbreviated)

Messina: Henricus Alding (ISTC: ia00128500; GW: 396; Text-Inc: tia00128500).
Format: 4°; 22 leaves. Collation: [$a^8b^6c^8$]. 29 lines per page; type: 1:96R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1v] – [Anonymous, abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi*]. 'Incipit vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi'. Inc.: «Esopus fortuna servus, natione...»; expl.: «...montis cacumine pulsus obiit»;
[a2r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. 'Phrigii philosophi Esopi moralitas de greco in latinum traducta incipit'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; [c7v] expl.: «...quod intus habet» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
[c7v] – [Petrus Paulus Pompilius], 'Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi Epitaphium'. Inc.: «Hoc iacet in...»; expl.: «...culte sophista vale» [four elegiac couplets];
[c7v] – [Colophon]: «Finit in civitate nobili Messana Sicilie regni. Per Henricum Alding feliciter».

INITIALS: Present, apart from the intial 'U'.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a2r]; AM2 [a2v]; AM3 [a2v]; AM4 [a3r]; AM5 ('De cane et umbra canis') [a3r]; AM6 ('De ove capra iuvenca et leone venantibus') [a3r]; AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi') [a3v]; AM8 [a3v]; AM9 ('De cane querente domum') [a3v]; AM10 [a4r]; AM11 [a4r]; AM12 [a4r]; AM13 ('De vulpe et aquila rapiente vulpis natos') [a4v]; AM14 [a5r]; AM15 [a5r]; AM16 [a5v]; AM17 ('De cane asello et domino') [a5v]; AM18 [a6r]; AM19 [a6v]; AM20 ('De irundine predicante') [a6v]; AM21 ('De Atheniensibus querentibus regem') [a7r]; AM22 [a7r]; AM23 ('De columbis et ancipitre') [a7v]; AM24 [a7v]; AM25 ('De lupo et sucula pregnante') [a8r]; AM26 ('De terra que tumuit') [a8r]; AM27 ('De lupo et agno et capellis') [a8v]; AM28 ('De cane et hero') [a8v]; AM29 ('De silva leporibus et ranis') [b1r]; AM30 ('De capra lupo et hedo') [b1r]; AM31 [b1v]; AM32 [b1v]; AM33 [b2r]; AM34 [b2r]; AM35 ('De lupo et capite marmoreo') [b2v]; AM36 ('De graculo et pennis pavonibus') [b2v]; AM37 ('De musca mula et mulione') [b3r]; AM38 [b3r]; AM39 ('De lupo vulpe et simia') [b4r]; AM40 ('De mustela muribus et homine') [b4r]; AM41 ('De rana volente se equari bovi') [b4v]; AM42 [b4v]; AM44 [b5r]; **AM43 [b5v]**; AM45 ('De pugna avium et animalium') [b6r]; AM46 [b6r]; AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe') [b6v]; AM48 [b6v]; AM49 ('De viro et uxore se diligentibus') [c1r]; AM50 ('De Thayde et amante suo') [c1v]; AM51 [c2r]; AM52 [c2r]; AM53 ('De pugna ovium et luporum') [c2v]; AM54 ('De securi et silva') [c3r]; AM55 ('De cane faciente societatem cum lupo') [c3r]; AM56 [c3v]; AM57 [c3v]; AM58 [c4r]; AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo') [c4r]; AM60 ('De pincerna regio et giudeo') [c4v]; AM62 [c5r]; AM63 [c5v]; **AM61 [c6r].**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Fables AM43, 'De equo et leone', and AM44, 'De equo et asello', are inverted. Lines 6-9 of fable AM9, 'De cane querente dominum', read: «Obserat hec aurem non minus aure domum. | Plus prece posse minas putat hec plus bella minisque | Altera iam cogitat posse iuvare sibi | cum dolor hanc armet».[561] Line AM28.18 reads «iniquus amor». In AM38, 'De musca et formica', four lines were added between lines 24 and 25: «Si tibi nil prestet probitatis sive decoris | Aurea si tangas nil tibi laudis emunt | Non tibi dant speciem qui tangis aurea vasa | multa queunt oculi cernere nilque iuvat»., The final part of the fable is also changed, through the addition of the four lines: «Oscula regine sudas ut sanguinis haustum | summa quo sanguinis et tibi vita fugit | dumque tenella caro morsu mordetur amaro | Dum morso mordes tu ratione cadis» before the two final couplets.[562] The *Aesopus moralisatus* is combined here with an

[561] In the critical apparatus by BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 62, the author remarks the possible presence of a corruption in the couplet 7-8, but does not mention this variant.
[562] See for reference the text published by BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 122-25.

abbreviated version of the *Vita* and with Aesop's epitaph.[563] This printing is characterised by an extensive use of brackets and of vertical dashes to separate the hemistichs of the hexameters or of the pentameters. This might suggest that this version was especially targeted to young students aiming at learning the basics of Latin syntax and prosody.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Copenhagen, KB, Inc. Haun., 25 4°.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Extensive pen interlinear annotations made by a late 15th/early 16th-century Italian hand, concentrating almost exclusively on leaf [a2r], explaining the main text: see for instance "praesens lictera" written above «pagina p(raese)ns», in line 1 of the *Prologue*, or "frequenter querit" written above «queritat» in line AM1.1. From roughly the same period are first 'U' initial in pen on leaf [a2r], and very simple decoration of all the first letters of each line, and of some paragraph marks, always on leaf [a2r].

8) c. 1475 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck] (ISTC ia00099500; GW 336; Text-Inc: tia00099500).
Format: 4°; 66 leaves. Collation [$a^{10}b^{8}c^{10}d$–$g^{8}h^{6}$]. 27 lines per page; type: 1:108R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1v] – Rinucius Aretinus, letter to Laurentius Lavina; 'Magnifico domino Laurentio Lavina Rynucius felicitatem'. Inc.: «Ad duo potissimum...»; [a2r] expl.: «...ardentius te hortor» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 68-9];
[a2r] – Rinucius Aretinus, letter to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Alia epistola. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino suo precipuo domino A.tt. Sancti Chrysogoni prespitero cardinali Rynucius se commendat.' Inc.: «Quo tempore sanctissimus...»; [a2v] expl.: «...carum habebit. Vale» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 69-70];
[a3r] – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to the *Vita Aesopi*; 'Vita Esopi latina per Rynutium facta ad reverendissimum patrem et dominum dominum Thomam tituli sancte Susanne presbiterum Cardinalem hodie Nicolaum papam quintum feliciter incipit. Prohemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; [a4r] expl.: «…argumenti pauca suggessi. Sequitur argumentum» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
[a4r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi...»; expl.: «...nimirum delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 71];
[a4v] – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*; 'Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi vita incipit.' Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam…»; d8v expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Vita Esopi finit feliciter. Sequuntur fabulae' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
[e1r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Argumentum* to the translation of the *Fabulae*. 'Vite Esopi commentarium super fabulis instar argumenti incipit'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; [e1v] expl.: «...potest. Hunc sumit initium incipiunt fabule et primo» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];

[563] See section III.1.3 of this study for a more detailed account on editions transmitting this combination of texts.

[e1v] – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Fabulae*; 'Incipiunt fabule et primo | De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata inter se amicitia in proximo habitare constituunt...»; [h4r] expl.: «...et maxime rumoribus nisi penitus obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
[h4r] – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; [h4v] expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'Vita Esopi una cum suis fabulis per Rynuntium e greco in latinum translata finit feliciter. Laus Deo' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
[h6r] – 'Registrum'.

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters. Only the initials 'Q' of the *Vita Aesopi* and 'E' of the *Argumentum* of the fables have a guide letter.
TITLES: Present; those of the fables are in the same typeof the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 [e1v]; R2 [e2r]; R3 [e2r]; R4 [e2v]; R5 [e3r]; R6 [e3v]; R7 [e3v]; R8 [e4r]; R9 [e4v]; R10 [e4v]; R11 [e5r]; R12 [e5r]; R13 [e5v]; R14 [e6r]; R15 [e6r]; R16 [e6v]; R17 [e6v]; R18 [e7r]; R19 [e7r]; R20 [e7v]; R21 [e7v]; R22 [e8r]; R23 [e8r]; R24 [e8v]; R25 [e8v]; R26 [f1r]; R27 [f1r]; R28 [f1v]; R29 [f1v]; R30 [f2r]; R31 ['De agricola et filius' - f2r]; R32 [f2v]; R33 [f3r]; R34 [f3r]; R35 [f3v]; R36 [f3v]; R37 [f4r]; R38 [f4r]; R39 [f4r]; R40 [f4v]; R41 [f4v]; R42 [f5r]; R43 [f5v]; R44 [f5vR45 [f5v]; R46 [f6r]; R47 [f6r]; R48 [f6v]; R49 [f6v]; R50 [f8r]; R51 [f8r]; R52 [f8v]; R53 [f8v]; R54 [g1r]; R55 [g1r]; R56 [g1v]; R57 [g1v]; R58 [g2r]; R59 [g2r]; R60 [g2v]; R61 [g2v]; R62 [g3r]; R63 [g3r]; R64 [g3v]; R65 [g3v]; R66 [g4r]; R67 [g4r]; R68 [g4v]; R69 [g5r]; R70 [g5r]; R71 [g5v]; R72 [g5v]; R73 [g5v]; R74 [g6r]; R75 [g6v]; R76 [g7r]; R77 [g7r]; R78 [g7v]; R79 [g8r]; R80 [g8r]; R81 [g8r]; R82 [g8v]; R83 [g8v]; R84 [h1r]; R85 [h1r]; R86 [h1v]; R87 [h1v]; R88 [h1v]; R89 [h2r]; R90 [h2v]; R91 [h3r]; R92 [h3r]; R93 [h3v]; R94 [h3v]; R95 [h4r]; R96 [h4r]; R97 [h4r]; R98 [h4v]; R99 [h4r]; R100 [h4r].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition the incomplete text of the episode of the mourning widow in the *Vita Aesopi* was copied in full, until the beginning of the lacuna, in agreement with the manuscript tradition. With an original solution, the lacuna was then left blank by the printer, probably in the hope that the missing text could have been filled in afterwards. The last words on leaf [e6v] are «plorabat Arator quadam sepulchro appropinquans» then a blank space of around five lines is left, and the narration begins on the following leaf [e7r] with the words «Ecce delphii qui Esopum…».
This edition contains three dedicatory letters, i.e. those to Laurentius Lavina, Antonius Cerdá and Tomaso Parentucelli, while the three elegiac couplets that close other editions of Rinucius are missing. The manuscript which served as a basis for this edition of the *Fabulae* was considered close to the branch α of the *stemma codicum*, with which it shares a number of distinctive variants, such as in fable R3 «humum» for «humi», «uti» instead of «sed uti» in fable R17, «indutus» instead of «exutus» in fable R45.[564]
Spaces for Greek letters are left blank, and the text shares with the manuscript tradition a series of variants which differentiate it from that included in Zarotus 1474 edition, including the use of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «oblurcasset» in fable R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'; «singillatim» in fable R31, 'De agricola et filiis'.[565]

EXTANT COPIES: 15.
EXAMINED COPIES: Berlin, SB, 8° Inc. 3393; BAV, Inc. Chig. IV. 2195 (through digital reproduction); Oxford, Bodl., Auct. O inf. 1.54; London, BL, G7728.
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Berlin copy** has an inscription «Hunc librum Emj Rome Ego Iulianus Guinzelmus pratensis, utriusque iuris doctor minimus. Anno salutis M.cccc.lxxviii. Nono

564 Other variants which separate the textual tradition in two branches can be found in PILLOLA 1993, p. 128.
565 In these *loci,* Zarotus had introduced respectively the variants «agricultor», «consumpsisset» and «singulatim» (see PILLOLA 1993, p. 102 for these and more variants).

Calend. Quintiles», by the hand of the Tuscan judge Giuliano Guizzelmi da Prato.[566] Guizelmi also left an extensive number of marginal notes and comments, particularly concerning the moral virtues mentioned in each of the fables.[567]

On the **BAV copy**, inscription by an Italian 16th-century hand in brown ink on leaf [a1r]: «Libro di Francesco della Diambra, li sia restituito». A contemporary hand also underlined several passages throughout the first leaves, mainly the *incipits* of the titles of the different textual units, and made a pointing hand and an extensive reading mark on leaves 29r-30r[568]. It is currently bound as part of a miscellany with humanistic and classical texts, mostly referring to history, grammar and education and containing among other things also a copy of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Rome by Vindelinus de Wila in July 1475.[569] The content of the miscellany was listed by an 18th-century hand on the front flyleaves, in brown ink.

The **Oxford copy** lacks leaves [h1] and [h6]; the text of [h1r/v] was supplied by an 18th-century hand which is also responsible for the insertion of some words in the same gathering. Ae earlier Italian hand (16th/17th century) underlined different passages in the text, and added notes on the margins (now mostly cropped by the 19th-century binding), often in red ink. Initials added in pen; three elaborately decorated in black ink, one with vine-stem scrolling extending into the margin. A number of leaves are mounted.

The **BL copy** shows traces of several marginal notes by at least two different early 16th-century Italian hands, for which see examples on leaves [c2v-c3r]. Both annotators seem to have been mostly quoting and extracting keywords from the text, possibly in the attempt to structure/index it. Owned by Thomas Grenville (armorial binding and notes attached to the first front flyleaf), who noted on a slip that "There is reason to think that this version of Rinucius is from a finer manuscript than those of B. Accursius and Valla etc".[570]

⚜ 9) 1475, July 6 – *Aesopus moralisatus*, preceded by the *Vita Aesopi* (abbreviated)

Rome: Wendelinus de Wila (ISTC ia00128600; GW 397; Text-Inc: tia00128600).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation:[a^8bc^6]. 29 lines per page; type: 1:108R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:

[a1v] – [Anonymous author, abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi*]; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris maximi'. Inc.: «Esopus maximus fabularum...»; expl.: «…operi suo imposuit»;

[a2r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]; 'Phrygii philosophi Esopi moralitas de greco in latinum traducta. Incipit.' Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; [c6v] expl.: «...quod intus habet» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];

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566 On him see MASI 2007, pp. 605-18, with further bibliography.

567 Guizzelmi was also the owner of at least another incunable edition of Aesop, as witnessed by his copy of the edition of Valla's translation of the *Fabulae* printed in Venice in August 1495 by Iohannes Tacuinus (n° 58 in this *Catalogue*; ISTC ia00010000; Guizzelmi's copy was Florence, BNCF, Magl. L.5.19).

568 Numbers refer to the pencil foliation written on the top right corner of each recto.

569 ISTC ia00128600, n° 9 in this *Catalogue*.

570 This note refers to the quality of the Greek manuscript that Rinucius used as his source when producing his translation (see section III.1 of this study). On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

[c6v] – [Colophon]: «Libellus Esopi fabulatoris maximi per me Vindellinum de Vuila in artibus magistrum Romeque impressum fuit feliciter anno salutis MCCCCLXXV. Die vero sexta Iulii»;
[c6v] – [Petrus Paulus Pompilius, *Epitaph* dedicated to Aesop]. 'Esopo Phrygio Philosopho Pomphilius'. Inc.: «Hoc iacet in tumulo…»; expl.: «...pudeat culte sophista Vale» [8 elegiac couplets].

INITIALS: missing, with no guide initials.
TITLES: present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a2r]; AM2 [a2r]; AM3 [a2v]; AM4 [a3r]; AM5 ('De cane et umbra carnis') [a3r]; AM6 ('De ove capra iuvenca et leone venantibus') [a3r]; AM7 ('De femina nubente furi') [a3v]; AM8 [a3v]; AM9 ('De cane querente dominum') [a3v]; AM10 [a4r]; AM11 [a4r]; AM12 [a4r]; AM13 ('De vulpe et aquila rapiente vulpis natos') [a4v]; AM14 [a5r]; AM15 [a5r]; AM16 [a5v]; AM17 ('De cane asello et domino') [a5v]; AM18 [a6r]; AM19 [a6v]; AM20 ('De irundine predicante') [a6v]; AM21 ('De atheniensibus querentibus regem') [a6v]; AM22 [a7r]; AM23 ('De columbis et ancipitre') [a7v]; AM24 [a7v]; AM25 ('De lupo et sucula pregnante') [a7v]; AM26 [a8r]; AM27 ('De lupo agno et capellis') [a8r]; AM28 ('De cane et hero') [a8v]; AM29 ('De silva leporibus et ranis') [a8v]; AM30 ('De capra lupo et hedo') [b1r]; AM31 [b1r]; AM32 [b1v]; AM33 ('De muscis percutientibus calvum') [b1v]; AM34 [b2r]; 35 ('De lupo et capite marmoreo') [b2r]; AM36 ('De gracculo et pennis pavonis') [b2r]; AM37 ('De musca mula et mulione') [b2v]; AM38 [b2v]; AM39 ('De lupo vulpe et simia') [b3v]; AM40 ('De mustela muribus et homine') [b3v]; AM41 ('De rana volente se equari bovi') [b4r]; AM42 [b4r]; AM44 [b4v]; **AM43 ('De equo infirmitate simulante et medico et leone') [b5r]**; AM45 ('De pugna avium et animalium') [b5v]; AM46 [b5v]; AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe') [b6r]; AM48 [b6r]; AM49 ('De viro et uxore se diligentibus') [b6v]; AM50 [c1r]; AM51 [c1v]; AM52 [c1v]; AM53 ('De pugna ovium et luporum') [c2r]; AM54 ('De securi et silva') [c2r]; AM55 ('De cane faciente societatem cum lupo') [c2v]; AM56 [c2v]; AM57 [c3r]; AM58 [c3r]; AM59 ('De cervo bobus et agno') [c3v]; AM60 ('De pincerna regio et Iudeo') [c4r]; AM62 [c4v]; AM63 [c4v]; **AM61 ('De cive et equite') [c5r].**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Line AM2.1 has «fluentem» instead of «fluentum»; fable AM22 lacks line 14: «Iupiter, exaudi Iupiter, affer opem». In this edition, the fables 'De equo et asello' (AM42) and 'De equo et leone' (AM43) are inverted. Lines 6-9 of AM9 'De cane querente dominum' read: «precatur.| Obserat hec aurem non minus aure domum. | Plus prece posse minas putat hec plus bella minisque | Altera iam cogitat posse iuvare sibi | cum dolor hanc armet».[571] Line AM28.18 presents the variant «iniquus amor» instead of «iniquus homo». In fable AM38, 'De musca et formica' four lines are added between lines 24 and 25: «Si tibi nil prestet probitatis sive decoris | Aurea si tangas nil tibi laudis emunt | Non tibi dant speciem qui tangis aurea vasa | multa queunt oculi cernere nilque iuvat». Furthermore, the lines «Oscula regine sudas ut sanguinis haustum | summa quo sanguinis et tibi vita fugit | dumque tenella caro morsu mordetur amaro | Dum morso mordes tu ratione cadis» are added before the two final couplets.[572]
Fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', is postponed after AM62 and AM63, and closes the edition.

EXTANT COPIES: 5.
EXAMINED COPIES: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Inc.qt.13236 (through digital reproduction); BAV, Stamp.Chig.IV.2195 (1bis).
PROVENANCE NOTES: On the **Stuttgart copy**, inscription in humanistic Italian hand on leaf [a1r] in brown ink: "Iohannes Tortellius Aretinus. Esopus e Phrygia fabulator scripsit festinos et delectabiles apologos nivea gravitate. Quorum quosdam Romulus quidam versu elego ad

[571] In the critical apparatus Busdraghi remarks the possible presence of textual corruption in the couplet 7-8, but does not mention this variant (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 62).
[572] See for reference the text published by BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 122-25.

eruditionem Tiberini filii transtulit in latinum". The same hand is responsible for some corrections throughout the book: addition of a sign under the 'E' of Esopus on leaf [a1v], to remark the presence of the diphthong, or of small dashes to remark the division of words from one line to the following one. On the last flyleaf, a series of titles of literary works by humanists is listed by the same hand, numbered from 1 to 14, number 14 being "Apologus Phrygii philosophi Esopi".[573]

The **BAV copy** is now part of a miscellany including a long series of humanistic and classical texts, both printed and handwritten, mostly referring to history, grammar and education and containing among other things also a copy of Rinucius' translations of the *Vita* and *Fabulae* probably printed by Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck around 1475.[574] The content of the miscellany was listed by an 18th-century hand on the front flyleaves, in brown ink.

10) 1476, February 25 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius)

Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Marcus Roma (ISTC ia00099700; GW 00337; Text-Inc: tia00099700).

Format: 4°; 56 leaves. Collation: a–g^{8}. 25 lines per page; type: 3:110G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:

a1r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rimicium facta ad reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primo prohemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; a1v expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];

a1v – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi...»; a2r expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, p. 71];

a2r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*. 'Incipit vita Esopi'. Inc.: «Qui per omnem vitam...»; d6r expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt. FINIS» [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];

d6v – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Argumentum fabularum Esopi e greco in latino'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];

d6v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Fabulae*. 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «Aquila et vulpe conflata iter (*sic*)...»; g6v expl.: «...obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];

g6r – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «Habes vitam pariter...»'; d7r expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla. Finis» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];

g7r – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem.' Inc.: «Si placet hybernas...»; expl.: «....tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac couplets];

g7r – [Colophon]: «Mediolani | Antonius Zarotus Permensis 1476 | Sexto Kalendas Martias Impressit».

[573] The famous and prolific Italian humanist Giovanni Tortelli died in 1466. Although it was not possible to identify the quote, the fact that the other texts mentioned in the final list include Politianus, Valla, Bruni and Cicero suggests that whoever was using this edition was reading Aesop's texts in the wider context of humanistic production.

[574] See entry n° 8 in this *Catalogue*.

INITIALS: The initials of the introductory letter to Cerdá (a1r), of the *Argumentum Vitae Aesopi* (a1v) and of the *Fabulae* (d6v) are absent, with no guide letters. All the other initials were printed in the same types as the text.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (d6v); R2 (d7r); R3 (d7v); R4 (d8r); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - d8r); R6 (d8v); R7 (d8v); R8 (e1r); R9 ('De piscatore et synaride pisciculo' - e1r); R10 (e1v); R11 (e1v); R12 (e2r); R13 (e2r); R14 (e2v); R15 (e2v); R16 (e2v); R17 (e3r); R18 (e3r); R19 (e3v); R20 (e3v); R21 (e4r); R22 (e4r); R23 (e4r); R24 (e4v); R25 (e4v); R26 (e4v); R27 (e5r); R28 (e5v); R29 (e5v); R30 (e6r); R31 (e6r); R32 (e6v); R33 (e6v); R34 (e7r); R35 (e7r); R36 (e7v); R37 (e7v); R38 (e8r); R39 (e8r); R40 (e8r); R41 (e8v); R42 (e8v); R43 (f1r); R44 (f1v); R45 (f1v); R46 (f1v); R47 (f2r); R48 (f2r); R49 (f2v); R50 (f2v); R51 (f2v); R52 (f3r); R53 (f3r); R54 (f3v); R55 (f3v); R56 (f4r); R57 (f4r); R58 (f4v); R59 (f4v); R60 (f4v); R61 (f5r); R62 (f5r); R63 (f5v); R64 (f5v); R65 (f6r); R66 (f6r); R67 (f6v); R68 (f6v); R69 (f7r); R70 (f7r); R71 (f7v); R72 (f7v); R73 (f7v); R74 (f8r); R75 (f8v); R76 (f8v); R77 (g1r); R78 (g1r); R79 (g1v); R80 (g1v); R81 (g2r); R82 (g2r); R83 (g2v); R84 (g2v); R85 (g3r); R86 (g3r); R87 (g3r); R88 (g3v); R89 (g3v); R90 (g4r); R91 (g4v); R92 (g4v); R93 (g4v); R94 (g5r); R95 (g5r); R96 (g5v); R97 (g5v); R98 (g5v); R99 (g6r); R100 (g6r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The only dedicatory text included, beginning «Novas nimirum merces…», is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Spaces for Greek words in the *Vita* are left blank and the lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* is not marked, so that the text reads: «…habe spes bonas ad teipsum consuleris. Ecce Delphii, qui Esopum…» (see leaf d4r).[575] It shares with the first edition printed by Zarotus (1474), several variants separating the printed text from all the known manuscripts, among which are the use of «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in fable R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine' and «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in fable R31, 'De agricola et filiis'.[576]

EXTANT COPIES: 11 of which one out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Oxford, Bodl., Douce 61 (MEI 00205347); London, BL, G.7727.
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Oxford copy** was owned by the English collector and scholar Francis Douce and afterwards passed in the hands of the London auctioneer and bookseller James Edwards, before entering the Bodleian Library.
The **BL copy** has annotations in black ink by a 15th-century Italian hand throughout the first pages, mostly cropped by a later binding: extraction of keywords and quotations from the text, such as "Esopus ex am[…]nio phrigie pago et servus natus" and the note "statura corporis" next to the beginning of the *Vita Aesopi,* where Aesop's physical features are also described, or the extraction "Non facies, sed hominis animus intuendus est" written next to the corresponding passage on the left margin of leaf c4v. The same hand underlines and marks several passages. Owned by Thomas Grenville (bookplate on the cover and on the front pastedown) before entering the British Museum and later the British Library.[577]

[575] See PILLOLA 1993, p. 101, also for the following considerations.
[576] See PILLOLA 1993, p. 102, and Zarotus' edition (entry n° 5 in this *Catalogue*).
[577] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

11) c. 1476 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, about 1476] (ISTC ia00123520; GW 0038320N; Text-Inc: tia00123520).
Format: 8°; 22 leaves. Collation: ab^8c^6. 26–27 lines per page; type: 1:110R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; [c6v] expl.: «…fiunt portancia mortem» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].[578]

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters (all but the first 'U').
TITLES: Present, in the same type of the rest of the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a2r); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a3r); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3v); AM12 (a3v); AM13 (a4r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4v); AM15 (a4v); AM16 (a5r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a5r); AM18 (a5v); AM19 (a6r); AM20 ('De hirundine et homine' - a6r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a6v); AM22 (a6v); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a7r); AM24 (a7r); AM25 (a7v); AM26 (a7v); AM27 (a8r); AM28 (a8r); AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus et ranis' - a8v); AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo' - b1r); AM31 (b1r); AM32 (b1v); AM33 (b1v); AM34 (b2r); AM35 (b2r); AM36 (b2r); AM37 (b2v); AM38 (b2v); AM39 (b3v); AM40 ('De homine et mustella' - b3v); AM41 (b4r); AM42 (b4r); AM43 (b5r); AM44 (b5r); AM45 (b5v); AM46 (b6r); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b6r); AM48 ('De cervo speculante aquas' - b6v); AM49 (b7r); AM50 (b7v); AM51 (b8r); AM52 (b8r); AM53 ('De federe luporum et onium' [*sic*] - b8v); AM54 ('De viro secure nemore' - b8v); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupi' - c1r); AM56 ('De ventre et aliis membris' - c1v); AM57 (c2r); AM58 (c2r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et agro' - c2r); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - c2v); **AM62 (c3r)**; AM61 ('De cive et equite regis' - c3v); **AM63 (c5v); AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - c5v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the canonical collection of sixty-three fables plus the extra fable AM64 'De pueris ludentibus', with the inversion of fables AM62, 'De capone et accipitre' and AM61, 'De cive et equite regis'. Variants such as AM39.10 «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12 «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; AM49.17 «Hanc amor ipse ligat. fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that this edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition.
Fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with two final lines added after line 10 («Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis»).[579] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi difficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[580]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Wien, ÖNB, Ink 15. G. 12 (through digital reproduction; MEI 02107895).

[578] The only extant copy of this edition is incomplete, missing the last leaf. However, the text seems to end coherently at leaf c5v with fable 'De pueris ludentibus'.
[579] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.

[580] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).

PROVENANCE NOTES: Several marginal annotations in Latin, written by a 16th-century hand, probably of Southern-German origin: passages underlined, paraphrasis provided in the margins, from time to time also quotes from different authors (among others Propertius, Tibullus, Vergilius and Cato). The same hand is responsible for copying two long 'Hymna ad S. Anna' on the first rear flyleaf (r/v), both written in black ink and respectively composed by Adam Bernhard and Iohannes Hertz. Also in the 16th century, initials were supplied inred ink in northern European style (German). A later hand (c. 18th century), made minor annotations referring to the division in gatherings (see leaf c1r).

⌘ *12) 1476, November 16 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis (ISTC ia00123500; GW 383; Text-Inc: tia00123500).
Format: f°; 30 leaves. Collation: [a-c^{8} d^{6}]. 29 lines per page; type: 2:136G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]; 'Yhesus'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; d6r expl.: «…ceca videre facit» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
[d6r] – [Colophon]: «Explectus Esopus per Dominicum de Viualdis eiusque filios in Monteregali. die XVI nouembris MCCCCLXXVI».

INITIALS: Absent, with blank spaces left.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a2r]; AM2 [a2v]; AM3 [a3r]; AM4 [a3v]; AM5 [a4r]; AM6 [a4r]; AM7 ('De femina nubente furi') [a4v]; AM8 ('De lupo et grua') [a4v]; AM9 ('De cane pregnante et alia non pregnante') [a5r]; AM10 [a5v]; AM11 [a5v]; AM12 [a6r]; AM13 [a6v]; AM14 ('De aquila et cortinice') [a7r]; AM15 [a7v]; **AM17 ('De catulo et aselo') [a8r];** AM16 [a8v]; AM18 [b1r]; AM19 ('De milvo infirmo') [b1r]; AM20 [b1v]; AM21 ('De terra antiqua carente rege') [b2r]; AM22 [b2v]; AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis') [b3r]; AM24 [b3r]; AM25 [b3v]; AM26 [b4r]; 27 ('De agno relicto capri et lupo') [b4r]; AM28 ('De cane inveterato domino suo') [b4v]; AM29 ('De leporibus querentibus recem') [b5r]; AM30 ('De capra et edo') [b5v]; AM31 [b4r]; AM32 ('De cervo et ove') [b6v]; AM33 ('De aquila musca et homine calvo') [b6v]; AM34 [b7r]; AM35 [b7v]; AM36 ('De corvo et pavonibus') [b7v]; AM37 [b8r]; AM38 [b8v]; AM39 [c1r]; AM40 [c1v]; AM41 [c2r]; AM42 [c2v]; AM43 [c3r]; AM44 [c3v]; AM45 ('De quadrupedibus et avibus pugnantibus') [c4r]; AM46 [c4v]; AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe') [c5r]; AM48 [c5v]; AM49 [c6r]; AM50 [c6v]; AM51 [c7r]; AM52 [c7v]; AM53 ('De pugna luporum et ovium') [c8r]; AM54 [c8v]; AM55 [c8v]; AM56 [d1v]; AM57 [d2r]; AM58 [d2v]; AM59 [d3r]; AM60 [d3v]; AM62 [d4r]; AM63 [d4v]; **AM61 [d5r] and AM61a ('De dilacione duelli') [d5v]**; **AM66 ('De patre et filio') [d6v]**.[581]

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: No added comments or other paratextual material. Fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', is divided into two parts, the second starting at leaf [d5v] with the authonomous title of 'De dilacione duelli'. The fact that these two parts were probably considered as two separate fables is witnessed by the presence of two separate illustrations on leaves [d5r/v].[582] Another quite peculiar feature of this edition is the presence of two fables with

[581] From the reproduction that I examined (RAINERI 1972), parts of this copy might be mispaged.
[582] The fable starts at leaf [d5r] with the first three lines; linesnumber 4 and the following are [d5v]. See more on the textual division in section III.1.2 of this thesis, under Group 6.

the same title 'De patre et eius filio'. The first version of this fable (inc.: «Est pater est filius hic patri credere nescit | nam facienda fugit et fugienda facit», expl.: «merito cautela docendi | maiorique sua credit in arte minor») can be found in almost all other editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* as well as in all the vernacular translations (Accio Zucco's, Francesco del Tuppo). The second version, which is also the last fable contained in this edition, is less frequent and is witnessed only by the other edition printed by the Vivaldis in Mondovì in 1481.[583]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: [a2r]; [a2v] (2); [a3r]; [a3v]; [a4r] (2); [a4v]; [a5r] (2); [a5v]; [a6r] (2); [a7r] (2); [a7v]; [a8r]; [a8v] (2); [b1v] (2); [b2r]; [b2v]; [b3r]; [b3v] (2); [b4r]; [b4v]; [b5r]; [b5v] (2); [b6r]; [b6v]; [b7r] (2); [b7v]; [b8r]; [b8v] (2); [c1v]; [c2r] (2); [c2v]; [c3r]; [c4v]; [c5r] (2); [c5v]; [c6r]; [c7r]; [c7v] (2); [c8r]; [c8v]; [d1r] (2); [d1v]; [d2r]; [d3v] (2); [d4v]; [d5r]; [d5v]; [d6r]; [d6v].
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: One decorated initial ('U', leaf a2r) and sixty-seven narrative scenes, of which one titlepage woodcut (c. 113 x 60 mm) on leaf a2r and sixty-six slightly smaller blocks (60 x 110 mm), each one different from the others, printed within the text. Each block comprises a very simple border, very likely designed and carved toge ther with the central narrative scene.
Total number of impressions: sixty-eight (sixty-seve narrative blocks + one initial).
Total number of woodcuts used: sixty-eight.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The entire set of blocks was reused in the following edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* devised by the same printers in 1481.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele (through anastatic reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: One of the very first readers coloured and outlined all the woodcuts in red, green and light brown, and rubricated some of the initials. Inscription in brown ink on the verso of the last printed leaf (Italian, 15th-century hand): "Non est cur timeas olim de iure timebas | Non est cur timeas regula nostra vetat | Ut tibi credatur cridas issigne cuculam | Et licet ante parum nunc tibi credo minus". The same inscription is copied a second time below but here "cridas issigne" is replaced with "geris isigne". Initials and paragraph marks filled by hand. The same Italian hand might also be responsible for outlining the shape of part of the watermark.

13) 1477 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Bologna: Balthasar Azoguidus (ISTC ia00123550; GW 384; Text-Inc: tia00123550).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: [ab^{8}c^{4}]. 27 lines per page; type: 2:99R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; c4v expl.: «...dira venena nocent» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].
[c4v] – [Colophon]: «Impresso Bononiae anno 1477 in domo Baldaseris de Azzoguidis».

[583] ISTC ia00123800, n° 23 in this *Catalogue*. The origin of these unique feature shall probably be searched in the manuscript tradition.

INITIALS: Absent.
TITLES: Absent.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a1r]; AM2 [a1r]; AM3 [a1v]; AM4 [a2r]; AM5 [a2r]; AM6 ('De leone et cervo') [a2r]; AM7 ('De femina nubente furi') [a2v]; AM8 [a2v]; 9 [a2v]; AM10 [a3r]; AM11 [a3r]; AM12 [a3v]; 13 [a4r]; AM14 ('De aquila et cornice') [a4r]; AM15 [a4v]; AM16 ('De leone sene') [a4v]; AM17 ('De cane et […]') [a5r]; AM18 [a5r]; AM19 [a5v]; AM20 [a6r]; AM21 ('De quadam fabula') [a6r]; AM22 [a6v]; AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis') [a7r]; AM24 [a7r]; AM25 [a7r]; AM26 [a7v]; AM27 [a7v]; AM28 ('De cane sene') [a8r]; AM29 [a8r]; AM30 [a8v]; AM31 [a8v]; AM32 ('De cervo et lupo) [b1r]; AM33 [b1r]; AM34 [b1v]; AM35 ('De lupo inveniente capitem humanum') [b1v]; AM36 [b2r]; AM37 [b2r]; AM38 [b2v]; AM39 [b3r]; AM40 ('De mustella et mure') [b3r]; AM41 ('De bove et ranis') [b3v]; AM42 [b3v]; AM43 [b4r]; AM44 [b4v]; AM45 ('De avibus et vespertilione') [b5r]; AM46 [b5v]; AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe') [b5v]; AM48 [b6r]; AM49 ('De viro et muliere') [b6r]; AM50 ('De amore thane') [b7r]; AM51 ('De patre et eius genito') [b7r]; AM52 [b7v]; AM53 (title missing) [b7v]; AM54 [b8r]; AM55 [b8r]; AM56 ('De ora ventre') [b8v]; AM57 [c1r]; AM58 [c1r]; AM59 [c1v]; AM60 [c2r]; AM61 ('De milite et dispensatore regis et rusticus') [c2v]; AM62 [c4r]; AM63 [c4r].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition only contains sixty-three fables. Variants AM39.10 «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12 «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17 «Hanc amor ipse ligat. fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that this edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition. The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added at the end of AM14. Line AM44.5 reads «Quod sibi claudat iter, sonipes inclamat asello». Lines AM47.7-9 read «Fraude tamen munita venis furtumque minaris | melle tegis dolor est copia nostra tibi | extorquere paras aliquid furtumque minaris | sed mea furtivam respuit esca gulam».[584] Line AM55.23 reads «pro turpi vendere lucro». Lines AM61.62-65 read «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat».

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Kraków, Czart., 313 II cim.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Titles supplied in red ink by a late 15th-century Italian hand, who was also responsible for supplying some of the initials, from fable 'De terra tumente' onwards (leaf [a7v]). Another 15th-century hand made three marginal notes with the word "Historia" on leaves [b6v], [b7r] and [c2v], respectively next to the fables 'De viro et muliere', 'De amore thane' and 'De milite et dispensatore regis et rusticus'.

[584] This variant is reported by Busdraghi as one of the distinctive variants of manuscript Montecassino, Abbazia, 227 P (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 146).

⌘ 14) c. 1477 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Greek, with the Latin translation by Rinucius Aretinus) and *Fabulae selectae* (Greek and Latin)

[Milan]: Bonus Accursius (ISTC ia00098000; GW 313; Text-Inc: tia00098000).[585]
Format: 4°; 168 leaves. Collation: A–F(G)I^{8}(K)^{6}; a–g^{8};abCD^{8}E^{6}. 25 lines per page; types: 1:119R, 3:125Gr.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[A1r] – Bonus Accursius, [letter to] Johannes Franciscus Turrianus. 'Bonus Accursius Pisanus doctissimo ac sapientissimo ducali quaestori Iohanni Francisco Turriano salutem plurimam dicit'. Inc.: «Cum animadverterem quanto...»; A1v expl.: «...tibi afferam. Vale vir doctissime ac sapientissime et me uti soles ama» [ed.: BOTFIELD 1861, pp. 171-72];
A2r – Maximos Planudes [pseudo-], *Vita Aesopi* in Greek. 'ΑΙΣΩΠΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΠΟΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΩ ΤΩ ΠΛΑΝΟΥΔΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ'. Inc.: «Πραγμάτων φύζιν...»; D8v expl.: «…αίσώπου θανάτω γεγόνασιν» [ed.: EBERHARD 1872, pp. 225-305];
E1r – Aesop, *Fabulae* [in Greek, edited by Bonus Accursius]. 'Άισώπον Μύθοι. Άετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ'. Inc.: «Άετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν…»; K6r expl.: «…τοιαύτας απονέμουσι χάριτας». 'Τέλος των του Άισωπου Μύθοι' [ed.: HAUSRATH-HUNGER 1970, pp. 1-208];

a1r – Rinucius Aretinus, [dedicatory letter] to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos. 'Vita Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rinucium facta ad reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli Sancti Chrysogoni Presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primum prohoemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; a1v expl.: «...argumenti pauca suggessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a1v – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum'. Inc.: «[V]itam Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi his...»; a2r expl.: «...nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a2r – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Vita Aesopi*; 'Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi vita'. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; d8v expl.: «...Aesopi auctores fuerunt» [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum fabularum Aesopi e greco in latinum'. Inc.: «[A]esopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...potest. Hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of Aesop's *Fabulae*. Edited by Bonus Accursius Pisanus]. 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata inter se...»; g11r expl.: «…obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
g11r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; g11v expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'Finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
g11v – [Colophon]: «Vita Aesopi per Rynucium thettalum traducta. Verum quoniam ab eo non nulla fuerunt praetermissa, fortassis quia graecus eius codex esset minus emendatus. Ego Bonus Accursius Pisanus eadem in ea omnia correxi et emendavi»;

[585] I follow here Lockwood's suggestion, accepted by PILLOLA 1993, p. 103 n. 33, that the appearance of this edition, or of an earlier version of it, should be anticipated of at least one year to when it is normally dated in catalogues (1478) since ms London, BL, Add. MS 11896, recognised as *descriptus* from Accursius' edition, is dated «1477». Other catalogues, such as GW, HAIN and IGI assign it to c. 1480 on the basis of typographical analysis: none of the types nor of other editions with which this one is compared, however, have a precise date (see the GW record for this edition and for types 1:119R and 3:125Gr).

A1v – Bonus Accursius, [letter to] Johannes Franciscus Turrianus. 'Bonus accursius pisanus doctissimo ac sapientissimo ducali quaestori Iohanni Francisco Turriano salutem plurimam dicit'.' Inc.: «[I]n superiore codice...»; expl.: «...utilitatem conducturum putem. Vale» [ed.: SAXIUS 1745, p. 545];
A2r – Aesop, *Μύθοι'. Fabulae* [in parallel Greek and Latin versions, translated and edited by Bonus Accursius]. 'Μύθοι' Ἀισώπου - Fabulae Aesopi'.' Inc.: «De vulpe et hirco. [V]ulpes et hircus sitientes...»; E6r expl.: «...tales reddunt gratias». 'Finis Aesopi fabularum';
E6r – [Colophon]: «Bonus Accursius pisanus impressit, qui non doctorum hominum sed rudium ac puerorum gratia hunc laborem suscepit».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: ***Aesop***: AF1 [E1r]; AF2 [E1v]; AF3 [E2r]; AF4 [E2v]; AF5 [E3r]; AF6 [E3r]; AF7 [E3v]; AF8 [E3v]; AF9 [E4r]; AF10 [E4r]; AF11 [E4v]; AF12 [E4v]; AF13 [E5r]; AF14 [E5r]; AF15 [E5v]; AF16 [E5v]; AF17 [E6r]; AF18 [E6r]; AF19 [E6v]; AF20 [E6v]; AF21 [E7r]; AF22 [E7v]; AF23 [E7v]; AF24 [E8r]; AF25 [E8r]; AF26 [E8v]; AF27 [E8v]; AF28 [F1r]; AF29 [F1r]; AF30 [F1v]; AF31 [F2r]; AF32 [F2r]; AF33 [F2v]; AF34 [F2v]; AF35 [F2v]; AF36 [F3r]; AF37 [F3v]; AF38 [F3v]; AF39 [F4r]; AF40 [F4r]; AF41 [F4v]; AF42 [F4v]; AF43 [F5r]; AF44 [F5r]; AF45 [F6r]; AF46 [F6r]; AF47 [F6v]; AF48 [F6v]; AF49 [F7r]; AF50 [F7v]; AF51 [F7v]; AF52 [F7v]; AF53 [F8r]; AF54 [F8r]; AF55 [F8v]; AF56 [F8v]; AF57 [G1r]; AF58 [G1r]; AF59 [G1v]; AF60 [G1v]; AF61 [G2r]; AF62 [G2r]; AF63 [G2r]; AF64 [G2v]; AF65 [G2v]; AF66 [G3r]; AF67 [G3r]; AF68 [G3v]; AF69 [G3v]; AF70 [G4r]; AF71 [G4r]; AF72 [G4v]; AF73 [G5r]; AF74 [G5r]; AF75 [G5v]; AF76 [G5v]; AF77 [G5v]; AF78 [G6r]; AF79 [G6r]; AF80 [G6r]; AF81 [G6v]; AF82 [G6v]; AF83 [G6v]; AF84 [G7r]; AF85 [G7r]; AF86 [G7v]; AF87 [G7v]; AF88 [G8r]; AF89 [G8r]; AF90 [G8v]; AF91 [G8v]; AF92 [H1r]; AF93 [H1v]; AF94 [H1v]; AF95 [H2r]; AF96 [H2r]; AF97 [H2v]; AF98 [H2v]; AF99 [H3r]; AF100 [H3r]; AF101 [H3v]; AF102 [H3v]; AF103 [H4r]; AF104 [H4r]; AF105 [H4v]; AF106 [H4v]; AF107 [H4v]; AF108 [H5r]; AF109 [H5r]; AF110 [H5v]; AF111 [H5v]; AF112 [H6r]; AF113 [H6r]; AF114 [H6v]; AF115 [H6v]; AF116 [H7r]; AF117 [H7r]; AF118 [H7r]; AF119 [H7v]; AF120 [H7v]; AF121 [H8r]; AF122 [H8r]; AF123 [H8r]; AF124 [H8v]; AF125 [H8v]; AF126 [K1r]; AF127 [K2r]; AF128 [K1v]; AF129 [K1v]; AF130 [K2r]; AF131 [K2v]; AF132 [K2v]; AF133 [K3r]; AF134 [K3r]; AF135 [K3v]; AF136 [K3v]; AF137 [K4r]; AF138 [K4r]; AF139 [K4r]; AF140 [K4v]; AF141 [K4v]; AF142 [K5r]; AF143 [K5r]; AF144 [K5v]; AF145 [K5v]; AF146 [K6r]; AF147 [K6r]; ***Rinucius***: R1 (e1r); R2 (e1v); R3 (e2r); R4 (e2v); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - e3r); R6 (e3r); R7 (e3v); R8 (e3v); R9 (e4r); R10 (e4r); R11 (e4v); R12 (e4v); R13 (e5r); R14 (e5r); R15 (e5v); R16 (e5v); R17 (a6r); R18 (a6r); R19 (a6v); R20 (a6v); R21 (e7r); R22 (e7r); R23 (e7v); R24 (e7v); R25 (e8r); R26 (a8r); R27 (e8v); R28 (e8v); R29 (f1r); R30 (f1r); R31 (f1v); R32 (f1v); R33 (f2r); R34 (f2r); R35 (f2v); R36 (f2v); R37 (f3r); R38 (f3r); R39 (f3v); R40 (f3v); R41 (f4r); R42 (f4r); R43 (f4v); R44 (f4v); R45 (f5r); R46 (f5r); R47 (f5v); R48 (f5v); R49 (f6r); R50 (f6r); R51 (f6v); R52 (f6v); R53 (f6v); R54 (f7r); R55 (f7v); R56 (f7v); R57(f8r); R58 (f8r); R59 (f8r); R60 (f8v); R61 (f8v); R62 (g1r); R63 (g1v); R64 (g1v); R65 (g1v); R66 (g2r); R67 (g2v); R68 (g2v); R69 (g3r); R70 (g3r); R71 (g3v); R72 (g3v); R73 (g3v); R74 (g4r); R75 (g4v); R76 (g5r); R77 (g5r); R78 (g5v); R79 (g5v); R80 (g6r); R81 (g6r); R82 (g6v); R83 (g6v); R84 (g6v); R85 (g7r); R86 (g7r); R87 (g7v); R88 (g7v); R89 (g8r); R90 (g8r); R91 (g8v); R92 (g9r); R93 (g9r); R94 (g9v); R95 (g9v); R96 (g9v); R97 (g10r); R98 (g10r); R99 (g10v); R100 (g10v); ***Bonus Accursius***: BA1 (2r); BA2 (a3r); BA3 (a3v); BA4 (a4r); BA5 (a5r); BA6 (a5v); BA7 (a6r); BA8 (a6r); BA9 (a7r); BA10 (a7v); BA11 (a8r); BA12 (a8r); BA13 (b1r); BA14 (b1v); BA15 (b2r); BA16 (b2v); BA17 (b3r); BA18 (b3v); BA19 (b4r); BA20 (b4v); BA21 (b5r); BA22 (b6v); BA23 (b7v); BA24 (b8v); BA25 (c1r); BA26 (c1v); BA27 (c2r); BA28 (c2v); BA29 (c3r); BA30 (c3v); BA31 (c4r); BA32 (c4v); BA33 (c5r); BA34 (c6r); BA35 (c6v); BA36 (c7r); BA37 (c7v); BA38 (c8r); BA39 (c8v); BA40 (d1r); BA41 (d1v); BA42 (d2r); BA43 (d2v); BA44 (d2v); BA45 (d3v); BA46 (d4r); BA47 (d4v); BA48 (d5v); BA49 (d6r); BA50 (d7r); BA51 (d7v); BA52 (d8v); BA53 (d8v); BA54 (e1v); BA55 (e2r); BA56 (e2v); BA57 (e3r); BA58 (e4r); BA59 (e4v); BA60 (e5r); BA61 (e5v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition, the lacuna towards the end of Rinucius' translation of the *Vita Aesopi* was filled in with the relevant episode of around twenty-three lines, most likely translated by Bonus Accursius himself on the basis of a Greek manuscript of the *Vita* different from the one, or ones, that Rinucius had used for his work (see leaf d6r and the statement inserted by Accursius as colophon at the end of the section of the volume dedicated to Rinucius' works). The Greek words and letters of the *Vita Aesopi* were filled in. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «Novas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius

Cerdá. The presence of several variants including the use of «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine' and «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis', and other similarities suggest that this part of Accurius' edition was based on Zarotus' 1474 one. In particular, in light of the known ongoing collaboration between Zarotus and Bonus Accursius in those years, I agree with the hypothesis suggested by scholars that Accursius might actually have been the editor also of Zarotus' edition, which he later used as a starting point and improved with the help of the Greek text, when printing his own compilation.[586]
The textual features of the Greek text of the *Fabulae* in the *recensio Accursiana*, as well as of the Greek-to-Latin translation made by Accursius himself, are commented in the relevant sections of chapters II and III of this study.[587]

EXTANT COPIES: 52, of which 7 out of Europe (New Zeland, USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Byw. I 1.23 (MEI 00204320); Oxford, Bodl., Douce A 541 (MEI 00205346); London, BL, IB.26555 (MEI 02017868); London, BL, C.1.a.1 (MEI 02015001); London, BL, G.7726.[588]
PROVENANCE NOTES: BL C.1.a.1 has an ownership note and several marginalia by the Tuscan humanist Benedetto Varchi (1502-1566): "Benedictus Varicensis" written on leaf a1r of the second section.[589] The copy was later owned by the British collector James Joy (1680-1740): "Jacobi Joye" on the upper right-hand corner of the first leaf of sections I and II. It was later donated by the scholar Charles Burney to king George III, before entering the British Museum Library, which later became the British Library.
BL IB.26555 is decorated with an illuminated and coloured initial at the beginning of each section, and all other capitals supplied in blue. At the foot of A1r is also a border with wreath containing a coat of arms which has been tentatively identified with that of the Medici family. Three late 15th/early 16th-century Italian hands left a number of annotations throughout the book. One of them, writing in Greek, has been identified as Zanobi Acciaiuoli, a humanist from Florence but later emplyed by Pope Leo X as the prefect of the Vatican Library.[590] The volume was later owned by Reverend Cracherode (1730-1799), and the binding is stamped with his arms. Cracherode left his collection to the British Museum.
In **BL G7726** the three parts are in the wrong order, with part III, the translation by Bonus Accursius, opening the volume. The volume is currently bound with a copy of Raimundus Marlianus' *Index locorum in commentario Caesaris Belli gallici descriptorum*, also attributed to Bonus Accursius and roughly to the same years.[591] On leaf a1r of part III, four capital 'G' are written in brown ink, in gothic style (possibly of northern European provenance). Marlianus' index has some lines written in old French by a 15th century hand in brown ink on the last leaf (h4v), inc.: "De bien penser vient…". Before entering the British Museum, and later the British Library,

586 See PILLOLA 1993, p. 105.
587 See sections II.16, II.18 and III.2 in particular.
588 More copies of this edition are described on MEI.
589 On Varchi's library see SCAPECCHI 2007, pp. 309-18.
590 The suggested identification of the coat of arms with that of the Medici family is already contained in *BMC* VI, pp. 754-55. The identification of Acciaiuoli's hand came from Dr David Speranzi (now Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence). For Acciaiuoli's biography see the *DBI* record by REDIGONDA 1960 available online.
591 ISTC im00276000.

both books were part of the collection of Thomas Grenville (armorial binding and slips with notes at the beginning of each edition).[592]
Of the three copies owned by the Bodleian Library, **Byw. I 1.23** shows a 18th-century inscription "Iohannes de Assisio" in red on the first front flyleaf; after passing through the hands of the bibliophile and scholar Tammaro de Marinis (Florence, 1878-1969), it was bought by I. Bywater in 1910 for the sum of £100 and later left by Bywater to the Bodleian Library after his death in 1914.[593]
Douce A 541, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Francis Douce in 1834 has an iscription by a 16th-century Italian hand on leaf A1r by "Johannes Chrysostomus Zanchius", who was the rector-general of the Canons Regular of the Congregation of S. Salvator of the Lateran (died 1566).[594]
Copy **Auct. K 4.9a-c.** was once owned by Edward Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at the University of Oxford from 1673 to 1691.[595]

⚜ 15) c. 1478 – *Aesopus moralisatus* (Italian, translated by Facius Caffarellus)

Cosenza: Octavianus Salamonius (ISTC ia00109500; GW 346; Text-Inc: tia00109500).
Format: 4°; 42 leaves. Collation: [ab^{8}c^{6}de^{8}f^{4}]. 30 lines per page; type: 1:100R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [Colophon]: «Qui si tractano le fabule di Exopo riducte da latino sermone in vulgare plene de sua vita dolceza et fructo. Le quale cose tutti quelli che cum attentione de animo legeranno apertamente intenderanno, transmutate dal dicto latino in vulgare per mastro Facio Caffarello da Faenza. Ad contemplatione et instantia del Magnifico Misere Polidamas dela paglyara de salerno, de essere per impressione pluplicate per lo egregio mastro Octaviano Salamonius de manfridonia impressore in la cita de Cosenza»;
[a1r] – [Preface]. Inc.: «[L]a scriptura dello presente...»; [a1v] expl.: «...clauso un dolce cibo»;
[a1v] – [Facius Caffarellus, translation of *Aesopus moralisatus*], 'De gallo et iaspide.' Inc.:: «Conta Exopo in questa fabula...»'; [f4r] expl.: «...che lo amaro veleno»; 'Feliciter explicit';
[f4r] – [Registrum] Inc.: «Quaternum primum | Qui si tracta ...»; expl.: «Sextum | Iutare di | & cussi | Cusenciae».

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: FC1 [a1v]; FC2 [a2r]; FC3 [a2v]; FC4 [a3r]; FC5 [a3v]; FC6 [a4r]; FC7 [a4v]; FC8 [a5r]; FC9 [a5r]; **FC10 ('De cane portante carnem') [a5v];** FC11 [a6r]; FC12 [a6v]; FC13 [a8r]; FC14 [a8v]; FC15 [b1r]; FC16 [b1v]; FC17 [b2r]; FC18 [b2v]; FC19 [b3r]; FC20 [b4r]; FC21 [b5r]; FC22 [b5r]; FC23 [b5v]; FC24 ('De terra pariente murem') [b6r]; **FC25 ('De miluo precante matrem') [b6v]**; **FC26 ('De irundine et lino') [b7r]**;

592 On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.
593 See also Bod-Inc A-043(1).
594 See also Bod-Inc A-043(3).
595 See also BodInc-Id: A-043(2).

FC27 [b7v]; FC28 [b8r]; FC29 [b8v]; FC30 [c1v]; FC31 [c2r]; FC32 [c2v]; FC33 [c3r]; FC34 [c3r]; FC35 [c4r]; FC36 [c4r]; FC37 [c5r]; FC38 [c5v]; FC39 [c6v]; FC40 [c7r]; FC41 [d1v]; FC42 [d2r]; FC43 [d3r]; FC44 [d4r]; FC45 [d5r]; FC46 [d5v]; FC47 [d6r]; FC48 [d7r]; FC49 [d7v]; FC50 [e1r]; FC51 [e1v]; FC52 [e2r]; FC53 [e2v]; FC54 [e3r]; FC55 [e3v]; FC56 [e4v]; FC57 [e5r]; FC58 [e5v]; FC59 [e5v]; FC60 [e7r]; FC61 [e7v]; FC62 [f3r]; FC63 [f3v].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In Caffarellus' translation, fable AM5, 'De cane et carne' stands here in tenth position; also the block of two fables AM19 'De miluo precante matrem' and AM20, 'De irundine et lino' is moved from its original place, which would normally be between fables 'De leone et mure' and 'De Attica terra et rege'. These features are likely to depend on the Latin source used by Caffarellus for the translation.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Rome, Cors., 51.A.19.4 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: No early marks of provenance; the copy was restored in 1971 and a fragment of the spine of the earlier binding (possibly from 18th century) is enclosed in the book. Modern foliation and division of the quires marked in pencil.

16) 1479, June 26 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia (ISTC ia00100000; GW 338; Text-Inc: tia00100000).
Format: 8°; 52 leaves. Collation: a–$c^8$$d^4$ e–g^8. 27 lines per page; type: 6:92G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rimicium fatta ad Reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primo prohemium.' Inc.: «[Q]uas nimirum merces...»; a2v expl.: «...loco argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a2v – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Argumentum'. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi...»; expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a2v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*; 'Incipit vita Esopi'. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; d4r expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Finis' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Argumentum* to his translation of Aesop's *Fabulae*; 'Argumentum fabularum Esopi e greco in latinum'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Fabulae*; 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «Aquila et vulpes conflata...»; g7r expl.: «...penitus obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; g7v expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'Finis' [PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
g7v – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Inc.: «Si placet hybernas...»; expl.: «...non tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac couplets];
g7v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani ad impensas Philippi Lavagnie civis mediolanensis, 1479, die 26, mensis Iunii».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (e1r); R2 (e1v); R3 (e2r); R4 (e2r); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - e2v); R6 (e3r); R7 (e3r); R8 (e3v); R9 (e3v); R10 (e3v); R11 (e4r); R12 (e4r); R13 (e4v); R14 (e4v); E15 (e4v); R16 (e5r); R17 (e5r); R18 (e5v); R19 (e5v); R20 (e6r); R21 (e6r); R22 (e6r); R23 (e6v); R24 (e6v); R25 (e7r); R26 (e7r); R27 (e7v); R28 (e7v); R29 (e7v); R30 (e8r); R31 (e8r); R32 (e8v); R33 (e8v); R34 (f1r); R35 (f1r); R36 (f1r); R37 (f1v); R38 (f1v); R39 (f2r); R40 (f2r); R41 (f2r); R42 (f2v); R43 (f3r); R44 (f3r); R45 (f3r); R46 (f3v); R47 (f3v); R48 (f4r); R49 (f4r) R50 (f4r); R51 (f4v); R52 (f4v); R53 (f4v); R54 (f5r); R55 (f5r); R56 (f5v); R57 (f5v); R58 (f6r); R59 (f6r); R60 (f6r); R61 (f6v); R62 (f6v); R63 (f7r); R64 (f7r); R65 (f7r); R66 (f7v); R67 (f8r); R68 (f8r); R69 (f8r); R70 (f8v); R71 (f8v); R72 (g1r); R73 (g1r); R74 (g1r); R75 (g1v); R76 (g2r); R77 (g2r); R78 (g2v); R79 (g2v); R80 (g3r); R81 (g3r); R82 (g3r); R83 (g3v); R84 (g3v); R85 (g4r); R86 (g4r); R87 (g4r); R88 (g4v); R89 (g4v); R90 (g4v); R91 (g5r); R92 (g5v); R93 (g5v); R94 (g5v); R95 (g6r); R96 (g6r); R97 (g6v); R98 (g6v); R99 (g6v); R100 (g7r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The Greek words of the *Vita* were left blank. The lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* is not marked: «habe spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris | Ecce delphi: qui esopum publico», as in the first edition printed by Zarotus, with which this edition also shares the most distinctive textual variants within the text of the fables, both those which link it to the τ branch of the manuscript transmission and those which separate the printed version from all the manuscripts, and that are supposed to have been introduced by Zarotus himself. These variants include «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in fable R31, 'De agricola et filiis'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in fable R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «Novas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. The opening of the 'Prohemium' addressed to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos also contains the misspelling of the name of the author ('Rimicius' for 'Rinucius').

EXTANT COPIES: 10 of which 1 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: London, BL, G.7730 (= IA.26179).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Blank spaces left for Greek characters in the translation of the *Vita* were not filled in. Paragraph marks added in red at the beginning of each new fable through the text of the *Fabulae* (gatherings *e, f* anf *g*) by a late 15th/early 16th-century hand, and some initials filled in by the same hand in red ink (leaves f2-f4). A red mark usually separates the last two lines containing the moral of the fable from the rest of each text. Remainings of a few marginal notes by an early hand, in brown ink, possibly washed, such as the one towards the bottom of leaf a8r, and traces of an early rubrication are still visible throughout the pages of the *Vita*.
The book was part of the library of Thomas Grenville (armorial bidinding and notes attached to the first front flyleaf) before entering the British Museum and, later, the British Library.[596]

17) 1479 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[596] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro (ISTC ia00123600; GW 385; Text-Inc: tia00123600).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: $a^{8}bc^{6}$. 31 lines per page; types: 3:88/89R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], 'Hic incipit liber magistri Esopi'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; c5v expl.: «...manet atque salus». 'Deo gratias amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].
c6r – [Colophon]: «Ad laudem omnipotentis Dei et Beatae Virginis et Martiris Katerine. Explicit hoc opus Esopi hic foeliciter completum est in Tuscolano Lacus Benaci per magistrum Gabrielem Petri Tarvisinum Anno Crysti Mcccclxxviiii».

INITIALS: The initials of each fable are absent, with guide letters; the initials of each line are written in capital and aligned on the left margin of the page.
TITLES: Present, all in capitals.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a2r); AM2 (a2r); AM3 (a2v); AM4 (a2v); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a3r); AM8 (a3v); AM9 ('De pia et ingrata cane' - a3v); AM10 (a3v); AM11 (a4r); AM12 (a4r); AM13 (a4v); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - av4); AM15 (a5r); AM16 (a5r); AM17 (a5r); AM18 (a5v); AM19 (a6r); AM20 (a6r); AM21 (a6v); AM22 (a6v); AM23 (a7r); AM24 (a7r); AM24 (a7r); AM26 ('De terra tumente et hominibus timidis' - a7v); AM27 ('De grege barbato lupo et agno' - a7v); AM28 (a8r); AM29 ('De silva tonante et leporibus fugientibus' - a8r); AM30 (a8v); AM31 (a8v); AM32 (a8v); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 (b1v); AM36 (b1v); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b2v); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3r); AM43 (b3v); AM44 (b4r); AM45 (b4v); AM46 (b4v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe ac pastore' - b5r); AM48 (b5r); AM49 (b5v); AM50 (b6r); AM51 (b6r); AM52 (b6v); AM53 (b6v); AM54 (c1r); AM55 (c1r); AM56 (c1v); AM57 (c1v); AM58 (c2r); AM59 ('De cane bobus et cervo' - c2r); **AM62** (c2v); AM60 (c3r); **AM63** (c3r); AM61 (c3v); **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - c5r)**; **AM65 ('De viro et uxore moecha' - c5r)**; **AM66 ('De leone lupo et vulpe' - c5v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is characterised by the presence of sixty-six fables, including the usual sixty-three plus fables AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus', AM65, 'De viro et uxore' and AM66, 'De leone lupo et vulpe'. AM62, 'De capone et accipitre' is anticipated of two positions and AM61, 'De cive et equite', is placed in between fable AM63 and AM64. The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added after line 8 of AM14, 'De aquila et testudine'.[597] Three lines are added after line 26 of AM49, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil fecit dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[598]

EXTANT COPIES: 2.
EXAMINED COPY: Manchester, JRL Inc. 20.B.5 (MEI 02016689).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Three ink pen initials (late 15th century) in red and blue only on the first leaf a2r, which is printed in black and red. On leaf c6v, long manuscript note in black ink, possibly by an English hand (16th century), quoting from Hieronymus, *In Ezechielem* and reading: "Divo Hieronymus in Ezechielem cap. 47 inquit 'Aiunt enim qui de animantium scripsere naturis et proprietate qui 'ἁλιευτική tam Latino quam Greco didicere sermone de quibus Oppianus Cilix est, poeta doctissimus, centum quinquaginta tria esse genera piscium quae omnia capta sunt ab

[597] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.

[598] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).

apostolis, et nihil remansit incaptum, dum et nobiles et ignobiles, divites et pauperes, et omne genus hominum de mari huius saeculi extrahitur.' Ait salute".[599] Roughly from the same period (late 16th/early 17th century) is the price noted on leaf [a1r], in light brown ink, top right corner "£2S10". A later hand has then noted "21/0/0" on the verso of the first front flyleaf. The volume was owned by George John, 2nd Earl of Spencer (1758-1834) as indicated by the red leather oval label reading "E bibliotheca spenceriana" pasted on the front pastedown, who was probably also responsible for the leather 18th-century binding, and later passed in the hands of Enriqueta Tennand, the third wife of John Rylands, who left the book to its current owner at her death in 1908.[600]

⚜ *18) 1479, June 26 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Verona: Iohannes Alvisius and Albertus Griffisolis (ISTC ia00148000; GW 428; Text-Inc: tia00148000).[601]
Format: 4°, 120 leaves. Collation: a-p^{8}. 23 lines per page; type: 1:119R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo...»; expl.: «...bene impresso fui» [16 lines];
a1r – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. Inc.: «Aseopus (*sic*) fueram deformis...»; expl.: «...seria mixta dabit» [3 elegiac couplets];
a2r – [Title-page]. 'Acci Zuchi Summa Campaneae Veronensis, viri eruditissimi, in Aesopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhithmos in libelum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta, feliciter incipit';
a2v – Accio Zucco, [verse prologue]; 'Proemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...mio debil ingiegno» [caudate sonnet];
a3r – Accio Zucco, [second verse prologue]. 'Idem.' Inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a3v – [Titlepage with a woodcut]: 'Lepidissimi Aesopi Fabellae';
a4r – Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit…»; p3r expl.: «…non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
p3r – [Anonymous, Latin and Italian verse]. Inc.: «Intret in has hedes quisque sociare bonorum...»; expl.: «...e li altri lasse stare» [4 lines];
p3r – [Colophon]: «Impressum Veronae die XXVI Iunii M.CCCC.LXXVIIII»;
p3v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio, quel poco...»; p4v expl.: «…non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
p4r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin de lopra...»'; p7r expl.: «...el Zucco da Summacampagna» [130 lines];

[599] See MIGNE 1886, vol. XXV, 294-295.
[600] More information about this copy and bibliography can be found in the MEI record 02016689. The only other copy, now at Cambridge, UL, is also described in MEI (00558597).
[601] For the identity of the two printers and documentary sources about their lives see FATTORI 2002, pp. 7-18.

p7r – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo...»; expl.: «...ricomanda: miserere mei» 'Finis' [caudate sonnet];
p7v – [Table of contents]. «Tavola de le preditte favole».

INITIALS: Absent, with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in capital letters.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: 'Ut iuvet et prosit' (a4r); EZ1 (a5v); EZ2 (a7r); EZ3 (a8v); EZ4 (b2r); EZ5 (b3v); EZ6 ('De leone capra ove et iuvenca' - b5r); EZ7 ('De femina nubente furi' - b6v); EZ8 (b8r); EZ9 ('De cane et alia cane' - c1v); EZ10 (c3r); EZ11 (c4v); EZ12 (c6r); EZ13 (c8r); EZ14 ('De aquila et testudine' - d1v); EZ15 (d3r); EZ16 (d4v); EZ17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - d6v); EZ18 (d8r); EZ19 (e2r); EZ20 ('De irundine et rustico' - e3v); EZ21 ('De civitate carente rege' - e5r); EZ22 (e7r); EZ23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - e8v); EZ24 (f2r); EZ25 (f3v); EZ26 ('De terra que peperit murem' - f5r); EZ27 (f6v); EZ28 (f8v); EZ29 ('De silva et leporibus' - g2r); EZ30 (g3v); EZ31 (g5v); EZ32 ('De cervo et ove' - g7r); EZ33 (g8v); EZ34 (h2r); EZ35 ('De lupo et cervice' - h3v); EZ36 (h5v); EZ37 ('De mula musca et mulione' - h7r); EZ38 (h8v); EZ39 (i2v); EZ40 (i4v); EZ41 (i6r); EZ42 (i7v); EZ43 (k1v); EZ44 (k3v); EZ45 (k5v); EZ46 (k7r); EZ47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - l1r); EZ48 ('De cervo et fonte' - l2v); EZ49 (l4r); EZ50 (l6r); EZ51 (l7v); EZ52 (m1v); EZ53 (m3r); EZ54 (m4v); EZ55 (m6r); EZ56 (m8r); EZ57 (n1v); EZ58 (n3r); EZ59 ('De argo cervo et bobus' - n4v); EZ60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - n6v); EZ61 ('De cive et equite regis' - o1r); EZ62 (o4v); EZ63 (o6r); EZ64 ('De mercatore et eius uxore' - o8r); EZ65 ('De rustico et plutone' - p1v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: A series of textual additions and insertions are found in different parts of the edition, in correspondence with different fables: in EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale': «Immiscere quibus ad te non pertinet | sors tua non recepit gravis et contagio culpe | Non e senza gran culpa ad impazarte de quel che non te toca e ne tua arte». In EZ18, 'De leone et mure', after the Latin text: «Res insana magis conferre potentibus arma | obscoena est minimi dubitanda potentibus eque. | Combatere col mazor et mato studio | vergogna col minor colpar dubio». In fable EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale': «La vergine maria. Priegi il figliol benigno se gli piace | che fra nui mandi sua perfetta pace. | Seneca. | Alme iusticie sceptris dat robora virtus | Temperiem si det pietas humana rigori. | Iusticia ferma la sua signoria | Se con clementia temperate fia». In fable EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale': «Lubrica ne placeant blande preludia lingue. | Legitimus placeat monitor verique professor. | Non te diletti lhomo lusingiero | Ma quell che ti correggie e dice il vero. | Corripiet me iustus usque non inpinguet caput meum. Psalmo. Capitulo X».[602]
After the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of fable EZ35 'De lupo et cervice': «Obsequio quoniam obsequium petit omne rependit | Officium presta iustum facientibus illud. | Pero che ogni server servicio vole | Servi con fede a chi server te sole». In fable EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text: «Forte aliquid magnum propriis si viribus audes | emetire tibi quanto est tua pondere virtus | Se vuoi far alcuna cosa grande | mensura il tuo poder quanto si spande». In fable EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale': «Salustius in Ca. | Avaricia fidem et probitatem ceterasque bona | artes subvertit. | Perche lo avar non si riposa ma | non po acquistar sciencia ne bonta».[603] After the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ43, 'De equo et leone', «Omnis amice tuus nunquam tibi villeat hostis | Concipe quod semper dirus tibi dira minetur | Se tu hai li nemici non li vilipendere | Sapi chi pensan sempre mai de offendere». After the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ44, 'De equo et asello': «Vequi mente putat celum perstare serenum | mutat enim sepe aspectus et frena retorquet | Nisun se fidi del tempo sereno | che spesso muta aspetto e volge al freno». After EZ52, 'De vipera et lima': «Marcialis. Quid dentem dente iuvabit

602 *Ps* 141, 5.
603 The sentence is quoted from Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae,* 10.

| Rodere Carne opus est, si satur esse velis. | Ne perdas operam: qui se mirantur, in illos | Virus habe; nos hæc novimus esse nihil».[604] After the end of the 'Sonetto materiale' of EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus': «Quisquis desiderat patrios sibi crescere census | rem quicunque cupi nec mutilasse suam | discat ab exemplo tempus vigilare per omne | nulla sit infami pars data desidie. | Argus habet centum vigilanti lumina fronte | mens hominum sic sit provida luminibus». Before the beginning of EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis': «Auri sacra fames mortalia pectora cogis | In quodcunque nefas in mala cuncta ruis. | Per te commaculant genitores sanguine dextras | In fratrem frater stringit et ense manum. | Fidite non ideo quod vobis conscia mens sit | Solaque occultis sit scelus omne locis. Iupiter est quocumque vides, quocunque moveris | Atque Argi superat lumina plura deus». After the 'Sonetto materiale' of EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis': «Mittere non debes veterem male gratus amicum | nec labor ex eo sit tibi nempe gravis. | Lamico vecchio guarda non lassare | ne te rincresca per lui fadigarte». After the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis': «O quantum requie dulcis meminisse laborum | res este felici dum iacet hostis iners. | Nel tempo buono e dolce la memoria | Del male amico havendo la victoria». After the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo': «Consuetus vicio quisquis iuvenilibus annis | Crimina non senior linquere posse puto. | Chi giovenetto se usa ad alcun vicio | Quando se invechia attende a quello officio». After the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore': «F.P. | Si chi prende diletto di far frode | Non se de lamenter se altrui linganna».[605] After the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65: «Intret has hedes quisquis sociare bonorum | Agmine se exoptat, scelerum horrere ministros |Entri in la nostra scola chiunque usare | vol con gli boni e li altri lasse stare».

Furthermore, other variants also characterise this text. In fable EZ7, lines 7-8 read: «qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem». After line 4 of EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added. Fable EZ20, 'De hirundine et lino', has line 14: «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which is lacking in almost all the other editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*.

Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe' read: «Gola domanda solo per si sola | larghezza non ma prodigalitade».

The 'Sonetto materiale' of EZ62, 'De capone et accipitre', counts 16 lines.

Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1v; a3v; a4r (decorative border); a5v, a7v; b1v; b3r; b4v; b6r; b7r; b8v; c2r; c3v; c5r, c7r; c8v; d2r, d4r; d6r; d7r; e1r; e2v; e4r; e6r, e7v; f1r; f3r; f4v; f6r; f8r; g1r; g3r; g5r; g6r; g7v; h1r; h3r; h4v; h6r; h7v; i1v; i3v; i5r; i6v; i8v; k2v; k4v; k6r; k8r; l1v; l3r; m5r; m7r; m1r; m2r; m5r; m5v; m7r; n1r; n2v; n3r; n4r; n4v; n7v; o5r; o7r; o8v; p2r.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five narratives scenes (110 x 80 mm), one for each fable, plus one decorated initial (a4r) and three full page woodcuts, i.e.:

- an introductory image of Aesop receiving the translation from Zucco's hands (c. 188 x 132 mm, leaf a1v);
- an introductory image of a classical style capital, with the inscription 'Lepidissimi Aesopi fabellae' (c. 85 x 50 mm, leaf a3v);

[604] Quoted from Martialis, *Xenia,* XIII, 2, 5-8.

[605] Quoted from Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*, I, 119-20.

- a full page border, with two putti holding a laurel wreath in the bottom margin (c. 190 x 132 mm, width c. 40 mm, leaf a4r);
Each of the narrative woodcuts depicting the fables is surrounded by an extremely minute border made through the repetition of small typographical signs which can also be found stamped singularly throughout the book, most of the time marking the beginning of a new fable or some particularly noteworthy passages within in the text (plate 13, fig. 2).
Total number of impressions: sixty-eight (plus different combinations of tipographical signs).
Total number of woodcuts used: sixty-eight (plus different combinations of typographical signs).

EXTANT COPIES: 21 of which 4 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 964 (MEI 02125990); Florence, BNCF, Pal. E.6.2.44 (MEI 00201973); Milan, Triv., Inc. D 113 (MEI 02006598); Mantova, BC, Inc. 504 (MEI 00200396).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Neither the Cini nor the BNCF copies show early provenance evidence.
In the **Trivulziana copy** all the woodcuts and borders have been decorated in watercolour (16th century), and many manuscript notes of ownership were inserted. Among the legible ones, "Ego(?) Cens(?) Rugerus Baghusti(?)" (leaf. a3v) and "Antonius Banchus Ferrariensis" (leaf i8v) remain.
On the copy owned by the **Biblioteca Teresiana**, coat of arms of Federico Gonzaga I (1441-1484), and coat of arms of Margaret von Wittlesbach of Bavaria, wife of Federico I Gonzaga from 1463 and Marquess of Mantua until her death.[606] The presence of this book at the Mantuan court left traces in the decoration of the 'secret garden' of Palazzo Te, commissioned in the 1530s by Federico and Margherita's nephew, Federico Gonzaga II, Duke of Mantua.[607]

⚜ 19) 1480, September 4 – Aesop, *Vita and Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia (ISTC ia00101000; GW 339; Text-Inc: tia00101000).
Format: 8°; 52 leaves. Collation: [a–c^{8}d^{4}e–g^8]. 27 lines per page; type: 6:92G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rinucium facta ad Reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primo prohemium.' Inc.: «[Q]uas nimirum merces...»; [a2v] expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
[a2v] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi.* Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris...»; expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];

606 According to recent biographical studies, Margherita did not know any Italian before moving to Mantua for her marriage with Federico Gonzaga. Nonetheless, it seems that, over the fifteen years that she spent in Manuta, she might have became able to read vernacular texts (see LAZZARINI 2008). These considerations and the fact that Margherita died in the same year in which this edition was printed (1479), do not diminish the importance of this book being part of the book collection belonging to a sovereign family.
607 See SIGNORINI 1988.

[a2v] – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*; 'Incipit vita Esopi'. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; [d4r] expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Finis' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
e1r – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Argumentum fabularum Esopi e greco in latinum.' Inc.:«[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Fabulae*]; 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata…»; [g7r] expl.: «...obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
[g7r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter…»; [g7v] expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'Finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
[g7v] – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Inc.: «Si placet hybernas...»; expl.: «...non tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac couplets];
[g7v] – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani ad impressas Philippi Lavagniae Civis Mediolanensis 1480 die mensis. Septembris».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (e1r); R2 (e1v); R3 (e2r); R4 (e2r); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - e2v); R6 (e3r); R7 (e3r); R8 (e3v); R9 (e3v); R10 (e3v); R11 (e4r); R12 (e4r); R13 (e4v); R14 (e4v); R15 (e4v); R16 (e5r); R17 (e5r); R18 (e5v); R19 (e5v); R20 (e6r); R21 (e6r); R22 (e6r); R23 (e6v); R24 (e6v); R25 (e7r); R26 (e7r); R27 (e7v); R28 (ev7); R29 (e7v); R30 (e8r); R31 (e8r); R32 (e8v); R33 (e8v); R34 (f1r); R35 (f1r); R36 (f1r); R37 (f1v); R38 (f1v); R39 (f2r); R40 (f2r); R41 (f2r); R42 (f2v); R43 (f3r); R44 (f3r); R45 (f3r); R46 (f3v); R47 (f3v); R48 (f4r); R49 (f4r); R50 (f4r); R51 (f4v); R52 (f4v); R53 (f4v); R54 (f5r); R55 (f5r); R56 (f5v); R57 (f5v); R58 (f6r); R59 (f6r); R60 (f6r); R61 (f6v); R62 (f6v); R63 (f7r); R64 (f7r); R65 (f7r); R66 (f7v); R67 (f8r); R68 (f8r); R69 (f8r); R70 (f8v); R71(f8v); R72 (g1r); R73 (g1r); R74 (g1r); R75 (g1v); R76 (g2r); R77 (g2r); R78 (g2v); R79 (g2v); R80 (g3r); R81 (g3r); R82 (g3r); R83 (g3v); R84 (g3v); R85 (g4r); R86 (g4r); R87 (g4r); R88 (g4v); R89 (g4v); R90 (g4v); R91 (g5r); R92 (g5v); R93 (g5v); R94 (g5v); R95 (g6r); R96 (g6r); R97 (g6v); R98 (gv6); R99 (g6v); R100 (g7r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The Greek words of the *Vita* were left blank. The lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* is not marked: «…habe spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris. | Ecce delphi: qui esopum publico », as in the first edition printed by Zarotus in 1474, with which it also shares the most distinctive textual variants within the text of the fables, that separate the printed version from all Rinucius' manuscripts, and that are supposed to have been introduced by Zarotus himself. These variants include «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18, 'De viro agricola'; «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «[Q]uas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. The misspelling of the name of the author ('Rimicius' for 'Rinucius') at the opening of the 'Prohemium' addressed to Cerdá was corrected in this edition.

EXTANT COPIES: 9, of which 2 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Inc.qt.277 (through digital reproduction); Manchester, JRL, 18495.1 (MEI 02016688).
PROVENANCE INFORMATION: In the **Stuttgart copy**, manuscript annotations throughout in brown ink by a late 15th or early 16th-century northern European hand, possibly German or Austrian in Latin: extraction of the final sentence of each fable on the margins. Only the first 'Q' of «Quas» was filled in with a simple initial in red ink. 18th-century foliation in black ink at the centre of the top border.

The **Manchester copy** bears different kind of notes, scribbles and decorations, which were all later washed, and are now visible throughout the book but very difficult to read even with the help of UV lamp. Owned by George John Spencer (red leather oval label of "E bibliotheca spenceriana" on the front pastedown), currently in a 19th-century green leather binding with paper pastedowns and John Ryland's monogram tooled in gold on the front cover, bound with a copy of *Aesopus moralisatus* assigned to Christophorus Valdarfer, 1483/4.[608]

⚜ 20) 1480, November 9 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Milan: Gasparus de Cantono (ISTC ia00101500; GW 340; Text-Inc: tia00101500).
Format: 4°; 56 leaves. Collation: a–g^{8}. 24 lines per page; type: 1:119G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Prohemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos. 'Vita Esopi fabulatori clarissimi e greco latina per rimicium facta ad reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum cardinalem et primo prohemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; a1v expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a1v – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*.' Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris...»; a2r expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a2r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*. 'Incipit vita Esopi'. Inc.: «Qui omnem vitam…»; d6r expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'FINIS' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
d6v – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Argomentum* to the *Fabulae*. 'Argumentum fabularum Aesopi e greco in latino', inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus…»; expl.: «…hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
d6v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Fabulae*]. 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «Aquila et vulpes conflata....»; g6v expl.: «...penitus obrui se velit» [PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
g6v – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «Habes vitam pariter...»; g7r expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'FINIS' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
g7r – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Inc.: «Si placet hybernas…»; expl.: «…non tibi vilis ero». 'Mediolani [3 elegiac couplets];
g7r – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Gasparum de Cantono anno domini Mcccclxxx die viiii november (*sic*) ad laudem dei omnipotentis».

INITIALS: No, with guide letters. The initials of the fables are provided in the same type and dimension as the main text.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (d6v); R2 (d7r); R3 (d7v); R4 (d8r); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - d8r); R6 (d8v); R7 (d8v); R8 (e1r); R9 ('De piscatore et synaride pisciculo' - e1r); R10 (e1v); R11 (e1v); R12 (e2r); R13 (e2r); R14 (e2v); R15 (e2v); R16 (e2v); R17 (e3r); R18 (e3r); R19 (e3v); R20 (e3v); R21 (e4r); R22 (e4r); R23 (e4r); R24 (e4v);

608 ISTC ia00125500, n° 32 in this *Catalogue*.

R25 (e4v); R26 (e5r); R27 (e5r); R28 (e5v); R29 (e5v); R30 (e6r); R31 (e6r); R32 (e6v); R33 (e6v); R34 (e7r); R35 (e7r); R36 (e7v); R37 (e7v); R38 (e8r); R39 (e8r); R40 (e8r); R41 (e8v); R42 (e8v); R43 (f1r); R44 (f1v); R45 (f1v); R46 (f1v); R47 (f2r); R48 (f2r); R49 (f2v); R50 (f2v); R51 (f2v); R52 (f3r); R53 (f3r); R54 (f3v); R55 (f3v); R56 (f4r); R57 (f4r); R58 (f4v); R59 (f4v); R60 (f4v); R61 (f5r); R62 (f5r); R63 (f5v); R64 (f5v); R65 (f6r); R66 (f6r); R67 (f6v); R68 (f6v); R69 (f7r); R70 (f7r); R71 (fv7); R72 (f7v); R73 (f7v); R74 (f8r); R75 (f8v); R76 (f8v); R77 (g1r); R78 (g1r); R79 (g1v); R80 (g1v); R81 (g2r); R82 (g2r); R83 (g2r); R84 (g2v); R85 (g3r); R86 (g3r); R87 (g3r); R88 (g3v); R89 (g3v); R90 (g4r); R91 (g4v); R92 (g4v); R93 (g4v); R94 (g5r); R95 (g5r); R96 (g5v); R97 (g5v); R98 (g5v); R99 (g6r); R100 (g6r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Greek words in the *Vita* were left blank. The lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* is not marked: «…habe spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris. | Ecce delphi: qui esopum publico…», as in the first edition printed by Zarotus in 1474, with which it also shares the most distinctive textual variants within the text of the fables, which distinguish the printed version from all Rinucius' manuscripts, and that are supposed to have been introduced by Zarotus himself. These variants include «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18, 'De viro agricola'; «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «[N]ovas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. The misspelling of the name of the author ('Rimicius' for 'Rinucius') at the opening of the 'Prohemium' addressed to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos was not corrected in this edition.

EXTANT COPIES: 3.
EXAMINED COPY: Paris, BNF, Rés. mc-Yc-134 (through electronic reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Several notes throughout the book, by a 16th-century Italian hand, mostly consisting in the extraction of keywords, quoted on the margins, or in comments on the text and its sources. See for instance the note on leaf c8v, containing a quotation from Pseudo-Seneca's *De moribus*: "Seneca liber de moribus. Auribus frequentius quam lingua utere", which is identified as a possible source for the passage of the translation reading «Aures quam linguam habeto...».[609] The first initial of the *Argumentum*, 'E', was filled in pen. Two ownership inscriptions on leaf a1r, possibly by a late 17th-century hand, now illegible.

21) c. 1480 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Milan: Philippus de Lavagnia] (ISTC ia00123650; GW 38410N; Text-Inc: tia00123650).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: ab^{10}. 29–30 lines per page; type: 5:112R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; b9v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem». 'Finis laus deo amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b9v – [Anonymous, *Adagia*]. Inc.: «Gutta cavat lapidem non bis (*sic*) sed saepe…»; expl.: «…mercesque retenta laborum».

INITIALS: Absent.

609 PS-SENECA, *De moribus,* 104.

TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a2r); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane praegnante et alia cane' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a4r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4r); AM16 ('De leone sene' - a4v); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 (a5v); AM21 ('De atheniensibus petentibus regem' - a6r); AM22 (a6r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7r); AM27 (a7r); AM28 (a7v); AM29 (a8r); AM30 ('De capra et edo' - a8r); AM31 (a8v); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - a8v); AM33 (a8v); AM34 (a9r); AM35 ('De lupo et humano capite' - a9r); AM36 (a9r); AM37 (a9v); AM38 (a9v); AM39 (a10v); AM40 (a10v); AM41 (b1r); AM42 (b1r); AM43 (b1v); AM44 (b2r); AM45 (b2v); AM46 (b2v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - b3r); AM48 (b3v); AM49 (b3v); AM50 (b4r); AM51 (b4v); AM52 (b4v); AM53 (b5r); AM54 (b5r); AM55 (b5v); AM56 (b5v); AM57 (b6r); AM58 ('De mercatore et asello' - b6v); AM59 (b6v); AM60 (b7r); AM61 (b7v - incomplete, ending at: «…odio gratia fraude fides»); AM62 (b9r); AM63 (b9r); **AM64 ('De puero suspenso' - b9v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition adds fable AM64, 'De puero suspenso', to the canonical number of sixty-three fables composing the collection. After the *Aesopus moralisatus,* it contains the two proverbs in verse «Gutta cavat lapidem» (with the erroneous variant «non bis sed saepe» for «non vi sed saepe») and «Clamitat ad caelum». The edition lacks the last two lines of AM61, 'De cive et equite'. The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis» is added before the two final lines of AM14. Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viri».[610] Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris», suggest that the text included in this edition was part of the branch β of the tradition.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Milan, BNB, AM X 78 (MEI 00200988).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Red initials added at the beginning of each fable and red paragraph marks separating the last two lines from the rest of the text (15th century). Foliation in brown ink on the top right corner of each leaf and scribbles on leaf a1r, bottom margin, by the same hand. Inscription on leaf b10v, by an Italian 15th-century hand in brown ink: "Iste liber est mei Iohannes Antonius de Puteo qui p(er) […] ad S(er)colla". The same hand also wrote another inscription, still in brown ink, now illegible and the word "Romulus" on leaf a1r (top margin).
18th-century manuscript notes in black ink, in a tiny and minute Italian handwriting. Most of the notes concern the metrics and prosody of the Latin text, with some notes on orthography (see «nocent» corrected with "nocet" on leaf b3r and several notes reading "Cesura brevis" on leaf b8v). On leaf b9r, left margin, toward the end of the text, the same hand writes "Temnere sacra nefas. | D. Pet. Maria Bramb(ill)a castigavit".[611]

[610] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).
[611] See also CEVA VALLA 1947, pp. 51-52 in particular.

⌘ 22) c. 1480 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Milan, Antonius Zarotus] (ISTC ia00123700; GW 388; Text-Inc: tia00123700).[612]
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: ab^8c^4. 28 lines per page; type: 5:107G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; c4v expl.: «…fuerunt portantia mortem» 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
c4r – [Anonymous, *Adagia*]. Inc.: «Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sepe candendo | Sic homo sit sapiens non vi sed sepe legendo. | || Clamitat ad celum vox sanguinis et sodomorum | Vox oppressorum mercesque retenta laborum».

INITIALS: Present. The first 'U' and all the first initials of the fables are printed in a larger and more elaborated typeset.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a2r); AM5 ('De cane portante carnem' - a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane pregnante et alia cane' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3v); AM13 (a4r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4v); AM16 ('De leone sene' - a4v); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 (a5v); AM21 ('De atheniensibus petentibus regem' - a6r); AM22 (a6r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7r); AM27 (a7v); AM28 (a7v); AM29 (a8r); AM30 (De capra et edo' - a8v); AM31 (a8v); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - b1r); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 ('De lupo et capite humano' - b1v); AM36 (b1v); AM37 (b2r); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b3r); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3v); AM43 (b4r); AM44 (b4v); AM45 (b4v); AM46 (b5r); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - b5v); AM48 (b5v); AM49 (b6r); AM50 (b6v); AM51 (b7r); AM52 (b7r); AM53 (b7v); AM54 ('De nemore et securi' - b7v); AM55 (b8r); AM56 (b8v); AM57 (b8v); AM58 ('De marcatore et asello' - c1r); AM59 (c1r); AM60 (c1v); **AM61 (c2r – incomplete, ends at line 90 with «odio gratia fraude fides»);** AM62 (c3v); AM63 (c4r); A**M64 (De puero suspenso - c4r)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: AM64, 'De puero suspenso' is added to the standard sequence of sixty-three fables. The edtion also contains the two proverbs in verse «Gutta cavat lapidem» and «Clamitat ad celum». AM61, 'De cive et equite', lacks the last two lines. The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis» is added before the two final lines of AM14. A series of variants, together with the number of the fables, confirm that this version belongs to branch β of the textual tradition. These variants include: AM39.10 «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amore ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris».

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Perugia, BA, INC 1141 (MEI 02019441).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Notes by an Italian humanistic hand (1480-1530), in brown ink: on a2v lower margin: "[in]ter pares, semp(er) est inuidia" (the first two letters cut off when the margins were trimmed). Other interlinear notes, in a smaller writing but by same hand, on leaves a7v, a8v, b5r, mainly provide translations of Latin words into vernacular (see «vice» translated with "a

[612] For the attribution and dating of this edition and the new elements highlighted by my research see section III.1.2 of this thesis, an Group 2 in particular.

modo" on leaf a7v and «anguinem» translated with "serpentino" and on leaf a8v). The volume does not appear in the earliest inventory of the Biblioteca Augusta (1617). On the upper corner of a1r is written "3" (humanistic handwriting), which might indicate the position of this copy in a composite volume, later dismantled. Currently bound in a 20th-century restored binding (1958).

⚜ *23) 1481, May 8 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Mondovì: Dominicus, Laurentius and Stephanus de Vivaldis (ISTC ia00123800; GW 386; Text-Inc: tia00123800).
Format: f°; 32 leaves. Collation: [abc^{8}d^{6}]. 29 lines per page; type: 1:136G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]; 'Yhesus'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; [c11r] expl.: «…ceca videre facit» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
[d6r] – [Colophon]: «Explictus Esopus per dominicum de vivaldis una cum filiis in Monteregali octava madii mcccclxxxi».

INITIALS: Capitals printed at the beginning of each fable. The first 'U' is larger than the others, decorated with a vegetable motif and devised with the same technique of the illustrations.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 [a2r]; AM2 [a2v]; AM3 [a3r]; AM4 [a3v]; AM5 [a4r]; AM6 [a4r]; AM7 [a4v]; AM8 [a4v]; AM9 ('De cane pregnante et alia non pregnante') [a5r]; AM10 [a5v]; AM11 [a5v]; AM12 [a6r] ; AM13 [a6v]; AM14 [a7r]; AM15 [a7v]; AM16 ('De catulo et aselo') [a8r]; AM17 ('De leone apro tauro et aselo') [a8v]; AM18 [b1r]; AM19 ('De milvo egroto et matre') [b1r]; AM20 [b1v]; AM21 ('De terra antiqua carente rege') [b2r]; AM22 [b2v]; AM23 [b3r]; AM24 [b3r]; AM25 [b3v]; AM26 ('De terra tumente') [b4r]; AM27 ('De agno relicto capri et lupo') [b4r]; AM28 ('De cane inveterato domino suo') [b4v]; AM29 ('De leporibus querentibus recem') [b5r]; AM30 [b5v]; AM31 [b6r]; AM32 [b6v]; AM33 [b6v]; AM34 [b7r]; AM35 [b7v]; AM36 ('De corvo et pavonibus') [b7v]; AM37 [b8r]; AM38 [b8v]; AM39 [c1r]; AM40 [c1v]; AM41 [c2r]; AM42 [c2v]; AM43 [c3r]; AM44 [c3v]; AM45 [c4r]; AM46 [c4v]; AM47 [c4v]; AM48 ('De cervo speculante se in aquis') [c5r]; AM49 [c5v]; AM50 [c6r]; AM51 [c6v]; AM52 [c7r]; AM53 [c7v]; AM54 [c8r]; AM55 [c8r]; AM56 ('De manibus pedibus et ventre') [d1r]; AM57 [d1r]; AM58 [d1v]; AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo') [d2r]; AM60 [d2v]; AM62 [d3r]; AM63 [d3v]; **AM61 [d4r] and AM61a ('De dilacione duelli')** [d4v]; AM66 ('De patre et filio') [d6r] .

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares all the most noteworthy textual features with the other edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Mondovì in 1476.[613]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: [a2r]; [a2v] (2); [a3r]; [a3v]; [a4r] (2); [a4v]; [a5r] (2); [a5v]; [a6r] (2); [a7r] (2); [a7v]; [a8r]; [a8v] (2); [b1v] (2); [b2r]; [b2v]; [b3r]; [b3v] (2); [b4r]; [b4v]; [b5r]; [b5v] (2); [b6r]; [b6v]; [b7r] (2); [b7v]; [b8r]; [b8v] (2); [c1v]; [c2r] (2); [c2v]; [c3r]; [b9v]; [c4v]; [c5r]; [c5v]; [c6r]; [c7r]; [c7v] (2); [c8r]; [c8v]; [d1r]; [d1v]; [d2r]; [d2v] (2); [d3v]; [d4r]; [d4v]; [d5v]; [d6r]; [d6v].
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: The use of images also corresponds to that of the earlier edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in Mondovì by the Vivaldis, in November 1476.

EXTANT COPY: 1.

613 ISTC ia00123500, n° 12 in this *Catalogue.*

EXAMINED COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Yb-88 (through digital reproduction).[614]
PROVENANCE NOTES: Several notes by a 15th-century Italian hand, providing synonyms for some words or explaining parts of the text; see for instance "seria" explaining the abbreviation on leaf [a2r] or "querentes" written next to «queritis» on leaf [a4v]. Towards the end of the book are two longer annotations, always by the same Italian hand in the bottom margin: the first one, on leaf [c3v], reads "Mortur dolet in mortus gaudet. Gaudeat equs de marito", while the second one remains illegible [c4r].

⌘ 24) 1481, May 19 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Modena: Dominicus Rocociolus, Thomas Septemcastrensis and Johannes Franciscus de Coronibus, for Dominicus Rocociolus (ISTC ia00123900; GW 00386a; Text-Inc: ia00123900).
Format: 4°; 16 leaves. Collation: ab^8. 34 lines per page; type: 1:92G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; b8v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem» 'Deo Gratias amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b8v – [Colophon]: «Finit Esopus Mutine impressus, impensa et opera Dominici Rhochociola, per Thomam Septemcastrensem et Iohannem Franciscum socios, compositus per me Nicolaum Jenson, anno Millesimoquadringentesimo octuagesimoprimo, die decimanona Maii».

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2v); AM7 ('De Femina nubente Furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2r); AM9 ('De Cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a2v); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 (a3v); AM15 (a3v); AM16 (a4r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a4r); AM18 (a4r); AM19 (a4v); AM20 ('De yrundine et homine' - a5r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a5r); AM22 (a5r); AM23 (a5v); AM24 (a5v); AM25 (a6r); AM26 (a6r); AM27 (a6r); AM28 (a6v); 29 ('De leporibus fugientibus et ranis' - a6v); AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo' - a7r); AM31 (a7r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - a7v); AM33 (a7v); AM34 (a7v); AM35 ('De lupo et capite humano' - a8r); AM36 ('De graculo et pavone' - a8r); AM37 (a8r); AM38 (a8v); AM39 (b1r); AM40 (b1r); AM41(b1v); AM42 (b1v); AM43 (b2r); AM44 (b2r); AM45 ('De avibus et quadrupedibus pugnantibus' - b2v); AM46 (b2v); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b3r); AM48 (b3v); AM49 (b3v); AM50 (b4r); AM51 (b4r); AM52 (b4v); AM53 ('De federe luporum et ovium' - b4v); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b5r); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupis' - b5r); AM56 ('De ventre et aliis membris' - b5v); AM57 (b5v); AM58 (b6r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et agno' - b6r); AM60 (b6v); **AM62 ('De capone et accipitre' – b6v);** AM61 (b7r); AM63 (b8r); **AM64 (b8r).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the standard collection of sixty-three fables plus the fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'. AM61, 'De cive et equite regis' and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', are inverted. Variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris» confirm that the edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition. AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with two final lines added («Ingenium vires

[614] The digital reproduction shows some inconsistencies in the binding.

superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis»).[615] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi difficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[616]

Of the collaborators mentioned in the colophon, Thomas Septemcastrensis can be identified with Thomas of Hermannstadt, while, for «Iohannes Franciscus», the identity of Iohannes Franciscus de Coronibus, printer and bookseller from Mantua, seems plausible.[617] The inclusion of these two printers in this enterprise might be put in relation with the fact that at the time Rocociolus was moving his first steps in the production of printed books and for what appears to have been his first literary text printed he probably wanted to benefit from the help of two experienced colleagues. It is harder to find an explanation for the expression of the colophon «compositus per me Nicolaum Jenson». Brown's thesis on this point, that the book was printed in Modena from types set by Jenson himself, does not seem plausible given that Jenson died in 1480 in Venice, neither does the idea that a Nicolaus Jenson different from the famous French printer established in Venice might have been the author of the collection of fables.[618] With Domenico Fava, I am of the opinion that a now lost edition of Aesop might have been printed before 1481 in Venice by Jenson, and that this could have been an exact copy of the same text.

EXTANT COPY: 1.

EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, BN Marc., Misc. 1367.002 (MEI 02010901).

PROVENANCE NOTES: Part of a composite volume containing this and another incunable Italian edition of Aesop, printed in Parma by Andreas Portilia in 1482, plus seven other 16th-century printed editions.[619] This edition occupies the second position in the volume.

The composite volume was owned by Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750) and later passed to the Dominican friars of Santa Maria del Rosario, in Venice, before entering the Biblioteca Marciana.

25) 1481, May 23 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Parma, [Andreas Portilia] (ISTC ia00124000; GW 38610N; Text-Inc: tia00124000).

Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: ab^{10}. 31 lines per page; type: 2:110R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:

a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; b10v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem» 'Finis' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];

b10v – [Colophon]: «Finit Aesopus impressus Parmae decimo Kal. Inuias (*sic*) | Anno ab incarnatione M.CCCC.LXXXI».

615 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.

616 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition n° 6 in this *Catalogue*).

617 On some aspects of the early years of printing activity of Thomas von Hermannstadt see SANTORO 2005, pp. 55-70.

618 BROWN 1969, p. 21.

619 The other Aesopian edition is ISTC n° ia00102000, n° 27 in this *Catalogue*.

INITIALS: Absent.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 (a3v); AM15 (a4r); AM16 (a4r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a4v); AM18 (a4v); AM19 (a5r); AM20 ('De yrundine et homine' - a5r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a5v); AM22 (a5v); AM23 (a6r); AM24 (a6r); AM25 (a6v); AM26 (a6v); AM27 (a6v); AM28 (a7r); AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus et ranis' - a7v); AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo' - a7v); AM31 (a7v); AM32 (a8r); AM33 (a8r); AM34 (a8v); AM35 (a8v); AM36 (a8v); AM37 (b1r); AM38 (b1r); AM39 (b1v); AM40 (b2r); AM41 (b2r); AM42 (b2v); AM43 (b3r); AM44 (b3r); AM45 ('De avibus et quadrupedibus pugnantibus' - b3v); AM46 (b3v); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b4r); AM48 ('De cervo speculante aquas' - b4v); AM49 (b4v); AM50 (b5r); AM51 (b5v); AM52 (b5v); AM53 ('De foedere luporum et ovium' - b6r); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b6r); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupis' - b6v); AM56 (b7r); AM57 (b7r); AM58 (b7r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo' - b7v); AM60 (b8r); **AM62 (b8r)**; AM61 (b8v); AM63 (b10r); **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - b10r).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the standard collection of sixty-three fables plus the fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'. Fables AM61, 'De cive et equite regis' and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', are inverted. Variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris» confirm that the edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition. Fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with two final lines added («Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis»).[620] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[621]

EXTANT COPIES: 2 of which 1 out of Europe (US).
EXAMINED COPY: Parma, BP, Inc. Parm. 1230.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Interlinear annotations on leaf a1r, consisting in the translation of Latin words into Italian vernacular, and an ownership inscription in the upper margin of leaf a1r, later erased and now illegible. Absent initials were not supplied.

⚜ 26) c. 1481 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler] (ISTC ia00124500; GW 0039110N; Text-Inc: tia00124500).
Format: 4°; 18 leaves. Collation: $a^{8}b^{10}$. 32 lines per page; type: 5:87G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:

620 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
621 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition n° 6 in this *Catalogue*).

a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; b10v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem» 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Present, in capital gothic types.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a2r); AM2 (a2r); AM3 (a2v); AM4 (a2v); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a3r); AM8 (a3r); AM9 ('De cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a3v); AM10 (a3v); AM11 (a4r); AM12 (a4r); AM13 (a4v); AM14 (a4v); AM15 (a5r); AM16 (a5r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a5r); AM18 (a5v); AM19 (a6r); AM20 ('De hirundine et homine' - a6r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a6v); AM22 (a6v); AM23 (a7r); AM24 (a7r); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7v); AM27 (a7v); AM28 (a8r); AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus et ranis' - a8r); AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo' - a8v); AM31 (a8v); AM32 (a8v); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 (b1v); AM36 (b1v); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b2v); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3r); AM43 (b3v); AM44 (b3v); AM45 ('De avibus et quadrupedibus pugnantibus' - b4r); AM46 (b4v); AM47 ('De lupo et pastore et vulpe' - b4v); AM48 ('De cervo speculante aquas' - b5r); AM49 (b5r); AM50 (b5v); AM51 (b6r); AM52 (b6v); AM53 (b6v); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b6v); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupi' - b7r); AM56 (b7v); AM57 (b7v); AM58 (b7v); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et agro' - b8r); AM60 (b8v); AM62 (b8v); **AM61 (b9r);** AM63 (b10v); **AM64 (b10v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the standard collection of sixty-three fables plus the fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'. Fables AM61, 'De cive et equite regis' and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', are inverted. Variants such as AM39.10: «esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; AM49.17: «hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris» confirm that the edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition. AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with two final lines added («Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis»).[622] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | ne timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[623]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Ferrara, BC, S. 15. op. III. 4.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Several reading marks such as paragraph signs, pointing hands and lines underlining specific passages in the text all by one, or possibly two, 15th or early 16th-century hand, in brown ink. An inscription from the same period, on the verso of the first front fly-leaf, has been cancelled and is currently illegible. Another, later, inscription, possibly from the end of the 16th century, informs that the book was owned by the Jesuits in the city of Ferrara.

⚜ 27) 1482, March 16 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Parma: Andreas Portilia (ISTC ia00102000; GW 341; Text-Inc: tia00102000).

622 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
623 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).

Format: 4°; 52 leaves. Collation: a–$c^8$$d^4$ e–g^8. 28 leaves per page; type: 4:99R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Proemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi, e graeco latina per Rimicium facta ad reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyterum cardinalem. Et primo prohemium.' Inc.: «[Q]uas nimirum merces...»; a2v expl.: «...argumenti pauca suggessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a2v – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum'. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris...»; a3r expl.: «...aures nimum delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a3r – [Rinucius Aretinus, latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi*]. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; d4v expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt» [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum Fabularum Esopi e Graeco in Latinum'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus, natione...»; expl.: «...non potest, hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
e1r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of Aesop's *Fabulae*]. 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata...»; g7r expl.: «...obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
g7r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; g7v expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
g7v – [Anonymous], 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. Inc.: «Si placet hybernas…»; expl.: «…non tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac couplets];
g7v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Parmae, opera et impensis Andreae Portiliae anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octagesimo secundo, decimo septimo kalendas Aprilis».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (d6v); R2 (d7r); R3 (d7v); R4 (d8r); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - d8r); R6 (d8v); R7 (d8v); R8 (e1r); R9 (e1r); R10 (e1v); R11 (e1v); R12 (e2r); R13 (e2r); R14 (e2v); R15 (e2v); R16 (e2v); R17 (e3r); R18 (e3r); R19 (e3v); R20 (e3v); R21 (e4r); R22 (e4r); R23 (e4r); R24 (e4v); R25 (e4v); R26 (e5r); R27 (e5r); R28 (e5v); R29 (e5v); R30 (e6r); R31 (e6r); R32 (e6v); R33 (e6v); R34 (e7r); R35 (e7r); R36 (e7v); R37 (e7v); R38 (e8r); R39 (e8r); R40 (e8r); R41 (e8v); R42 (e8v); R43 (f1r); R44 (f1v); R45 (f1v); R46 (f1v); R47 (f2r); R48 (f2r); R49 (f2v); R50 (f2v); R51 (f2v); R52 (f3r); R53 (f3r); R54 (f3v); R55 (f3v); R56 (f4r); R57 (f4r); R58 (f4v); R59 (f4v); R60 (f4v); R61 (f5r); R62 (f5r); R63 (f5v); R64 (f5v); R65 (f6r); R66 (f6r); R67 (f6v); R68 (f6v); R69 (f7r); R70 (f7r); R71 (fv7); R72 (f7v); R73 (f7v); R74 (f8r); R75 (f8v); R76 (f8v); R77 (g1r); R78 (g1r); R79 (g1v); R80 (g1v); R81 (g2r); R82 (g2r); R83 (g2r); R84 (g2v); R85 (g3r); R86 (g3r); R87 (g3r); R88 (g3v); R89 (g3v); R90 (g4r); R91 (g4v); R92 (g4v); R93 (g4v); R94 (g5r); R95 (g5r); R96 (g5v); R97 (g5v); R98 (g5v); R99 (g6r); R100 (g6r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition, the lacuna in the *Vita Aesopi* is ignored, see leaf d3r: «…gemis Esope, esto forti animo, habe spes bonas ac teipsum consuleris. Ecce delphii, qui Esopum publico decreto uti sacrilegii rerum morti damnarant…»; the Greek words of the *Vita* were left blank. The text printed in this edition shares a series of variants with the *princeps* by Zarotus, which separate it from all the manuscripts, and that are supposed to have been introduced by Zarotus himself, including «agricultor» instead of «agricolator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in fable R31, 'De agricola et filiis'; «consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «[Q]uas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. The misspelling of the name of the author ('Rimicius' for 'Rinucius') at the opening of the 'Prohemium' addressed to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos was not corrected in this edition.

EXTANT COPIES: 20, of which 2 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, BN Marc., INC.0952 (through digital reproduction; MEI 02010885).
PROVENANCE NOTES: There are a number of small additions or corrections throughout the text, including the interlinear addition of initials, the completion of misprinted letters, notes marking the accents or the reading and pronunciations of vocal groups. The same hand is also responsible for the inscription "Aesopia pracepta" on leaf c7v (left margin). Manuscript note on a1r reading: "Vita Esopi cum fabulis traductum e Greco in Latinum. Sancti Augustini Mutine. Ad usum fratris Germani de Pergamo". The Ordine Eremitano of S. Agostino was a religious institution active in Modena from the 13th century. Later notes (17th century) with numbers and calculations. In between the 17th and 18th centuries, the book was owned by Apostolo Zeno, and later passed to the Dominican friars of Santa Maria del Rosario, in Venice, before entering the Biblioteca Marciana. It was probably Apostolo Zeno who created the composite volume of which this copy is currently part.[624]

28) c. 1482 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

[Rome: Eucharius Silber] (ISTC ia00102500; GW 342; Text-Inc: tia00102500).
Format: 4°, 46 leaves. Collation: [a–e^{8}f^{6}]. 33 lines per page; type: 2:88R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – Rinucius Aretinus, [dedicatory letter] to Laurentius Lavina. 'Magnifico domino Laurentio Lavina Rynucius felicitatem.' Inc.: «[A]d duo potissimum...»; expl.: «...ardentius te hortor». 'Sequitur alia epistola' [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 68-9];
[a2v] – Rinucius Aretinus, [dedicatory letter] to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos. 'Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino suo precipuo domino Antonio tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbitero cardinali Rynucius se commendat.' Inc.: «[Q]uo tempore sanctissimus...»; expl.: «...familiarem carum habebit. Vale» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 69-70];
[a3r] – Rinucius Aretinus, *Proemium* addressed to Tommaso Parentucelli. 'Vita Aesopi latina per Rynuntium facta ad Reverendissimum patrem et dominum dominum Thomam tituli sancte Susanne presbiterum Cardinalem hodie Nicolaum papam quintum feliciter incipit. Prohemium.' Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; [a3v] expl.: «...argumenti pauca suggessi». 'Sequitur argumentum' [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
[a3v] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum'. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris...»; expl.: «…aures nimirum delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
[a3v] – [Rinucius Aretinus Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*; 'Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi vita incipit'. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; [c7v] expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Vita Esopi finit feliciter. Sequuntur fabule' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38]; [c8r] – Registrum of the *Vita Aesopi*;

[624] As seen above, the volume also contains a copy of another Aesopian edition, printed in Modena in May 1481 (n° 24 in this *Catalogue*).

'Registrum quaternorum huius libri'. Inc.: «Primum vacat | Vita Esopi | sa ait . hiu | volenti mee | ci igitur ac | vere quirent | Finis»;
[d1r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Argumentum* to the *Fabulae*; 'Vite Esopi commentarium super fabulis instar argumenti incipit'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...Hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
[d1r] – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Fabulae*; 'Incipiunt fabule. Et primo | De aquila et vulpe' Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata...»; [f5r] expl.: «...obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
[f5r] – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vita pariter...»; [f5v] expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'Vita Esopi una cum suis fabulis per Rynutium e greco in latinum translata finit feliciter' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
[f5v] – Registrum of the *Fabulae Aesopi*; 'Registrum quaternorum huius libri'. Inc.: «Vite Esopi | ret: qui eum | canna & oliva | Fabula significat | caret: nec fugere | auferens sue». 'Finis'.

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, some in capitals but those of the fables are in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 [d1r]; R2 [d1v]; R3 [d1v]; R4 [d2r]; R5 [d2v]; R6 [d2v]; R7 [d2v]; R8 [d3r]; R9 [d3r]; R10 [d3v]; R11 [d3v]; R12 [d4r]; R13 [d4r]; R14 [d4r]; R15 [d4v]; R16 [d4v]; R17 [d5r]; R18 [d5r]; R19 [d5r]; R20 [d5r]; R21 [d5v]; R22 [d5v]; R23 [d6r]; R24 [d6r]; R25 [d6r]; R26 [d6v]; R27 [d6v]; R28 [d7r]; R29 [d7r]; R30 [d7r]; R31 [d7v]; R32 [d7v]; R33 [d8r]; R34 [d8r]; R35 [d8v]; R36 [d8v]; R37 [d8v]; R38 [e1r]; R39 [e1r]; R40 [with no title - e1r]; R41 [e1v]; R42 [e1v]; R43 [e2r]; R44 [e2r]; R45 [e2r]; R46 [e2v]; R47 [e2v]; R48 [e3r]; R49 [e3r]; R50 [e3r]; R51 [e3v]; R52 [e3v]; R53 [e3v]; R54 [e4r]; R55 [e4r]; R56 [e4v]; R57 [e4v]; R58 [e4v]; R59 [e4v]; R60 [e5r]; R61 [e5r]; R62 [e5v]; R63 [e5v]; R64 [e6r]; R65 [e6r]; R66 [e6r]; R67 [e6v]; R68 [e6v]; R69 [e7r]; R70 [e7r]; R71 [e7r]; R72 [e7v]; R73 [e7v]; R74 [e7v]; R75 [e8r]; R76 [e8v]; R77 [e8v]; R78 [e8v]; R79 [f1r]; R80 [f1r]; R81 [f1r]; R82 [f1v]; R83 [f1v]; R84 [f1v]; R85 [f2r]; R86 [f2r]; R87 [f2r]; R88 [f2v]; R89 [f2v]; R90 [f2v]; R91 [f3r]; R92 [f3v]; R93 [f3v]; R94 [f3v]; R95(f4r]; R96 [f4r]; R97 [f4r]; R98 [f4v]; R99 [f4v] R100 [f5r].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition, the lacuna towards the end of the *Vita Aesopi* is present but ignored by the printer, see leaf [c6r]: «esto forti animo, habe spes bonas, ac teipsum consuleris. Tum Esopus subgemens ait. Mulier quedam de recenti virum sepelierat; ac singulis diebus ad sepulcrum proficiscens plorabat. Arator quidam sepulcro appropinquans ecce delphii qui esopum publico decreto…». The incomplete text of the episode of the mourning widow in the *Vita Aesopi* was copied in full, until the beginning of the lacuna, in agreement with the manuscript tradition.
This edition contains three dedicatory letters, i.e. those to Laurentius Lavina, Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos and Tomaso Parentucelli, but not the three elegiac couplets which close other Rinucius' editions ('Verba libri ad emptorem'). The manuscript which served as a basis for this edition of the *Fabulae* was considered close to manuscripts descending from the branch **α** of the *stemma codicum*, with which it shares a number of distinctive variants, such as in R3 «humum» for «humi», «uti» instead of «sed uti» in R17, «indutus» instead of «exutus» in R45.[625]
Spaces for Greek letters were left blank. The text shares with the manuscript tradition a series of variants which differentiate it from that included in Zarotus 1474 edition, including the use of «agricolator» instead of «agricultor» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «oblurcasset» instead of «consumpsisset» in fable R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'; «singillatim» instead of «singulatim» in fable R31, 'De agricola et filiis'.[626]

[625] Other variants, seprating the textual tradition in two branches, are listed in PILLOLA 1993, p. 128.
[626] see PILLOLA 1993, p. 102 for these and more variants.

EXTANT COPIES: 10.
EXAMINED COPY: London, BL, G.7718 (=IA.19052).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Visible marks of marginal notes possibly by a 17th-century hand, later washed and now illegible, throughout the text of the fables. Owned by Thomas Grenville before entering the British Museum: Grenville's handwritten note on the front pastedown and his gilted arms on the binding.[627]

29) 1482, April 11 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Bologna: Franciscus Plato de Benedictis (ISTC ia00124700; GW 0038620N; Text-Inc: tia00124700).
Format: 4°; 16 leaves. Collation [ab^{8}]. 32 lines per page; type: 7:84/85G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; [b8v] expl.: «…dira venena nocent». 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
[b8v] – [Colophon]: «Impressum per me Franciscum alias Platonem stampatorem bononiensem in domo mea in capella sanctorum Cosme et Damiani apud crucem strate castionis de anno M.cccc.lxxxii. die undecimo mensis aprilis. Laus deo».

INITIALS: Absent, without guide letters.
TITLES: Absent.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r]; AM2 [a1r]; AM3 [a1v]; AM4 [a1v]; AM5 [a2r]; AM6 ('De cervo ove capra et iuvenca') [a2r]; AM7 ('De furis vicinis uxore etc') [a2r]; AM8 [ar]; AM9 ('De duobus canis') [a2v]; AM10 [a2v]; AM11 [a2v]; AM12 [a3r]; AM13 ('De vulpe et aquila pro natis redencta') [a3v]; AM14 ('De aquila et testudine') [a3v]; AM15 [a3v]; AM16 ('De leone et sene') [a4r]; AM17 [a4r]; AM18 [a4r]; AM19 [a4v]; AM20 [a5r]; AM21 ('De populo volente regem') [a5r]; AM22 ('De rana petente rege') [a5r]; AM23 ('De columbo et milvo') [a5v]; AM24 ('De fure vocante canem') [a5v]; AM25 [a6r]; AM27 [a6r]; **AM26 [a6r];** AM28 ('De cane et sene vetero') [a6v]; AM29 [a6v]; AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo') [a7r]; AM31 ('De angue in mensa rustici') [a7r]; AM32 [a7v]; AM33 [a7v]; **AM34 (a7v - incomplete, until line 11: «redit sic fallitur audens»); AM39 (b1r - incomplete, from line 6: «visque fidem de re, quam negat ipsa fides»);** AM40 [b1r]; AM41 [b1r]; AM42 [b1v]; AM43 [b1v]; AM44 ('Audet equus') [b2r]; AM45 [b2v]; AM46 [b2v]; AM47 ('De vulpe et lupo') [b3r]; AM48 [b3r]; AM49 [b3v]; AM50 [b4r]; AM51 [b4r]; AM52 [b4v]; AM53 [b4v]; AM54 [b4v]; AM55 [b5r]; AM56 [b5r]; AM57 [b5v]; AM58 [b5v]; AM59 ('De cervo fugiente ad Esope bovum') [b6r]; AM60 [b6r]; AM61 [b6v]; AM62 [b8r]; AM63 [b8r].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition, the fables AM26 'De terra que peperit murem' and AM27 'De agno et lupo' are inverted. The only extant copy misses leaf [a8]. Leaf [b1r] starts with line 6 of AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe'. However, on the right margin, the last three lines of AM38, 'De musca et formica' and the first five lines of AM39 were added in print, probably because the printer at some point realised that they could not fit in the previous leaf. This is one of the only three known editions of the *Aesopus moralisatus* containing sixty-three fables only.

627 On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

AM49 misses line 4, «ungue genas»; in fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', lines 62-65 read «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat». AM39.10 reads: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae; while AM49.11 (12) and AM49.17 respectively read «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus» and «hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris», confirming that the edition is part of branch β of the tradition.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: London, BL, IA.28737 (MEI 02016376).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The copy is imperfect, wanting leaf a8. An early 16th-century Italian hand is responsible for writing the page numbers, for inserting the titles of each fable, for completing the blank spaces at the beginning of each fable with simple pen initials, and for a number of notes and reading marks throughout the book. Some syntagms by the same hand are repeated many times (with minor variations), among which are: "Bonus melior optimus" and "Iste regule est mei". Page numbers go from 39 to 52 (the first two leaves [a1-a2] are not numbered), suggesting that this edition was at some point bound as part of a composite volume. Before entering the British Museum and later the British Library, the book was part of the Voynich Collection, as per the inscription in pencil on one of the front flyleaves.

30) c. 1482 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Vicenza: Jacobus de Dusa] (ISTC ia00124800; GW 0038510N; Text-Inc: tia00124800).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: a^8bc^6. 29 lines per page; type: 1:102R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], 'Hic incipit liber magistri Esopi'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; c6r expl.: «…mors manet atque salus» 'Deo Gratias Amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a2r); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De pia et ingrata cane' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4r); AM16 (a4v); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 ('De hyrundine et aliis avibus et lino' - a5v); AM21 (a5v); AM22 (a6r); AM23 (a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 ('De terra tumente et hominibus timidis' - a7r); AM27 ('De grege barbato lupo et agno' - a7r); AM28 (a7v); AM29 ('De silva tonante et leporibus fugientibus' - a7v); AM30 (a8r); AM31 (a8r); 32 (a8v); AM33 (a8v); AM34 (b1r); AM35 (b1r); AM36 (b1r); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b1v); AM39 (b2r); AM40 (b2v); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3r); AM43 (b3v); AM44 (b4r); AM45 (b4r); AM46 (b4v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe ac pastore' - b5r); AM48 (b5r); AM49 (b5v); AM50 (b6r); AM51 (b6v); AM52 (b6v); AM53 (c1r); AM54 (c1r); AM55 (c1r); AM56 (c1v); AM57 (c2r); AM58 (c2r); AM59 ('De cane bobis et cervo' - c2v); AM60 (c3r); AM61 (c3r); AM62 (c3v); AM63 (c4r); **AM64 ('De pueris laudentibus' - c5v); AM65 ('De viro et uxore moecha' - c5v); AM67 ('De leone lupo et vulpe' - c6r).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the standard sequence of sixty-three fables plus the addition of AM64, 'De pueris laudentibus', AM65, 'De viro et exore moecha', and the

peculiar addition of AM67, 'De leone lupo et vulpe'. Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM4912: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that the text included in this edition is part of the branch β of the textual tradition. AM14, 'De aquila et testudine' has the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» occupying lines 9-10, inserted before the closing lines.[628] Three lines are added after line 26 of AM49, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil fecit dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[629]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Bruce McKittrick (Narberth PA), 8192.
PROVENANCE NOTES: In the only extant copy of this edition the first quire is complete although misbound. The book, bound in a 19th-century red morocco binding with marble paper pastedowns does not show early provenance evidence.

31) 1483, October 24 (ante) – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Florence: Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli] (ISTC ia00125000; GW 387; Text-Inc: tia00125000).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: ab^8c^4. 28 lines per page; type: 4:105R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; «…quod intus habet». 'Explicit liber Esopi. Deo Gratias Amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Printed decorated initials (squared stamps).
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 ('De cane urgente ovem in causa' - a2r); AM5 ('De cane gerente carnes iuxta aquas' - a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina qui nubit furi' - a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De partu canis recepta ab illa cane' - a2v); AM10 ('De homine qui nutrivit serpentes')(a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a4r); AM14 ('De aquila et cornicula decepta' - a4r); AM15 ('De vulpe et corvo decepto' - a4r); AM16 ('De leone sene' - a4v); AM17 ('De domino catulo et asello' - a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 (a5v); AM21 ('De fabula composita' - a6r); AM22 ('De ranis supplicantibus iovi pro domino' - a6r); AM23 (a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7r); AM27 ('De capra lupo et edo' - a7v); AM28 ('De cane senescente' - a7v); AM29 ('De silva et leporibus et ranis' - a8r); AM30 ('De lupo edo et capra' - a8r); AM31 ('De homine qui nutrierat serpentem' - a8v); AM32 (a8v); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 ('De lupo inveniente capud hominis' - b1v); AM36 'De corniculo qui ornavit se pennis alienis' (b1v); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 ('De homine qui cepit mustella' - b3r); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3v); AM43 (b4r); AM44 (b4r); AM45 ('De quadrupedibus et aliis avibus' - b4v); AM46 (b5r); AM47 ('De lupo accusato a vulpe' - b5r); **AM49 (b5v)**; AM48 ('De cervo et fonte' - b6r); AM50 ('De meretrice et amico suo' - b6v); AM51 ('De patre volente casticare filium' - b6v); AM52 ('De vipera qui rodebat limam' - b7r); AM53 ('De pugna luporum et ovium' - b7r); AM54 (b7v); AM55 (b7v); AM56 ('De manibus et pedibus litigantibus contra ventrem' - b8r); AM57 (b8v); AM58 ('De asello percusso' - b8v); AM59 ('De cervo et canibus' - b8v); AM60

628 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
629 See section III.1.2, Group 4 for a comment on the addition of these lines and the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*.

('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - c1r); AM61 ('De milite et rustico' - c1v); AM62 ('De homine accipitre et cappone' - c3v); AM63 ('De pastore sotiante cum lupo' - c3v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris», witness that the text contained in this edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition. Peculiar of this edition is the inversion of fables AM48-AM49, 'De cervo et fonte' and 'De viro et uxore'.

In AM10, the line «Non exit coluber nec vult exire sed heret» occupies the fourth position. The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa | credere prudenti lingua ministra verius» is inserted after line 8 in AM14. Lines AM38.3-4 are inverted: «Dat tibi fossa domum nobilis aula michi | Torpes mersa cavis, levitas michi queritur alis». Lines AM43.10-11 read: «Imprimit et sopit vix audit vita reverti | vix fugit ille sopor membra leonis equus». Other peculiar features of this edition include: the missing lines AM47.7-8, the wrong repetition of three lines in fable AM59 (lines 4, 5, 6); the variant «letatur risu» in line AM60.16, where other editions usually have «ridet et a risu»; and the addition of the final couplet «Fine fruor gemino quod cogitat omnis | fabula declarat datque quod intus habet» at the end of AM61.

EXTANT COPIES: 4, of which 1 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: San Marino (CA), Huntington, 99969 (MEI 02122902).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Drawings coloured with watercolours representing the first eleven fables. The figurative representations are extremely vivid although rather elementary from a technical and stylistic point of view, and accompanied by captions which syntethise the meaning of the story in the form of dialogues. See the drawing on leaf a1r, where the wolf addresses the lamb accusing him: "tu m'intorbidi l'acqua", which translates into Italian line 5 of the fable: «rupisti potumque michi rivoque decorem» (seeplate 32). Both illustrations and captions were made by a late 15th-century or early 16th century Italian hand. The same hand is also responsible for other sketches which remained uncoloured throughout the book and the insertion of interlinear and marginal notes mainly concerning the meaning or synonyms of some words (see leaves b3r/v).

32) c. 1483/1484 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

[Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer] (ISTC ia00125500; GW 0038720N; Text-Inc: tia00125500).
Format: 8°; 18 leaves. Collation: $a^8b^6c^4$. 32 lines per page; type: 5:90/91G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; c4r expl.: «...fuerunt portantia mortem» 'FINIS' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Present, gothic capitals, height 20 mm. The first initial 'U' is printed from a square woodblock decorated with flourishing.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text. The first title 'De gallo et iaspide' (a1r) was printed from a different series of minuscule types, always in Gothic style but larger than the ones used for the main text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 (a3v); AM15 (a4r); AM16 ('De leone apro tauro et asello' - a4r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a4r); AM18 (a4v); AM19 (a5r); AM20 ('De irundine et homine' - a5r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a5v); AM 22 ('De ranis petentibus regem' - a5v); AM23 (a6r); AM24 (a6r); AM25 (a6r); AM26 ('De terra tumente' - a6v); AM27 (a6v); AM28 ('De cane et domino' - a7r); AM29 (a7r); AM30 ('De capra lupo et edo' - a7v); AM31 (a7v); AM32 (a8r); AM33 (a8r); AM34 (a8r); AM35 (a8v); AM36 (a8v); AM37 (a8v); AM38 (b1r); AM39 (b1v); AM40 (b1v); AM41 (b2r); AM42 (b2r); AM43 (b2v); AM44 (b3r); AM45 ('De avibus et quadrupedibus pugnantibus' - b3r); AM46 (b3v); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b3v); AM48 ('De cervo speculante aquas' - b4r); AM49 (b4r); AM50 (b5r); AM51 (b5r); AM52 (b5v); AM53 (b5v); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b6r); AM55 (b6r); AM56 ('De ventre et aliis membris' - b6v); AM57 (b6v); AM58 (c1r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo' - c1r); AM60 (c1v); **AM62 (c1v)**; AM61 ('De cive et equite regis' - c2r); AM63 (c3v); **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - c3v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue» (leaf b1v); AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus» (leaf b4v); and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris» (leaf b4v), confirm that the edition is part of the branch β of the textual tradition. Peculiar of this edition are the inversion of fables AM62 and AM61 ('De capone et accipitre' and 'De cive et equite regis'), and the addition of fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'.
AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with the final couplet added: «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis».[630] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolves | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[631]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Manchester, JRL, 18495.2 (MEI 02016687).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Currentrly bound with a copy of the edition of Rinucius' translation of the life and fables printed in Milan by Philippus de Lavagna in September 1480.[632] Both copies show a series of long notes by 15th or early 16th-century hands, all washed and barely visible. The composite volume was owned by the Earl of Spencer (1758-1834) before entering the Tennant-Rylands collection: dark leather oval label "Ex bibliotheca spenceriana" on the front pastedown; ex libris "Ex John Rylands Library 1894" on the front pastedown, with the motto "Nihil sine labore".

33) 1483, March 29 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Rome: [Eucharius Silber] (ISTC ia00148500; GW 429; Text-Inc: tia00148500).
Format: 4°; 82 leaves. Collation: [a–i^{8} k^{10}]. 26 lines per page; type: 3*b:114R.

630 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
631 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).
632 ISTC ia00101000, n° 19 of this *Catalogue*.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – [Table of contents]. 'Tabula de preditte fabule'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fa. i...»; [a3r] expl.: «...eius uxore fa. lxv | De rustico et plutone fa. lxvi». 'Finis';
[a3v] – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api cio son Esopo o tu...»; expl.: «...diligentia bene impresso fui» [16 lines];
[a3v] – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. Inc.: «Aesopus fueram deformis, non...»; expl.: «...seria mixta dabit» [3 elegiac couplets];
[a3v] – [Title-page]. 'Acci Zuchi summa Campaneae Veronensis viri eruditissimi in Esopi fabulas interpretatio per rithmos in libellum zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit.'
[a4r] – Accio Zucco, 'Prohoemio'.' Inc.: «El me covien vestir...»; expl.: «...mio debel ingiegno» [caudate sonnet];
[a4r] – Accio Zucco, [second verse *Prologue*]. 'Idem'. Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il...»; [a4v] expl.: «...per me si scrisse.' Lepidissimi Aesopi fabulae» [caudate sonnet];
[a5r] – Accio Zucco, [*Esopo zuccarino*]. Lat. inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit…»; It. inc.: «[U]na sala depinta...»; [k5v] Lat. expl.: «...quod intus habet»; [k6r] It. expl.: «…Certo nel mondo non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
[k6v] – [Colophon]: «Impressum Rome die XXVIIII marcii MCCCCLXXXIII»;
[k6v] – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; [k7r] expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [31 lines];
[k7r] – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; [k9v] expl.: «...Zuccho da summacampaga» [130 lines];
[k9v] – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo gloriosa...»; [k10r] expl.: «...Se ricomanda miserere mei». 'Finis' [caudate sonnet];
[k10r] – 'Registrum'. Inc.: «Primum vacat | De patre...»; expl.: «...chel salso | E menolo».

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 [a6r]; EZ2 [a7r]; EZ3 [a8r]; EZ4 [b1r]; EZ5 [b2r]; EZ6 [b3r]; EZ7 [b4r]; EZ8 [b4v]; EZ9 [b5v]; EZ10 [b6v]; EZ11 [b7v]; EZ12 [b8v]; EZ13 [c2r]; EZ14 [c3r]; EZ15 [c4r]; EZ16 [c5r]; EZ17 [c6r]; EZ18 [c7v]; EZ19 [c8v]; EZ20 [d1v]; EZ21 [d2v]; EZ22 [d4r]; EZ23 [d5r]; EZ24 [d6r]; EZ25 [d7r]; EZ26 [d8r]; EZ27 [e1r]; EZ28 [e2r]; EZ29 [e3r]; EZ30 [e4r]; EZ31 [e5r]; EZ32 [e6r]; EZ33 [e7r]; EZ34 [e8r]; EZ35 [f1r]; EZ36 [f2r]; EZ37 [f3v]; EZ38 [f4v]; EZ39 [f6r]; EZ40 [f7r]; EZ41 [f8r]; EZ42 [g1r]; EZ43 [g2v]; EZ44 [g3v]; EZ45 [g5r]; EZ46 [g6r]; EZ47 [g7r]; EZ48 [g8v]; EZ49 [h1v]; EZ50 [h2v]; EZ51 [h4r]; EZ52 [h5r]; EZ53 [h6r]; EZ54 [h7r]; EZ55 [h8r]; EZ56 [i1v]; EZ57 [i2v]; EZ58 [i3v]; EZ59 [i4v]; EZ60 [i5v]; EZ61 [i7r]; EZ62 [k2r]; EZ63 [k3r]; EZ64 [k4r]; EZ65 [k5v].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition has the same insertions found in the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in correspondency with the fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale': EZ18, after the Latin text; EZ21, after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35, after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the Latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; before the beginning of the fable EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', after the 'Sonetto materiale' and also after the 'Sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of the fable EZ63; after the end of the Latin text of fable EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.
In fable EZ7, lines 7-8 read: «qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum

prebere favorem».
After line 4 of EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added.
In EZ20, 'De hirundine et lino', line 14, «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», closes the final couplet.
Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «Gola domanda solo per si sola | larghezza non ma prodigalitade».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of EZ62, 'De capone et accipitre', counts 16 lines.
Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

EXTANT COPIES: 3.
EXAMINED COPY: Rome, Cors., 51.A.13 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Illegible manuscript note of three words on leaf [a1r], by a late 15th-century Italian hand, in brown ink.

⚜ *34) 1485, February 13 - Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi* and *Fabulae Aesopi*

Naples: [for] Francesco del Tuppo (ISTC ia00155000; GW 441; Text-Inc: tia00155000).
Format: f°; 168 leaves. Collation: [a–d^{8}ef^{6}g–t^{8}vx^{6}y^{8}]. 38 lines per page; type: 1:99R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a2r] – Francesco del Tuppo, introductory letter addressed to Onorato Gaetani dell'Aquila, Count of Fondi: 'Francisco del Tuppo Neapolitano allo illustrissimo honorato de Aragonia Gaitano conte de Fundi collaterale dello serenissimo Re Bon Ferando re de Sicilia prothonotario et logothetha benemerito felicitate'. Inc.: «Elli sono in lo seculo illustrati…»; [a2v] expl.: «...illustrissima signoria annumera. Vale» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 97-99];
[a3r] – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Prohemium' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[N]ovum nimirum aucupium novasque...»; expl.: «...legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
[a3r] – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi*. 'Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et origine eiusdem'. Inc.: «E]sopus philosophus fabulator...»; [f10v] expl.: «...donarle la morte.' 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter finit' [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
[g1r] – [Francesco del Tuppo, *Fabulae Aesopi*]. 'Prothesis comparativa. Fabula I'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; [y6r] expl.: «...francho et mandolo con Dio» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 175-355];
[y6r] – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Epilogus.' Inc.: «Lectore per la merce de dio...»; [y6v] expl.: «...signoria fare comendato. Valete» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 355-56];
[y6v] – [Colophon]: «Francisci Tuppi parthenopei utriusque iuris diserissimi studiosissimique in vitam Esopi fabulatoris laepidissimi philosophique clarissmi traductio materno sermone fidelissima et in eius fabulas allegoriae cum exemplis antiquis modernisque finiunt foeliciter. Impressae Neapoli sub Ferdinando Illustrissimo sapientissimo atque Iustissimo in Siciliae Regno triumphatore. Sub anno Domini MCCCCLXXXV die XIII mensis Februarii»;

[y7r] – Table of contents. 'Tabula in fabulas Exopi'. Inc.: «Prothesis comparativa fabula i | De gallo et iaspide fabula ii | De lupo...»; expl.: «...et eius uxore fab. lxv | De rustico et plutone fab. lxvi» 'FINIS';
[y7v] – [Registrum]. Inc.: «Primum vacat | Francisco | Novum...»; «...collo pastore | essendo | lo figliolo».

INITIALS: Absent, without guide letters for the *Vita*; with guide letters for the *Fabulae*.
TITLES: Present, in capitals.

SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 [a3]; VA2 [a4r]; VA3 [a6r]; VA4 [a7v]; VA5 [b1r]; VA6 [b2v]; VA7 [b5r]; VA8 [b6v]; VA9 [b8r]; VA10 [c2v]; VA11 [c5r]; VA12 [c7v]; VA13 [d1v]; VA14 [d3v]; VA15 [d4v]; VA16 [d7r]; VA17 [d8v]; VA18 [e1v]; VA19 [e2v]; VA20 [e4v]; VA21 [e6r]; VA22 [f1r]; VA23 [f4r].
SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: FdT1 [g2r]; FdT2 [g4r]; FdT3 [g5v]; FdT4 [g7r]; FdT5 [g8v]; FdT6 [h2r]; FdT7 [h3r]; FdT8 [h4v]; FdT9 [h5v]; FdT10 [h7r]; FdT11 [h8v]; FdT12 [i2v]; FdT13 [i4v]; FdT14 [i6r]; FdT15 [i7v]; FdT16 [k1v]; FdT17 [k3r]; FdT18 [k4v]; FdT19 [k6v]; FdT20 [k8r]; FdT21 [l2r]; FdT22 [l4r]; FdT23 [l6r]; FdT24 [l8r]; FdT25 [m2r]; FdT26 [m4r]; FdT27 [m5v]; FdT28 [m7v]; FdT29 [n1v]; FdT30 [n3v]; FdT31 [n5v]; FdT32 [n7v]; FdT33 [o1v]; FdT34 [o3v]; FdT35 [o6r]; FdT36 [o7v]; FdT37 [p1v]; FdT38 [p3v]; FdT39 [p5r]; FdT40 [p7r]; FdT41 [q2r]; FdT42 [q4r]; FdT43 [q7v]; FdT44 [r1v]; FdT45 [r3v]; FdT46 [r5v]; FdT47 [r8r]; FdT48 [s2r]; FdT49 [s4r]; FdT50 [s5v]; FdT51 [s8r]; FdT52 [t1v]; FdT53 [t3r]; FdT54 [t4v]; FdT55 [t6r]; FdT56 [t8r]; FdT57 [u1v]; FdT58 [u3v]; FdT59 [u5r]; FdT60 [u6v]; FdT61 [x2r]; FdT62 [x6r]; FdT63 [y1v]; FdT64 [y3r]; FdT65 [y4v].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Peculiar of the Latin text of the fables is the insertion of FdT64 and FdT65, corresponding to AM64 and AM68. More extensive considerations on the texts included in this edition can be found in sections II.33, II.34 and III.3.2 of this study.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: ***Vita*** [a3v]; [a4v]; [a6v]; [a8r]; [b1v]; [b3v]; [b5v]; [b7r]; [c1r]; [c3v]; [c6r]; [c8v]; [d2v]; [d4r]; [d5v]; [d7v]; [e1r]; [e2r]; [e3v]; [e5r]; [e6v]; [f2v]; [f4v]; ***Fabulae*** [g1r] (decorative border); [g2v]; [g4v]; [g6r]; [g7v]; [h1r]; [h2v]; [h3v]; [h5r]; [h6r]; [h7v]; [i1r]; [i3r]; [i5r]; [i6v]; [i8r]; [k2r]; [k3v]; [k5r]; [k7r]; [k8v]; [l2v]; [l4v]; [l6v]; [l8v]; [m2v]; [m4v]; [m6r]; [m8r]; [n2r]; [n4r]; [n6r]; [n8r]; [o2r]; [o4r]; [o6v]; [o8r]; [p2r]; [p4r]; [p5v]; [p7v]; [q2v]; [q4v]; [q8r]; [r2r]; [r4r]; [r6r]; [r8v]; [s2v]; [s4v]; [s6r]; [s8v]; [t2r]; [t3v]; [t5r]; [t6v]; [t8v]; [u2r]; [u4r]; [u5v]; [x1r]; [x3v]; [x6v]; [y2r]; [y3v]; [y5r].
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five central narrative illustrations (100 x 100 mm) with borders for the *Fabulae* and twenty-three illustrations for episodes of the *Vita* (100 x 100 mm), also framed by borders. In addition, the edition contains one decorative border on leaf [g1r], used to introduce the section dedicated to the *Fabulae*.[633]
Although the central narrative woodcuts are very similar in the two sections, the borders used vary substantially from one section to the other. In particular, in the *Vita* each central cut is framed by a border constituted by a combination of two horizontal segments (20 x 100 mm) placed on the upper and lower side of the illustration. These top and bottom segments contain different architectonic and decorative elements (arches and vaults, but also branches and tendrils) and are mounted on single thin segments which only serve to balance the whole frame.
A smaller border of four decorated segments cut in the same block was used to frame VA11, and a larger border, concludes the *Vita* at leaf f3v (AV23).
The six borders of the *Vita Aesopi* were used as follows:
b1 was used seven times (a2v; c7v; d3r; d8r; e2v; e4r; f1v);
b2 was used four times (a3v; a8v; b2v; c2v);
b3 was used six times (a5v; a7r; b6r; b8r; d1v; e1r);
b4 was used four times (a4v; d4v; d6v; e5v);

633 A an analysis of the illustrations used in this edition is included in ROVERE 2017, pp. 42-58, which mainly relies on DONATI 1934, pp. 92-98.

b5 was used once (c5r);
b6 was used once (f3v);
Total number of impressions: twenty-three borders + twenty-three centres = forty-six.
Total number of woodblocks used: twenty-three centres + six borders = twenty-nine.
In the *Fabulae*, three different combinations of blocks are used as borders and repeated through the whole book. Each of the three combination consists in a lunette mounted on five support segments. Three different subjects were represented in the lunettes.
Furthermore, a larger border decorated with tendrils and putti is used to frame the title page.
Total number of borders used for the *Fabulae*:
b1 (title page) was used once (g1r);
b2 (two horsemen fighting) was used eleven times (g2v; g6r; q4v; r4r; s6r; t3v; t8v; u4r; x3v; y2r; y5r);
b3 (two men fighting each other; probably Hercules fighting Antaeus) was used thirty times (g4v; h2v; h6r; h7v; i1r; i5r; i6v; k2r; k3v; k5r; l2v; l4v; m2v; m6r; n2r; n6r; o2r; o6v; p2r; p5v; q2v; q8r; r2r; r6r; s4v; s8v; t6v; u5v; x6v; y3v);
b4 (a man – probably Hercules or David – fighting a lion) was used twenty-four times (g7v; h1r; h3v; h5r; i3r; i8r; k7r; k8v; l6v; l8v; m4v; m8r; n4r; n8r; o4r; o8r; p4r; p7v; r8v; s2v; t2r; t5r; u2r; x1r).[634]
Total number of impressions: sixty-five central narrative scenes + sixty-six borders = 131.
Total number of woodcuts used: sixty-five central narrative scenes + four borders = sixty-nine.
Mirrored copies of the Verona edition among the illustrations of the *Fabulae*: FdT3, FdT9, FdT10, FdT14, FdT16, FdT18, FdT19, FdT24, FdT25, FdT27, FdT28 (only the scene in foreground is reverted); FdT30, FdT31, FdT32, FdT33, FdT35 (although the head is female rather than male), FdT36, FdT37, FdT39, FdT41, FdT42, FdT43, FdT44, FdT45, FdT46, FdT47, FdT48 (only the scene on the foreground is reversed), FdT51, FdT52, FdT53, FdT55, FdT57, FdT58, FdT60, FdT61, FdT62, FdT65.
Illustrations of the *Fabulae* which are very similar to those in the Verona 1479 edition, and oriented in the same direction: FdT2, FdT8, FdT17, FdT29, FdT34, FdT54, FdT59, FdT63.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The decorative border framing the title page of the fables was reused several times in Hebrew editions printed in Naples, beginning with two editions by Joshua Solomon Soncino printed in 1487 and 1488. From 1489 onwards, this border was still in use by the Soncino printers, although it was cut into four segments, in order to become better suited to Hebrew books.[635]
In order to reaffirm the close relationship between del Tuppo and what has been referred to as the 'Aesop's workshop', and the Hebrew printing environment, scholars have also highlighted the stylistic and figurative relationship between the illustrations realised for del Tuppo's edition

[634] According to DONATI 1934, pp. 92-98, it is possible to distinguish three phases of elaboration of the same block for b2, seven for b3 and 10 for b4. ROVERE 2017, pp. 57-58 instead identifies three subsequent stages in the printing of b4, on the basis of common signs of wear.
[635] Reuse of a border from an Italian to a Hebrew book presented a problem in the thickness of the margins, due to the different orientation of the text, so that the outer margin should be wider than the inner margin to obtain a final page which is esthetically balanced and meaningfully oriented (see HABERMANN 1961, col. 464 and HELLER 2013, pp. 3-35, with further bibliography). ISTC numbers of the first two editions are is00625200 (SANDER 6689) and ib00525500 (SANDER 987); ISTC numbers of the extant editions where the border was used after having been cut are it00015220 (SANDER 7173) and it00015400 (SANDER 7174), both printed in 1489; ij00000250 (SANDER 3545), printed around 1490 and im00079500 (SANDER 4125), printed in 1490. This new version of the border properly oriented later served as a model for new borders cut by other Hebrew printers.

and the woodcuts contained in the first illustrated *Haggadah*, of uncertain attribution but probably printed by the Soncinos in the years 1485-1486 (ISTC ih00002700).[636]

EXTANT COPIES: 43 of which 9 out of Europe (Japan, USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: London, BL, IB.34555 (MEI 02013479); Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 937 (MEI 00201353).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **BL copy** consists of a fragment of forty-one leaves. Notes in Latin in brown ink by an early 16th-century Italian hand on the top margin of leaves [e1r] and [h7r], both beginning with "Significat..." and both barely visible due to the damaged condition of the pages. The same hand also left some notes on the margins of leaves [d3r], [e4r] and [e7r]. The note on [e4r], in particular, reads: "Li suddetti articoli di consigli dati da Sopo a Enno suo figlio adottivo sono da cinquanta in circa consigli veramenti da saggio, et si doverebono nere (*sic*) in memoriaa finchè si homo se ne potesti servire in bene alli soi bisogni". The same hand is possibly responsible for a small face drawn on leaf [h1r] and a few other scribbles throughout the book (see leaf [n3v]).
On the **Cini copy**, leaf [a3r], an Italian hand noted in brown ink on the top margin: "Adi 4 de a[go]sto 05" (probably referring to 1505), and on the bottom margin: "Franc. (et) Ang. Cascia(n)i. Amor [...]". A slightly later hand, possibly dating between 1550 and 1600, writing in light brown ink on leaf [a2r]: "Queste favole d'Esopo si sono di Alamanno Ghettini".

35) 1485, December 2 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Brescia: Jacobus Britannicus (ISTC ia00126000; GW 0038820N; Text-Inc: tia00126000).
Format: 4°; 22 leaves. Collation: a–b^{8} c^{6}. 28 lines per page; type: 2:102R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; c5v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem. FINIS» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
c5v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Brixiae per Iacobum Britannicum Brixianum anno domini M.cccc.lxxxv. die secundo Decembris».

INITIALS: First 'U' decorated and stamped in. The fables initials are absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a3r); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a3v); AM8 (a3v); AM9 (a3v); AM10 (a4r); AM11 (a4r); AM12 (a4r); AM13 (a5r); AM14 (a5r); AM15 (c4v); AM16 ('De leone apro tauro et asello' - c5v); AM17 ('De catullo hero et asello' - c7r); AM18 (c8r); AM19 (d1v); AM20 ('De hyrundine et rustico' - d2v); AM21 ('De civitate carente regem' - d3v); AM22 ('De ranis petentibus regem' - d5r); AM23 (d6r); AM24 (d7v); AM25 (d8v); AM26 ('De terra que peperit murem' - e1v); AM27 (e3r); AM28 ('De cane et domino' - e4r); AM29('De sylva et leporibus' - e5r); AM30 (e7r); AM31 (e8r); AM32 (f1r); AM33 (f2r); AM34 (f3r); AM35 (f4v); AM36 (f6r); AM37 (b3r); AM38 (b3r); AM39 (b3v); AM40 (b4r); AM41 (b4r); AM42 (b4v); AM43 (b5r); AM44 (b5r); AM45 (b5v); AM46 (b6r); AM47 ('De lupo pastore et vulpe' - b6v); AM48 ('De cervo speculante aquas' - b6v); AM49 (b7r); AM50 (b7v); A51 (b8r); AM52 (b8r); AM53 ('De foedere luporum

636 See FROJMOVIČ 1996, pp. 104-109 in particular.

et ovium' - b8v); AM54 ('De viro secure et nemore' - b8v); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupi' - c1r); AM56 (c1r); AM57 (c1v); AM58 (c2r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo' - c2r); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - c2v); **AM62 (c3r);** AM61 ('De cive et equite regis' - c3r)'; AM63 (c5r); **AM64 ('De pueris ludentibus' - c5r)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is characterised by the addition, to the standard sixty-three fables composing the collection, of fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'. Lessons such as AM39.10 («Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»); AM49.12 («Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»); and AM49.17 («Hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris»), confirm that the text contained in this edition comes from branch β of the tradition.
The order of AM61, 'De cive et equite regis', and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', is inverted. Fable AM14 'De aquila et testudine' witnesses the variant with two final lines added («Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescis»).[637] Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque requirens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore suo».[638]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Washington (DC), Libr. Congress, Incun. 1485.A34 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Marginal annotations in Latin and Italian by a late 15th/early 16th-century Italian hand. The notes are concentrated towards the end of the book and often paraphrase Latin expressions: see for instance "pactum" written next to «foedus» and "Gratia scilicet benevolentia causa ob meritum" (leaf c5r). The volume is currently bound in the vellum of an earlier liturgical music manuscript (approx. 13th century).

36) c. 1485 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea (ISTC ia00126400; GW 0038810; Text-Inc: tia00126400)
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation: a^8b–d^4. 31 lines per page; type: 4:95R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]; 'Hic incipit liber magistri Esopi'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; d3v expl.: «...mors manet atque salus». 'Deo gratias amen' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191].

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letter.
TITLES: Present, in small capitals. 'De hirundine et aliis avibus et lino' (a6r), 'De terra atticha querente regem' (a6v); 'De silva tonante et leporibus fugientibus' (a8r); 'De cervo speculante se in fonte' (c1r) are not in capitals.

637 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
638 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a2r); AM2 (a2r); AM3 (a2v); AM4 (a2v); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 (a3r); AM8 (a3v); AM9 ('De pia et ingrata cane' - a3v); AM10 (a3v); AM11 (a4r); AM12 (a4r); AM13 (a4v); AM14 (av4); AM15 (a5r); AM16 ('De leone apro thauro et asello' - a5r); AM17 (a5r); AM18 (a5v); AM19 (a6r); AM20 ('De hirundine et aliis avibus et lino' - a6r); AM21 ('De terra atticha querente regem' - a6v); AM22 (a6v); AM23 ('De columbis [*sic*] accipitre et milvo' - a7r); AM24 (a7r); AM25 (a7r); AM26 ('De terra tumente et hominibus timidis' - a7v); AM27 ('De grege barbato lupo et agno' - a7v); AM28 (a8r); AM29 ('De silva tonante et leporibus fugientibus' - a8r); AM30 (a8v); AM31 (a8v); AM32 (a8v); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 ('De lupo et capite' - b1v); AM36 (b1v); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b2v); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3r); AM43 (b3v); AM44 (b4r); AM45 (b4v); AM46 (b4v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe ac pastore' - c1r); AM48 ('De cervo speculante se in fonte' - c1r); AM49 (c1v); AM50 (c2r); AM51 (c2r); AM52 (c2v); AM53 (c2v); AM54 (c3r); AM55 (c3r); AM56 ('De ventre manibus et pedibus' - c3v); AM57 (c3v); AM58 (c4r); AM59 ('De cane bobus et cervo' - c4r); **AM62 ('De capone et accipitre' - c4v)**; AM60 (d1r); AM63 (d1v); **AM61 ('De cive et equite' - d1v)**; **AM64 (d3r); AM65 ('De viro et uxore moecha' -d3r); AM66 ('De leone lupo et vulpe' - d3v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition witnesses the standard sixty-three fables plus the triplet AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus', AM65 'De viro et uxore' and AM66 'De leone lupo et vulpe'. Lines AM39.10 «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM49.12 «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus», and AM39.17 «Hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris» witness that this edition is part of the branch β of the textual tradition.
AM14, 'De aquila et testudine' has the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» occupying lines 9-10, inserted before the closing couplet.[639]
Three lines are added after line 26 of fable AM49, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil fecit dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viro».[640]
Fable AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', stands in between AM59 and AM60 and fable AM63, 'De lupo et pastore', separates AM60 and AM61.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Innsbruck, UB, Ink. 161 E 23 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: No early marks of provenance.

37) 1486, September 29 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Bologna: Ugo Rugerius (ISTC ia00127000; GW 390; Text-Inc: tia00127000).
Format: 4°; 18 leaves. Collation: a^8b^{10}. 30 lines per page; type: 7:98G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»: b10v expl.: «...dira venena nocent». 'Finis. Laus deo omnipotenti' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b10v – [Colophon]: «Ugonis Rugerii calcographi responsio ad invidum latrantem | Cum sis deformis, vitiosus et omnibus expers | rebus: quis nam te possit amare scelus | Socraticus taceas: nam te infelicior | alter quique tibi invideat nullus in orbe viget. | Imo age si sapias voces

639 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 74.
640 These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition n° 6 in this *Catalogue*).

compesce molestas. | Nil nisi tu cupias, vel deus esse foci. | Bononiae impressum per me Ugonem Rugerium tempore divi ac illustris domini Ioannis Bentivoli, secundi Sfortiae vicecomitis de Aragonia anno gratie Mcccclxxxvi iii.kalendas octobris».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters only on a1r.
TITLES: Absent.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 (a2r); AM8 (a2v); AM9 (a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 (a4r); AM15 (a4r); AM16 (a4r); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a4v); AM19 (a5r); AM20 (a5v); AM21 (a5v); AM22 (a6r); AM23 (a6r); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a6v); **AM27 (a6v) + [AM26 - a7r];** AM28 (a7r); AM29 (a7v); AM30 (a7v); AM31 (a8r); AM32 (a8r); AM33 (a8v); AM34 (a8v); AM35 (a8v); AM36 (b1r); AM37 (b1r); AM38 (b1v); AM39 (b2r); AM40 (b2r) 41 (b2v); AM42 (b2v); AM43 (b3r); AM44 (b3v); AM45 (b4r); AM46 (b4r); AM47 (b4v); AM48 (b4v); AM49 (b5r); AM50 (b5v); AM51 (b5v); AM52 (b6r); AM53 (b6r); AM54 (b6v); AM55 (b6v); AM56 (b7r); AM57 (b7v); AM58 (b7v); AM59 (b7v); AM60 (b8r); AM61 (b8v); AM62 (b10r); AM63 (b10v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition the order of fables AM26, 'De terra tumente', and AM27 'De lupo et agno', is inverted and there is no interruption, neither a title nor blank space separating the two. Lessons as AM39.10 «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM49.12: «hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus» and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris» confirm that the edition is related to branch β of the textual tradition.
Lines AM61.62-65 read: «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat».

EXTANT COPIES: 2, of which 1 in the USA.
EXAMINED COPY: San Marino (CA), Huntington, 99969 (MEI 02122906).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Bound in 18th-century pigskin; no traces of early provenance.

⚜ *38) 1487, March 7 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia (ISTC ia00149000; GW 430; Text-Inc: tia00149000).[641]
Format: 4°; number of leaves: 100. Collation: a–m^{8}n^{4}. 28 line per page; types: 3:112R; 7:105G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1v – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo...»; expl.: «...bene impresso fui» [16 lines];
a1v – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. Inc.: «Aesopus fueram deformis...»; expl.: «...seria mixta dabit» [3 elegiac couplets];
a2v – Accio Zucco, [verse prologue], 'Accii Zuchi Summa Campanie veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas interpretatio per rhytmos in libellum zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Proemio.' Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; a3r expl.: «...mio debil ingegno» [caudate sonnet];

641 On this edition see in particular QUONDAM 1986, pp. 160-63 *et infra.*

a3r – Accio Zucco, [second verse prologue]. 'Idem.' Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a3v – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Lepidissimi Aesopi fabulae';
a4r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; m8r expl.: «...non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
m8v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Brixie per Boninum de Boninis de Ragusia mcccclxxxvii septimo martii»;
m8v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; n1r expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
n1r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; n3r expl.: «…zuccho da summa campagna» [130 lines];
n3v – Accio Zucco, 'Aue Maria'. Inc.: «Ave regina uirgo...»; expl.: «...ricomanda miserere mei» [caudate sonnet];
n3v – [Table of contents]. 'Tauola.'

INITIALS: Absent, with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same type of the main text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES (66): EZ1 (a5r); EZ2 (a6r); EZ3 (a7v); EZ4 (b1r); EZ5 (b2v); EZ6 (b3v); EZ7 (b5r); EZ8 (b6r); EZ9 (b7v); EZ10 (c1v); EZ11 (c2r); EZ12 (c3v); EZ13 (c5r); EZ14 (c6v); EZ15 (c7v); EZ16 (d1r); EZ17 (d2v); EZ18 (d4r); EZ19 (d5v); EZ20 (d6v); EZ21 (d8r); EZ22 (e1v); EZ23 (e3r); EZ24 (e4r); EZ25 (e5v); EZ26 (e6v); EZ27 (e8r); EZ28 (f1r); EZ29 (f2v); EZ30 (f4r); EZ31 (f5v); EZ32 (f6v); EZ33 (f8r); EZ34 (g1r); EZ35 (g2v); EZ36 (g3v); EZ37 (g5r); EZ38 (g7r); EZ39 (g8r); EZ40 (h1v); EZ41 (h3r); EZ42 (h4r); EZ43 (h5v); EZ44 (h7r); EZ45 (i1r); EZ46 (i2v); EZ47 (i4r); EZ48 (i5v); EZ49 (i6v); EZ50 (i8r); EZ51 (k1v); EZ52 (k3r); EZ53 (k4v); EZ54 (k5v); EZ55 (k7r); EZ56 (k8v); EZ57 (l2r); EZ58 (l3v); EZ59 (l4v); EZ60 (l6r); EZ61 (l8r); EZ62 (m2v); EZ63 (m4r); EZ64 (m5v); EZ65 (m7r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares most of the insertions found in the one of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in correspondence with fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35, 'De lupo et cervice', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, 'De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', before the beginning as well as after the 'Sonetto materiale' and after the 'Sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of the EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; after the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of fable EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.
Lines EZ7.7-8 read: «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem | qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant».
After line 4 of EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added.
AM20, 'De hirundine et lino', misses the last line (14): «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable.
Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', is complete and counts 16 lines.

Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a2r; a3v; a4r; a5r; a7r; a8v; b1v; b3r; b4r; b5v; b6v; b8r; c1r; c2v; c4v; c5v; c7r; c8r; d1v; d3r; d4v; d6r; d7v; d8v; e2r; e3v; e4v; e6r; e7r; f1r; f2r; f3r; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8v; g1v; g3r; g4v; g5v; g6v; h1r; h2r; h3v; h5r; h6v; h8v; i1v; i3r; i4v; i6r; i8r; k1r; k2v; k3v; k5r; k6v; k8r; l1v; l2v; l4r; l5v; l7v; m2r; m3v; m4v; m6r; m8r.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five narrative woodcuts (one for each fable), plus one decorated initial (leaf a3r) and two full-page illustrations, which include one introductory image of the author presenting the book to Aesop (leaf a2r); and one introductory image: classical style capital, with the inscription 'Lepidissimi Aesopi fabulae' (leaf a3v).

Both full-page introductory illustrations seem to have been printed out of only one block of wood, very likely inspired by the ones contained in the 1479 edition printed in Verona by Iohannes and Albertus Griffisolis.[642]

Illustrations depicting the fables consist of one central cut (c. 120 x 80 mm) surrounded by a simple border with some patterned decorations. Three borders, decorated with geometric patterns, were used in this edition:

b1 was used eighteen times (a5r; a7r; b1v; c1r; d1v; d4v; d8v; f1r; g3r; g5v; h2r; h8v; i1v; i1v; k1r; k6v; l2v; l7v);

b2 was used thirty times (a8v; b3r; b4r; c6v; d3r; d6r; d7v; e2r; e4v; e6r; e7r; f2r; f5r; f6r; f8v; g1v; g4v; h5r; i4r; i6r; i8r; k2v; k3v; k5r; k8r; l1v; l4r; m3v; m4v; m8r);

b3 was used seventeen times (b5v; b6v; b8r; c2v; c4v; c5v; c8r; e3v; f3r; f7r; g6v; h1r; h3v; h6v; l5v; m2r; m6r);

Total number of impressions: sixty-five narrative woodcuts + two full page illustrations + one decorated initial + sixty-five borders = 133.

Total number of woodcuts used: sixty-five narrative woodcuts + two full page illustrations + one decorated initial + three borders = seventy-one.

CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The introductory image of the capital in classical style was reused in Boninis' 1489 edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* (leaf c4v).[643]

EXTANT COPIES: 11, of which 1 out of Europe (USA).[644]

EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 920 (MEI 00200293).

PROVENANCE NOTES: Extensive annotations throughout by a 16th-century hand: reading marks, schemes and diagrams to structure the text. In particular, see leaf n4v, in correspondence with the table of contents of the edition.[645]

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642 ISTC ia00148000, see above n° 18 in this *Catalogue*. The strong figurative relationships between these woodcuts and the ones in the earlier Veronese edition might be related to the long stay of Boninis in Verona, where he got in touch with printers and the local cultural environment. In February 1483, Boninis printed Valturius' *De re militari* in two illustrated editions, one in Latin and one in the vernacular, translated by Paolo Ramusio (ISTCs iv00089000 and iv00090000). These works might have been somehow influenced by the most famous edition of the *De re militari,* which was printed probably in Verona more than ten years before, and became well known for its outstanding design and for the presence of wonderful woodcuts (ISTC: iv00088000). As far as the typographical material used by Boninis is concerned, though, it seems to have Venetian origins (see VENEZIANI 1986, p. 70; this edition is listed with n° 73 in Veneziani's inventory).

643 ISTC ia00127500, n° 42 in this *Catalogue.*

644 This number already takes into account the Washington and Cini copies (see note below).

645 As stated in the Editorial note to the *Catalogue*, the only two extant copies of the supposedly different edition ISTC ia00150000, assigned to Boninus de Boninis but with no further specifications of date of printing shall be considered instead copies of the edition described here (n° 38 in the *Catalogue*). The copies are now owned by Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, and by the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

⌘ *39) 1487, November 20 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius (ISTC ia00150400; GW 431; Text-Inc: tia00150400).
Format: 4°; 90 leaves. Collation: a–k^{8}l^{6}m^{4}. 33 lines per page; types: 25:114/115G, 13:85G.[646]

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
?[a1r/v] – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo...»; expl.: «...bene impresso fui» [16 lines];[647]
?[a1r/v] – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. Inc.: «Aseopus (*sic*) fueram deformis...»; expl.: «...seria mixta dabit» [3 elegiac couplets];
?[a2r] – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Accii zuch [...] | mi in Aesop[...] | bellum Zuc[...]';[648]
?[a2v] – [Accio Zucco, verse prologue]. 'Proemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...mio debil ingiegno» [caudate sonnet];
?[a2v] – Accio Zucco, [second verse prologue]. 'Idem.' Inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];[649]
a3r – Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; l6r expl.: «...mondo non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
l6v – Accio Zucco, Canzonetta. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; l7v expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
l7v – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale.' Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; m2r expl.: «...el Zuccho da Summa Campagna» [130 lines];
m2v – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio.' Inc.: «[A]ve Regina virgo gloriosa...»; expl.: «...Se ricomanda: miserere mei». 'Finis' [caudate sonnet];
m3r – [Anonymous, worship to the Virgin]. Inc.: «[V]ergine in parto e doppo parto…»; expl.: «…numero degli io son collui» [14 lines];
m3r – [Colophon]: «Impressum venetiis per Bernardinum de Benaliis Bergomensem. Anno domini MCCCCLXXXVII die xx Novembris»;
m3r – 'Tavola de le preditte fabule'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fa.i. | De gallo et iaspide fa. ii.…»; expl.: m4r «…De mercatore et eius uxore fa. lxv | De rustico et plutone fa. lxvi» 'Finis'.

INITIALS: Absent, with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a3v); EZ2 (a5r); EZ3 (a6r); EZ4 (a7v); EZ5 (a8v); EZ6 (b1v); EZ7 (b2v); EZ8 (b3v); EZ9 (b5r); EZ10 (b6r); EZ11 (b7r); EZ12 (c1r); EZ13 (c2r); EZ14 (c3r); EZ15 (c4v); EZ16 (c5v); EZ17 (c7r); EZ18 (c8r); EZ19 (d1v); EZ20 (d2v); EZ21 (d3v); EZ22 (d5r); EZ23 (d6r); EZ24 (d7v); EZ25 (d8v); EZ26 (e1v); EZ27(e3r); EZ28 (e4r); EZ29 (e5r); EZ30 (e7r); EZ31 (e8r); EZ32 (f1r); EZ33 (f2r); EZ34 (f3r); EZ35 (f4v); EZ36 (f6r); EZ37 (f7r); EZ38 (f8r); EZ39 (g1v); EZ40 (g3r); EZ41 (g4r); EZ42 (g5v); EZ43 (g7r); EZ44 (g8r); EZ45 (h1v); EZ46 (h2v); EZ47 (h4r); EZ48 (h5v); EZ49 (h7r); EZ50 (h8r); EZ51 (i1v); EZ52 (i2v); EZ53 (i3v); EZ54 (i5r); EZ55 (i6v); EZ56 (i7v); EZ57 (i8v); EZ58 (k2r); EZ59 (k3v); EZ60 (k4v); EZ61 (k7r); EZ62 (k8v); EZ63 (l2r); EZ64 (l3v); EZ65 (l4v).

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646 On the printer see the *DBI* record by CIONI 1966, online.
647 The presence of the question mark (?) before the foliation indicates that, since leaves a1-a2 are missing in the only surviving copy, the presence of this text and of the ones below is hypothesised on the basis of the structure of other editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Benalius, in particular nos. 43 and 47 in this *Catalogue*.
648 The titlepage is badly damaged and only parts of it remain in the examined copy.
649 See note above.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares most of the insertions found in the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in correspondence of fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35 'De lupo et cervice', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, 'De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the Latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', before the beginning of the fable, after the 'Sonetto materiale' and after the 'Sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; after the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.
Lines 7-8 of AM7 read: «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem | qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant».
After line 4 of fable EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added.
Line 14 in AM20, 'De hirundine et lino', «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit» is missing.
Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', misses line 7 and counts only 15 lines.
Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a2r; a4r; a5v; a8r; b1r; b2r; b3r; b4r; b5v; b6v; b7v; c1v; c2v; c3v; c4v; c6r; c7v; c8v; d1v; d3r; d4r; d5v; d6v; d7v; e1r; e2r; e3v; e4v; e5v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f3v; f5r; f6v; f7v; f8v; g2r; g3r; g4v; g5v; g7v; g8v; h2r; h3r; h4v; h6r; h7v; h8v; i2r; i3r; i4r; i5v; i7r; i8r; k1r; i8r; k1r; k2v; k4r; k5r; k7v; k8v; l2v; l4r; l5r; m2v.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five central narrative scenes (c. 100 x 100 mm) surrounded by borders, one decorated initial ('U', leaf a3r), plus one introductory scene, with Accio presenting the book to Aesop (leaf a2r) and one final scene representing the Annunciation (leaf m2v).[650]
Three borders were used in this edition, each consisting of a combination of five segments, which in all the cases remains identical throughout the edition.
b1 (two male profiles in classical style), was used nineteen times (a2r; a4r; c3v; c4v; c7v; c8v; g5v; h2r; h3r; h8v; i2r; i3r; i4r; i7r; k4r; k7v; k8v; l4r; l5r);
b2 (two sirens) was used thirty-one times (a5v; a8r; b1r; b2r; b3r; b4r; c1v; c2v; c6r; d3r; d4r; d7v; e1r; e2r; e4v; e5v; f3v; f5r; f7v; f8v; g2r; g3r; g8v; h4v; h6r; h7v; i5v; i8r; k1r; k5r; l2v);
b3 (male head in a laurel wreath) was used fifteen times (b5v; b6v; b7v; d1v; d5v; d6v; e3v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f6v; g4v; g7v; k2v).
Total number of impressions: sixty-five narrative scenes + one introductory image + Annunciation + sixty-five borders + initial = 133.
Total number of woodblocks used: sixty-five narrative scenes + one introductory image + Annunciation + three borders = seventy.

[650] I recognised the woodblock used for the introductory scene thanks to another edition printed by Benalius and dated around 1490 (ISTC ia00150600, n° 43 in this *Catalogue*).

CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The entire set of central narrative woodblocks was reused in the two editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Benalius around 1490 and by Benalius and Capcasa on 1 April 1491, with differences in the use of borders.[651]
The introductory vignette is also found in the edition of Diomedes' *Ars grammatica* printed in Venice by Christophorus de Pensis in June 1491 (leaf a1r).[652] The illustration of fable EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', is found in the edition of Bartolomeo Miniatore, *Formulario di Epistole* printed in Venice on 10 August 1490 and attributed to Benalius.[653] The central cut illustrating fable EZ50, 'De iuvene et thayde', was reused, in combination with border b3, in the edition of *Buovo d'Antona* printed in Venice: Hannibal Foxius, 2 Jan. 1487.[654] The final scene representing the annunciation is found in another edition by Benalius: *Miracoli della Vergine Maria*, printed in May 1491 (leaf a1r).[655]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Berlin, Kupferstich Kabinet, Sign. 2370.
PROVENANCE NOTES: The only extant copy lacks three leaves: a1, a2, of which only the left margin is preserved, and h1. No early traces of early provenance.

40) 1487, November 26 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Rome: Eucharius Silber (ISTC ia00103000; GW 343; Text-Inc: tia00103000).
Format: 4°; 44 leaves. Collation: a–ca^{8}bc^{6}. 33 lines per page; type: 2:88R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a2r – Rinucius Aretinus, [dedicatory letter] to Laurentius Lavina; 'Magnifico domino Laurentio Lavina Rynuncius (*sic*) felicitatem'. Inc.: «Ad duo potissimum...»; expl.: «…ardentius te hortor». 'Sequitur alia epistola' [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 68-9];
a2v – Rinucius Aretinus, [dedicatory letter] to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino suo precipuo domino A. tituli sancti Chrisogoni presbitero Cardinali Rynuncius se commendat'. Inc.: «Quo tempore sanctissimus...»; expl.: «...familiarem carum habebit. Vale» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 69-70];
a3r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Proemium* to Tommaso Parentucelli; 'Vita Esopi Latina per Rynuntium facta ad Reverendissimum patrem et dominum dominum Thomam tituli Sancte Susanne presbiterum Cardinalem hodie Nicolaum papam quintum foeliciter incipit. Prohemium'. Inc.: «[N]ovas nimirum merces...»; a3v expl.: «...argumenti pauca suggessi». 'Sequitur argumentum' [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];

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651 ISTC nos. ia00150600 and ia00155500, see records nos. 43 and 47 in this *Catalogue*.
652 ISTC id00236000.
653 ISTC im00581500.
654 ISTC ib01275950. The date is probably *more veneto* and therefore indicates year 1488 (on this matter, see section IV.3.4a of this thesis).
655 ISTC im00619100.

a3v – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[V]itam Esopi fabulatoris...»; expl.: «...aures nimirum delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a3v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the] *Vita Aesopi*; 'Vita Aesopi Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi vita incipit'. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; c8r expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'Vita Aesopi finit foeliciter. Sequuntur fabule' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
c8v – «Registrum. a Primum vacat I Vita Esopi; b Pro servo I idomum; c Ba facies I Tuis omni. FINIS';
A1r – [Rinucius Aretinus], *Argumentum* to the *Fabulae*; 'Vitae Esopi commentarium super fabulis instar argumenti incipit'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; expl.: «...hinc sumit initium» 'Incipiunt fabulae et primo' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
A1r – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Fabulae*]; 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata...»; C5r expl.: «...obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
C5r – Rinucius Aretinus, 'Totius operis anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
C5v – [Colophon]: «Impressus Romae per Venerabilem virum magistrum Echarium Silber alias Frank. Anno domini Mcccclxxxvii Die vero Lune vi kal. Decembris»;
C5v – «Registrum. a Vite Esopi I Qui pravus; b Arripiens I Ciens atque; c Ficat que I Ceris quod. FINIS».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (A1r); R2 (A1v); R3 (A1v); R4 (A2r); R5 (A2r); R6 (A2v); R7 (A2v); R8 (A3r); R9 (A3r); R10 (A3r); R11 (A3v); R12 (A3v); R13 (A3v); R14 (A4r); R15 (A4r); R16 (A4r); R17 (A4v); R18 (A4v); R19 (A4v); R20 (A5r); R21 (A5r); R22 (A5r); R23 (A5v); R24 (A5v); R25 (A5v); R26 (A6r); R27 (A6r); R28 (A6v); R29 (A6v); R30 (A6v); R31 (A7r); R32 (A7r); R33 (A7r); R34 (A7v); R35 (A7v); R36 (A7v); R37 (A8r); R38 (Ar8); R39 (A8r); R40 (A8r); R41 (A8v); R42 (A8v); R43 (B1r); R44 (B1r); R45 (B1r); R46 (B1v); R47 (B1v); R48 (B2r); R49 (B2r); R50 (B2r); R51 (B2r); R52 (B2v); R53 (B2v); R54 (B2v); R55 (B3r); R56 (B3r); R57 (B3v); R58 (B3v); R59 (B3v); R60 (B4r); R61 (B4r); R62 (B4r); R63 (B4v); R64 (B4v); R65 (B4v); R66 (B5r); R67 (B5r); R68 (B5r); R69 (B5v); R70 (B5v); R71 (B6r); R72 (B6r); R73 (B6r); R74 (B6r); R75 (B6v); R76 (C1r); R77 (C1r); R78 (C1r); R79 (C1v); R80 (C1v); R81 (C1v); R82 (C2r); R83 (C2r); R84 (C2r); R85 (C2v); R86 (C2v); R87 (C2v); R88 (C2v); R89 (C3r); R90 (C3r); R91 (C3v); R92 (C3v) R93 (C3v); R94 (C4r); R95 (C4r); R96 (C4r); R97 (C4v); R98 (C4v); R99 (C4v); R100 (C5r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Spaces for the Greek characters in the *Vita* and in the *Anacephaleosis* were left blank. The lacuna towards the end of the *Vita* is not marked; see leaf [c6v]: «esto forti animo, habe spes bonas, ac teipsum consuleris. Tum Esopus subgemens ait. Mulier quedam de recenti virum sepelierat; ac singulis diebus ad sepulcrum proficicens plorabat. Arator quidam sepulcro appropinquans. Ecce delphii qui esopum publico decreto». The incomplete text of the episode of the mourning widow in the *Vita Aesopi* was copied in full, until the beginning of the lacuna, in agreement with the manuscript tradition.
This edition contains three dedicatory letters, addressed to Laurentius Lavina, Antonius Cerdá and Tommaso Parentucelli, but not the three elegiac couplets that close other Rinucius' editions ('Verba libri ad emptorem'). The manuscript which served as a basis for this edition of the *Fabulae* was considered close to manuscripts descending from the branch **α** of the *stemma codicum*, with which it shares a number of distinctive variants, such as in R3 «humum» for «humi», «uti»

instead of «sed uti» in R17, «indutus» instead of «exutus» in R45.[656] The text also shares with the manuscript tradition a series of variants which distinguish it from that included in Zarotus' 1474 edition, including the use of «agriculator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «oblurcasset» in fable R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'; «sigillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis'.[657]

EXTANT COPY: 8 of which 2 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Manchester, JRL, Inc. 4. B. 13 (MEI 02016699).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Inscription on leaf a2v, in light brown ink, partly vanished: "Die XI Decembris MDXL a hore ventuno Nacque a me Gio. Batt. Henrico […] uno filiolo maschio al quale posi nome Ridolfo". The same hand is responsible for the inscription on leaf c8r (end of the *Vita*): "Die XXVI Januarii MDXLI". On leaf C5v of the *Fabulae*, a similar hand, probably from the same period, rewrites two some words of the *registrum*.

⌘ 41) 1488, April 13 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Parma, Angelus Ugoletus (ISTC ia00103300; GW 344a; Text-Inc: tia00103300).
Format: 4°; 22 leaves. Collation $a^{10}bc^{6}$, 16 lines per page; type: 1:110R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1v – Grapaldus, Franciscus Marius, abbreviated version of the *Vita Aesopi*; 'Aesopi Vitae compendium per Franciscum Marium Grapaldum Parmensem'. Inc.: «Phrygia Ammonium pagum habet...»; expl.: «...graeciae sumpta supplicia. Vale lector»;
a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; c6v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
c6v – [Colophon]: «Aesopi fabulatoris et philosophi clarissimi traductio elegis verbis Romuli haud indocti ad institutionem filii sui Tibertini Parmae impressa est. Sumptibus propriis ac opera industriaque Angeli Ugoleti Parmensis. MCCCCLXXXVIII. Idibus Aprilis. Et pluribus in locis emendata ut diligens lector invenies. Vale. Cum bona fortuna et foeliciter».

INITIALS: Absent, without guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a2r); AM2 (a2r); AM3 ('De mure rana et milvo' - a2v); AM4 (a3r); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3r); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a3v); AM8 (a3v); AM9 ('De cane mota pro cane pregnante' - a4r); AM10 (a4r); AM11 (a4v); AM12 (a4v); AM13 (a5r); AM14 (a5v); AM15 (a5v); AM16 ('De leone apro tauro et asello' - a6r); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a6r); AM18 (a6v); AM19 (a7r); AM20 ('De hirundine et homine' - a7r); AM21 ('De terra carente rege' - a7v); AM22 ('De ranis petentibus regem'- a7v); AM23 (a8r); AM24 (a8r); AM25 (a8v); AM26 (a8v); AM27 (a9r); AM28 ('De cane et domino' - a9r); AM29 (a9v); AM30 (a10r); AM31 (a10); AM32 (a10v); AM33 (a10v); AM34 (b1r); AM35 (b1r); AM36 (b1r); AM37 (b1v); AM38 (b1v); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b2v); AM41 (b3r); AM42 (b3r); AM43 (b3v); AM44 (b4r); AM45 (b4v); AM46 (b5r); AM47 (b5r); AM48 (b5v); AM49 (b6r); AM50 (b6v); AM51 (c1r); AM52 (c1r); AM53 ('De foedere ovium et luporum' - c1v); AM54 ('De viro secure et

656 Other fundamental variants which separate the textual tradition in two fundamental branches are listed in PILLOLA 1993, p. 128.
657 In these *loci,* Zarotus had introduced respectively the variants «agricultor», «consumpsisset» and «singulatim» (see PILLOLA 1993, p. 102).

nemore' - c1v); AM55 ('De societate canis et lupi' - c2r); AM56 (c2v); AM57 (c2v); AM58 (c3r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et argo' - c3r); AM60 (c3v); AM62 (c4r); **AM61 (c4v)**; AM63 (c6r); AM64 ('De pueris laudentibus' - c6v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the standard sixty-three fables with the addition of fable AM64, 'De pueris laudentibus'. Several variants in the text, among which AM39.10: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba sue», as well as AM49.12 «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus» and AM49.17 «Hunc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that the edition is part of branch β of the textual tradition.
It is also characterised by the inversion of fables AM61, 'De cive et equite', and AM62, 'De capone et accipitre'. This edition also witnesses the variant of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', with the addition of the final couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis». Line AM24.2 has the variant «verba movat».

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Évora, BP, 302 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Long manuscript note on leaf a1r by a 16th-century Northern European hand, reading: "Disticha Michaelis Verini Ugolini adolescentis ac poetae gravissimi auspicis foelicissimis explicita sunt impressaque in regali civitate Burgensi opera et impensis circumspecti viri Frederici Alemani de Basilea, anno Christiane salutis octavo post millesimum quingentesimum xii die mensis Iulii". The hand-written foliation on the top right corner of each *recto* suggests that the incunable was bound with other volumes, and very likely with a copy of Michaelis Verinus' (1469-1487) *Disticha,* a collection of moral sentences in Latin to which the incription refers. Other manuscript notes, by the same and by a different non-Italian late 16th-century hand, contain grammar and translation comments. Bound in a 16th-century leather binding, with original clasps and spine restored.

⚜ *42) 1489, August 21 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia (ISTC ia00127500; GW 391; Text-Inc: tia00127500).
Format: 4°; 20 leaves. Collation ab^8 c^4. 29 lines per page; type: 7:105G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; c4r expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
c4r – [Colophon]: «Impressum Brixie per Boninum de Boninis de Ragusia anno salutis domini M.cccclxxxixxii kl. Septembris».

INITIALS: Gothic capitals, stamped in. The first initial 'U' is decorated with tendrils and flourishing.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 ('De cane ove et milvo' - a2r); AM5 (a2r); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nupta furi'- a2v); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane pregnante' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3v); AM13 (a4r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4v); AM16 (a4v); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a5r); AM19 (a5v); AM20 (a5v); AM21 ('De terra attica accipiente regem' - a6r); AM22 ('De ranis et Iove dante regem' - a6r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a6v); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a7r); AM26 (a7r); AM27 (a7v); AM28

(a7v); AM29 (a8r); AM30 (a8v); AM31 (a8v); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - b1r); AM33 (b1r); AM34 (b1r); AM35 (b1v); AM36 (b1v); AM37 (b2r); AM38 (b2r); AM39 (b2v); AM40 (b3r); AM41 ('De rana et bove tumente' - b3r); AM42 (b3v); AM43 (b4r); AM44 (b4r); AM45 ('De avibus et animalibus' - b4v); AM46 (b5r); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - b5r); AM48 (b5v); AM49 (b6r); AM50 (b6v); AM51 (b6v); AM52 (b7r); AM53 (b7r); AM54 (b7v); AM55 (b7v); AM56 (b8r); AM57 (b8v); AM58 (b8v); AM59 (c1r); AM60 (c1v); AM61 (c1v); AM62 (c3v); AM63 (c3v); **AM64 (c4r)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition contains the standard sixty-three fables plus fable AM64, 'De pueris ludentibus'.
Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus», and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that the edition belongs to branch β of the textual transmission.
AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with a final couplet added: «Ingenium superat vires prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis». AM28.18 has the variant «Iniquus amor». Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque requirens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore suo».[658] In AM53, 'De lupis et ovibus', the two couplets of lines 9-10 and 11-12 are inverted: «Ergo pecus tutoris egens in viscera mergit | preside nuda suo sic tumulatur ovis | cum natura iubet natos ululare lupinos | turba lupina furit federa rupta querens». Fable AM54, 'De luco et securi', lacks the last couplet.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATION IN THE BOOK: c4v.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATION: One classical style capital, with the inscription 'Lepidissimi Aesopi fabulae', placed on the verso the last leaf, after the colophon and the printer's mark.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The illustration was already used by Boninis in his 1487 edition of the *Esopo zuccarino*.[659]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Wien, ÖNB, Ink 10.H.66 (MEI 02107249).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Sketches and pen trials on leaf c4v, next to the illustration, by a 16th-century hand.

⚜ *43) c. 1490 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius (ISTC ia00150600; GW 0043010N; Text-Inc: ia00150600).
Format: 4°; 100 leaves. Collation: [ab–m]^{8}[n]^{4}. 23 lines per page; types: 25:114/115G, 13:85G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [Titlepage] 'Fabule clarissimi fabulatori Esopi';

[658] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition n° 6 in this *Catalogue*).
[659] ISTC ia00149000, n° 38 in this *Catalogue*.

[a1v] – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader] Inc.: «Sapi che son Esopo...»; expl.: «…diligentia son sta ben impresso» [16 lines];
[a1v] – [Anonymous, introductory verses addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «Aesopus fueram deformis...»; expl.: «...seria mixta dabit» [6 lines];
[a2r] – Accio Zucco, proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Accii Zuchi summa campanee veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas interpretatio per rhytmos in libellum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta feliciter incipit. Proemio.' Inc.: «El me convien vestir...»; [a2v] expl.: «...presti al mio debil ingegno» [caudate sonnet];
[a2v] – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*], 'Idem'. Inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio...»; [a3r] expl.: «...commento poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
[a2v] – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Lepidissimi Aesopi Fabulae'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; ?[m7r] expl.: «...non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];[660]
[m7v] – [Accio Zucco], 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio, quel poco...'; [m8v] expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
[m8v] – [Accio Zucco], 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; expl.: «...el Zucco da Summacampagna» [130 lines];[661]
[n4r] – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo...»; [n4v] expl.: «...Se ricomanda: miserere mei» 'Finis' [caudate sonnet].

INITIALS: Present.
TITLES: Present, in larger types.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 [a4v]; EZ2 [a5v]; EZ3 [a7r]; EZ4 [a8v]; EZ5 [b2r]; EZ6 [b3r]; EZ7 [b4v]; EZ8 [b5v]; EZ9 [b7r]; EZ10 [b8r]; EZ13 [misbound; c4v]; EZ11 [only the 'Sonetti'; misbound c4r]; EZ12 [misbound; c4r; c4v]; EZ14 [misbound; c5r]; EZ15 [c6r]; EZ16 [d1r]; EZ17 [d1v]; EZ18 [d3r]; EZ19 [d5r]; EZ20 [d6r]; EZ21 [d7v]; EZ22 [e1r]; EZ23 [e2v]; EZ24 [e4r]; EZ25 [e5r]; EZ26 [e6v]; EZ27 [e8r]; EZ28 [f1r]; EZ29 [f2v]; EZ30 [f4r]; EZ31 [f5v]; EZ32 [f7r]; EZ33 [f8r]; EZ34 [g1v]; EZ35 [g3r]; EZ36 [g4r]; EZ37 [g6r]; EZ38 [g7]; EZ39 [h1r]; EZ40 [h2v]; EZ41 [h3r]; EZ42 [h4r]; EZ43 [h6r]; EZ44 [i1r]; EZ45 [i2r]; EZ46 [i3v]; EZ47 [i5r]; EZ48 [i6v]; EZ49 [17v]; EZ50 [k1v]; EZ51 [k3r]; EZ52 [k4v]; EZ53 [k6r]; EZ54 [k7v]; EZ55 [k8v]; EZ56 [l2v]; EZ57 [l3v]; EZ58 [l5r]; EZ59 [l6v]; EZ60 [l8r]; [EZ61] [m2r; missing]; EZ62 [m4r]; EZ63 [m5r; missing]; [EZ64] [m6r; missing]; [EZ65] [m7r; missing].

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Due to the lack of substantial portions of this edition, it is impossible to provide a complete description of its textual features. However, the text seems to be very close to the one included in the edition by Benalius printed in Venice in November 1487.[662]
LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: [a2r]; [a4v]; [a5v]; [a7r]; [a8v]; [b2r]; [b3r]; [b4v]; [b5v]; [b7r]; [b8r]; [b8v]; [c3v]; [c6r]; [c7v]; [d2v]; [d4r]; [d5r]; [d6v]; [d8r]; [e2r]; [e3r]; [e4r]; [e5v]; [e7r]; [e8r]; [f2v]; [f3v]; [f4v]; [f6r]; [f7r]; [f8v]; [g2r]; [g3r]; [g4v]; [g6r]; [g8r]; [h1r]; [h2v]; [h4r]; [h6r]; [h7r]; [i1r]; [i3r]; [i4v]; [i6v]; [i7v]; [k1v]; [k2r]; [k4r]; [k5v]; [k6v]; [k8v]; [l1r]; [l2v]; [l4r]; [l5v]; [l6v]; [m4r]; [n4r].

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: The only surviving copy of this edition contains fifty-eight central narrative illustrations for the fables (c. 100 x 100 mm), all different, with no borders. As the only

660 The presence of a question mark (?) before the foliation indicates that, since leaves [m6-m7] are missing, the features of the *explicit* are hypothesised on the basis of other editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Benalius, in particular nos. 39 and 47 in this *Catalogue*.
661 Leaf [n3v] is currently pasted on the back of [n4r] in the only surviving copy.
662 ISTC ia00150400, n° 39 of this *Catalogue*.

extant copy of this edition lacks seven leaves, the actual number of illustrations included in this edition might have been different. In particular, illustration of the fables EZ11, 'De asello et apro'; EZ16, 'De leone apro tauro et asello'; EZ60 'De iudeo et pincerna regis'; EZ61 'De cive e equite regis'; EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; EZ65, 'De rustico et plutone', are likely to be missing.[663] In addition to the fifty-eight (supposedly sixty-five) central narrative woodblocks, this edition has one introductory scene, with Accio presenting the book to Aesop, on leaf [a2r], and one final scene representing the Annunciation , on leaf [n4r].
Total number of impressions and of woodcuts used: sixty (probably supposed to be sixty-seven).
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The central cuts are those already used in Benalius' 1487 edition. However, in this edition the central vignettes are not framed by borders.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 1029 (MEI 00201351).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Imperfect, lacking leaves [c1], [c8], [m1-m3], [m5-m7], [n3]; the first gathering was also misbound, probably after the loss. In the late 19th century, the book was owned by the English collector Charles Butler. From him, it passed in the hands of Tammaro de Marinis and through de Marinis it came to the Fondazione Cini.

⚜ *44) 1491, January 31 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis (ISTC ia00151000; GW 432; Text-Inc: tia00151000).
Format: 4°; number of leaves: 72. Collation: a–i^{8}. 40 lines per page; type: 2:79G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Title-page with woodcut]: 'Esopus';
a1v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Acci Zuchi summa campanee Veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhythmas in libellum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Prohemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me conven vestir de laltrui...»; expl.: «...gratia presti al mio debel ingengo» [caudate sonnet];
a1v – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Idem'; inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il mio dotor...»; expl.: «...commento poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; i5v expl.: «...non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
i5v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; i6r expl.: «...tutto non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
i6r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; i7v expl.: «...el Zuccho da Summa Campagna». 'Finis' [130 lines];
i7v – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve Regina virgo gloriosa...»; expl.: «...miserere mei» 'Finis' [caudate sonnet];
i7v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis, per Manfredum de Monferrato de Sustrevo, Mcccclxxxxi a di ultimo zenaro».

663 This calculation was based on the textual structure of the edition of the same text printed a few years before by the same printer (ISTC ia00150400, n° 39 in this *Catalogue*).

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ5 (a6v); EZ6 (a7v); EZ7 (a8v); EZ8 (b1v); EZ9 (b2v); EZ10 (b3v); EZ11 (b4v); EZ12 (b5v); EZ13 (b6v); EZ14 (b7v); EZ15 (b8v); EZ16 (c1v); EZ17 (c2v); EZ18 (c3v); EZ19 (c4v); EZ20 (c5v); EZ21 (c6v); EZ22 (c7v); EZ23 (c8v); EZ24 (d1v); EZ25 (d2v); EZ26 (d3v); EZ27 (d4v); EZ28 (d5v); EZ29 (d6v); EZ30 (d7v); EZ31 (d8v); EZ32 (e1v); EZ33 (e2v); EZ34 (e3r); EZ35 (e4r); EZ36 (e5r); EZ37 (e6r); EZ38 (e7r); EZ39 (e8r); EZ40 (f1v); EZ41 (f2v); EZ42 (f3v); EZ43 (f4v); EZ44 (f5v); EZ45 (f6v); EZ46 (f7v); EZ47 (g1r); EZ48 (g2r); EZ49 (g3r); EZ50 (g4r); EZ51 (g5r); EZ52 (g6r); EZ53 (g7r); EZ54 (g8r); EZ55 (h1r); EZ56 (h2r); EZ57 (h3r); EZ58 (h4r); EZ59 (h5r); EZ60 (h6r); EZ61 (h7v); EZ62 (i1v); EZ63 (i2v); **EZ64 (i3v); EZ65 (i4v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares most of the textual insertions found in the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in correspondence with fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35, 'De lupo et cervice', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, 'De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', before the beginning as well as after the 'Sonetto materiale' and after the 'sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; after the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.
Lines EZ7.7-8 read: «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem | qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant».
After line 4 of fable EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added.
AM20, 'De hirundine et lino', misses the last line (14): «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable.
Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', is incomplete and counts only 15 lines.
Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d3r; d4r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8v; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; e5v; e6v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f3v; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g4r; g5r; g6r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h2r; h3r; h4r; h5r; h6v; h7v; i1v; i2v; i3v; i4.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five illustrations dedicated to the fables, consisting of one central narrative scene (c. 70 x 70 mm) surrounded by borders. In addition, this edition has one decorated initial (a1v); and one introductory central vignette (c. 70 x 70 mm), plus border, portraying a teacher surrounded by his pupils, identified with Aesop by the writing above his desk.
A total of seven borders were used in this edition. In particular:
b1 (five segments, with battle scene) was used three times: a1r; a4v; c1r;

b2 (four segments, but no bottom) was used twenty-two times (a2v; a5v; a6v; a7v; b1v; b4v; b7r; c5r; c6r; d2r; d6v; e1v; e2v; e4v; f2v; f6r; g3r; g8r; h1r; h4r; h5r; i2v), always in combination with b2;
b3 (one segment) was used twenty-two times as bottom border (a2v; a5v; a6v; a7v; b1v; b4v; b7r; c5r; c6r; d2r; d6v; e1v; e2v; e4v; f2v; f6r; g3r; g8r; h1r; h4r; h5r; i2v);
b4 (four segments, with busts) was used ten times (a3v; a8v; b5v; c2r; c4r; d7v; e8v; g2r; g5r; h3r);
b5 (one segment, with woman in profile) was used once (a8v) in combination with b4;
b6 (four segments, with one eagle and two putti) was used fifteen times (b2v; b3v; b8r; c7r; d1r; d4v; d5v; e3v; f1v; f3v; g6r; g7r; h6v; h7v; i1v);
b7 (one segment, thinner with leaves) was used sixteen times (c3r; c8r; d3r; d4r; d8v; e5v; e6v; e7v; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g4r; h2r; i3v; i4v).
Total number of impressions: one title-page vignette + sixty-five narrative vignettes + one initial + eighty-nine borders (3 + 22 + 22 + 10 + 1 + 15 + 16) = 156.
Total number of woodblocks used: sity-five narrative central scenes + one title-page central cut + one initial + seven borders = seventy-four.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: All the vignettes used to illustrate the fables, as well as borders, were reused in two other editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis in 1491 and 1493.[664]
The central vignettes only were also used in Bonellis' 1497 edition, in combination with different borders, and in following 16th-century printed editions.[665]
Borders b1, b2, b5 and b6 were used in the two editions of the *Vita Aesopi* printed by Bonellis in 1492 and 1493.[666]
The introductory vignette was reused in: Albertus Magnus, *Liber aggregationis,* [Venice]: Manfredus de Bonellis, 20 Jun. 1495, leaf a1r.[667] In the same edition, b1 was reused twice (leaves a1r and d4v).
The centre narrative scene used to illustrate the fable AM37, 'De musca et mulione' (leaf e6v), appears again, with no borders, in the edition of Lorenzo Rota's poem *La morte del duca Galeazzo* (leaf [*2v]), attributed to Bonellis and supposedly printed around 1493.[668]

EXTANT COPIES: 8, of which 3 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, BN Marc., INC. V. 0807 (MEI 02010936).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Marciana copy** lacks leaves b4-b5; e5; e8. Most of the woodcuts were filled in watercolour and pen and many passages of the text were marked with signs of paragraphs, small flowers or pointing hands (16th century). Extensive manuscript notes and comments to some of the woodcuts by an Italian 16th-century hand, and a short text in vernacular Italian about the act of composing literary works (leaf f1r). The same hand also replaced the text missing from leaf e5r/v, including the last eight lines of the 'Sonetto materiale' of the fable 'De lupo et cervice', its entire 'Sonetto morale' (twenty lines), the whole Latin text of the fable 'De graculo et pavonibus' (twenty lines) and the beginning of its 'Sonetto materiale' (four lines).

[664] ISTC nos. ia00152000 and ia00153000, nos. 45 and 53 in this *Catalogue.*
[665] ISTC ia00154000, n° 63 in this *Catalogue.*
[666] ISTC nos. ia00110000 and ia00111000, nos. 49 and 54 in this *Catalogue.*
[667] ISTC ia00267400.
[668] ISTC ir00338500.

⚜ *45) 1491, February 15 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis (ISTC ia00152000; GW 433; Text-Inc: tia00152000).
Format: 4°; number of leaves: 72. Collation a–i^{8}. 40 lines per page; type: 2:79G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Esopus';
a1v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Acci Zuchi summa campanee Veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhythmas in libellum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Prohemio.' Inc.: «[E]l me conven vestir...»; expl.: «...al mio debel ingengo» [caudate sonnet];
a1v – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Idem'. Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il mio dotor...»; expl.: «...commento poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; i5v . expl.: «...non e la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
i4v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; i6r expl.: «...non sia sotto messo» [32 lines];
i4v – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; i7v expl.: «...el zuccho da somma campagna» [130 lines];
i7v – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «Ave regina virgo...»; expl.: «...ricomanda miserere mei» [caudate sonnet];
i7v – [Colophon]: «Impressum venetiis per Manfredum de monteferato de bonelis de sustrevo Mcccclxxxxi die xv februarii regnante domino Augustino Barbadico inclito Venetarum principe»;
i8r – Tavola de le preditte favole'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fa. i. | De gallo et iaspide fa. 2 | De lupo ...»; expl.: «... et pastore fa. 64 | De mercatore et eius uxore fa. 65 | De rustico et plutone fa. 66».

INITIALS: Absent with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ6 (a6v); EZ5 (a7v); EZ7 (a8v); EZ8 (b1v); EZ9 (b2v); EZ10 (b3v); EZ11 (b4v); EZ12 (b5v); EZ13 (b6v); EZ14 (b7v); EZ15 (b8v); EZ16 (c1v); EZ17 (c2v); EZ18 (c3v); EZ19 (c4v); EZ20 (c5v); EZ21 (c6v); EZ22 (c7v); EZ23 (c8v); EZ24 (d1v); EZ25 (d2v); EZ26 (d3v); EZ27 (d4v); EZ28 (d5v); EZ29 (d6v); EZ30 (d7v); EZ31 (d8v); EZ32 (e1v); EZ33 (e2v), 34 (e3r); EZ35 (e4r); EZ36 (e5r); EZ37 (e6r); EZ38 (e7r); EZ39 (e8r); EZ40 (f1v); EZ41 (f2v); EZ42 (f3v); EZ43 (f4v); EZ44 (f5v); EZ45 (f6v); EZ46 (f7v); EZ47 (g1r); EZ48 (g2r); EZ49 (g3r); EZ50 (g4r); EZ51 (g5r); EZ52 (g6r); EZ53 (g7r); EZ54 (g8r); EZ55 (h1r); EZ56 (h2r); EZ57 (h3r); EZ58 (h4r); EZ59 (h5r); EZ60 (h6r); EZ61 (h7v); EZ62 (i1v); EZ63 (i2v); EZ64 (i3v); EZ65 (i4v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text contained in this edition corresponds to the one witnessed by Bonellis' January 1491 edition.[669]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d3r; d4r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8v; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; e5v; e6v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f3v; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2; g3r; g4; g5r; g6r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h2r; h3r; h4r; h5r; h6v; h7v; i1v; i2v; i3v; i4v.

[669] ISTC ia00151000, n° 44 in this *Catalogue*.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five narrative vignettes (c. 70 x 70 mm), with borders, illustrating the fables, plus one decorated initial ('U', leaf a2r) and one title-page vignette (70 x 70 mm) with border, portraying Aesop sitting at his desk and surrounded by his students. In terms of textual content, *mise en page*, use of illustrations and even of the used borders and central cuts this edition appears very similar to the January 1491 edition already described. Nonetheless, some differences in the use of illustrations occur and prove that this is not an exact reprint. For instance, see the illustration of EZ19 *De milvo et matre* (leaf. c5r in both editions), in which two different borders were employed in the two editions (plate 33). Similar differences in the use of borders between the two editions, usually involving b2 and b6, are found also on leaves: d2r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e2v; e4v; g2r; g5r; g7r; h3r; h4r.
Seven borders were used in this edition. In particular:[670]
b1 (five segments, with battle scene) was used three times (a1r; a4v; c1r);
b2 (four segments, but no border) was used nineteen times (a2v; a5v; a6v; a7v; b1v; b4v; b7r; c6r; d5v; d7v; e1v; f2v; f6r; g3r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h5r; i2v), always in combination with b3;
b3 (one segment) was used nineteen times as a bottom border (a2v; a5v; a6v; a7v; b1v; b4v; b7r; c6r; d5v; d7v; e1v; f2v; f6r; g3r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h5r; i2v), always in combination with b2;
b4 (four segments, with busts) was used eight times (a3v; a8v; b5v; c2r; c4r; d2r; e4v; e8v)
b5 (one segment, with woman portrayed in profile) was used once (a8v) as top border;
b6 (four segments with one eagle and two putti) was used eighteen times (b2v; b3v; b8r; c5r; c7r; d1r; d6v; e2v; e3v; f1v; f3v; g2r; g5r; g6r; h4r; h6v; h7v; i1v);
b7 (four segments, thinner with leaves) was used seventeen times (c3r; c8r; d3r; d4r; d8v; e5v; e6v; e7v; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g4r; h2r; h3r; i3v; i4v).
Total number of impressions: sixty-six central narrative scenes + eighty-five (3 + 19 + 19 + 8 + 1+ 18 + 17) borders + one initial = 152.
Total number of woodblocks used: sixty-six central narrative scenes + one initial + seven borders = seventy-four.

EXTANT COPIES: 6, of which 1 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 10 (MEI 00202205).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The copy lacks leaves c8, g8 and has traces of 15th-century inscriptions, now completely washed and illegible. The copy was part of the collection of Victor Masséna, Duc de Rivoli and Prince of Essling (1836-1910), and was acquired by Vittorio Cini in the early 1940s.[671] Bound in Paris by Pierre-Marcelin Lortic (1822-1892).

[670] The border numbers refer to the same borders of edition n° 44.
[671] Due to his interest in the purely bibliographic aspects and for the presence of illustrations, Essling often had his incunables washed.

Venice: [Bernardinus Benalius] (ISTC ia01183800; GW 2801; Text-Inc: tia01183800).[672]
Format: 4°; 90 leaves. Collation: A–K^{8}L^{10}. 29 lines per page; types: 23:112R and 24:77R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1v – [Index]. Inc.: «Los libros que en este volume …»; expl.: «… noster con el ave maria»;
a2r – Andreas Guterrius, *Sudores in laudem nostrae dominae*. 'Andreae Guterrii cerasiani paucissimi sudores in laudem nostrae dominae filii dei genitricis et virginis Mariae et libentissimae et pienissimae dedicati'. Inc.: «[G]ratum me hominibus…»; a3r expl.: «…angelico carmine salutare». 'Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum';
a3a – [Pseudo-Cato, prologue to the *Disticha Catonis*]. Inc.: «[C]um animadverterem quam plurimos…»; expl.: «…stude agere, quod rectum est»;
a3v – [Pseudo-Cato, *Disticha Catonis*]. Inc.: «[S]i deus est animus…»; b3r expl.: «…fecit coniungere binos»;
b3r – [Pseudo-Bernardus Claravallensis, *De contemptu mundi*]. Inc.: «[C]artula nostra tibi mandat…»; b8r expl.: «…quo mundi Gloria tendit»;
b8v – [Pseudo-Bernardus Claravallensis, *Floretus*]. Inc.: «[N]omine Floretus liber incipit ad bona…»; e5v expl.: «…summos habeamus honores»;
e5v – [*Quinque claves sapientiae*]. 'Liber primus quinque clavium sapientiae incipitur'. Inc.: «[U]tilis est rudibus praesentis…»; f4v expl.: «…pueri, discipulique rudes»;[673]
f4v – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; h6v expl.: «…gratia fraude fides». 'Finitus esopus' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
h7a – [Andreas Guterrius, *Hymni et lectiones*]. Inc.: «[P]rimo dierum omnium…»; l10r expl.: «…intercessor per christum»;
l10r – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis anno Mcccclxxxxi die vigesimo tertio Marcii. Finis».

INITIALS: Present.
TITLES: Those of the *Aesopus moralisatus* are present, in the same type of the main text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (f5r); AM2 (f5r); AM3 (f5v); AM4 (f5v); AM5 ('De cane gerente carnem' - f5v); AM6 (f6r); AM7 ('De latrine uxorem ducente' - f6r); AM8 (f6r); AM9 ('De duabus canibus' - f6v); AM10 (f6v); AM11 (f7r); AM12 (f7r); AM13 (f7v); AM14 ('De testudine et aquilla' - f7v); AM15 (f8r); AM16 (f8r); AM17 ('De catullo et assello et domino' - f8v); AM18 (f8v); AM19 (g1r); AM20 ('De irundinibus et aliis avibus' - g1r); **'Secundus liber'.** AM21 ('De gentibus volentibus regem' - g1v); AM22 ('De ranis rege carentibus' - g1v); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - g2r); AM24 (g2v); AM25 (g2v); AM26 ('De terra pariente murem' - g2v); AM27 (g3r); AM28 (g3r); AM29 ('De leporibus silvam fugientibus' - g3v); AM30 (g3v); AM31 (g4r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - g4r); AM33 (g4v); AM34 (g4v); AM35 ('De lupo et capite superbo' - g5r); AM36 (g5r); AM37 ('De mula et mulione' - g5r); AM38 (g5v); AM39 (g6r); AM40 (g6r); AM41 (g6v). **'Tertius liber'.** AM42 ('De leone vulnerato' - g6v); AM43 (g7v); AM44 (g7v); AM45 (g8r); AM46 (g8r); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - g8v); AM48 ('De cervo et canibus - h1r); AM49 (h1r); AM50 (h1v); AM51 (h2r); AM52 (h2v); AM53 (h2v); AM54 ('De secure et memore' (*sic*) - h3r); AM55 (h3r); AM56 (h3v); AM57 (h3v); AM58 (h4r); AM59 ('De cervo bobus et canibus' - h4r); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - h4v); AM61 ('De cive et equite' - h5r).

672 The attribution of this edition to Benalius is not only suggested by GW but also accepted by GUTIERREZ 2009, p. 15; however, ISTC assignes it to Christophorus de Bottis.
673 AVESANI 1967, p. 90 stated that Guterrius attributed to himself the authorship of this poem, relying on the GW catalogue record which still reads «Andreas Guterrius: Quinque claves sapientiae» (see GW 02801). In the edition there is actually no mention of the name of the author next to the title (see also GUTIÉRREZ 2009, p. 36).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition the collection of the *Aesopus moralisatus* is divided into three books, which never happens in any other of the surviving editions printed in Italy in the 15th century. It contains sixty-one fables plus the *Prologue*. Fable AM39.10 reads: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba tuae»; AM49.12 reads: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; AM49.17 reads: «Hanc ligat amplexu, fructumque ligurrit amoris». According to the editor of the *Aesopus moralisatus,* the variant characterising the first hemistich of this last verse is characteristic of the α branch of the textual tradition, as well as the number of sixty-one fables, rather than the sixty-three usually included in the manuscripts belonging to the branch β.[674] Other variants which are characteristic of the α branch are «reddit qualia sumpsit» instead of «fraudi fraude resistit» in line AM50.7 and the presence of the couplet «prosilit ex humo perdix. Hanc indice signat | alter ait scelus hoc ista loquatur avis» in fable AM60.11-12: the omission of this couplet is recognised by Busdraghi as common to the whole β family.[675]

EXTANT COPIES: 6.
EXAMINED COPY: Jena, ULB, 4 Phil.VIII, 38 (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Late 15th-century German binding in leather over wooden boards, with clasps on the edges and a floral decoration stamped blind on the front and back covers. Fragment of a 14th-century unidentified German manuscript used in the binding. The incunable is bound with a copy of Seneca's *Tragoediae* printed in Leipzig by Martin Landsberg around 1500.[676] The volume bears extensive linguistic, metric and philologic annotations by a German early 16th-century cursive hand (see for instance leaves E4-E8 of the *Auctores octo*). Inscription on the last leaf of the *Tragoediae*: "Lectus est iste liber anno 1500 a venerabile viro domino magistro Iohanne Cubitensi in almo gymnasio lypsensi et finitus in vigilia Philippi et Iacobi Apostolorum".[677]

⚜ *47) 1491, April 1 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (ISTC ia00155500; GW 438; Text-Inc: tia00155500).
Format: 4°; 78 leaves. Collation: a–i^{8} k^{6}. 35 lines per page; types: 22:104R, 28:92G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Lepidissimi Aesopi fabulae';
a1v – [Anonymous, caudate sonnet addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo...»; expl.: «...bene impresso foi» [16 lines];
a1v – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. «Aesopus fueram deformis…»; expl.: «…seria mixta dabit» [3 couplets];

674 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 32-33.
675 See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 179 and sections II.3 and II.38 of this thesis.
676 ISTC is00438200.
677 Johannes Honorius, also known as Iohannes Cubitensis (1450-1504), was a grammarian, teacher, philologist, commentator and editor active in Leipzig in the second half of the 15th century. As an editor, he collaborated with different printers in Leipzig to the edition of several classical and humanistic texts, such as Cicero's *Cato maior,* Leonardus Aretinus' *Epistolarum familiarum libri IX*, Horatius' *Liber epodon, Epistolae, Satyrae* and *Carmina*, Martialis' *Xenia* et *Apopropheta* and Prudentius' *Liber historiarum.*

a2v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Acci zuchi summa campanee veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas interpretatio per rhytmos in libellum zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Proemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...mio debil ingiegno» [caudate sonnet];
a2v – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*].'Idem'.' Inc.: «Chiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a3r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; h2v expl.: «...non e la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
k2v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; k3r expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
k3r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; k5r expl.: «...el zuccho da summa campagna» 'Finis' [130 lines];
k5r – Accio Zucco, 'Avemaria fatta per lo anteditto accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo gloriosa...»; k5v expl.: «...se ricomanda miserere mei» 'FINIS' [caudate sonnet];
k5v – [Anonymous, worship to the Virgin Mary]. «[V]ergine in parto e doppo parto…»; expl.: «…numero degli io son collui» 'FINIS' [14 lines];
k5v – 'Tavola de le preditte Fabule'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fa. i | De gallo...»; k6v expl.: «...uxore fa. lxv | De rustico et plutone fa. lxvi»;
k6v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Bernardinum Benalium et Matheum parmensem. Nel Mcccclxxxxi adi primo Aprile».

INITIALS: Lacking, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a3v); EZ2 (a4v); EZ3 (a5v); EZ4 (a6v); EZ5 (a7v); EZ6 (a8v); EZ7 (b2r); EZ8 (b3r); EZ9 (b4r); EZ10 (b5r); EZ11 (b6r); EZ12 (b7r); EZ13 (b8v); EZ14 (c1v); EZ15 (c2v); EZ16 (c3v); EZ17 (c4v); EZ18 (c5v); EZ19 (c7r); EZ20 (c8r); EZ21 (d1r); EZ22 (d2r); EZ23 (d3r); EZ24 (d4r); EZ25 (d5r); EZ26 (d6r); EZ27 (d7r); EZ28 (d8r); EZ29 (e1v); EZ30 (e2v); EZ31 (e3v); EZ32 (e4v); EZ33 (e5v), 34 (e6v); EZ35 (e7v); EZ36 (e8v); EZ37 (f1v); EZ38 (f2v); EZ39 (f4r); EZ40 (f5r); EZ41(f6r); EZ42 (f7r); EZ43 (f8r); EZ44 (g1v); EZ45 (g2v); EZ46 (g3v); EZ47 (g4v); EZ48 (g6r); EZ49 (g7r); EZ50 (g8r); EZ51 (h1r); EZ52 (h2r); EZ53 (h3r); EZ54 (h4v); EZ55 (h5r); EZ56 (h6v); EZ57 (h7v); EZ58 (h8v); EZ59 (i1v); EZ60 (i2v); EZ61 (i4r); EZ62 (i6r); EZ63 (i7r); EZ64 (i8v); EZ65 (k1v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares the same variants of the edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Benalius in 1487.[678]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2r; a4r; a5r; a6v; a7r; a8r; b1r; b2r; b3r; b4r; b5v; b6v; b8r; b8v; c1v; c2v; c3v; c4v; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2v; d3v; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8v; e1v; e2v; e4r; e5r, e6r; e7r; e8r; f1r; f2r; f3v; f4v; f5v; f6v; f7r; f8v; g1v; g3r; g4r; g5r; g6r; g7r; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v; h4v; h6r; h6v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i3v; i4r; i6v; i7v; i8v; k2r; k5r.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five illustrations for the fables, consisting of a central narrative block (80 x 80 mm) surrounded by a border, plus one titlepage woodcut at leaf a1r (77 x 77 mm); one title-page woodcut composed by a centre (80 x 80 mm) framed by border at leaf a2r; a small woodcut depicting the Annunciation (40 x 60 mm) at leaf k5r; and a decorated woodcut initial at leaf a2v.
The three borders used by Benalius in his 1487 edition are all present, but differently used and combined with examples of a more simple and plain style of framing. Another noteworthy

[678] ISTC ia00150400, n° 39 in this *Catalogue*.

feature is the opening square woodbock, which represents one of the episodes of Aesop's life as a slave: VA1, 'De fraude conversorum Esopi et eius astutia' which opens Rinucius Aretinus' Latin version of the *Vita Aesopi,* immediately following the description of Aesop's condition and origin.[679]

Six borders were used in total, as follows:[680]

b1 (two male profiles, in classical style) was used four times (a2r; a7r; b5v; b8r);

b2 (four segments, with winged putti) was used twenty-nine times (a4r; a6v; b4r; b8v; c1v; c2v; c3v; c4v; d1r; d3v; d6v; d7v; e1r; e4r; e5r; e7r; f1r; f2r; f3v; f4v; g1r; g4r; g8v; h3v; h6v; h8v; i3v; i7v; k2r) some of which turned upside-down;

b3 (two syrens) was used ten times (a5r; a8r; b1r; b2r; b3r; b6v; c7r; d8v; e2v; i8v);

b4 (man in profile in the laurel wreath) was used three times (c6r; d2v; e8r);

b5 (three segments, floral decorations) was used fourteen times (c8r; d4v; d5v; e6r; f5v; f6v; f7r; g3r; g6r; g7r; h1v; h6r; i1v; i4r), some of which turned upside-down;

b6 (three segments, floral decorations) was used six times (f8v; g5r; h2v; h4v; h7v; i6v).

Total number of impressions: sixty-six central narrative scenes + one titlepage woodcut + Annunciation + sixty-six borders = 134.

Total number of woodblocks used: sixty-six central narrative scenes + one titlepage woodcut + Annunciation + six borders = seventy-four.

EXTANT COPIES: 2.

EXAMINED COPY: Siena, BC, N V 035 [2] (through digital reproduction; MEI 00202317).

PROVENANCE NOTES: Bound with a copy of the *Vita Aesopi* printed in Venice by Manfredus de Bonellis in 1492 and a copy of Domenico da Monticelli's Italian translation of Ovid's *Epistolae Heroides* printed in Brescia in 1489 by Baptista Farfengus.[681] *Maniculae*, reading notes and scribbles by a late 15th-century hand, often found in correspondence with the general sentences and mottoes that conclude the Latin text of the fables. The same hand might be the author of some very simple pen drawings and additions to some of the illustrations and of the only marginal annotation that appears in the copy: "De mus rusticus et de mus urbanus" next to fable AM12. The wrong use of the Latin syntactical structure to express the main subject of the fable suggests that this reader did not master classical languages.

⚜ 48) 1491, October 3 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Rinucius Aretinus)

Milan: Bernardinus de Castelliono and Philippus de Mantegatiis (ISTC ia00103500; GW 344; Text-Inc: tia00103500).

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679 The same scene from the *Vita Aesopi*, although designed and carved in a completely different style, is used as the title-page illustration of the edition Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi for Pietro Pacini, Sept. 1496 (ISTC ia00153700, n° 61 in this *Catalogue*).

680 Borders b1, b2 and b3 were already in use in Benalius' 1487 edition.

681 ISTC nos. ia00110000 (see record n° 49 in this *Catalogue*) and io00150700. From the digital reproduction is not clear whether this texts, and maybe others, were bound together in an early stage of their circulation or in a more recent moment of their history.

Format: 4°; 42 leaves. Collation: a–d^{8}e^{6}f^{4}. 29 lines per page; type: 2:83R, probably in the variant 85Rcf.[682]

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – Rinucius Aretinus, *Proemium* to Antonius Cerdá y Lloscos; 'Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rimicium facta ad reverendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiterum Cardinalem. Et primum prohemium'. Inc.: «[E] quas nimirum merces...»; a1v expl.: «...argumenti pauca sugessi» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a1v – [Rinucius Aretinus] 'Argumentum' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[V]ita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi...»; expl.: «...aures nimium delectabit» [ed.: LOCKWOOD 1913, pp. 70-1];
a1v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Vita Aesopi*]. Inc.: «[Q]ui per omnem vitam...»; c7r expl.: «...Esopi auctores fuerunt». 'FINIS' [ed.: ÖSTERLEY 1873, pp. 6-38];
c7r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Argumentum Fabularum Esopi e greco in Latinum'. Inc.: «[E]sopus fabulator clarissimus...»; c7v expl.: «...servari non potest. Hinc sumit initium» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 136-37];
c7v – [Rinucius Aretinus, Latin translation of the *Fabulae*]; 'De aquila et vulpe'. Inc.: «[A]quila et vulpes conflata...»; f4r expl.: «…penitus obrui se velint» [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 138-337];
f4r – [Rinucius Aretinus], 'Totius operis Anacephaleosis'. Inc.: «[H]abes vitam pariter...»; f4v expl.: «...fumantia solvere colla». 'FINIS' [ed.: PILLOLA 1993, pp. 338-39];
f4v – [Anonymous, verses], «Si placet hybernas…»; expl.: «…non tibi vilis ero» [3 elegiac dystichs];
f4v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Bernardinum de castelliono et Philipum de cassano. Anno domini Mcccclxxxxi die III mensis octobris».

INITIALS: Stamped in, white on black background. The first initial is missing and substituted by a wrong guide letter ('e').
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: R1 (c7v); R2 (c7v) R3 (c8r); R4 (c8v); R5 ('De vulpe et hirco' - c8v); R6 (c8v); R7 (d1r); R8 (d1r); R9 (d1v); R10 (d1v); R11 (d1v); R12 (d2r); R13 (d2r); R14 (d2r); R15 (d2v); R16 (d2v); R17 (d2v); R18 (d3r); R19 (d3r); R20 (d3r); R21 (d3v); R22 (d3v); R23 (d3v); R24 (d4r); R25 (d4r); R26 (d4v); R27 (d4v); R28 (d4v); R29 (d5r); R30 (d5r); R31 (d5v); R32 (d5v); R33 (d5v); R34 ('De duobus amici et viersa' - d6r); R35 (d6r); R36 (d6r); R37 (d6v); R38 (d6v); R39 (d6v); R40 (d7r); R41 (d7r); R42 (d7r); R43 (d7v); R44 (d7v); R45 (d8r); R46 (d8r); R47 (d8r); R48 (d8v); R49 (d8v); R50 (d8v); R51 (e1r); R52 (e1r); R53 (e1r); R54 (e1v); R55 (e1v); R56 (e1v); R57 (e2r); R58 (e2r); R59 (e2r); R60 (e2v); R61 (e2v); R62 (e3r); R63 ('De lecna [*sic*] et vulpe' - e3r); R64 (e3r); R65 (e3v); R66 (e3v); R67 (e3v); R68 (e4r); R69 (e4r); R70 (a4v); R71 (a4v); R72 (a4v); R73 (e5r); R74 (e5r); R75 (e5v); R76 (e5v); R77 (e6r); R78 (e6r); R79 (e6r); R80 (e6v); R81 (e6v); R82 (f1r); R83 (f1r); R84 (f1r); R85 (f1v); R86 (f1v); R87 (f1v); R88 (f1v); R89 (f2r); R90 (f2r); R91 (f2v); R92 (f2v); R93 (f3r); R94 (f3r); R95 (f3r); R96 (f3v); R97 (f3v); R98 (f3v); R99 (f3v); R100 (f4).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: In this edition of the *Vita*, the lacuna towards the end is not marked. See leaf c5v: «Esope esto forti animo habe spes bonas ad teipsum consuleris ecce Delphii, qui Esopum publico decreto» and the Greek types were left blank both in the *Vita* and in the *Anacephaleosis*.
The text printed in this edition shares with the *princeps* by Zarotus a series of variants which distinguish it from all the known manuscripts, including «agricultor» instead of «agriculator» in R18 'De viro agricola'; «singulatim» instead of «singillatim» in R31, 'De agricola et filiis';

[682] The identification of this type is suggested here for the first time, after consultation with Dr Falk Eisermann and Dr Oliver Duntze, from the GW.

«consumpsisset» instead of «oblurcasset» in R72, 'De adolescente quodam et hirundine'. The only dedicatory text included, i.e. the letter «[Q]uas nimirum merces…» is dedicated here to Antonius Cerdá. This edition contains the closing couplets 'Verba libri ad emptorem'. The misspelling of the name of the author ('Rimicius' for 'Rinucius') at the opening of the 'Prohemium' addressed to Cerdá was not corrected in this version.

EXTANT COPIES: 2.
EXAMINED COPY: Piacenza, BC, (L) C/5.08.024.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Reading marks, pointing hands and vernacular notes on the bottom margins of leaves d1r and e1r. On leaves d1r and e1r, the same hand corrected the misspelled title 'De duobus amici et usura' in brown ink. All the fables have been numbered by a 18th-century hand. Owned by the convent of the Cappuccini in Piacenza and later by the Count Ferdinando Landi; bequeathed to the Biblioteca Comunale after his death (1853) by his heirs.

⚜ *49) 1492, March 27 – Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato (ISTC ia00110000; GW 445; Text-Inc: tia00110000).
Format: 4°; 42 leaves. Collation: a–$d^{8}e^{10}$. 40 lines per page; type: 2:79G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
A1r – [Title-page with woodcut]: 'Vita Esopi';
A2r – Francesco del Tuppo, introductory letter addressed to Onorato Gaetani dell'Aquila, Count of Fondi: 'Francisco del Tuppo Neapolitano allo illustrissimo honorato de Aragonia Gaitano conte de Fundi collaterale dello serenissimo Re Bon Ferando re de Sicilia prothonotario et logothetha benemerito felicitate'. Inc.: «Elli sono in lo seculo…»; a3r expl.: «...illustrissima signoria annumera. Vale» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 97-99];
A3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Prohemium' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[B]onum nimirum aucupium...»; expl.: «...legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
A3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi*. 'Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et origine eiusdem'. Inc.: «[E]sopus philosophus fabulator clarissimus...»; E10v expl.: «...ad donarle la morte». 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter finit' [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
E10v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Manfredum de Montefarato de sustrevo de Bonellis Mcccclxxxxii die xxvii Martii regnante domino Augustino Barbadico inclita Venetarum principe».

INITIALS: Absent, with no printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 (a3r); VA2 (a4r); VA3 (a6r); VA4 (a7v); VA5 (b1r); VA6 (b2v); VA7 (b5r); VA8 (b6v); VA9 (b7v); VA10 (c2v); VA11 (c5r); VA12 (c7v); VA13 (d1v); VA14 (d3v); VA15 (d4v); VA16 (d7r); VA17 (d8v); VA18 (e1v); VA19 (e2v); VA20 (e4v); VA21 (e6r); VA22 (e7r); VA23 (e10r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text replicates, with minor adjustments and modifications, that of the edition printed in Naples in 1485 for Francesco del Tuppo.[683]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1v; a3v; a4v; a6v; a8r; b1v; b3v; b5v; b7r; c1r; c3v; c6r; c8v; d2v; d4r; d5v; d7v; e1r; e2r; e3v; e5r; e6v; e8v; e10v.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Twenty-three in-text illustrations made up of a central narrative scene (c. 70 x 70 mm) and borders, plus one full page introductory illustration (70 x 70 mm) at leaf a1v, with border, consisting of a portrait of a teacher (Aesop) and his pupils.
The title-page vignette and the borders in use here can be found in the editions of *Aesopus moralisatus* printed by Bonellis in 1491 and described above.[684] In particular, seven borders were used as follows:[685]
b1 (four segments, with battle scene) was used once (a1r);
b2 (four segments but no bottom) was used five times (a3v; b5v; c3v; c8v; e2r), always in combination with b3;
b3 (one segment) was used five times (a3v; b5v; c3v; c8v; e2r) as bottom border, always in combination with b2;
b6 (four segments with one eagle and two putti) was used four times (a4v; a8r; d5v; e5r);
b7 (four segments, thinner with leaves) was used thirteen times (a6v; b1v; b3v; b7r; b8r; c6r; d2v; d4r; d7v; e1r; e3v; e6v; e8v), alone;
b8 (one segment) was used once (e10v), in combination with b6;
b9 (one segment) was used once (e10v), in combination with b5.
Total number of impressions: twenty-four narrative central scenes + thirty borders = fifty-four.
Total number of woodblock used: twenty-four centres + seven borders = thirty-one.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: For the reuse of borders, see record n° 44 of the *Catalogue*.
The illustration of VA18 is reused in *Storia della Regina Oliva* (Venezia: Iohannes Baptista Sessa, c. 1500, leaf b4v).[686]

EXTANT COPIES: 17 of which 4 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Oxford, Bodl., Douce 59; Rome, Cors., Vol. Inc. 1740 (through digital reproduction);[687] Venezia, BN Marc., Misc. 1379.6.
NOTES ON PROVENANCE: the **Oxford and the Rome copies** do not seem to bear signs of early provenance. The **Marciana copy** is now part of a miscellaneous volume which was put together and owned by the Venetian poet and literatus Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750), also containing a copy of Valla's translation of thirty *Fabulae* printed in Venice in 1495.[688] Manuscript notes concentrate especially on leaf d3v, where the episode VA14, 'Quomodo Esopus epigramma interpretatus sit cuius occasione thesaurum domino sibi carceres repperit', starts. In this episode, Aesop and his teacher Xanthus end up discussing the sound of some Greek letters, which are mentioned in the text but not printed, together with some Greek words beginning with these letters but translated into Latin, which makes the correspondence not always working. An

683 ISTC ia00155000, n° 34 in this *Catalogue*.
684 Nos. 44 and 45 in this *Catalogue*.
685 Borders numbered from b1 to b7 were already in use in the previous illustrated editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis in 1491; borders numbered b4 and b5 in those editions were not in use here.
686 ISTC ic00909825, surviving only in the copy London, BL, IA.24578.
687 The digital reproduction of this incunable is accessible through the ISTC record of the other *Vita Aesopi* printed by Bonellis (Venice: 8 Novmber 1493 - ISTC ia00111000, n° 54 in this *Catalogue*), the reproduction of which is, viceversa, accessible through the ISTC record of this edition (links checked April 2018).
688 ISTC ia00010000, n° 58 in this *Catalogue*.

extremely neat early 16th-century hand, probably Italian, filled in the missing Greek letters in the text and, on the left margin, a reconstructed the whole passage inserting the Greek words beginning with the Greek letters mentioned.

⚜ 50) 1492, July 10 – Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Omnibonus Leonicenus)

[Brescia]: Baptista Farfengus (ISTC ia00108600; GW 334; Text-Inc: tia00108600).
Format: 4°, 22 leaves. Collation: $a^8b^6c^8$. 33 lines per page; type: 1:100R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – Omnibonus Leonicenus, *Praefatio*; 'Fabulae aesopi de graeco in latinum per panagathum Vicentinum traductae. Praefatio'. Inc.: «[R]espicienti mihi aetatis…»; a1v expl.: «…id omne contribuas. Vale»;
a1v – Aesop, *Fabulae* [Latin, translated by Omnibonus Leonicenus]; 'De vulpe et aquila. Fabula ii (*sic*)'. «Vulpes et aquila amiciciam…»; c8r expl.: «...benefactoribus suis officere videmus»;
c8r – [Colophon]: «Per D. Presbyterum Baptista de Farfengo M.cccclxxxxii. die x luio. Laus deo».

INITIALS: Stamped in.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: OL1 (a1v); OL2 (a1v); OL3 (a2r); OL4 (a2r); OL5 (a2r); OL6 (a2v); OL7 (a3r); OL8 (a3r); OL9 (a3r); OL10 (a3r); OL11 (a3v); OL12 (a3v); OL13 (a3v); OL14 (a3v); OL15 (a4r); OL16 (a4r); OL17 (a4r); OL19 (a4v); OL20 (a5r); OL21 (a5r); OL 22 (a5r); OL23 (a5r); OL24 (a5v); OL25 (a5v); OL26 (a5v); OL27 (a6r); OL28 (a6v); OL29 (a6v); OL30 (a6v); OL31 (a7r); OL32 (a7r); OL33 (a7r); OL34 (a7r); OL35 (a7v); OL36 (a7v); OL37 (a7v); OL38 (a8r); OL39 (a8r); OL40 (a8r); OL41 (a8v); OL42 (a8v); OL43 (b1r); OL44 (b1r); OL45 (b1r); OL46 (b1v); OL47 (b1v); OL48 (b2r); OL49 (b2r); OL50 (b2r); OL51 (b2r); OL52 (b2v); OL53 (b2v); OL54 (b2v); OL55 (b2v); OL56 (b3r); OL57 (b3r); OL58 (b3v); OL59 (b3v); OL60 (b3v); OL61 (b4r); OL62 (b4r); OL63 (b4r); OL64 (b4v); OL65 (b4v); OL66 (b4v); OL67 (b5r); OL68 (b5r); OL69 (b5v); OL70 (b5v); OL71 (b5v); OL72 (b6r); OL73 (b6r); OL74 (b6v); OL75 (b6v); OL76 (b6v); OL77 (c1r); OL78 (c1r); OL79 (c1r); OL80 (c1r); OL81 (c1r); OL82 (c1v); OL83 (c1v); OL84 (c1v); OL85 (c2r); OL86 (c2r); OL87 (c2r); OL88 (c2v); OL89 (c2v); OL90 (c3r); OL91 (c3r); OL92 (c3r); OL93 (c3v); OL94 (c3v); OL95 (c4r); OL96 (c4r); OL97 (c4r); OL97 (c4r); OL98 (c4r); OL99 (c4v); OL100 (c4v); OL101 (c4v); OL102 (c4v); OL103 (c5r); OL104 (c5r); OL105 (c5v); OL106 (c5v); OL107 (c5v); OL108 (c5v); OL109 (c6r); OL110 (c6r); OL111 (c6r); OL112 (c6v); OL113 (c6v); OL114 (c6v); OL115 (c6v); OL116 (c7r); OL117 (c7r); OL 118 (c7r); OL119 (c7r); OL120 (c7v); OL121 (c7v); OL122 (c7v); OL123 (c7v); OL124 (c7v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text presents a series of variants which distinguish it from that printed in the only other edition known. Among the most noteworthy are «imbuendos» for «instituendos», «intelligerem» for «sentirem» and «accedebat» for «accessit» in the *Praefatio*; «descendere constituunt» for «descdenderant» in fable OL3; «aegrotans» for «languens» in OL41; «machaeram» for «securim» in fable OL42.[689]

EXTANT COPIES: 4.
EXAMINED COPY: Oxford, Bodl., Auct. Q 5.22 (MEI 00204163).

[689] More on the comparison between the two editions is found in section III.1.1 of this study.

PROVENANCE NOTES: Bound in 19th-century blind-tooled red morocco, with marbled pastedowns. Owned by Samuel Butler (1774-1839) and purchased by the Bodleian Library at Butler's sale in 1841.[690]

51) 1493, April 16 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Bologna: Franciscus de Benedictis (ISTC ia00128000; GW 392; Text-Inc: tia00128000).
Format: 4°; 16 leaves. Collation: ab^8. 40 lines per page; type: 6:75G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; b8r expl.: «…quod intus habet» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b8r [Colophon]: «Impressum Bononie per Platonem de Benedictis anno domini nostri mcccclxxxxiii die xvi aprilis. Laus Deo».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a1v); AM6 ('De leone capra ove et iuvenca' (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2r); AM9 ('De cane et alia cane' - a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a2v); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a3v); AM15 (a3v); AM16 (a3v); AM17 ('De catulo hero et asello' - a4r); AM18 (a4r); AM19 (a4v); AM20 ('De hyrundine et rustico' - a4v); AM21 ('De civitate carente rege' - a5r); AM22 (a5r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a5v); AM24 (a5v); AM25 (a5v); AM27 (a6r); **AM26 ('De terra que peperit murem' - a6r)**; AM28 ('De cane veteri et domino' - a6r); AM29 ('De silva et leporibus' - a6v); AM30 (a6v); AM31 (a7r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - a7r); AM33 (a7r); AM34 (a7v); AM35 ('De lupo et cervice' - a7v); AM36 (a7v); AM37 ('De mula musca et mulione' - a8r); AM38 (a8r); AM39 (a8v); AM40 (a8v); AM41 (b1r); AM42 (b1r); AM43 (b1v); AM44 (b1v); AM45 (b2r); AM46 (b2v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpes' - b2v); AM48 ('De cervo et fonte' - b3r); AM49 (b3r); AM50 (b3v); AM51 (b3v); AM52 (b4r); AM53 (b4r); AM54 (b4v); AM55(b4v); AM56 (b5r); AM57 (b5r); AM58 (b5r); AM59 ('De argo cervo et bobus' - b5v); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - b5v); AM61 ('De cive et equite regis' - b6r); AM62 (b7r); AM63 (b7v); **AM65 ('De mercatore et eius uxore' - b8r); AM68 ('De rustico et plutone' - b8r).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: To the standard sequence of fables AM1-AM63, this edition adds fable AM65 'De mercatore et eius uxore', as well as one more fable, entitled 'De rustico et plutone'.
Lines 7-8 of AM7, 'De foemina nubente furi' read «Qui mala fecerunt uel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere fauorem».
Line AM20.14, in fable 'De hirundine et lino', «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», is present and the fable is complete.
At the end of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', the couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added.
Fables AM26, 'De terra que peperit murem' and AM27 'De lupo et agno', are inverted.
In line AM38.17, this edition has «fercula fructum», instead of the more correct «fercula furtum».
In fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', lines 62-65 read «robur, cedit eques, surgere velle negat | o nova simplicitas sedet ille vocatque sedentem | et nisi surgat eques: surgere velle negat». The

690 See Bod-Inc record A-049.

edition also witnesses the addition of the extra couplet «Fine fruor gemino quod cogitat omnis | fabula declarat datque quod intus habet» after the last line of the last fable AM68.

EXTANT COPIES: 3 of which 1 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Bologna, BC, 16.Q.III.5.
PROVENANCE NOTES: First initial 'U' supplied in red pen ink in simple style, possibly by the same hand (late 15th or early 16th century) responsible for marking in red ink the last two lines of each fable. A contemporary hand also wrote a series of comments (leaves a4r/v), *maniculae* and reading marks in brown ink.

⚜ *52) 1493, May 31 – Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi* and *Fabulae Aesopi*

L'Aquila: Eusanius de Stella, Johannes Picardus de Hamell, Loisius de Masson (ISTC ia00156000; GW 442; Text-Inc: tia00156000).
Format: f°; 168 leaves. Collation: a–e^{8} f^{4}g–t^{8}u-x^{6}y^{8}. 41 lines per page; types: 1:86R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Prohemium' to the *Vita Aesopi*. Inc.: «[N]ovum nimirum eucuptum...»; expl.: «...qui legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
a3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi*. 'Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et oricine eiusdem'. Inc.: «[E]sopus philosophus fabulator clarissimus...»; f3r expl.: «...fine ad donarele (*sic*) la morte.' 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter finit sequuntur fabule» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
g1r – [Francesco del Tuppo, *Fabulae Aesopi*]. 'Protestsa comparaiiva (*sic*). Fabula I'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; y6r expl.: «...et mandolo con Dio» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 175-355];
y6r – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Epilogus'. Inc.: «[L]ectore per la merce de dio e venuta...»; y6v expl.: «...signoria fare comendato. Valete» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 355-56];
y6v – [Colophon]: «Francisci de Tuppo Parthenopei utriusque iuris disertissimi studiosissimique in vitam Esopi fabulatoris lepidissimi philosophique clarissimi traductio materno sermone fidelissima et in eius fabulas allegorie cum exemplis antiquis modernisque finiunt feliciter. Impresse Aquile per magistrum Eusanium de Stella cive aquilanum virumutique non minus in imprimendis caracteribus quam aliis rebus agendis ingenii, una cum Ioanni Picardo de Hamellae Loisio de Masson Francigena consociis suis. Sub Ferdinando rege illustrissimo. Anno saluti MCCCCLXXXXIII Die ultima mensis Maii».

INITIALS: Missing, some with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 (a3); VA2 (a4r); VA3 (a6r); VA4 (a7v); VA5 (b1r); VA6 (b2v); VA7 (b5r); VA8 (b6v); VA9 (b8r); VA10 (c2v); VA11 (c5r); VA12 (c7v); VA13 (d1v); VA14 (d3v); VA15 (d4v); VA16 (d7r); VA17 (d8v); VA18 (e1v); VA19 (e2v); VA20 (e4v); VA21 (e6r); VA22 (f1r); VA23 (f4r).
SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: FdT1 (g2r); FdT2 (g4r); FdT3 (g5v); FdT4 (g7r); FdT5 (g8v); FdT6 (h2r); FdT7 (h3r); FdT8 (h4v); FdT9 (h5v); FdT10 (h7r); FdT11 (h8v); FdT12 (i2v); FdT13 (i4v); FdT14 (i6r); FdT15 (i7v); FdT16 (k1v); FdT17 (k3r); FdT18 (k4v); FdT19 (k6v); FdT20 (k8r); FdT21 (l2r); FdT22 (l4r); FdT23 (l6r); FdT24

(l8r); FdT25 (m2r); FdT26 (m4r); FdT27 (m5v); FdT28 (m7v); FdT29 (n1v); FdT30 (n3v); FdT31 (n5v); FdT32 (n7v); FdT33 (o1v); FdT34 (o3v); FdT35 (o6r); FdT36 (o7v); FdT37 (p1v); FdT38 (p3v); FdT39 (p5r); FdT40 (p7r); FdT41 (q2r); FdT42 (q4r); FdT43 (q7v); FdT44 (r1v); FdT45 (r3v); FdT46 (r5v); FdT47 (r8r); FdT48 (s2r); FdT49 (s4r); FdT50 (s5v); FdT51 (s8r); FdT52 (t1v); FdT53 (t3r); FdT54 (t4v); FdT55 (t6r); FdT56 (t8r); FdT57 (u1v); FdT58 (u3v); FdT59 (u5r); FdT60 (u6v); FdT61 (x2r); FdT62 (x6r); FdT63 (y1v); FdT64 (y3r); FdT65 (y4v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text contained is a copy derived from the 1485 edition of del Tuppo's vernacular versions of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* printed in Naples.[691] However, it is characterised by a number of differences and simplifications.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: ***Vita*** - a3v; a4v; a6v; a8r; b1v; b3v; b5v; b7r; c1r; c3v; c6r; c8v; d2v; d4r; d5v; d7v; e1r; e2r; e3v; e5r; e6v; e8v; f2v; ***Fabulae*** - g1r; g2v; g4v; g6r; g7v; h1r; h2v; h3v; h5r; h6r; h7v; i1r; i3r; i5r; i6v; i8r; k2r; k3v; k5r; k7r; k8v; l2v; l4v; l6v; l8v; m2v; m4v; m6r; m8r; n2r; n4r; n6r; n8r; o2r; o4r; o6v; o8r; p2r; p4r; p5v; p7v; q2v; q4v; q8r; r2r; r4r; r6r; r8v; s2v; s4v; s6r; s8v; t2r; t3v; t5r; t6r; t8v; u1r; u3r; u4v; x1r; x3v; x6v; y1v; y3v; y5r.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Twenty-two central vignettes, framed by borders, and a full page illustration (leaf f2v) to represent episodes of the *Vita,* plus sixty-five central vignettes with borders for the *Fabulae.* In addition, the edition contains one full-page border marking the titlepage of the *Fabulae* (leaf g1r).
Six borders were used in the edition. In particular:
b1 was used twenty-two times (a3v; a4v; a6v; a8r; b1v; b3v; b5v; b7r; c1r; c3v; c6r; c8v; d2v; d4r; d5v; d7v; e1r; e2r; e3v; e5r; e6v; e8v);
b2 was used once (f2v);
b3 was used once (g1r);
b4 was used twenty-four times (g2v; h1r; h6r; h7v; i5r; i6v; k5r; k7r; l2v; n8r; o2r; o4r; p2r; p5v; q2v; q4v; r4r; s6r; s8v; t3v; t8v; u1r; x6v; y1v);
b5 was used sixteen times (g4v; g7v; i1r; i3r; k2r; k8v; l8v; m4v; m8r; n4r; n6r; r6r; t6r; x1r; x3v; y5r);
b6 was used twenty-five times (g6r; h2v; h3v; h5r; i8r; k3v; l4v; l6v; m2v; m6r; n2r; o6v; o8r; p4r; p7v; q8r; r2r; r8v; s2v; s4v; t2r; t5r; u3r; u4v; y3v).
Total number of woodblocks used: eighty-eight central narrative scenes + six borders = ninety-four.
Total number of impressions: eighty-eight central narrative scenes + eighty-nine borders = 177.

EXTANT COPIES: 10 of which 1 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 2800 (through digital reproduction; MEI 00202192).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Inscription 'Monasterii Baumburg' in a 16th-century German hand on leaf a3r, in brown ink.

691 Edition n° 34 in this *Catalogue.*

⚜ *53) 1493, August 17 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato (ISTC ia00153000; GW 434; Text-Inc: tia00153000).
Format: 4°; 72 leaves. Collation: a–i^{8}. 40 lines per page; type: 2:79G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Aesopus';
a1v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino.* 'Accii zuchi summa campanee veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas interpretatio per rhytmas in libellum zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Prohemio.' Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...presti al mio debil ingegno» [caudate sonnet];
a1v – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Idem'.' Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il mio dottor...»; expl.: «...per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; i5v expl.: «...non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422] ;
i5v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio, quel poco...»; i6r expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
i6r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; i7v expl.: «...el Zucco da Summacampagna» 'Finis' [130 lines];
i7v – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo...»; expl.: «...ricomanda, miserere mei» [caudate sonnet] 'Finis';
i7v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Manfredum de Monteferato de sustrevo Mcccc93 adi 17 Agosto».

INITIALS: Absent, with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ5 (a6v); EZ6 (a7v); EZ7 (a8v); EZ8 (b1v); EZ9 (b2v); EZ10 (b3v); EZ11 (b4v); EZ12 (b5v); EZ13 (b6v); EZ14 (b7v); EZ15 (b8v); EZ16 (c1v); EZ17 (c2v); EZ18 (c3v); EZ19 (c4v); EZ20 (c5v); EZ21 (c6v); EZ22 (c7v); EZ23 (c8v); EZ24 (d1v); EZ25 (d2v); EZ26 (d3v); EZ27 (d4v); EZ28 (d5v); EZ29 (d6v); EZ30 (d7v); EZ31 (d8v); EZ32 (e1v); EZ33 (e2v); EZ34 (e3r); EZ35 (e4r); EZ36 (e5r); EZ37 (e6r); EZ38 (e7r); EZ39 (e8r); EZ40 (f1v); EZ41 (f2v); EZ42 (f3v); EZ43 (f4v); EZ44 (f5v); EZ45 (f6v); EZ46(f7v); EZ47 (g1r); EZ48 (g2r); EZ49 (g3r); EZ50 (g4r); EZ51 (g5r); EZ52 (g6r); EZ53 (g7r); EZ54 (g8r); EZ55 (h1r); EZ56 (h2r); EZ57 (h3r); EZ58 (h4r); EZ59 (h5r); EZ60 (h6r); EZ61 (h7v); EZ62 (i1v); EZ63 (i2v); EZ64 (i3v); EZ65 (i4v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares most of the features of the text printed in Bonellis' January 1491 edition.[692] Some differences, however, such as lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta,* reading: «che collui che non vol sir consigliato | non te curar del suo mal talento» rather than the other way round, suggest that this was not an exact reprint.[693]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d3r; d4r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8v; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; e5v; e6v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f3v; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r, g3r; g4r; g5; g6r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h2r; h3; h4r; h5; h6v; h7v; i1v; i2v; i3v; i4v.

692 ISTC ia00151000, n° 44 in this *Catalogue.*
693 The differences between the editions are investigated further in section III.3.1 of this study.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five central narrative scenes (70 x 70 mm) illustrating the fables, with borders, plus one decorated initial ('U'), on leaf a2r, and one full-page vignette (70 x 70 mm) on leaf a1r portraying a male teacher (probably Aesop) sitting at his desk and surrounded by his students, with border.
In particular, in this edition ten borders were used as follows:
b1 (five segments, with battle scene) was used three times (a1r; a4v; c1r),
b2 (four segments, but no bottom) was used fifteen times (a2v; a6v; b1v; b3v; c4r; d5v; d6v d7v; e4v; f1v; f2v; g3r; g6r; h4r; h5r), always in combination with b3;
b3 was used fifteen times as a bottom border (a2v; a6v; b1v; b3v; c4r; d5v; d6v d7v; e4v; f1v; f2v; g3r; g6r; h4r; h5r), always in combination with b2;
b4 (four segments, with busts) was used thirteen times (a3v; a8v; b2v; c2r; c7r; d1r; d2r; e3v; e8v; f6r; g5r; h1r; h7v);
b7 (four segments, thinner with leaves) was used eleven times (a5v; c8r; d8v; e5v; e6v; f8r; g1r; g8r; h3r; i3v; i4v), alone;
b6 (four segments, with one eagle and two putti), was used sixteen times (a7v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c5r; c6r; d4v; e1v; e2v; f3v; g2r; g7r; h6v; i1v; i2v);
b5 (one segment, with a woman portrayed in profile) was used once (a8v);
b8 (one segment) was used eight times (c3r; d3r; d4r; e7v; f5r; f7r; g4r; h2r), always in combination with b9 and b10;
b9 (one segment) was used eight times (c3r; d3r; d4r; e7v; f5r; f7r; g4r; h2r), always in combination with b8 and b10;
b10 (one segment) was used eight times (c3r; d3r; d4r; e7v; f5r; f7r; g4r; h2r), always in combination with b8 and b9.[694]
Total number of impressions: one title-page scene + sixty-five central narrative scenes + ninety-eight borders + one initial = 165.
Total number of woodblocks used: one title-page scene + sixty-five central narrative scenes + ten borders = seventy-six.
The analysis of multiple copies of this edition, however, highlighted the existence of at least two variants, which can be distinguished on the basis of the use of the illustrations. In the copy owned by Rome, Cas., the illustrations on leaves h2r and h7v have been inverted. Therefore, the fable EZ56, 'De ventre pedibus et manibus', is illustrated with the central cut representing fable EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis'. In the Marciana copy, the images appear in the right order (plate 34). In both editions, however, the illustrations are framed by the same border b4.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: All central cuts used in this edition can be found in the two previous editions of the *Esopo zuccarino* printed by Bonellis in 1491;[695] similarly, all the borders can be found both in previous Bonellis' editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*, although used differently, and in the 1492 edition of the *Vita Aesopi*.[696]

EXTANT COPIES: 12 of which 4 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Rome, Cas., Vol. Inc. 504/2 (through digital reproduction; MEI 00202384); Venezia, BN Marc., Inc. V. 0775 (MEI 00202191).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Casanatense copy** has the inscription "1739 | di Giacomo Soranzo" on the front pastedown and is bound together with a copy of the 1493 edition of the

[694] This border does not appear in the examined copies of any of the previous Aesopian editions printed by Bonellis.
[695] ISTC nos. ia00151000 and ia00152000.
[696] ISTC ia00111000.

Vita Aesopi.[697] Many of the woodcuts of this edition and all the woodcuts of the *Vita Aesopi* attached were hand-coloured, probably in late 16th or early 17th century; some spaces were left blank and only certain colours were used (mostly red, orange, brown and yellow for the *Vita,* while blue and green for the *Aesopus moralisatus*), suggesting that one or two colours in every woodcut might be still missing and the operation should therefore be considered incomplete.
In the **Marciana copy**, late 15th-century inscription in brown ink on the bottom border of leaf a1r, almost completely vanished, and, also on leaf a1r, inscription inserted in the woodcut illustration, reading: "Iste Exopus est emptum per me Bortholamaeum Sove(um)". The same hand was probably responsible also for the inscription "1510" in the top margin of the same page.

⌘ *54) 1493, November 8 – Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato (GW 446; ISTC ia00111000; Text-Inc: tia00111000).
Format: 4°; 42 leaves. Collation: a-d^{8}e^{10}. 41 lines per page; types 1:90G, 2:79G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Title-page with woodcut]: 'Vita Esopi';
a2r – Francesco del Tuppo, introductory letter addressed to Onorato Gaetani dell'Aquila, Count of Fondi: 'Francisco del Tuppo Neapolitano allo illustrissimo honorato de Aragonia Gaitano conte de Fundi collaterale dello serenissimo Re Bon Ferando re de Sicilia prothonotario et logothetha benemerito felicitate.' Inc.: «Elli sono in lo seculo illustrate…»; a3r expl.: «...illustrissima signoria annumera. Vale» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 97-99];
a3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], 'Prohemium' to the *Vita Aesopi.* Inc.: «[B]onum nimirum aucupium novasque...»; expl.: «...qui legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
a3r – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi.* 'Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et origine eiusdem'.' Inc.: «[E]sopus philosophus fabulator...»; e10v expl.: «...donarle la morte». 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter finit' [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
e10v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Manfredum de Montefarato de sustrevo de Bonellis Mcccclxxxxiii die viii Novembris regnante domino Augustino Barbadico inclita Venetarum principe».

INITIALS: Absent, with printed guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

[697] ISTC ia00111000, n° 54 in this *Catalogue*. On Giacomo (or Jacopo) Soranzo (1686-1761), senator of the Serenissima Repubblica of Venice and eager bibliophile, see: MITCHELL 1969, pp- 125-35. An entry for Soranzo also exist in the database 'Archivio Possessori' created by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana with the support of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL): record is number 51 and it is retreivable at the following link: http://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/38-soranzo-giacomo (link verified June 2018).

SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 (a3r); VA2 (a4r); VA3 (a6r); VA4 (a7v); VA5 (b1r); VA6 (b2v); VA7 (b5r); VA8 (b6v); VA9 (b7v); VA10 (c2v); VA11 (c5r); VA12 (c7v); VA13 (d1v); VA14 (d3v); VA15 (d4v); VA16 (d7r); VA17 (d8v); VA18 (e1v); VA19 (e2v); VA20 (e4v); VA21 (e6r); VA22 (e7r); VA23 (e10r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text contained is an almost identical reproduction of the text included in Bonellis' edition of the *Vita Aesopi* printed in March 1492.[698] Minor changes concern the use of abbreviations, letter composition or some of the printer's graphic choices. See for instance the title of episode VA2, on leaf a4r: in the 1492 edition, the title reads 'De fraude conservorum Esopi et eius astucia', while in this edition it reads 'De fraude co(n)servorum Esopi et eius astutia', with the *titulus* for the 'n'.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1v; a3v; a4v; a6v; a8r; b1v; b3v; b5v; b7r; c1r; c3v; c6r; c8v; d2v; d4r; d5v; d7v; e1r; e2r; e3v; e5r; e6v; e8v; e10v.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Twenty-three in-text illustrations for the episodes from the *Vita,* with borders, plus one decorated initial (a2r) and a full page illustration on the titlepage, consisting in one central scene (c. 70 x 70 mm) portraying Aesop, or a teacher in general, surrounded by his pupils, with border.

The use of woodblocks and their disposition in this edition is very similar to the 1492 edition of the *Vita Aesopi* printed by Bonellis. The only difference consists in the border used to frame the illustration of VA4 (leaf a8r), where the central cut remains exactly the same (plate 5) and in the inverted position of the same two borders used to frame the illustration of VA23 (leaf e10v).

Eight borders were used, as follows:

b1 (four segments, with battle scene) was used once (a1r);

b2 (four segments, but no bottom) was used five times (a3v; b5v; c3v; c8v; e2r);

b3 (one segment) was used five times as bottom border (a3v; b5v; c3v; c8v; e2r), always in combination with b2;

b4 (four segments, with busts) was used once (a8r);

b6 (four segments, with one eagle and two putti) was used three times (a4v; d5v; e5r);

b7 (four segments, thinner with leaves) was used thirteen times (a6v; b1v; b3v; b7r; b8r; c6r; d2v; d4r; d7v; e1r; e3v; e6v; e8v), alone;

b8 (one segment) was used once (e10v), in combination with b15;

b9 (one segment) was used once (e10v), in combination with b14;

Total number of impressions: twenty-four narrative central scenes + thirty borders + one initial = fifty-five.

Total number of woodblock used: twenty-four central scenes + eight borders + 1 initial= thirty-three.

EXTANT COPIES: 9 of which 2 not in Europe (USA).

EXAMINED COPIES: London, BL, G.7735 (= IA.23809; MEI 00202336); Rome, Cas., Vol. Inc. 504/1 (through digital reproduction; MEI 00201956).[699]

PROVENANCE NOTES: On the **Casanatense copy** inscription on the front pastedown: "1739 | di Giacomo Soranzo"; bound with a copy of the 1493 edition of the *Esopo zuccarino*.[700] All the woodcuts of this edition and of the *Esopo zuccarino* have been hand coloured.

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[698] ISTC ia00110000, n° 50 in this *Catalogue*.

[699] Due to some technical issues, the digital reproduction of this incunable is accessible through the ISTC record of the other *Vita Aesopi* printed by Bonellis (Venice: 27 March 1492 - ISTC ia00110000), the reproduction of which is, viceversa, accessible through the ISTC record of this edition (links checked April 2016).

In the **BL copy** Grenville's coat of arms is gold-tooled on the covers and a slip with his notes on the rarity of the book is applied, to one of the front flyleaves.[701] Bound by Charles Lewis.

⚜ *55) 1494, February 22 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Bologna: Ercole Nani (ISTC ia00153500; GW 435; Text-Inc: tia00153500).
Format: 4°; 72 leaves. Collation: a-i^{8}. 37 lines per page; type: 3:88R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1v] – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Acci zuchi summa campanee veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhithmos in libelum zucharinum inscriptum contexta feliciter incipit. Prohemio.' Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «…mio debil ingegno» [caudate sonnet];
[a1v] – Accio Zucco, [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Idem.' Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il dottor...»; expl.: «...per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
[a2r] – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Soneto materiale'. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; [i5v] expl.: «...non è la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
[i5v] – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: '[V]olume mio quel poco...»; [i6r] expl.: «...non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
[i6r] – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; [i7v] expl.: «...el zuccho da summa campagna». 'Finis' [130 lines];
[i7v] – Accio Zucco, 'Ave Maria fatta per lo anteditto Accio'. Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo...»; [i8r] expl.: «...ricomanda: miserere mei» 'FINIS' [caudate sonnet];
[i8r] – [Index of the fables] 'Tavola delle predicte Fabule.' Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fa. prima | De gallo et iaspide fa. ii ...»; [i8v] expl.: «...De mercatore et eius uxore fa. lxiiiii | De rustico et plutone fa. lxiiiiii»;
[i8v] – [Colophon]: «Qui finisse illibro chiamato Isopo impresso ne lalma et inclita cita de Bologna ne lo edificio de carta de la illustrissuma madonna Zenevra Sforcia de Bentivogli: per lo maestro Hercules nani sotto al divo et illustro signore misser Giovanni Bentivoglio Sforza di vesconti de Ragona ne lanno del nostro signore misser Iesu Christo . Mcccclxxxxiiii. a di xxii. de Febraro. Laus deo. Finis».

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ5 (a6v); EZ6 (a7r); EZ7 (a8r); EZ8 (b1v); EZ9 (b2v); EZ10 (b3v); EZ11 (b4v); EZ12 (b5r); EZ13 (b6v); EZ14 (b7v); EZ15 (b8v); EZ16 (c1v); EZ17 (c2v); EZ18 (c3v); EZ19 (c4v); EZ20 (c5v); EZ21 (c6v); EZ22 (c7v); EZ23 (d1r); EZ24 (d1v); EZ25 (d2v); EZ26 (d3v); EZ27 (d4v); EZ34 (e3v); EZ35 (e4v); EZ36 (e5v); EZ37 (e6v); EZ38 (e7v); EZ39 (e8v); EZ40 (f1v); EZ41 (f2v); EZ42 (f3v); EZ43 (f4v); EZ44 (f5v); EZ45 (f7r); EZ46 (f8r); EZ47 (g1r); EZ48 (g2r); EZ49 (g3r); EZ50

[700] ISTC ia00153000, n° 53 in this catalogue.
[701] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

(g4r); EZ51 (g5r); EZ52 (g6r); EZ53 (g7r); EZ54 (g8r); EZ55 (h1r); EZ56 (h2r); EZ57 (h3r) 58 (h4r); EZ59 (h5r); EZ60 (h6r); EZ61 (h7v); EZ62 (i1v); EZ63 (i2v); EZ64 (i3v); EZ65 (i5r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text contained in this edition shares most of the features of the text printed in Bonellis' editions of the *Esopo zuccarino*.[702] However, lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «che collui che non vol sir consigliato | non te curar del suo mal talento».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8v; d1r; d2r; d3r; d4r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e1r; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; e5v; e6v; e7v; f1r; f1v; f3r; f4r; f5r; f6v; f7r; f8r; g1v; g2v; g3v; g4v; g5v; g6v; g7v; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v; h4v; h5r; h6v; h7v; i1v; i2v; i3; i4v.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five narrative vignettes illustrating the fables (70 x 70 mm), framed by borders, plus one title-page portraying an adult man in the act of teaching, surrounded by his pupils.

All the central cuts were copied from those included in Bonellis' editions of the *Esopo zuccarino:* they all show the same iconographic subjects, were drawn in the same style and appear mirrored in their final look. The borders were copied as well, with the peculiarity that those including different segments, which were carved as part of one single woodblock for Bonellis' editions, appear here divided into different pieces of wood (plate 28).[703]

A total of fourteen borders were used in this edition:

b1 (one segment, battle scene) was used once (a1r);

b2 (three segments – top border missing – vase and tendrils) was used seven times (a1r; a4v; c1r; d4v; d7v; f3r; h5r);

b3 (one segment, top border) was used twenty times (a2v; b1v; b2v; c2r; c5r; c6r; d1r; d6v; d7v; e5v; e6v; f1r; f4r; f8r; g1v; g8v; h3v; h6v; i2v; i4v), in different combinations;

b4 (thin top border, small leaves) was used seven times (a2v; a5v; a6v; b1v; b2v; b3v; c8v), always in combination with b5, b6 and b7;

b5 was used twenty-nine times (a2v; a5v; a6v; b1v; b2v; b3v; c8v – in combination with b4, b6 and b7 –; c3r; c4r; d2r; d3r; d5v; e1r; e1v; e3v; e4v; f1r; f1v; f4r; f6v; g3v; g6v; g7v; g8v; h1v; h6v; i1v; i2v; i3v in different combinations but always in combination with b7);

b6 (bottom border, two small leaves departing from the centre) was used twenty-three times (a2v; a5v; a6v; b1v; b2v; b3v; c4r; c8v; d5v; d6v; e1r; e1v; e5v; e6v; f1r; f8r; g2v; g3v; g7v; h1v; h6v; i2v; i4v), in different combinations;

b7 was used twenty-nine times (a2v; a5v; a6v; b1v; b2v; b3v; c8v – in combination with b4, b5 and b6 –; c3r; c4r; d2r; d3r; d5v; e1r; e1v; e3v; e4v; f1r; f1v; f4r; f6v; g3v; g6v; g7v; g8v; h1v; h6v; i1v; i2v; i3v in different combinations but always in combination with b5);

b8 (top/bottom, with small tendrils and flowers) was used twenty-one times (a3v; a7v; a8v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c4r; d2r; e2v; e4v; f1v; f6v; g1v; g5v; g6v; g8v; h3v; h7v; i3v), in different combinations;

b9 (lateral, with mask and jewels) was used thirty times (a3v; a7v; a8v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c2r; c5r; c6r; c7r; d1r; d4r; d6v; e2v; e5v; e6v; e7v; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1v; g2v; g4v; g5v; h2v; h3v; h4v; h7v; i4v), always in combination with b10;

[702] I am referring in particular to the two 1491 and the 1493 editions by Bonellis, all described in full in this *Catalogue* (nos. 44, 45, 53).

[703] For a comment of this circumstance see section IV.3.6 of this thesis.

b10 (lateral, with mask and jewels) was used thirty times (a3v; a7v; a8v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c2r; c5r; c6r; c7r; d1r; d4r; d6v; e2v; e5v; e6v; e7v; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1v; g2v; g4v; g5v; h2v; h3v; h4v; h7v; i4v), always in combination with b19;
b11 (bottom border, with male busts) was used nine times (a3v; a8v; c2r; c7r; d1r; e3v; f6v; g5v; h7v);
b12 (top border, tendrils with wings) was used fifteen times (a6v; b3v; c7r; d2r; d5v; e1r; e1v; e3v; e4v; f1v; g2v; g3v; g7v; h1v; i3v);
b13 (top border, two putti holding an eagle) was used ten times (a7v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c5r; c6r; e2v; f4r; g6v);
b14 (top border, with woman portrayed in profile) was used once (a8v).
Total number of impressions: sixty-five narrative central scenes + one title-page central scene + 240 borders = 306.
Total number of woodblock used: sixty-five narrative central scenes + one title-page central scene + fourteen borders = eighty.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The title-page central cut and border were used by the same printer in: Domenico Cavalca, *Pungi lingua,* 23 March 1493, leaf a1r;[704] and in Diogenes Laertius (Ps.), *Libro della vita dei filosofi e delle loro elegantissime sentenzie*, 14 January 1494, leaves a1r and d4v.[705] The border alone was reused in Antonio Cornazzano, *Vita della Vergine Maria* (6 Apr., 1493), leaf a1r.[706]

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Bologna, BC, 16.Q.III.14 (MEI 00202145).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Reading marks, notes, scribbles and pen trials throughout by a late 15th/early 16th-century hand that also supplied some of the missing initials at the beginning of each fable and decorated very simply, in brown ink, some of the woodcuts.
A more legible hand from the same period wrote some sentences in brown ink on leaf a5r, commenting the Latin version of EZ3, 'De mure et rana'. The interventions consist in a marginal correction such as "pereat" for «pereant» (line 15); a reference to Virgil ("Virgilius" written in the left margin next to lines 13-14); some Latin and vernacular proverbs written on the right margin: "Pedibus timor addit alas", next to line 12: «Vires suggerit ipse timor»; a quotation from Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*: "chi prende diletto di far frode, non si de' lamentar s'altri l'inganna", and a quotation from Ausonius' *Epigrams*: "Sic utinam certos manus impia dirigat ictus | in proprium ut redeant tella retorta caput".[707]

⌘ *56) c. 1495 – Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla)

[Naples: Christian Preller] (ISTC ia00107000; GW 324; Text-Inc: tia00107000).
Format: 4°; 10 leaves. Collation: ab^8c^4. 28 lines per page; type: 2:104G.

[704] ISTC ic00340000.
[705] ISTC id00232300.
[706] ISTC ic00914400.
[707] See PETR., *Trionfi*, I, 118-120 and AUS., *Ep.*, XIII 78, 8.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1v – [Titlepage with woodcut];
a2r – Laurentius Valla, dedicatory letter to Arnaldus Fonolleda. '[F]abelle Esopi translate e greco a Laurentio Vallensi secretario illustrissimi domini Regis Aragonum dicate. Arnoldo Fonolleda eiudem domini regis secretario. Laurentius vallensis insigni viro Arnoldo Fonolleda salutes'. Inc.: «Promiseram nuper me tibi...»; a2v expl.: «...etiam perdices. Ex urbe Gaieta kalendas May mccccxxxviiii» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-13];
a2v – [Aesop, *Fabulae*; Latin translation by Laurentius Valla]. 'De vulpe et capro'. Inc.: «Vulpes et caper sitibundi...»; c4r expl.: «...nobiscum perpetuo manere» 'Finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 114-81].

INITIALS: Present.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: LV1 (a2v); LV2 (a2v); LV3 (a3r); LV4 (a3r); LV5 (a3v); LV6 (a3v); LV7 (a3v); LV8 (a4r); LV9 (a4r); LV10 (a4v); LV11 (a5r); LV12 (a5r); LV13 (a5r); LV14 (a5v); LV15 (a5v); LV16 (a6r); LV17 (a6r); LV18 (a6v); LV19 (a6v); LV20 (b1r); LV21 (b1r); LV22 (b1r); LV23 (b1v); LV24 (b1v); LV25 (b1v); LV26 (b2r); LV27 (b2r); LV28 (b2v); LV29 (b2v); LV30 (b3r); LV31 (b3r); LV32 (b3v); LV33 (b4r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: Thirty-three fables. A series of variants link the text with that of redaction ψ of the manuscript tradition; e.g. «eriges» in LV1; «conditionem statumque», instead of «fortunam, conditionem statumque» in LV12; «aspiciunt» for «vident» in LV21; «eo maxime modo» and «volucribus» in LV28; «proprius stans» in LV32. The datation of the introductory letter is in the Roman Latin form, which constitutes in itself the main distinctive element between the two redactions of the textual tradition.[708] Other noteworthy variants include: «interceptus ad hostibus» and «quippe nil aliud quam hanc buccinam habeo» in LV20; «per luxum rerum et copiam marcessentes ab instituta industria retardantur» in LV16; «porrige eam qui te momordit comedendam» in LV17; «ad mercandum», «venundatibus» and «palmularum» in LV31; «venatorem canum», «includens», «febris susecuta est brevisque adulescens mortus est nihil adiuvante patris sophismate» LV32.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1v.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: The edition contains one title-page image on leaf a1v: portrait of the author in the act of offering his book to the dedicatee, with the inscription «ORNATUS». The style of the illustration shows a clear Northern European influence. Further, the edition also contains one decorated initial on leaf a2r, the same one used by Preller in the opening of the 1491 edition of Aurelius Benatus' *Laurentii Vallae elegantiarum epitome*.[709]

EXTANT COPY: 1, out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Washington (DC), Libr. Congress (digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: A gift by Lessing J. Rosenwald (paper label pasted on the front paste-down); red leather early 20th-century binding. No early provenance evidence.

[708] See PILLOLA 2003, pp. 87-98 and further considerations on the textual transmission in print in section III.1.4 of this study.
[709] ISTC ib00666000.

⌘ *57) 1495, March 26 – *Aesopus moralisatus*, with comment

[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis, for Angelus Britannicus (ISTC ia00144000; GW 418; Text-Inc: tia00144000)
Format: 4°; 38 leaves. Collation: $ab^{8}c–e^{6}f^{4}$. 20 lines per page (plus interlinear comment); type: Typ. 3:112G, 7:53G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
[a1r] – [Titlepage with woodcut]. 'Esopus constructus et moralisatus ad utilitatem discipulorum';
[a1v] – [Prologue]. Inc.: «Grecia disciplinarum mater...»; expl.: «...moraliter concludit»;
[a1v] – [Interlinear comment]. Inc.: «Ante quam procedatur ad textum…»; expl.: «...trahuntur ex fabulis»;
a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; f3v expl.: «...dira venena nocent» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];[710]
f3v – [Colophon]: «Huic lepidissimo fabulatori Esopo fine imposuit Bernardinus de Misintis de Papia. Iussu Angeli Britannici de pallazolo dignissimi civis Brixie. Anno domini Mccccxcv xxvi Martii ad honorem et laudem omnipotentis dei nec non virginis Marie».

INITIALS: Stamped in.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 ('De gallo' - a2r); AM2 (a2v); AM3 (a3r); AM4 (a3v); AM5 ('De cane portante carnem' - a4r); AM6 (a4v); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a4v); AM8 (a5r); AM9 ('De cane pregnante' - a5v); AM10 (a6r); AM11 (a6r); AM12 (a6v); AM13 (a7v); AM14 (a8r); AM15 (a8r); AM16 ('De leone tauro asello et apro' - a8v); AM17 ('De domino et catulo' - b1r); AM18 (b1v); AM19 (b2v); AM20 ('De irundine et aliis avibus' - b3v); AM21 ('De terra attica accipiente regem' - b3v); AM22 ('De ranis et iove dante regem' - b3v); AM23 (b4v); AM24 (b5r); AM25 (b5v); AM26 ('De terra tumente' - b5v); AM27 (b6r); AM28 (b6v); AM29 ('De leporibus fugientibus' - b7r); AM30 (b7v); AM31 (b8r); AM32 (b8v); AM33 (b8v); AM34 (c1r); AM35 (c1v); AM36 (c2r); AM37 (c2v); AM38 (c2v); AM39 (c4r); AM40 (c4r); AM41 (c5r); AM42 (c5r); AM43 (c6r); AM44 (c6v); AM45 (c7v); AM46 (c8r); AM47 (c8v); AM48 ('De cervo se speculante in fonte' - d1v); AM49 ('De muliere et milite custodiente crucem' – d2r); AM50 ('De meretricis et iuvene' – d3r); AM51 (d4r); AM52 (d4v); AM53 ('De lupis et ovibus invicem bellantibus' – e1r); AM54 (e1v); AM55 (e1v); AM56 ('De contentione ventris et aliorum membrorum' – e2v); AM57 (e3r); AM58 ('De asino optante mortem' - e3v); AM59 (e4r); AM60 (e4v); AM61 ('De milite et rustico duellantibus' - e5v); AM62 (f2v); AM63 (f3r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition and the 1497 one of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed by Bernardinus de Misintis include the interlinear vernacular translation of Aesop's text, in Latin and vernacular, in a smaller font, and a commentary, attributed by some scholarship to Lorenzo Valla, starting «Grecia disciplinarum…».[711]
Misintis' editions represent the only two Italian occurrences of this commentary in print in the 15th century. Both editions contain sixty-three fables. The two lines «Ingenium superat vires; prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra nescit» are added at the end of AM14, 'De aquila et testudine'; on the other hand, AM61 does not have the final couplet «Fine fruor gemino quod cogitat omnis | fabula declarat datque quod intus habet».

[710] All the fables are preceded by a prose commentary and accompanied by an interlinear comment, both in Latin.
[711] The other edition is ISTC ia00144200, n° 64 in this *Catalogue*. The prologue and the following commentary were attributed to Lorenzo Valla by CAMPBELL 1874, n° 38; the reference is also accepted in Bod-Inc A-056.

Particularly noteworthy variants in the text of the *Aesopus moralisatus* include: line AM4.5: «nec reddere iure tenetur»; AM12.23: «rodi perpete cura»; in AM26.4: «stare cavent»; in AM28.18: «iniquus amor»; «calvus vult ledere musca» in AM33.2; «nescis acre bibis' instead of «bibis acre nescis» in line AM38.26; in AM51.2: «nam fugienda facit et facienda fugit»; in AM51.9 «gaude laetus ara quem domat usus arandi»; «aut surgat aut superatus eat» in fable AM61.78.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATION IN THE BOOK: a1r.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATION: Portrait of a scholar at work, reading and writing while sitting in front of his desk (c. 150 x 100 mm).

EXTANT COPIES: 4 of which 2 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Brescia, BQ (through digital reproduction).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Inscription in brown ink on leaf a1r, just below the woodcut illustration: "Esto libro sia di Costantino […]" (Italy, mid-16th century). The copy comes from the collection owned by the scholar and erudite Luigi Lechi (1786-1867), as suggested from the binding. Luigi Lechi left most of his books to the public library founded in the 18th century by Angelo Maria Querini.[712]

58) 1495, August 3 – Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum* (edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus) and Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla)

Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino (ISTC ia00010000; GW 126; Text-Inc: tia00010000).
Format: 4°, 30 leaves. Collation: $ab^8c^6A^8$. 30 lines per page; type: 3:108R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage]. 'Fabulae per latinissimum virum Laurentium Abstemium nuper composite.| Fabulae ex graeco in latinum per Laurentium Vallam virum clarissimum versae.'
a1r – [Anonymous, verses]. Inc.: «Ontinam sese posset...»; expl. «…Musa latina canit» [4 lines];
a1v – Palladius Soranus, Domicus, [letter to] Pollio Gerus Vadius; 'Domicus (*sic*) Palladius Soranus Pollioni Vadio sacerdoti venerando s.p.d.'. Inc.: «Iam pridem tuo...»; expl.: «...esse liquidos constabit. Vale»;
a2r – Abstemius, Laurentius: [letter to] Octavianus Ubaldinus Mercatelli; 'Laurentius Abstemius Octaviano Ubaldino comiti Mercatelli. s.p.d.'. Inc.: «Editurus hunc apollogorum (*sic*)...»; a2v expl.: «...gratia iocos appetere. Vale»;
a2v – Abstemius, Laurentius, *Proemium*; 'Eiusdem Abstemii proemium'. Inc.: «[C]ogitanti mihi varia...»; a4r expl.: «...omnium laude concessum»;
a5r – [Abstemius, Laurentius: *Fabulae*]; 'De mure in cista nato fabula pri.'. Inc.: «[M]us in cista natus omnem...»; c6v expl.: «...autem sint allatura tormentum»;

[712] Lechi himself was also a scholar researching the earliest stages of the printing press and typography in Brescia (see LECHI 1854). On printing in Brescia, especially as far as illustrated books are concerned, see PASERO 1928, RAVA 1945 and SAMEK LUDOVICI 1960.

c6v – Faustino Perisauli, *Tetrasticon*; 'Petri Pauli Phantini de Tradotio in hecathomythion consumatiss. viri Laurentii Abstemii Maceraten. tetrasticon'. Inc.: «Quod nemus hesperidum...»; expl.: «…seria: non apinas» [4 lines];
c6v –Iohannes Antracinus, *Tetrasticon*; 'Ioannis Antracini maceratensis in hecathomythion clarissimi viri Laurentii Abstemii maceraten. tetrasticon'. Inc.: «Doctiloquos aliis scriptis…»; expl.: «…nos decoravit opus» [4 lines];
A1r – Valla, Laurentius, *Praefatio* dedicated to Arnaldus Fonolleda; 'Laurentii Vallensis in XXX Fabularum Esopi e greco in latinum sermonem ad clarissimum virum Renaldum Fonaledae praefatio'. Inc.: «[P]romisseram nuperrime tibi...»; expl.: «...sed etiam perdices. Ex urbe Caieta. Kal. Maii. Mcccc.xxxviii» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-13];
A1r – [Aesop, *Fabulae*; Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla]; 'De Vulpe et Capro'. Inc.: «[V]ulpes et caper sitibundi...»; A7v expl.: «...cum perpetuo permanere». 'Esopi fabularum.xxx.tradutinis (*sic*) Finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 114-81];
A7v – [Colophon]: 'Impressum Venetiis per magistrum Ioannem de Cereto de Tridino. Anno domini M.CCCC.XCV. die vero. iii Augusti».

INITIALS: For the fables, small wood stamps with flourishing decoration. The first initial of Abstemius' letter to Ubaldinus Mercatelli, 'E', is left empty with a guide letter. The space to be filled in is larger than that of the initials of the fables. The initial 'P' of Valla's introductory letter to Fonolleda is larger than the initials of the fables (side 40 mm), with a more elaborated flourishing decoration.
TITLES: Present, in the same type of the fables.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: ***Abstemius***: LA1 (a5r); LA2 (a5r); LA3 (a5r); LA4 (a5r); LA5 (a5v); LA6 (a5v); LA7 (a5v); LA8 (a6r); LA9 (a6r); LA10 (a6r); LA11 (a6v); LA12 (a6v); LA13 (a6v); LA14 (a7r); LA15 (a7r); LA16 (a7r); LA17 (a7v); LA18 (a7v); LA19 (a7v); LA20 (a7v); LA21 (a8r); LA22 (a8r); LA23 (a8r); LA24 (a8v); LA25 (a8v); LA26 (a8v); LA27 (b1r); LA28 (b1r); LA29 (b1r); LA30 (b1v); LA31 (b1v); LA32 (b2r); LA33 (b2r); LA34 (b2r); LA35 (b2v); LA36 (b2v); LA37 (b3r); LA38 (b3r); LA39 (b3r); LA40 (b3v); LA41 (b3v); LA42 (b3v); LA43 (b4r); LA 44 (b4r); LA45 (b4r); LA 46 (b4r); LA47 (b4v); LA48 (b4v); LA49 (b5r); LA50 (b5r); LA51 (b5v); LA52 (b5v); LA53 (b5v); LA54 (b6r); LA55 (b6r); LA56 (b6v); LA57 (b6v); LA58 (b6v); LA59 (b7r); LA60 (b7r); LA61 (b7r); LA62 (b7v); LA63 (b7v); LA64 (b7v); LA65 (b8r); LA66 (b8r); LA67 (b8r); LA68 (b8v); LA69 (b8v); LA70 (c1r); LA71 (c1r); LA72 (c1r); LA73 (c1r); LA74 (c1v); LA75 (c1v); LA76 (c1v); LA77 (c2r); LA78 (c2r); LA79 (c2r); LA80 (c2v); LA81 (c2v); LA82 (c3r); LA83 (c3r); LA84 (c3v); LA85 (c3v); LA86 (c3v); LA87 (c4r); LA88 (c4r); LA89 (c4r); LA90 (c4v); LA91 (c4v); LA92 (c5r); LA93 (c5r); LA94 (c5v); LA95 (c5v); LA96 (c5v); LA97 (c6r); LA98 (c6r); LA99 (c6r); LA100 (c6v); ***Valla***: LV1 (A1r); LV2 (A1v); LV3 (A1v); LV4 (A2r); LV5 (A2r); LV6 (A2r); LV7 (A2v); LV8 (A2v); LV9 (A2v); LV10 (A3r); LV11 (A3r); LV12 (A3v); LV13 (A3v); LV14 (A3v); LV15 (A4r); LV16 (A4r); LV17 (A4v); LV18 (A4v); LV19 (A4v); LV20 (A5r); LV22 (A5r); LV23 (A5r); **LV21** (A5v); LV24 (A5v); LV25 (A5v); LV26 (A6r); LV27 (A6r); LV28 (A6r); LV29 (A6v); LV30 (A6v); LV31 (A7r); LV32 (A7r); LV33 (A7v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The collection of Valla's translation has an inversion in comparison with the order of the fables usually found in the manuscripts, as fable LV21, 'De thunno et delphino', occupies here the twenty-third position. Most significant textual variants include: LV16 «homines propter luxum et copiam rerum marcescentes ab instituto retardantur»; LV17 «porrige cani qui te momordit comedendam»; LV20 «interceptus ab hominibus»; «Quippe nihil buccinam aliud quam hanc tribam habeo»; LV30: «ad mercatum»; «venundatis»; «palmarum»; LV32 «venaticorum canum»; «inducens»; «brevisque tempore adolescens est motuus. Ita leo adolescentem occidit. Nihil adiuvante patris».

EXTANT COPIES: 30 of which 10 are not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Florence, BNCF, Magl. L.5.19; London, BL, G.7739.

PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Florence copy** was owned and extensively annotated by the Tuscan judge Giuliano Guizelmi da Prato, as witnessed by the note on leaf A7v, below the colophon: "Legi notavi et finivi ego Iulianus Ghuzzelmus pratensis utriusque iuris doctus. Prati anno salutis mdv mensis novembris die x.die Lune hora xv deo gratias amen. Gloria in excelsis Deo etc. Te Deum laudamus etc.". The copy is currently bound with other incunables: a copy of Leonardus Brunus Aretinus' *De studiis et litteris,* attributed to Rome, Johann Schurener, and dated around 1477; a copy of Laudivius Zacchia's *De laudibus sapientiae ac virtutis exhortatio,* assigned to Rome, Johannes Gensberg, and dated around 1474, and a copy of Columella's *Hortuli commentarium,* attributed to Rome, Adam Rot, and probably printed around 1472.[713] As per Guizelmi's costume, most of the annotations and *maniculae* are referred to the moral content of the fables.[714]
On the **BL copy,** several marginal notes by a 16th-century Italian hand in brown ink, mainly corrections to the Latin text. Copy owned by Sir Thomas Grenville (1755-1846) before entering the British Museum.[715]

⚜ 59) 1495, September 5 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler (ISTC ia00128200; GW 393; Text-Inc: tia00128200).
Format: 4°; 16 leaves. Collation: ab^{8}. 35 lines per page; type: 8:92G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit…»; b8v expl.: «...fiunt portantia mortem». 'Finis' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b8v – [Anonymous, *Adagia*]. Inc.: «Gutta cavat lapidem…»; expl.: «…mercesque retenta laborum» [4 lines];
b8v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Magistrum Uldericum Scinzenzeler. Anno domini M.cccclxxxxv die v Septembris».

INITIALS: Stamped in; the first 'U' is larger than the others.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text; only the title of fable AM26, 'De terra tumente' is missing.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a1v); AM5 (a1v); AM6 (a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2r); AM9 ('De cane pregnante et alia cane' - a2v); AM10 (a2v); AM11 (a2v); AM12 (a2v); AM13 (a3r); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a3v); AM15 (a3v); AM16 ('De leone sene' - a3v); AM17 ('De catulo et domino et asino' - a4r); AM18 (a4r); AM19 (a4v); AM20 (a4v); AM21 ('De atheniensibus petentibus regem' - a5r); AM22 (a5r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a5v); AM24 (a5v); AM25 (a5v); AM26 (a6r)[716]; AM27 (a6v); AM28 (a6v); AM29 (a6r); AM30 (a7r); AM31 (a7r); AM32 (De cervo et ove - a7r); AM33 (a7v); AM34 (a7v); AM35 ('De lupo et humano capite' - a7v); AM36 (a8r); AM37 (a8r); AM38 (a8r); AM39 (a8v); AM40 (b1r); AM41 (b1r); AM42 (b1r); AM43 (b1v); AM44 (b2r); AM45 (b2v); AM46 (b2v); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' -b3r); AM48 (b3r); AM49 (b3v); AM50 (b4r); AM51 (b4r); AM52 (b4v); AM53 (b4v); AM54 ('De nemore et secure' - b4v); AM55

[713] ISTC nos. ib01258000, il00083000 and ic00764500.
[714] Guizzelmi was also the owner and annotator of at least another Aesopian Italian incunable, a copy of the edition of Rinucius' *Vita* and *Fabulae* printed by Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck in Rome in 1475 (ISTC ia00099500, n° 8 in this *Catalogue*. Guizzelmi's copy is now Berlin, SB, 8° Inc. 3393.
[715] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.
[716] This fable is printed with no title.

(b5r); AM56 (b5r); AM57 (b5v); AM58 ('De mercatore et asello' - b5v); AM59 (b6r); AM61 (b6r); AM61 (b6v); AM62 (b8r); AM63 (b8r); **AM64 ('De Puero suspenso' - b8v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition adds AM64, 'De puero suspenso', to the standard number of sixty-three fables composing the collection. Variants such as AM39.10: «Esse solent vitae dissona verba suae»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat, fructumque ligurit amoris», confirm that the text corresponds to that of branch β of the textual tradition. Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viri».[717] On the other hand, this edition lacks the last two lines of fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', ending with «..odio gratia fraude fides». After the *Aesopus moralisatus,* this edition contains the two proverbs in verse «Gutta cavat lapidem…» and «Clamitat ad caelum…».

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Parma, BP, Inc. Parm. 661/I.
PROVENANCE NOTES: Note by an early 19th-century hand attributing the compilation of the fables to a certain Solone, from Parma. No earlier marks of provenance.[718]

⚜ 60) 1496, February 20 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Milan: Philippus de Mantegatiis, Cassanus (ISTC ia00128300; GW 394; Text-Inc: tia00128300). Format: 4°; 18 leaves. Collation a^8b^{10}. 31 lines per page; type: 4:106G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit...»; b10v expl.: «fiunt portantia mortem» 'Finis' [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
b10v – [Anonymous, *Adagia*]. Inc.: «Gutta cavat lapidem…»; expl.: «…mercesque retenta laborum» [4 liens];
b10v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per magistrum Philippum de Mantegatiis m.cccclxxxxvi die xx Februario».

INITIALS: The first initial 'U' is decorated with leaves and tendrils. Other initials are printed in larger types than the rest of the text.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1r); AM2 (a1r); AM3 (a1v); AM4 (a2r); AM5 (a2r); AM6 ('De leone ove capra et iuvenca' - a2r); AM7 ('De femina nubente furi' - a2r); AM8 (a2v); AM9 ('De cane pregnante et alia cane' - a2v); AM10 (a3r); AM11 (a3r); AM12 (a3r); AM13 (a3v); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a4r); AM15 (a4r); AM16

[717] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).
[718] Solone was in fact one of the many authors to whom the *Aesopus moralisatus* was attributed throughout the centuries. The debate around the attribution is summarised in section II.3 of this thesis.

('De leone sene' - a4r); AM17 (a4v); AM18 (a4v); AM19 (a5r); AM20 (a5v); AM21 ('De atheniensibus petentibus regem' - a5v); AM22 (a6r); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - a6r); AM24 (a6v); AM25 (a6v); AM26 (a7r)[719]; AM27 (a7r); AM28 (a7r); AM29 (a7v); AM30 (a8r); AM31 (a8r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - a8r); AM33 (a8v); AM34 (a8v); AM35 (b1r); AM36 (b1r); AM37 (b1r); AM38 (b1v); AM39 (b2r); AM40 (b2r); AM41 (b2v); AM42 (b2v); AM43 (b3r); AM44 (b3v); AM45 (b4r); AM46 (b4r); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - b4v); AM48 (b4v); AM49 (b5r); AM50 (b5v); AM51 (b5v); AM52 (b6r); AM53 (b6r); AM54 ('De nemore et securi' - b6v); AM55 (b6v); AM56 (b7r); AM57 (b7v); AM58 ('De mercatore et asello' - b7v); AM59 (b7v); AM60 (b8r); AM61 (b8v); AM62 (b10r); AM63 (b10r); **AM64 (b10v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition includes sixty-three fables plus the addition of AM64, 'De puero suspenso'. Fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine', witnesses the variant with a final couplet added: «Ingenium superat vires prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis». Four lines are added after AM49.26, 'De viro et uxore': «Inquit tunc miles nil feci dentibus ille | quem male servavi deficiebat enim | nec timeas inquit mulier lapidemque revolvens | dentes huic misero fregit in ore viri».[720] The edition contains the Latin proverbs «Gutta cavat lapidem…» and «Clamitat in cello…». Variants AM39.10: «Esse solent vite dissona verba sue»; AM49.12: «Hunc vocat ad primum cura salutis opus»; and AM49.17: «Hanc amor ipse ligat fructumque ligurit amoris» testify that this edition is part of branch β of the textual transmission. The last two lines of fable AM61, 'De cive et equite', are lacking.
Peculiar of this edition is also the mistake of the title of fable AM26, 'De terra tumente'; although the text is right, the title is a repetition of that of fable AM10, already printed correctly on leaf a3r.

EXTANT COPY: 1.
EXAMINED COPY: Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AM - X – 7 (MEI 00200985).
PROVENANCE NOTES: 18th-century binding in parchment over paper boards, with marbled edges and flyleaf; no early marks of provenance.

⚜ *61) 1496, September 17 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*, and Anonymous, *Esopo toscano*

Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Piero Pacini (ISTC ia00153700; GW 436; Text-Inc: tia00153700).
Format: 4°; 116 leaves. Collation: a–o^{8} p-q^{4}. 29 line per page; type: 1:110R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Anonymous, introductory verses]. Inc.: «Esopo phrigio ingegno…»; expl.: «…mi ha di buon latino» [8 lines];
a1v – [Anonymous, introductory verses addressed to the reader]. Inc.: «[S]api chio son Esopo o tu lettore...»; expl.: «… di dioma (*sic*) et habito cambiato» [22 lines];

[719] Fable AM26, 'De terra tumente', was printed with the wrong title: 'De homine et colubro'.
[720] These lines are one of the two different additions appearing in some of the manuscript witnesses, aimed at highlighting the negative image of the woman in the story. BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 153 registers six manuscripts containing this version of the addition (see on this the note to the section 'Remarks and transmission' of edition nº 6 in this *Catalogue*).

a1v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*, 'Prohemio di Accio Zuccho Veronese eruditissimo nella interpretazione delle favole di Esopo.' Inc.: «[E] me convien vestir...»; a2r expl.: «...mio debil ingiegno» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, second verse proem]. Inc.: «Chiamommi poi il mio dottore...»: expl.: «...per me si scripse» [caudate sonnet];
a2v – [Accio Zucco], *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Incominciano le favole di Esopo in versi et prosa volgare con le sue moralità. Prohemio. Sonetto morale'. Inc.: «[U]na sala dipincta a vagha…»; q4r expl.: «…la piu trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];[721]
a4r – [Anonymous, *Esopo toscano*]. 'Favola prima'. «Per una stagione con grande sollecitudine…»; q4r expl.: «…rifiutata, ma anche dalli cattivi» [ed.: BRANCA 1989, pp. 65-255].
q4r – [Colophon]: «Impresso in Firenze per Ser Francesco Bonaccorsi ad instantia di Ser Piero Pacini Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXXVI adi XVII di Septembre».

INITIALS: Missing, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 ('Del gallo et della pietra pretiosa' - a3r); EZ2 ('Del lupo et dello agnello' - a4v); EZ3 ('Della rana e del topo' - a6r); EZ4 ('Del cane et della pecora' - a8r); EZ5 ('Del cane che portava la carne in bocca sopra lacqua o vero sopra el ponte' - b2r); EZ6 ('Della compagnia che fece la capra, la pecora, la giovenca e il leone' - b3v); EZ7 ('De ladro che tolse moglie' - b5r); EZ8 ('De gru che trasse losso della gola del lupo' - b7r); EZ9 ('Della cagna ricca che presto la casa allaltra cagna povera' - b8v); EZ10 ('Del villano che chavo il serpente della neve' - c2r); EZ1 ('Dellasino [*sic*] che saluto el porco cinghiale' (c4r); EZ12 ('Del topo della cipta et del topo della villa' - c5v); EZ13 ('Dellaquila [*sic*] che tolse li suoi figliuoli alla volpe' - c8r); EZ14 ('Della aquila et della testuggine' - d2r); EZ15 ('Del corvo et della volpe' - d3v); EZ16 ('Dellione che venne in vecchiezza' - d5r); EZ17 ('Del signore et del cagniuolo et del asino' - d7v); EZ18 ('Del leone et de topi' - e1v); EZ19 ('Del nibbio che infermo et della madre' - e3r); EZ20 ('Della rondine et degli altri uccelli' - e5r); EZ21 ('Della cittade liber ache divento serva' - e7v); EZ22 ('Delle rane che domandarono a Giove uno signore' - f1r); EZ23 ('Dello sparvieri et delle colombe' - f4r); EZ24 ('Del ladro et del cane' - f5v); EZ25 ('Della porcella pregna et del lupo' - f7v); EZ26 ('Della terra che gonfio et parto un topo' - g1v); EZ27 ('Dello agnello et delle capre et del lupo' - g3r); EZ28 ('Del cane che venne in vecchezza' - g5r); EZ29 ('Delle lepore et della selva et delle rane' - g6v); EZ30 ('Della capra et del capretto et del lupo' - g8v); EZ31 ('Del villano che feri el serpente' - h2r); EZ32 ('Della pecora del cervo e del lupo' - h4r); EZ33 ('Dellhuomo calvo et della moscha' - h6r); EZ34 ('Della volpe et della cycogna' - h7v); EZ35 ('Del lupo che trovo un capo dhuomo facto per arte' - i1v); EZ36 ('Della cornacchia et delli pavoni' - i3r); EZ37 ('Della mula et del mulattieri et della moscha' - i5r); EZ38 ('Della moscha et della formica' - i6v); EZ39 ('Del lupo che accuse la volpe' - k1r); EZ40 ('Del villano e della donnola' - k2v); EZ41 ('Del bove che bevea al fiume et della rana' - k5r); EZ42 ('Del lione et del pastore' - k6v); EZ43 ('Del lione et del cavallo' - k8v); EZ44 ('Del cavallo ornato et del asello charico di grano' - l2v); EZ45 ('Della battaglia delle bestie con gli uccelli' - l4v); EZ46 ('Dello sparvieri et del lusignuolo' - l6v); EZ47 ('Del lupo et della volpe et del pecoraio' - l8r); EZ48 ('Del cervo che si specchiava nella fonte' - m2v); EZ49 ('Della moglie et del marito et del cavaliere' - m4v); EZ50 ('Della meretrice et del giovane' - m6r); EZ51 ('Del padre che ammaestrava el figliuolo' - m8r); EZ52 ('Della vipera et della forte lima' - n1v); EZ53 ('Della battaglia che fu tra i lupi e le pecore' - n3v); EZ54 ('Della accetta che non haveva manico' - n5v); EZ55 ('Del cane che si trovo nella selva col lupo' - n7r); EZ56 ('Delle mani et delli piedi che erano in discordia col ventre' - o1v); EZ57 ('Della scimia et della volpe' - o3r); EZ58 ('Del merchatantuzzo che andava almerchato con lasino charico' - f5r); EZ59 ('Del cervo che fuggi in una stalla di buoi et delli buoi' - d6v); EZ60 ('Del giudeo riccho et del servitor del re' - o8v); EZ61 ('Del siscalcho del re et del cavaliere che combatteva col bifolco' - p3r); EZ62 ('Dello sparvier che stava sulla stangha et del pavone' - p5r); EZ63 ('Dello accordo che fece el pastore con el lupo' - p8r); EZ64 ('Del merchatante et della sua moglie' - q1v); EZ65 ('Del villano che moriva et del diavolo' - q3r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition is unique both for the combination of texts

[721] Each fable is recorded only in its vernacular translation by Accio Zucco, consisting of the 'Sonetto materiale' and 'Sonetto morale'. To this, three more sections in prose, from the *Esopo toscano,* are added, respectively called 'Favola prima' (and the progressive number of the fable), 'Moralità spirituale' and 'Moralità temporale'. The structure and features of the *Esopo toscano* are more extensively illustrated in section II.50 of this thesis.

contained and for the style of the iconographic apparatus.[722] The vernacular text of the *Esopo zuccarino* does not contain any of the additions in verse which characterise the previous editions. Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of fable EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «Gola domanda solo per se sola | larghezza non ma prodigalitade».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of fable EZ62, 'De capone et accipitre', counts 16 lines.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a3r; a4v; a6r; a8r; b2r; b3v; b5v; b7r; b8v; c2r; c4r; c6r; c8r; d2r; d3v; d5v; d7v; e1v; e3v; e5r; e7v; f1v; f4r; f6r; f7v; g1v; g3r; g5r; g7r; g8v; h2v; h4r; h6r; h7v; i2r; i3v; i5r; i6v; k1r; k2v; k5r; k6v; k8v; l2v; l5r; l6v; l8v; m2v; m4v; m6v; m8r; n2r; n3v; n5v; n7v; o1v; o3v; o5r; o6v; o8v; p3r; p6v; p8r; q1v; q3r.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five central narrative scene (60 x 90 mm), surrounded by a border (85 x 110 mm) illustrating the content of the fables, plus one title-page illustration on leaf a1r (60 x 90 mm), framed by a border (85 x 110 mm), depicting one of the episodes of Aesop's life.[723]
The borders are made of four segments, which sometimes are entirely decorated with the same patterns, whereas some other times different patterns are alternated on the four sides. Despite some of the patterns looking similar, none of the segments is ever repeated more than once within the edition, which suggests that the frames were not separate cuts, but were part of the same block from where the central narrative scene was cut.[724]
Total number of impressions and of woodblocks used: sixty-six.
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: thirty-five illustrations were reused by the same editors in the edition of the *Aesopus moralisatus* printed in March 1500.[725]

EXTANT COPIES: 2.
EXAMINED COPY: Milan, Triv., Inc. D 3 (MEI 02006325).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Initials stamped in with small decorated woodblocks (c. 20 x 20 mm).

62) 1497 – Aesop, *Fabulae* (Greek and Latin, edited and translated by Bonus Accursius)

Reggio Emilia: Dionysius Bertochus (ISTC ia00104000; GW 314; Text-Inc: tia00104000).
Format: 4°; 38 leaves. Collation: $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta^{8}\varepsilon^{6}$. 25 lines per page; types: 13:111G, 15:111Gr.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
α1v – Bonus Accursius, [letter to] Johannes Franciscus Turrianus. 'Bonus Accursius Pisanus doctissimo ac sapientissimo ducali quaestori Iohanni Francisco Turriano salutem plurimam dicit'. Inc.: «[I]n superiore codice…»; expl.: «…utilitatem conducturum putem. Vale»;

[722] See sections III.3.1a and IV.3.7 of this study for a more detailed analysis.
[723] The scene is from VA1, 'De fraude conversorum Esopi et eius astutia'. A similar circumstance happens in the 1491 edition printed in Venice by Bernardinus Benalius and Mattheus de Capcasa (ISTC ia00155500, n° 47 in this *Catalogue*). The existence of this woodblock would suggest that an illustrated edition of the *Vita Aesopi* had been already prepared and possibly printed by the editors, and that the whole set of woodcuts, or at least some of them were still at their disposal. See section IV.2.4 of this study for further considerations on the topic.
[724] This is reinforced by the fact that those of the woodcuts, which were reused in the 1500 edition, were printed again in Florence under the supervision of Pacini (see note below) appear again with the same border.
[725] ISTC ia00128400, n° 70 in this *Catalogue*.

α2r – Aesop, *Μύθοι'. Fabulae* [in parallel Greek and Latin versions, translated and edited by Bonus Accursius]; 'ΜΫΘΟΙ ΆΙΣΩΠΟΥ. FABULAE AESOPI. Περί Άλώπεκος καὶ τράγου'. Inc.: «[ά]λωπηζ καί τράγος διψωντες...»; ε6r expl.: «…tales reddunt gratias» 'ΤΕ΄ΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΥ ΆΙΣΩΠΟΥ ΜΥΘΩΝ. FINIS AESOPI FABULARUM'.
ε6r – [Colophon]: «Regii impressum per Dionysium bertochum. Anno salutis MCCCCLXXXXVII».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: BA1 (α2r); BA2 (α3r); BA3 (α3v); BA4 (α4r); BA5 (α5r); BA6 (α5v); BA7 (α6r); BA8 (α6r); BA9 (α7r); BA10 (α7v); BA11 (α8r); BA12 (α8r); BA13 (β1r); BA14 (β1v); BA15 (β2r); BA16 (β2v); BA17 (β3r); BA18 (β3v); BA19 (β4r); BA20 (β4v); BA21 (β5r); BA22 (β6v); BA23 (β7v); BA24 (β8v); BA25 (γ1r); BA26 (γ1v); BA27 (γ2r); BA28 (γ2v); BA29 (γ3r); BA30 (γ3v); BA31 (γ4r); BA32 (γ4v); BA33 (γ5r); BA34 (γ6r); BA35 (γ6v); BA36 (γ7r); BA37 (γ7v); BA38 (γ8r); BA39 (γ8v); BA40 (δ1r); BA41 (δ1v); BA42 (δ2r); BA43 (δ2v); BA44 (δ2v); BA45 (δ3v); BA46 (δ4r); BA47 (δ4v); BA48 (δ5v); BA49 (δ6r); BA50 (δ7r); BA51 (δ7v); BA52 (δ8v); BA53 (δ8v); BA54 (ε1v); BA55 (ε2r); BA56 (ε2v); BA57 (ε3r); BA58 (ε4r); BA59 (ε4v); BA60 (ε5r); BA61 (ε5v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition contains the Greek-to-Latin translation of a collection of sixty-one fables edited, devised and printed for the first time by Bonus Accursius, probably in 1477. The textual features of this version faithfully correspond to those of Accursius' edition.[726]

EXTANT COPIES: 33 of which 6 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: London, BL, G.7741; Oxford, Bodl., Auct. N 5.30 (MEI 00209940).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **BL copy** was owned by Thomas Grenville before entering the British Museum and later the British Library.[727] There are no marks of early provenance.
The **Bodleian Library copy** has a long 16th-century Latin inscription, very likely by a German hand, now partly vanished, on leaf ε6r: "Viteberge. In Augusti. […4 lines…] Vitembergensium. Fridericus [com]encavit; Ioannes conservavit; Ioan Fridericus fundavit; Mauritius […]; Augustus […]". During the 18th century, the copy was owned by the German literatus and philosopher Friedrich Mentz (1673-1749), active in Leipzig, as per the inscription on leaf a1r "Frid. Mentsi". The copy is also listed in the manuscript catalogue of the library owned by the Dutch jurist and scholar Gerard Meerman (1722-1771). In 1824, when Meerman's books were sold together with those of his son, this copy was acquired by the Bodleian Library.

[726] More on the comparison between the two editions is found in section III.2 of this thesis.
[727] On Grenville's library see PAYNE-FOSS-RYE 1872.

⌘ *63) 1497, June 27 – Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato (ISTC ia00154000; GW 437; Text-Inc: tia00154000).
Format: 4°; 72 leaves. Collation: a–i[8]. 41 lines per page; types: 4:142G, 6:81R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Title-page with woodcut]: 'Esopo historiado';
a1v – Accio Zucco, first proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*. 'Acci Zuchi summa campanee Veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhythmas in libellum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit. Prohemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me conven vestir…»; expl.: «…presti al mio debil ingengo» [caudate sonnet];
a1v – Accio Zucco, [Second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]: 'Idem'. Inc.: «[C]hiamommi possa il mio dotor...»; expl.: «...poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «[U]t iuvet et prosit conatur...»; i5v expl.: «...non e la più trista» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
i5v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta'. Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco de argumento...»; i6r expl.: «…non sia sotto messo» [32 lines];
i6r – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale'. Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; i8v expl.: «…figliol mio questo lavoro»[728] 'FINIS' [108 lines];
i7v – [Table of contents]: 'Tabula.' Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit fab. i | De Gallo et Iaspide fab. ii | De lupo et Agno...»; expl.: «...pastore | De mercatore et eius uxor(e). fa. lxv | De rustico et plutone fab. lxvi»;
i8v – [Colophon]: «Stampado in Venetia per Maestro Manfredo de Bonello de Strevo da Monfera. nel anno del signor Mcccclxxxxvii adi xxvii zugno».

INITIALS: Present.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ6 (a6v); EZ5 (a7v); EZ7 (a8v); EZ8 (b1v); EZ9 (b2v); EZ10 (b3v); EZ11 (b4v); EZ12 (b5v); EZ13 (b6v); EZ14 (b7v); EZ15 (b8v); EZ16 (c1v); EZ17 (c2v); EZ18 (c3v); EZ19 (c4v); EZ20 (c5v); EZ21 (c6v); EZ22 (c7v); EZ23 (c8v); EZ24 (d1v); EZ25 (d2v); EZ26 (d3v); EZ27 (d4v); EZ28 (d5v); EZ29 (d6v); EZ30 (d7v); EZ31 (d8v); EZ32 (e1v); EZ33 (e2v), 34 (e3r); EZ35 (e4r); EZ36 (e5r); EZ37 (e6r); EZ38 (e7r); EZ39 (e8r); EZ40 (f1v); EZ41 (f2v); EZ42 (f3v); EZ43 (f4v); EZ44 (f5v); EZ45 (f6v); EZ46 (f7v); EZ47 (g1r); EZ48 (g2r); EZ49 (g3r); EZ50 (g4r); EZ51 (g5r); EZ52 (g6r); EZ53 (g7r); EZ54 (g8r); EZ55 (h1r); EZ56 (h2r); EZ57 (h3r); EZ58 (h4r); EZ59 (h5r); EZ60 (h6r); EZ61 (h7v); EZ62 (i1v); EZ63 (i2v); EZ64 (i3v); EZ65 (i4v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition shares most of the features of the text printed in Bonellis' August 1493 edition.[729]

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7v; a8v; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4v; b5v; b7r; b8r; c1r; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d3r; d4r; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8v; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; e5v; e6v; e7v; e8v; f1v; f2v; f3v; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g4r; g5r; g6r; g7r; g8r; h1r; h2r; h3r; h4r; h5r; h6v; h7v; i1v; i2v; i3v; i4v.

[728] The text is incomplete, missing the last twenty-two lines.
[729] ISTC ia00153000, n° 53 in this *Catalogue*.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Sixty-five illustrations of the fables, consisting in a border and in a central narrative scene (c. 70 x 70 mm), plus one decorated initial ('U') on leaf a2r and one title-page consisting of a border and a centrepiece (c. 150 x 110 mm), with the portrait of Aesop as a teacher sitting at his desk and surrounded by his pupils.
Most of these borders were never used before by the printer. This makes this edition of Aesop printed by Bonellis completely different from the previous ones.[730]
Nine borders were used in this edition, as follows:[731]
b11 (title-page border with lions) was used once (a1r);
b12 (with putti playing the trumpet and leopards) was used eleven times (a2v; b1v; b5v; c5r; c6r; d4v; f2v; f6r; g2r; g6r; h4r);
b13 (with fishes and monsters) was used thirteen times (a3v; a6v; a7v ; a8v; b2v b4v; c4r; f3v; g3r; g7r; h6v; h7v; i3v);
b1 (five segments, with battle scene) was used twice (a4v; c1r);
b14 (with fawns) was used seventeen times (a5v; b3v; b7r; c2r; c7r; d1r; d2r; d5v; d6v; e1v; e2v; e3v; e4v; f1v; g8r; h1r; h3r);
b5 (one segment, with a woman portrayed in profile) was used once (a8v);
b15 (four segments, with satyr heads on the bottom) was used twenty-two times (b8r; c3r; c8r; d3r; d4r; d7v; d8v; e5v; e6v; e7v; e8v; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g4r; g5r; h2r; h5r; i1v; i2v; i4v);
b16 (one segment, with putti, shields and dragons) was used three times (b8r; e8v; i3v);
b17 (one small segment, with empty shield) was used once (d7v).
Total number of impressions: sixty-five centres for the fables + one title-page central scene + + seventy-one borders + one decorated initial = 138.
Total number of woodblocks used: sixty-five centres for the fables + one central title-page scene + nine borders + one initial = seventy-six.
The analysis of two copies of this edition highlighted the existence of at least two variants, which can be distinguished on the basis of the use of the borders. For instance, in the copy owned by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the illustration on leaf b1v is framed by b2 while in the British Library copy the same illustration is framed by the border b3 (plate 35).
CASES OF REUSE AND/OR COPY: The border used for the title page also appears in Sommariva, Giorgio, *Epitoma regni Parthenopaei*, Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 26 Sept. 1496, leaf a1r.[732]

EXTANT COPIES: 12 of which 3 not in Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Ferrara, BC (digital reproduction); BAV, Stamp. Ross. 167 (MEI 00201660); London, BL, IA.23827; Oxford, Bodl., Auct. 6Q 6.74 (MEI 02011576).
PROVENANCE NOTES: On the **Ferrara copy**, an inscription on the bottom margin of leaf a1r testifies that the volume was owned by the Jesuits: "Collegii Ferrariensis Societatis Jesu Bibliothecae Catalogus" (18th century).
In the **BAV copy**, several manuscript notes by a 15th-century Italian hand including reading marks and annotations for translation and for the comprehension of the text. This kind of intervention includes notes such as "carchato" added in the left margin next to «pondus

730 See chapter IV of my thesis for considerations on the relationship between this edition and the previous ones by Bonellis.
731 The following description is based on the copy Oxford, Bodl., Auct. 6Q 6.74 (see the Provenance note below); borders numbered b1-b10 already appeared in earlier Aesopian editions printed by Bonellis.
732 ISTC is00627000.

onustum» (leaf a2r), or such as "perverso" added in margin to clarify further the meaning of the latin adjective «iniquo» (leaf d6r). By the same hand: foliation in the top right corner of the *recto* of each leaf, and a series of popular sayings written in Italian in the illustrations. For instance, for EZ18, 'De leone et mure' (leaf c4r), which is illustrated by a woodcut where a big lion is portrayed while caressing a small mouse, inside the woodcut the hand wrote: "Non desperzare le cose piccole". These additions are concentrated within the first two gatherings of the volume.
Neither the **BL copy** nor the **Bodleian copy** have early marks of provenance.

⌘ *64) 1497, September 28 – *Aesopus moralisatus,* with commentary

[Brescia]: Bernardinus de Misintis (ISTC ia00144200; GW 419; Text-Inc: tia00144200).
Format: 4°; 36 leaves. Collation: a–d^{8}e^{4}. 20 lines per page, with interlinear commentary inserted; types: 3:112G; 7:53G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut];
a1v – [Prologue]. Inc.: «Grecia disciplinarum mater...»; expl.: «…moraliter concludit»;
a1v – [Interlinear comment]. Inc.: «Ante quam procedatur ad textum...»; expl.: «...que trahuntur ex fabulis»;
a2r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; f3v expl.: «...dira venena nocent» [ed.: BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-191];
f3v – [Colophon]: «Huic lepidissimo fabulatori Esopo fine imposuit Bernardinus de Misintis de Papia. Iussu Angeli Britannici de pallazolo dignissimi civis Brixie. Anno domini Mcccclxxxxvii die xxviii Septembris ad honorem et laudem omnipotentis dei nec non virginis Marie».

INITIALS: Those of the fables are decorated with vines and tendrils.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text. As stated at the beginning of this entry, the commentary is instead printed in a smaller type.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 ('De gallo' - a2r); AM2 (a2v); AM3 (a3r); AM4 (a3v); AM5 ('De cane portante carnem' - a4r); AM6 (a4v); AM7 ('De foemina nubente furi' - a4v); AM8 (a5r); AM9 ('De cane pregnante'- a5v); AM10 (a6r); AM11 (a6r); 12 (a6v); AM13 (a7v); AM14 (a8r); AM15 (a8r); AM16 (a8v); AM17 (b1r); AM18 (b1v); AM19 (b2v); AM20 ('De irundine et aliis avibus' - b3v); AM21 ('De terra attica accipiente regem' - b3v); AM22 ('De ranis et iove dante regem' - b3v); AM23 (b4v); AM24 (b4v); AM25 (b5r); AM26 (b5v); AM27 (b6r); AM28 (b6v); AM29 (b7r); AM30 (b7v); AM31 (b8r); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - b8v); AM33 (b8v); AM34 (c1r); AM35 (c1v); AM36 (c1v); AM37 (c2r); AM38 (c2v); AM39 (c3v); AM40 (c4r); AM41 ('De rana et bove tumente' - c4v); AM42 (c5r); AM43 (c6r); AM44 (c6v); AM45 (c7v); AM46 (c7v); AM47 (c8v); AM48 (d1r); AM49 ('De muliere et milite custodiente crucem' - d1v); AM50 ('De meretricis et iuvene' - d2v); AM51 (d3r); AM52 (d3v); AM53 ('De lupis et ovibus invicem bellantibus' - d4r); AM54 (d4v); AM55 (d5r); AM56 ('De contentione ventris et aliorum membrorum' – d6r); AM57 (d6v); AM58 (d7r); AM69 (d7r); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna' - d8r); AM61 ('De milite et rustico duellantibus' - e1r); AM62 (e3v); AM63 (e4r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text contained in this edition reproduces the features of the text contained in the 1495 edition printed by Misintis.[733]

[733] ISTC ia00144000, n° 57 in this *Catalogue.*

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATION IN THE BOOK: a1r.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATION: One full-page illustration (170 x 130 mm) which serves as a titlepage on leaf a1r. The illustration portrays a middle-aged man, possibly an ideal representation of the author alone in his study, or of a scholar or a humanist. The central cut is framed by a simple decorative border.

EXTANT COPIES: 3.
EXAMINED COPY: London, BL, IA.31262.
PROVENANCE NOTES: A few marginal notes in light brown ink throughout the text (16th century). All of them are two or three lines long and contain a couple of popular sayings, see leaf e3v: "Chi dice mal di me poco mi curo | perchè la verità mi tien sicuro" or "Non conosce la pace e non la stima | chi provato non ha la guerra prima" (leaf e2v).[734] A different 16th-century hand subscribes the book on leaf e4v, in light brown ink: "Conti tenuti per mano de Andrea di Pontio de Becharia fata in casa de maioro". A third hand, possibly also Italian and dating from the mid-17th century, systematically notes down Latin names of flowers in the lower margin of the verso of each leaf (see leaf b8v: "Saponaria flore pleno et saponaria flore simplici").

⌘ *65) 1497, December 23 – Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi*, and Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler (ISTC ia00156500; GW 439; Text-Inc: tia00156500).
Format: 4°; 110 leaves. Collation: A–E^{8}a–d^{8}e^{6}f–i^{8}. 38 lines per page; type: 6:83G, 7:130G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
A1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Esopo con la vita sua historiale vulgare et latino';
A1v – [Francesco del Tuppo, 'Prohemio' to the *Vita Aesopi*]. Inc.: «Novum nimirum aucupium...»; expl.: «...qui legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
A2r – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi.* 'Vita Aesopi Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et origine eiusdem', Inc.: «[E]sopus philosophus fabulator clarissimus...»; E8r expl.: «...ad donarli la morte». 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter explicit' [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
E8r – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Uldericum Scinzenzeler. Anno salutis domini mccccIxxxxvii die xxiii Decembris»;
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Le fabule de Esopo vulgare et latine historiade';
a1v – Accio Zucco, First proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*, 'Accii Zuchi summa campanee veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas interpretatio per rythmos in libellum zucharinum inscriptum

[734] This last one is a couplet from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso,* 31 II, 6-8; however, it is not impossible to think that Ariosto might have used an existing popular sentence as a source.

contexta foeliciter incipit. Prohoemio'. Inc.: «[E]l me convien vestir...»; expl.: «...al mio debil ogegno (*sic*)» [caudate sonnet - 15 lines];
a1v – Accio Zucco [second proem to the *Esopo zuccarino*]. 'Idem.' Inc.: «[C]hiammo mi (*sic*) possa il mio doctor...»; expl.: «...comento poi per me si scrisse» [caudate sonnet];
a2r – [Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*]. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit conatur...»; i4r expl.: «...sempre ti dara fallanza» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422];
i4v – Accio Zucco, 'Cancionetta.' Inc.: «[V]olume mio quel poco...»; expl.: «...tutto non sia sottomesso» [32 lines];
i4v – Accio Zucco, 'Canzon morale.' Inc.: «Qui se conclude el fin...»; i6v expl.: «...zuccho da summa campagna» 'Finis' [130 lines];
i6v – Accio Zucco, 'Ave maria fatta per lo anteditto azo.' Inc.: «[A]ve regina virgo gloriosa...»; expl.: «...se ricomanda miserere mei» 'Finis' [caudate sonnet];
i6v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Uldericus Scinzenzeler. Anno domini mccccIxxxxvii die xxiii Decembris»
i7r – [Table of contents]. 'Tabula de le predicte fabule'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit...»; i7v expl.: «...puero suspenso fa. lxvii» 'Finis'.

INITIALS: Stamped in.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 (a2r); VA2 (a2v); VA3 (a4v); VA4 (a6r); VA5 (a7r); VA6 (a8v); VA7 (b3v); VA8 (b5r); VA9 (b6r); VA10 (b8v); VA11 (c3r); VA12 (c5v); VA13 (c7v); VA14 (d1r); VA15 (d2v); VA16 (d4v); VA17 (d6r); VA18 (d7r); VA19 (d8v); VA20 (e2r); VA21 (e3v); VA22 (e4v); VA23 (e7v).
SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (aa2v); EZ2 (aa3v); EZ3 (aa4v); EZ4 (aa5v); EZ5 (aa6v); EZ6 (aa7r); EZ7 (aa8r); EZ8 (bb1r); EZ9 (bb1v); EZ10 (bb2v); EZ11 (bb3v); EZ12 (bb4r); EZ13 (bb5v); EZ14 (bb6v); EZ15 (bb7v); EZ16 (bb8v); EZ17 (cc1v); EZ18 (cc2r); EZ19 (cc3r); EZ20 (cc4r); EZ21 (cc5r); EZ22 (cc6r); EZ23 (cc7r); EZ24 (cc8r); EZ25 (cc8v); EZ26 (dd1v); EZ27 (dd2r); EZ28 (dd3r); EZ29 (dd4v); EZ30 (dd5r); EZ31 (dd6v); EZ32 (dd7r); EZ33 (dd8r); EZ34 (ee1r); EZ35 (ee1v); EZ36 (ee2v); EZ37 (ee3v); EZ38 (ee4v); EZ39 (ee5v); EZ40 (ee6v); EZ41 (ff1v); EZ42 (ff2v); EZ43 (ff3v); EZ44 (ff4v); EZ45 (ff5v); EZ46 (ff6v); EZ47 (ff7v); EZ48 (ff8v); EZ49 (gg1v); EZ50 (gg3r); EZ51 (gg4r); EZ52 (gg4v); EZ53 (gg6r); EZ54 (gg6v); EZ55 (gg7v); EZ56 (gg8v); EZ57 (hh1v); EZ58 (hh2v); EZ59 (hh3r); EZ60 (hh4v); EZ61 (hh5v); EZ62 (hh7v); EZ63 (hh8v); EZ64 (ii1v); EZ65 (ii2v); **EZ66 (De puero suspenso - ii3v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: This edition of the *Esopo zuccarino* is characterised by the presence of the fable EZ66 'De puero suspenso'. The edition shares most of the insertions found in the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35, 'De lupo et cervice', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, 'De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', before as well as after the 'Sonetto materiale' and after the 'Sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; after the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.

The text of the *Vita* and that of the *Esopo zuccarino* both share many similarities with editions printed by Manfredus de Bonellis.[735] Lines EZ7.7-8 read: «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem | qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant». After line 4 of fable EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added. EZ20, 'De hirundine et lino', misses the last line (14): «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable. Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola». The 'Sonetto materiale' of EZ62, 'De capone et accipitre', is incomplete and counts 15 lines.
Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: ***Vita*** a1r; a2r; a3r; a5r; a6v; a8r; b2r; b4r; b5v; b7r; c1v; c4r; c6v; c8v; d2r; d3v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e1r; e2v; e4r; e6r; e8r; ***Esopo zuccarino*** a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7r; a8r; b1r; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4r; b5v; b6v; b7v; b8v; c1v; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d2v; d3v; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8r; e1r; e2r; e3r; e4r; e5r; e6r; e6v; f1v; f2v; f4r; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g4r; g5r; g6r; g7r; g7v; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v.
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: Twenty-three illustrations of the *Vita* consisting in one central narrative scene (c. 60 x 80 mm) usually framed by six borders (one top border, two left borders, one bottom border, and two right borders); sixty-six illustrations of the *Aesopus moralisatus* consisting in a central narrative scene (c. 80 x 80 mm) framed by four borders, plus one title-page illustration for the *Vita Aesopi* depicting Aesop and his students, with border and one title-page illustration for the *Fabulae* depicting Aesop and his students, with border.[736]
A total of thirty-one borders were used in this edition, as follows:
b1 (four segments, title-page border) was used twice (a1r; aa1r);
b2 (top/bottom, eight small plants) was used twenty-four times (a2r; b2r; b4r; d6v; e6r; aa6v; aa8r; bb6v; bb8v; c6v; cc3r; cc8r; dd6v; dd7v; ee6v; ff4r; ff7r; gg2r; gg6r; gg7r; hh1v; hh3v; ii1v; ii3v);
b3 (lateral segment, flowers and cane) was used fifteen times (a2r; b7r; d2r; d6v; e8r; aa6v; bb8v; dd5v; dd8r; ee1r; gg3r; gg7r; hh5r; hh8v; ii2v);
b4 (lateral segment, profile of a man with hat) was used eighteen times (a2r; c1v; aa4v; aa8r; bb2v; bb3v; cc2r; cc4r; dd2v; e8r; ee2r; ee4r; ff1v; ff4r; gg3r; hh5r; hh8v; ii2v);
b5 (top/bottom, with ivy) was used twenty-one times (a2r; b2r; b4r; c6v; d6v; e1r; aa6v; aa8r; bb6v; bb8v; cc3r; cc8r; dd6v; dd7v; ee6v; ff6r; ff7r; gg5r; gg7v; hh2v; hh5v);
b6 (lateral segment, with flowers and plants) was used once (a2r);
b7 (lateral segment, with winged putto), was used twenty-one times (a2r; c8v; d3v; e2v; aa6v; aa8r; bb1r; bb4r; cc6r; cc7r; dd1r; dd3v; ee3r; ee5r; ff2v; ff6r; gg3r; gg5r; gg7v; hh2v; hh6v);
b8 (top/bottom, small bushes) was used twenty-two times (a3r; a8r; b5v; c1v; d2r; d5v; aa5v; bb3v; bb7v; cc1v; cc5r; dd2r; dd4v; e8r; ee2r; ee4r; ff1v; gg2r; gg8v; hh5r; hh8v; ii2v);
b9 (lateral segment, with long vase) was used five times (a3r; d3r; d7v; e1r; e4r);
b10 (lateral segment, with amphora) was used sixteen times (a3r; a8r; b4r; c6v; aa5v; bb7v; cc3r; cc8r; dd6v; dd7v; ee6v; gg6r; hh1v; hh3v; ii1v; ii3v);

[735] In particular, the editions printed in 1492 and 1493 of the *Vita* and the two printed in 1491 of the *Esopo zuccarino*.

[736] The two titlepages are identical, obtained through the reuse of the same centrepiece, and of the same full page border, which is all designed and carved in one piece of wood.

b11 (top/bottom, with bushes and flowers) was used twenty-one times (a3r; c4r; d3r; e2v; aa2v; aa5v; bb3v; bb7v; cc2r; cc4r; dd1r; dd5v; dd8r; ee1r; ee6r; ff2v; ff6r; gg5r; gg7v; hh2v; hh5v);
b12 (lateral segment, thin with flovers and cane) was used nineteen times (a3r; c1v; d5v; e4r; aa3v; bb4r; bb7v; cc2r; cc4r; dd2v; ee2r; ee4r; ff1v gg6r; gg8v; hh1v; hh3v; ii1v; ii3v);
b13 (lateral segment, with vase and winged putto) was used five times (a3r; d2r; d6v; e8r; aa7r;);
b14 (top/bottom, rounds) was used twenty-five times (a5r; a8r; b5v; b7r; c1v; d2r; d5v; e8r; aa3v; bb2v; bb5v; cc1v; cc5r; dd2r; dd4v; ee2r; ee4r; ee5r; ff1v; gg2r; gg3r; gg8v; hh5r; hh8v; ii2v);
b15 (lateral, thins, with vase and leaves) was used nineteen times (a5r; a8r; b2r; c4r; c8v; d2r; d6v; d7v; e6r; e8r; bb3v; cc6r; cc7r; dd1r; dd3v; ee3r; ff5r; ff8r; gg1r);
b16 (lateral, winged putto) was used fifteen times (a5r; b5v; b7r; c4r; d7v; e6r; bb5v; bb8v; cc1v; cc5r; dd2r; dd4v; ee6r; ff8r; gg7r);
b17 (top bottom, nine plants and a wire) was used twenty-two times (a5r; b7r; c4r; d7v; e2v; e4r; aa2v; aa3v; bb2v; bb5v; cc2v; cc4r; dd1r; dd5v; dd8r; ee1r; ee6r; ff5r; ff8r; gg1r; gg4r; hh7v);
b18 (lateral, vase with leaves and cane) was used twenty times (a5r; a8r; b2r; b4r; aa5v; bb1r; bb6v; c6v; cc3r; cc8r; dd6v; dd7v; e2v; ee6v; ff4r; ff7r; gg2r; gg5r; hh2v; hh5v);
b19 (lateral, profile of a woman) was used nine times (a5r; b2r; b5v; b7r; c4r; d3r; d7v; e1r; e4r);
b20 (top/bottom, with central flower and leaves) was used twenty-two times (a6v; c8v; d7v; e6r; aa4v; aa7r; bb1r; bb4r; cc6r; cc7r; dd2v; dd3v; ee3r; ee5r; ff5r; ff8r; gg1r; gg6r; hh1v; hh3v; ii1v; ii3v);
b21 (lateral, thin, with vase, leaves and cane) was used eight times (a6v; b4r; c1v; c6v; c8v; d5v; e2v; e6r);
b22 (lateral, with large amphora and chuncky flower) was used eleven times (a6v; b2r; d5v; e4r; aa3v; bb6v; dd5v; dd8r; ee1r; ff7r; gg8v);
b23 (top/bottom, small flowers with petals and wire) was used twenty times (a6v; c8v; d3v; e1r; e4r; aa4v; aa7r; bb1r; bb4rcc6r; cc7r; dd2v; dd3v; ee3r; ee5r; ff2v; ff4r; gg4r; gg7r; hh7v);
b24 (lateral, thin, with vase and flowers) was used eighteen times (a6v; b5v; b7r; c4r; d3r; e1r; bb2v; bb5v; cc1v; cc5r; dd2r; dd4v; ee6r; ff2v; ff6r; gg4r; gg7v; hh7v);
b25 (lateral, man wearing a hat/helmet, in profile) was used eight times (a6v; d2r; d6v; e1r; ff5r; gg1r; gg4r; hh7v);
b26 (lateral, vase with tendrils) was used once (aa2v);
b27 (lateral, vase with tendrils) was used once (aa2v);
b28 (lateral, vase with decoration and sleeping putto) was used once (aa7r);
b29 (lateral, with human bust/statue) was used seven times (b4r; c1v; c6v; c8v; d5v; e2v; e6r);
b30 (lateral, with amphora) was used once (a8r);
b31 (lateral, thin with vase) was used twice (b5v; aa4).
Total number of woodblocks used: thirty-one borders + two title-page borders + eighty-nine centres + two title-page centres = 124.
Total number of impressions: two title-page borders + two title-page centres; eighty-nine centres + 138 borders of the *Vita* (6 x 23) + 264 borders of the *Fabulae* (4 x 66) = 495

EXTANT COPIES: 5.
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, Cini, FOAN TES 1085 and FOAN TES 1805bis (MEI 00200236).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Two separate volumes, of which FOAN TES 1085 contains the *Vita Aesopi* (gatherings A-E of the original edition; incomplete, lacking leaves A1 and A8); and FOAN TES 1085bis contains the *Fabulae* (gatherings a-i; incomplete, lacking the last blank leaf i8). In volume II (1085bis, *Fabulae*) notes, scribbles and reading marks left by a presumably Italian hand

over a period comprised between 1498 and 1550; a different 16th-century hand wrote repeatedly "lunelus" in brown ink on the leaves e6v-f1r, plus several pointing hands and reading marks. Inscriptions in light brown ink on leaf i7v, lower margin: "GIO.BATTA" and "Brunus".
The inscription in brown ink on leaf i7v clearly states: "Marc. Ant. Card.lis Bobba", by the Cardinal Marcantonio Bobba, born in Casale Montferrato around 1500 and educated at the University of Turin.[737]
Inscription in brown ink on leaf a1r, in the top margin: "Resident. Pinerol. Societ. Iesu", referring to the monastic residency of the Jesuits in Pinerolo, active between 1622 and 1773. On the volume of the *Vita Aesopi*: subscription, almost completely erased and therefore illegible, and some manuscript notes containing mostly mottoes and moral sentences in Italian, all written in dark brown ink by the same 17th-century hand and concentrated on leaf E8v, such as "Chi di altrui si veste presto si spoglia"; "Nemo sine crimine vivet", repeated twice; "Christo ha lasciato nei precetti suoi non far a altri quel che per te non voi". Square-shaped ex-libris on the front pastedowns of both volumes: "Tammaro De Marinis".

⚜ *66) 1498 – Francesco del Tuppo, *Vita Aesopi*, and Accio Zucco da Sommacampagna, *Esopo zuccarino*

Milan: Guillermi Le Signerre Fratres, for Gotardus de Ponte (ISTC ia00157000; GW 439; Text-Inc: tia00157000);
Format: 4°; 110 leaves. Collation: a-d^{8}e^{6}; A-D^{8} E^{6}F-I^{8}. 40 lines per page; types: 2:82G and 3:130G.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Titlepage with woodcut]: 'Esopo con la vita sua historiale et vulgare';
a1v – [Francesco del Tuppo, 'Prohemium' to the *Vita Aesopi*]. Inc.: «[B]onum nimirum aucupium…»; expl.: «…legis facile rimabere» [ed.: ROVERE 2017, p. 99];
a2r – [Francesco del Tuppo], *Vita Aesopi*; 'Libistici fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter incipit. De conditione et origine eiusdem'. Inc.*:* «Esopus philosophus fabulator…»; e6v expl.*:* «…ad donarli la morte». 'Clarissimi fabulatoris Esopi vita feliciter explicit' [ed.: ROVERE 2017, pp. 99-173];
e6v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Mediolani per Guillermos le Signerre fratres Rothomagenses. Anno domini Millesimo quadrigentesimo octavo die quindecimo mensis septembris. Regnante illustrissimo domino domino Ludovicho Dux Mediolani. Impensis Gotardi de Ponte»;
A1r – [Titlepage woodcut and border]: 'Le fabule de Esopo uulgare e latine historiade';
A1v – Accio Zucco, *Esopo zuccarino*; 'Accii zuchi ſumma campanee veronensis viri eruditiſſimi in Aeſopi Fabulas interpretatio per rhythmos in libellum zucharinum inſcriptum contexta foeliciter incipit'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit…»; I4r expl.: «...ti dara fallanza» [ed.: BRUSH 1911, pp. 375-422].
I6v – [Colophon]: «Impreſſum Mediolani per Guillermum le Signerre Rothomagensem. Anno domini Millesimo.cccc. nonagesimo octauo. Die octauo Iulij mense. Regnante illustrissimo domino Ludouico dux Mediolani».
I7r – 'Tabula de le predicte Fabule'.

[737] See the *DBI* record by MARINI 1968, available online.

INITIALS: Present, decorated.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES OF THE *VITA*: VA1 (a2r); VA2 (a2v); VA3 (a4v); VA4 (a5v); VA5 (a7r); VA6 (a8v); VA7 (b3r); VA8 (b4v); VA9 (b5v); VA10 (b8r); VA11 (c2v); VA12 (c4v); VA13 (c6v); VA14 (c8v); VA15 (d1v); VA16 (d3v); VA17 (d5r); VA18 (d6r); VA19 (d7r); VA20 (d8v); VA21 (e2r); VA22 (e3r); VA23 (e6r).
SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: EZ1 (a2v); EZ2 (a3v); EZ3 (a4v); EZ4 (a5v); EZ5 (a6v); EZ6 (a7r); EZ7 (a8r); EZ8 (b1r); EZ9 (b1v); EZ10 (b2v); EZ11 (b3v); EZ12 (b4r); EZ13 (b5r); EZ14 (b6r); EZ15 (b7r); EZ16 (b8r); EZ17 (c1r); EZ18 (c1v); EZ19 (c2v); EZ20 (c3v); EZ21 (c4v); EZ22 (c5v); EZ23 (c6v); EZ24 (c7v); EZ25 (c8v); EZ26 (d1v); EZ27 (d2r); EZ28 (d3r); EZ29 (d4v); EZ30 (d5r); EZ31 (d6v); EZ32 (d7r); EZ33 (d8r); EZ34 (e1r); EZ35 (e1v); EZ36 (e2v); EZ37 (e3v); EZ38 (e4v); EZ39 (e5v); EZ40 (e6v); EZ41 (f1v); EZ42 (f2v); EZ43 (f3v); EZ44 (f4v); EZ45 (f5v); EZ46 (f6v); EZ47 (f7v); EZ48 (f8v); EZ49 (g1v); EZ50 (g3r); EZ51 (g4r); EZ52 (g4v); EZ53 (g5v); EZ54 (g6v); EZ55 (g7v); EZ56 (g8v); EZ57 (h1v); EZ58 (h2v); EZ59 (h3r); EZ60 (h4v); EZ61 (h5v); EZ62(h7v); EZ63 (h8v); EZ64 (i1v); EZ65 (i2v); **EZ66 ('De puero suspenso' - i3v).**

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text of the *Esopo zuccarino* is characterised by the presence of the fable EZ66 'De puero suspenso'. The edition shares most of the insertions found in the *Esopo zuccarino* printed in Verona in 1479, in correspondence with the fables: EZ16, after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ21, 'De civitate carente rege', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ30, 'De lupo et haedo', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ35, 'De lupo et cervice', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ36 'De graculo et pavonibus', after the end of the Latin text; EZ39, 'De lupo et vulpe', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ43, 'De equo et leone', after the end of the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ44, 'De equo et asello', after the 'Sonetto morale'; EZ52, 'De vipera et lima', after the latin text; EZ59, 'De cervo et bobus', after the end of the 'Sonetto materiale'; EZ61, 'De cive et equite regis', before as well as after the 'Sonetto materiale' and after the 'sonetto morale'; after the end of the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ63, 'De pastore et lupo'; after the end of the Latin text of EZ64, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'; after the 'Sonetto morale' of EZ65 'De rustico et plutone'.
The text of the *Vita* and that of the *Esopo zuccarino* share many similarities with other editions printed by Bonellis.[738] Lines EZ7.7-8 read: «Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere favorem | qui mala fecerunt vel mala facta parant».
After line 4 of EZ10, 'De viro et colubro', the couplet «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» is added.
AM20, 'De hirundine et lino', lacks the last line (14): «qui nimis est tutus retia iure subit», which closes the final couplet of the fable.
Lines 10-11 of the 'Sonetto morale' of AM39, 'De lupo et vulpe', read: «larghezza non ma prodigalitade | Gola domanda solo per si sola».
The 'Sonetto materiale' of AM62, 'De capone et accipitre', is incomplete and counts only 15 lines. Lines 5-6 of the *Canzonetta* read: «Non te curar del suo mal talento | che collui che non vol sir consigliato».

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: ***Vita*** a2r; a3r; a5r; a6r; a7v; b1v; b3v; b5r; b6v; c1r; c3v; c5v; c7r; d1r; d2v; d4v; d5v; d6v; d8r; e1v; e2v; e4v; e6v. ***Esopo zuccarino*** a1r; a2v; a3v; a4v; a5v; a6v; a7r; a8r; b1r; b1v; b2v; b3v; b4r; b5v; b6v; b7v; b8v; c1v; c2r; c3r; c4r; c5r; c6r; c7r; c8r; d1r; d2r; d2v; d3v; d4v; d5v; d6v; d7v; d8r; e1r; e2r; e3r; e4r; e5r; e6r; e6v; f1v; f2v; f4r; f5r; f6r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g4r; g5r; g6r; g7r; g7v; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v.

[738] In particular, the editions printed in 1492 and 1493 of the *Vita* and the two printed in 1491 of the *Esopo zuccarino*.

USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: The first part of the volume contains twenty-three illustrations (60 x 80 mm) representing episodes from the *Vita* plus one title page (mm 155 x 100), with the portrait of a teacher and his pupils in the style of the Venetian ones already examined in this *Catalogue*.

The central vignettes used are twenty-two, as the same image is used for the two different episodes of Aesop being sold as a slave (VA4 and VA6, leaves a6r and b1v) surrounded by different borders.

The title page is surrounded by a unique block border decorated with tendrils and branches, whereas each of the other vignettes illustrating single episodes is framed by four borders, used as follows:

Title-page border (a1r);

b1 (top/bottom, small bush with straight leaf) was used three times (a2r; a3r; a6r);

b2 (lateral, head of putto and vase) was used nine times (a2r; a3r; a6r; b5r; c3v; d2v; d6v; d8r; e1v);

b3 b1 (top/bottom, small bush with lanceolate leaf) was used six times (a2r; a5r; b3v; b6v; c1r; c7r);

b4 (lateral, small dark vase) was used twelve times (a2r; a5r; b3v; b6v; c1r; c5v; c7r; d1r; d4v; d5v; e1v; e2v);

b5 (top/bottom, lion's face) was used ten times (a3r; a6r; a7v; b5r; c3v; d2v; d4v; d5v; e4v; e6v);

b6 (lateral, vase and decoration – broken leaf) was used five times (a3r; a6r; a7v; b1v; e4v);

b7 (top/bottom, lion's face) was used eight times (a5r; a7v; b1v; b5r; c3v; d2v; d6v; e2v);

b8 (lateral, vase and decoration – straight leaf) was used three times (a5r; e4v; e6v);

b9 (lateral, vase and decoration) was used seven times (a7v; b1v; b5r; c3v; d2v; d6v; d8r);

b10 (top/bottom, stylised flowers) was used eleven times (b1v; b3v; b6v; c1r; c5v; c7r; d1r; d6v; d8r; e1v; e6v);

b11 (lateral, vase and decoration, similar to b4) was used nine times (b3v; b6v; c1r; c5v; c7r; d1r; d4v; d5v; e2v;

b12 (top/bottom, stylised flower pattern) was used seven times (c5v; d1r; d4v; d5v; d8r; e1v; e2v);

b13 (lateral, with vase and leaf in three parts) was used two times (e4v; e6v).

Total number of woodblocks used: one central title-page scene + one title-page border + twenty-two narrative scenes (centres) + thirteen borders = thirty-seven.

Total of impressions: one central title-page scene + one title-page border + twenty-three narrative scenes + ninety-two borders = 117.

The second part of the edition opens with the same introductory title page, depicting a master and his pupils, and contains sixty-six illustrations for the fables (60 x 80 mm), each framed by four borders. Thirteen borders were used as follows:[739]

b1 (top/bottom, small bush with straight leaf) was used twenty-two times (a2v; a3v; a6v; b1v; b3v; b8v; c1v; c3r; c4r; d3v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e5r; f1v; f2v; f6r; g4r; g5r; g7v; g8v; h3v);

b2 (lateral, head of putto and vase, darker at the base) was used twenty-four times (a3r; a6v; a7r; b1v; b3v; b8v; c5r; c6r; c8r; d3v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e5r; f1v; f2v; f6r; g4r; g5r; g7v; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v);

[739] The same names (b1, b2 etc.) indicate the same borders reused throughout the edition.

b3 (top/bottom, wit lanceolate leaf) was used seventeen times (a2v; a5v; a8r; b1r; b5v; b7v; c8r; d8r; e1r; e2r; e4r; f6r; g4r; g5r; g7v; g8v; h3v);
b4 (lateral, small dark vase) was used thirty times (a2v; a5v; a8r; b1r; b5v; b7v; c1v; c3r; c4r; d1r; d2r; d4v; e3r; e6r; e6v; f4r; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g6r; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v);
b5 (top/bottom, lion's face, long) was used twenty-eight times (b2v; b4r; b6v; c2r; c5r; c6r; c7r; d1r; d2r; d4v; e3r; e6r; e6v; f4r; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g6r; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v), always in combination with b7;
b6 (lateral vase with decoration, broken leaf) was used eleven times (b2v; b4r; b6v; c5r; c6r; c8r; d3v; e1r; e2r; e4r; g7r);
b7 (top/bottom, lion's face) was used twenty-eight times (b2v; b4r; b6v; c2r; c5r; c6r; c7r; d1r; d2r; d4v; e3r; e6r; e6v; f4r; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g6r; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v), always in combination with b5;
b8 (lateral vase with decoration, straight leaf), was used nine times (b2v; b4r; b6v; c2r; c7r; d8r; e1r; e2r; e4r);
b9 (lateral, stylised decoration with putto, similar to b2 but no dark base) was used nineteen times (a5v; a7r; a8r; b1r; b7v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e5r; f1v; f2v; f6r; g4r; g5r; g7v; g8v; h1v; h2v; h3v;);
b10 (top/bottom, stylised flowers was used fourteen times (a3v; a6v; a7r; b1v; b5v; b8v; c8r; d8r; e1r; e2r; e4r; g7r; h1v; h2v).
b11 (lateral, vase and decoration, similar to b4 but not dark) was used thirty times (a2v; a3v; a6v; b1v; b5v; b8v; c1v; c3r; c4r; d1r; d2r; d4v; e3r; e6r; e6v; f4r; f5r; f7r; f8r; g1r; g2r; g3r; g6r; h5r; h5v; h7v; h8v; i1v; i2v; i3v);
b13 (lateral, vase with leaf in three parts) was used used five times (b3v; c2r; c7r; d8r; g7r);
b14 (top/bottom, with tulip in the middle) was used nineteen times (a5v; a7r; a8r; b1r; b3v; b7v; c1v; c3r; c4r; d2v; d5v; d6v; d7v; e5r; f1v; f2v; g7r; h1v; h2v).[740]
Total number of woodblocks used: sixty-four narrative scenes (centres) + thirteen borders = seventy-seven;[741]
Total of impressions: sixty-four narrative scenes + 256 borders = 320.[742]

EXTANT COPIES: 6 of which 2 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: Washington (DC), Libr. Congress (part I only; digital reproduction; MEI 02015070); Milan, Ambr., Inc. 668 (MEI 02019000); London, BL, IA.26892.
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **Washington copy** does not include the second part of the volume, containing the *Fabulae*. It does not bear early signs of provenance and was part of the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, as stated by the paper label pasted on the front pastedown.
The **BL** copy is incomplete, lacking leaves a1, a4, d3; it does not have early signs of provenance.
The **Ambrosiana copy** lacks the first gathering of the *Vita* and the last gathering of the *Esopo zuccarino*. It has notes by a 16th-century Italian hand in brown ink, with the repetition of the sentence "Amor gli sdegni e il quanto e la stagione" (see leaves a2v, b2v, b3r), and the name

[740] b12 appearing in the *Vita Aesopi* was not used in the *Fabulae,* and changed with b14 in the second part of the edition.
[741] This count is based on the London, BL copy (see below), lacking three illustrated leaves, among which leaf a1 containing the title page and the illustrations of fables EZ3, 'De mure et rana', and EZ28, 'De cane et domino'. For this reason, one title-page border, one title-page vignette and two central vignettes should be added to the final number of woodctus used, taking it to eighty-one.
[742] This count is based on the London, BL copy (see below), lacking three illustrated leaves, among which leaf a1 containing the title page and the illustrations of fables EZ3, 'De mure et rana', and EZ28, 'De cane et domino'. For this reason, nine borders, one title-page vignette and two central vignettes should be added to the final number of impressions, taking it to 332.

"Iovanes Alverius", plus several scribbles and drawings by childish hands, from the same period (see the tentative drawing on leaves b7v, e1r). 18th-century binding covered in marbled paper, imitating wood. On the front pastedown, older shelfmarks and a price in Italian *lire,* "L. 3.50". Paper ex libris: "Biblioteca Fagnani M.".

67) c. 1498 – Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae* (Greek, edited by Gabriel Bracius)

Venice: Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius de Brisighella, Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius (ISTC ia00097000; GW 312; Text-Inc: tia00097000).
Format: 4°; 48 leaves. Collation: α–δεζ^{8}. 29 lines per page; types: 1:109Gr, 2:109R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
α1r – Bracius, Gabriel, [introduction to the readers]. 'Gabriel Bracius Brasichellensis bonarum artium cultoribus'. Inc.: «Quanquam onus gravius…»; a1v expl.: «…exigentium, respondeat. Valete»;
α2r – Maximos Planudes [pseudo-], *Vita Aesopi* [Greek]. 'Αἰσώπου βίος τού μυθοποιού. Μαχιμω τῶ Πλανουδη συγγραφεισ'. Inc.: «[Π]ραγμάτων φύσιν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις…»; γ5v expl.: «Αἰσώπου θανάτῳ γεγόνασιν» [ed.: EBERHARD 1872*,* pp. 225-305];
γ6r – Aesop, *Fabulae* [Greek]. 'ΑΙΣΩΠΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΙ. ΑΕΤΟ`ΟΣ ΚΑ΄Ι ΑΛΩΠΗΞ'. Inc.: «[Α]ετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ…»; ζ8r expl.: «...μήπως» [ed.: HAUSRATH-HUNGER 1970, pp. 1-208];
ζ8r – [Statement claiming a ten-year printing privilege in Venetian territories]: «Si quis ad decem annos haec in terris felicissimi S.veneti, aut imprimere ausus erit, aut alibi impressa, venalia habere, ex privilegio multabitur»;
ζ8r – [Colophon]: «Bartholomaei pelusii Iustinopolitani, Gabrielis Bracii Brasichellensis, Ioannis Bissoli et Benedicti Mangii Carpensium sumptibus impressa».

INITIALS: Absent, with guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AF1 (γ6r); AF2 (γ6r); AF3 (γ6v) AF4 (γ7r); AF5 (γ7r); AF6 (γ7v); AF7 (γ7v) AF8 (γ8r); AF9 (γ8r); AF10 (γ8r); AF11 (γ8v) AF12 (γ8v); AF13 (Ἀλὶθις - γ8v); AF14 (γ8v); AF15 (δ1r); AF16 (δ1r); AF17 (Ἀλὶθις - δ1v); AF18 (δ1v); AF19 (δ1v); AF20 (δ2r); AF21 (δ2r); AF22 (δ2v); AF23 (δ2v); AF24 (δ2v); AF25 (δ3r); AF26 (δ3r); AF27 (δ3r); AF28 (δ3v); AF29 (δ3v); AF30 (δ4r); AF31(δ4r); AF32 (δ4r); AF33 (δ4v); AF34 (δ4v); AF35 (δ4v); AF36 (δ5r); AF37 (δ5r); AF38 (δ5r); AF39 (δ5v); AF40 (δ5v); AF41 (δ5v); AF42 (δ6r); AF43 (δ6r); AF44 (δ6v); AF45 (δ6v); AF46(δ7r); AF47 (δ7r); AF48 (δ7v); AF49 (δ7v); AF50 (δ7v); AF51 (δ8r); AF52 (δ8r); AF53 (δ8r); AF54 (δ8v); AF55 (δ8v); AF56 (δ8v); AF57 (δ8v); AF58 (ε1r); AF59 (ε1r); AF60 (ε1v); AF61(ε1v); AF62 (ε1v); AF63 (ε1v); AF64 (ε2r); AF65 (ε2r); AF66 (ε2r); AF67 (ε2v); AF68 (ε2v); AF69 (ε2v); AF70 (ε3r); AF71 (ε3r); AF72 (ε3r); AF73 (ε3v); AF74 (ε3v); AF75 (ε4r); AF76(ε4r); AF77 (ε4r); AF78 (ε4r); AF79 (ε4v); AF80 (ε4v); AF81 (ε4v); AF82 (ε4v); AF83 (ε5r); AF84 (ε5r); AF85 (ε5r); AF86 (ε5r); AF87 (ε5v); AF88 (ε5v); AF89 (ε5v); AF90 (ε6r); AF91 (ε6r); AF92 (ε6v); AF93 (ε6v); AF94 (ε6v); AF95 (ε7r); AF96 (ε7r); AF97 (ε7v); AF98 (ε7v); AF99 (ε7v); AF100 (ε8r); AF101 (ε8r); AF102 (ε8r); AF103 (ε8r); AF104 (ε8v); AF105 (ε8v); AF106 (ε8v); AF107 (ζ1r); AF108 (ζ1r); AF109 (ζ1r); AF110 (ζ1v); AF111 (ζ1v); AF112 (ζ1v); AF113 (ζ 2r); AF114 (ζ2r); AF115 (ζ 2); AF116 (ζ2v); AF117 (ζ2v); AF118 (ζ2v); AF119 (ζ3r); AF120 (ζ3r); AF121 (ζ3r); AF122 (ζ3v); AF123 (ζ3v) ; AF124 (ζ3v); AF125 (ζ3v); AF126 (ζ4r); AF127 (ζ4r); AF128 (ζ4r); AF129 (ζ4v); AF130 (ζ4v); AF131 (ζ5r); AF132 (ζ5r); AF133 (ζ5v); AF134 (ζ5v); AF135 (ζ5v); AF136 (ζ6r); AF137 (ζ6r); AF138 (ζ6r); AF139 (ζ6); AF140 (ζ6v); AF141 (ζ6v); AF142 (ζ6v); AF143 (ζ7r); AF144 (ζ7r); AF145 (ζ7r); AF146 (ζ7v); AF147 (ζ7v); AF148 (Περί όνου καί δοράς λέοντος' - ζ7v).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text of the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* derives from the edition printed by Bonus Accursius around 1477, and corresponds to the so called *recensio Accursiana*. The order of the fables also corresponds to that of the *Accursiana,* although one last fable was added by the editors at the end, with the title 'Περί όνου καί δοράς λέοντος (ζ7v)'.[743]

EXTANT COPIES: 45 of which 4 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPIES: London, BL, IA.24708 (MEI 02017992); Oxford, Bodl., Auct. K 4.9d (MEI 00211337).
PROVENANCE NOTES: The **BL copy IA.24708** has very few manuscript notes and pointing hands on leaves on γ6-8, and δ1. It belonged to the library of the classicist Charles Burney (1757-1817).[744]
The **Oxford copy** has a so far unidentified coat of arms (Italian, 17th-century) and was sold to the Bodleian Library by the London bookseller Thomas Payne in 1832 for £2.12.6.

⚜ 68) [1499], June 1 – Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum* (edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus), and Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla)

Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino (ISTC ia00011000; GW 127; Text-Inc: ia00011000).
Format: 4°; 28 leaves. Collation: a^8b–f^4. 30 lines per page; type: 3:108R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Title-page] 'Eabule (*sic*) per latinissimum virum Laurentium Abstemium nuper composite. | Fabulae ex graeco in latinum per Laurentium Vallam virum clarissimum versae';
a1r – [Anonymous, *Epigram*] Inc.: «Outinam sese posset...»; expl.: «...Musa latinat (*sic*) canit» [4 lines];
a1v – Domicus Palladius Soranus, letter addressed to Pollius Gerus Vadius. 'Domicus Palladius Soranus Pollioni Vadio sacerdoti venerando s.p.d.'. Inc.: «Iam pridem tuo...»; expl.: «...defuturos esse liquido constabit. Vale»;
a2r – Laurentius Abstemius, letter addressed to Octavianus Ubaldinus Mercatelli. 'Laurentius Abstemius Octaviano Ubaldino comiti Mercatelli s.p.d.'. Inc.: «[E]diturus hunc apollogorum...»; a2v expl.: «...gratia iocos appetere. Vale»;
a2v – Laurentius Abstemius, 'Eiusdem Abstemii proemium'. Inc.: «[C]ogitanti mihi varia...»; a4r expl.: «...omnium laude concessum»;
a4r – [Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum*, edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus]. 'De mure in cista, fabula pri.'. Inc.: «[M]us in cistasta (*sic*) natus...»; e1v expl.: «...allatura tormentum»;
e1v – Faustino Perisauli, *Tetrasticon.* 'Petri Pauli Phantini de Tradotio in hecathomythion consumatis, viri Laurentii Abstemii Maceraten[sis] terrasticon (*sic*)'. Inc.: «Quod nemus Hesperidum...»; expl.: «...seria, non apinas» [4 lines];

[743] See section III.2 of this study for a comment on the addition of this last fable.
[744] Burney's library was bought by the British Museum after his death and was later transferred to the British Library (see *BMC*, V p. 578).

e1v – Iohannes Antracinus, *Tetrasticon*. 'Ioannis Antracini Maceraten. in hecatomythion clarissimi viri Laurentii Abstemii Maceraten[sis] tetrasticon'. Inc.: «Doctiloquos aliis scriptis...»; expl.: «...Abstemi nos decoravit opus» [4 lines];
e2r – Laurentius Valla, preface to Arnaldus Fonolleda. 'Laurentii Vallensis XXX. Fabularum Esopiae graeco in latinum sermonem ad clarissumum virum Renaldum Fonaledae praefatio'. Inc.: «[P]romiseram nuperrime tibi coturnices...»; expl.: «...coturnices, sed et pedices. Ex urbe Caieta kal. Maii MCCCC.XXXVIII» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-13];
e2r – [Aesop, *Fabulae*; Latin translation by Laurentius Valla]. 'De vulpe et capro'. Inc.: «[V]ulpes et caper sitibondi...»; f4v expl.: «...nobis cum perpetuo permanere». 'Esopi fabularum xxx. tradutinis (*sic*) finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 114-81];
f4v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Ioannem de Cereto de Tridino, anno Domini MCCCXCIX die i. Iunii».

INITIALS: Stamped in the examined copy; some missing. The first initials, 'E' for 'editurus and 'P' for 'promiseram', are larger than the others.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: ***Abstemius*** LA1 (a4r); LA2 (a4r); LA3 (a4r); LA4 (a4v); LA5 (a4v); LA6 (a4v); LA7 (a4v); LA8 (a5r); LA9 (a5r); LA10 (a5r); LA11 (a5v); LA12 (a5v); LA13 (a5v); LA14 (a6r); LA15 (a6r); LA16 (a6r); LA17 (a6v); LA18 (a6v); LA19 (a6v); LA20 (a6v); LA21 (a7r); LA22 (a7r); LA23 (a7r); LA24 (a7v); LA25 (a7v); LA26 (a7v); LA27 (a8r); LA28 (a8r); LA29 (a8r); LA30 (a8v); LA31 (a8v); LA32 (b1r); LA33 (b1r); LA34 (b1r); LA35 (b1v); LA36 (b1v); LA37 (b2r); LA38 (b2r); LA39 (b2r); LA40 (b2v); LA41 (b2v); LA42 (b2v); LA43 (b3r); LA 44 (b3r); LA45 (b3r); LA 46 (b3r); LA47 (b3v); LA48 (b3v); LA49 (b4r); LA50 (b4r); LA51 (b4v); LA52 (b4v); LA53 (b4v); LA54 (c1r); LA55 (c1r); LA56 (c1v); LA57 (c1v); LA58 (c1v); LA59 (c2r); LA60 (c2r); LA61 (c2r); LA62 (c2v); LA63 (c2v); LA64 (c2v); LA65 (c3r); LA66 (c3r); LA67 (c3r); LA68 (c3v); LA69 (c3v); LA70 (c4r); LA71 (c4r); LA72 (c4r); LA73 (c4r); LA74 (c4v); LA75 (c4v); LA76 (c4v); LA77 (d1r); LA78 (d1r); LA79 (d1r); LA80 (d1v); LA81 (d1v); LA82 (d2r); LA83 (d2r); LA84 (d2v); LA85 (d2v); LA86 (d2v); LA87 (d3r); LA88 (d3r); LA89 (d3v); LA90 (d3v); LA91 (d4r); LA92 (d4r); LA93 (d4r); LA94 (d4v); LA95 (d4v); LA96 (d4v); LA 97 (e1r); LA98 (e1r); LA99 (e1r); LA100 (e1v); ***Valla***: LV1 (e2r); LV2 (e2v); LV3 (e2v); LV4 (e3r); LV5 (e3r); LV6 (e3r); LV7 (e3v); LV8 (e3v); LV9 (e3v); LV10 (e4r); LV11 (e4r); LV12 (e4v); LV13 (e4v); LV14 (e4v); LV15 (f1r); LV16 (f1r); LV17 (f1r); LV18 (f1v); LV19 (f1v); LV20 (f1v); LV22 (f2r); LV23 (f2r); **LV21** (f2r); LV24 (f2v); LV25 (f2v); LV26 (f2v); LV27 (f3r); LV28 (f3r); LV29 (f3r); LV30 (f3v); LV31 (f3v); LV32 (f4r); LV33 (f4r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text transmitted by this edition largely corresponds to that included in the 1495 edition of the same works printed by Tacuinus and shares the same textual peculiarities.[745]

EXTANT COPIES: 19 of which 1 out of Europe (USA).
EXAMINED COPY: Venezia, BN Marc., Inc. V. 0725 (MEI 02010744).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Several annotations by a late 15th or early 16th-century Italian hand: reading marks, scribbles and comments to the text, plus a longer note on leaf a1r. The book belonged to the library of Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), who left it, together with the rest of his library, to the Dominican convent of S. Maria del Rosario. The books later passed to the Biblioteca Marciana in the 1820s.

[745] ISTC ia00010000, n° 58 in this *Catalogue*.

⚜ 69) 1499, June 1 – Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum* (edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus), and Aesop, *Fabulae* (Latin, translated by Laurentius Valla)

Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino (ISTC ia00012000; GW 128; Text-Inc: ia00012000).
Format: 4°. 28 leaves. Collation: a^{8}b–f^{4}. 30 lines per page; type: 7:111R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [Title-page] 'Eabule (*sic*) per latinissimum virum Laurentium Abstemium nuper composite. | Fabulae ex graeco in latinum per Laurentium Vallam virum clarissimum versae';
a1r – [Anonymous, *Epigram*] Inc.: «Outinam sese posset...»; expl.: «...Musa latinat (*sic*) canit» [4 lines];
a1v – Domicus Palladius Soranus, letter addressed to Pollius Gerus Vadius. 'Domicus Palladius Soranus Pollioni Vadio sacerdoti venerando s.p.d.'. Inc.: «Iam pridem tuo...»; expl.: «...esse liquido constabit. Vale»;
a2r – Laurentius Abstemius, letter addressed to Octavianus Ubaldinus Mercatelli. 'Laurentius Abstemius Octaviano Ubaldino comiti Mercatelli s.p.d.'. Inc.: «[E]diturus hunc apollogorum...»; a2v expl.: «...gratia iocos appetere. Vale»;
a2v – Laurentius Abstemius, 'Eiusdem Abstemii proemium'. Inc.: «[C]ogitanti mihi varia...»; a4r expl.: «...omnium laude concessum»;
a4r – [Laurentius Abstemius, *Apologi centum*, edited by Domicus Palladius Soranus]. 'De mure in cista, fabula pri.'. Inc.: «[M]us in cistasta (*sic*) natus...»; e1v expl.: «...allatura tormentum»;
e1v – Faustino Perisauli, *Tetrasticon.* 'Petri Pauli Phantini de Tradotio in hecathomythion consumatis, viri Laurentii Abstemii Maceraten[sis] terrasticon (*sic*)'. Inc.: «Quod nemus Hesperidum...»; expl.: «...seria, non apinas» [4 lines];
e1v – Iohannes Antracinus, *Tetrasticon.* 'Ioannis Antracini Maceraten. in hecatomythion clarissimi viri Laurentii Abstemii Maceraten[sis] tetrasticon'. Inc.: «Doctiloquos aliis scriptis...»; expl.: «...Abstemi nos decoravit opus» [4 lines];
e2r – Laurentius Valla, preface to Arnaldus Fonolleda. 'Laurentii Vallensis XXX. Fabularum Esopiae graeco in latinum sermonem ad clarissumum virum Renaldum Fonaledae praefatio'. Inc.: «[P]romiseram nuperrime tibi coturnices...»; expl.: «...coturnices, sed et pedices. Ex urbe Caieta kal. Maii MCCCC.XXXVIII» [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 110-13];
e2r – [Aesop, *Fabulae*; Latin translation by Laurentius Valla]. 'De vulpe et capro'. Inc.: «[V]ulpes et caper sitibondi...»; f4v expl.: «...nobis cum perpetuo permanere». 'Esopi fabularum xxx. tradutinis (*sic*) finis' [ed.: PILLOLA 2003, pp. 114-81];
f4v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Venetiis per Ioannem de Cereto de Tridino, anno Domini M.CCCC.XCIX. die i. Iunii».

INITIALS: Stamped in, with figurative elements. The first 'E' and 'P' of Abstemius and Valla's introductory letters are larger than those of the fables.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: *Abstemius*: LA1 (a4r); LA2 (a4r); LA3 (a4r); LA4 (a4v); LA5 (a4v); LA6 (a4v); LA7 (a4v); LA8 (a5r); LA9 (a5r); LA10 (a5r); LA11 (a5v); LA12 (a5v); LA13 (a5v); LA14 (a6r); LA15 (a6r); LA16 (a6r); LA17 (a6v); LA18 (a6v); LA19 (a6v); LA20 (a6v); LA21 (a7r); LA22 (a7r); LA23 (a7r); LA24 (a7v); LA25 (a7v); LA26 (a7v); LA27 (a8r); LA28 (a8r); LA29 (a8r); LA30 (a8v); LA31 (a8v); LA32 (b1r); LA33 (b1r); LA34 (b1r); LA35 (b1v); LA36 (b1v); LA37 (b2r); LA38 (b2r); LA39 (b2r); LA40 (b2v); LA41 (b2v); LA42 (b2v); LA43 (b3r); LA 44 (b3r); LA45 (b3r); LA 46 (b3r); LA47 (b3v); LA48 (b3v); LA49 (b4r); LA50 (b4r); LA51 (b4v); LA52 (b4v); LA53

(b4v); LA54 (c1r); LA55 (c1r); LA56 (c1v); LA57 (c1v); LA58 (c1v); LA59 (c2r); LA60 (c2r); LA61 (c2r); LA62 (c2v); LA63 (c2v); LA64 (c2v); LA65 (c3r); LA66 (c3r); LA67 (c3r); LA68 (c3v); LA69 (c3v); LA70 (c4r); LA71 (c4r); LA72 (c4r); LA73 (c4r); LA74 (c4v); LA75 (c4v); LA76 (c4v); LA77 (d1r); LA78 (d1r); LA79 (d1r); LA80 (d1v); LA81 (d1v); LA82 (d2r); LA83 (d2r); LA84 (d2v); LA85 (d2v); LA86 (d2v); LA87 (d3r); LA88 (d3r); LA89 (d3v); LA90 (d3v); LA91 (d4r); LA92 (d4r); LA93 (d4r); LA94 (d4v); LA95 (d4v); LA96 (d4v); LA 97 (e1r); LA98 (e1r); LA99 (e1r); LA100 (e1v); ***Valla***: LV1 (e2r); LV2 (e2v); LV3 (e2v); LV4 (e3r); LV5 (e3r); LV6 (e3r); LV7 (e3v); LV8 (e3v); LV9 (e3v); LV10 (e4r); LV11 (e4r); LV12 (e4v); LV13 (e4v); LV14 (e4v); LV15 (f1r); LV16 (f1r); LV17 (f1r); LV18 (f1v); LV19 (f1v); LV20 (f1v); LV22 (f2r); LV23 (f2r); **LV21** (f2r); LV24 (f2v); LV25 (f2v); LV26 (f2v); LV27 (f3r); LV28 (f3r); LV29 (f3r); LV30 (f3v); LV31 (f3v); LV32 (f4r); LV33 (f4r).

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The text transmitted by this edition largely corresponds to that included in the 1495 edition of the same works printed by Tacuinus, with which it shares the same textual peculiarities.[746]

EXTANT COPIES: 18 of which 2 not in Europe [USA].
EXAMINED COPY: London, BL, G.7742.
PROVENANCE NOTES: On the top right corner of the title page, in brown ink by a late 15th-century Northern-European (possibly French) hand: "Comperavi codicillum hunc tribus Vienne". Number "8" in black ink by an 18th-century hand on the bottom right corner of the title page might indicate that the book was at some point bound with other volumes. Early 19th-century quarter binding in leather and marbled paper. Thomas Grenville's paper label pasted on the first front flyleaf.

⌘ *70) 1500, March 28 – *Aesopus moralisatus*

Florence: Antonio Tubini, Laurentius (Francisci) de Alopa, Venetus and Andrea Ghirlandi, for Piero Pacini [ISTC ia00128400; GW 395; Text-Inc: tia00128400].
Format: 4°; 28 leaves. Collation a–c^{8}d^{4}. 66 lines per page; type: 1:86R.

TEXTUAL CONTENT:
a1r – [*Aesopus moralisatus*], 'Aesopi lepidissimi fabulae'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit conatur…»; d3v expl.: «...datque quod intus habet» [ed. BUSDRAGHI 2005, pp. 44-195];
d3v – [Table of contents], 'Tabula opusculi huius'. Inc.: «Ut iuvet et prosit Fabula prima. | De gallo…»; d4v expl.: «...et plutone fa. lxvi»;
d4v – [Colophon]: «Impressum Florentiae per Ser Antonium Tubinum Laurentium Venetum et And. Ghyr. de Pistorio opera tamen et impensa Ser Petri de Pacinis anno salutis MCCCCC.V.kal Aprilis».

INITIALS: Absent, with no guide letters.
TITLES: Present, in the same types as the text.

SEQUENCE OF THE FABLES: AM1 (a1v); AM2 (a1v); AM3 (a2r); AM4 (a3r); AM5 (a3r); AM6 (a3v); AM7 ('De Femina nubente furi' - a3v); AM8 (a3v); AM9 ('De cane et alia cane' - a4r); AM10 (a4v); AM11 (a4v); AM12 (a5r); AM13 (a5v); AM14 ('De aquila et testudine' - a6r); AM15 (a6v); AM16 (a7r); AM17 ('De catulo, hero et asello' - a7r); AM18 (a8r); AM19 (a8v); AM20 (a8v); AM21 ('De civitate regem carente' - b1r); AM22 (b1v); AM23 ('De accipitre et columbis' - b1v); AM24 (b2r); AM25 (with the title: 'De terra que peperit murem', inc. «[V]ult lupus ut pariat maturum sucula foetum…», b2r); AM26 (with the title 'De lupo et agno', inc. «[T]erra tumet, tumor ille gemit…»,

[746] ISTC ia00010000, n° 58 in this *Catalogue*.

b2v); AM27 (with the title «De lupo et agno» repeated, b3r); AM28 (b3v); AM29 ('De silva et leporibus' - b3v); AM30 (b4r); AM31 (b4v); AM32 ('De cervo et ove' - b4v); AM33 (b4v); AM 34 (b5r); AM35 (b5v); AM36 (b5v); AM37 ('De mula, musca et mulione' - b5v); AM38 (b6r); AM39 (b6v); AM40 (b7r); AM41 (b7v); AM42 (b7v); AM43 (b8v); AM44 (b8v); AM45 (c1r); AM46 (c1r); AM47 ('De lupo et vulpe' - c1v); AM48 ('De cervo et fonte' - c2r); AM49 (c2r); AM50 (c3r); AM51 (c3v); AM52 (c4r); AM53 (c4v); AM54 (c5r); AM55 (c5v); AM56 (c6r); AM57 (c6v); AM58 (c7r); AM59 ('De agro et cervo' - c7v); AM60 ('De iudeo et pincerna regis' - c8r); AM61 (c8v); AM62 (d2r); AM63 (d3r); **AM65 ('De mercatore et eius uxore'; misprinted d3r – d2v)**; **AM68 ('De rustico et plutone' - d3v)**.

REMARKS AND TRANSMISSION: The edition includes sixty-five fables, i.e. AM1-AM63, plus AM65 and AM68. It is not, as stated by Sander, «une réimpression réduite de l'édition Pacini 17.XI.1496».[747] This edition only transmits the Latin text of the *Aesopus moralisatus*. Peculiar is the addition of fable AM68, 'De rustico et plutone'.
Lines AM7.7-8 are inverted: «Qui mala fecerunt uel mala facta parant | Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere fauorem».[748]
The couplet «Ingenium vires superat prudentia summa est | credere prudenti lingua ministra necis» is added at the end of fable AM14, 'De aquila et testudine'.
The title of fable AM25, 'De lupo et succula', is missing, and replaced by that of AM26. Both AM26 and AM27 have the same title, i.e. that of fable AM27, 'De lupo et agno'.
After line AM10.4, the lines «Ver redit, imber abit, estas cum sole calescit | Sic importunes fit magis atque magis» are added.[749]
Leaf d4r contains the incipit and the first three lines of fable AM65, 'De mercatore et eius uxore'. The rest of the fable, from line 4 onwards, which we would normally expect to find on the *verso* of leaf a4, was intead printed on leaf d3v, which preceeds leaf d4r, where the fabula actually starts.

LOCATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK: This edition is a unicum among the Italian editions, as only thirty-four fables are illustrated with narrative woodcuts: (a1r - title page); AM1 (a1v); AM2 (a1v); AM3 (a2r); AM4 (a3r); AM9 (a4r); AM10 (a4v); AM11 (a4v); AM13 (a5v); AM15 (a6v); AM16 (a7r); AM17 (a7r); AM18 (a8r); AM21 (b1r); AM23 (b1v); AM27 (b3r); AM30 (b4r); AM34 (b5r); AM37 (b5v); AM40 (b7r); AM42 (b7v); AM46; AM49 (c2r); AM50 (c3r); AM51 (c3v); AM52 (c4r); AM53 (c4v); AM54 (c5r); AM55 (c5v); AM56 (c6r); AM57 (c6v); AM59 (c7v); AM60 (c8r); AM61 (c8v); AM65 (d3r – d2v).
USE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS: The edition contains thirty-four illustrations for the fables, consisting of a central narrative scene (60 x 90 mm), framed by a border (85 x 110 mm), plus one title-page illustration on leaf a1r (60 x 90 mm), framed by a border (85 x 110 mm), depicting one of the episodes of Aesop's life.[750]
As already noted for Pacini's 1496 edition, the borders were made of four segments, sometimes entirely decorated with the same patterns, whereas other times different patterns are alternated on the four sides. Although some of the patterns look closely similar, none of the borders is exactly repeated more than once within the edition, which suggests that the frames were not separate cuts, but were part of the same block from where the central narrative scene was cut, too.
Total number of woodblocks used and impressions**:** thirty-five.

EXTANT COPY: 1.

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[747] The 1496 edition is ISTC ia00153700. It is n° 61 in this *Catalogue*. Substantial differences occur between the two editions, both in terms of the text transmitted and of the iconographic apparatus. For a more detailed comment on the textual differences, see section III.3.Ia of this study.
[748] See BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 58, who, in her critical edition, published the lines in the inverted order.
[749] Paola Busdraghi identified the presence of this couplet only in manuscripts Bologna, BU, 2795 (14th cent.) and Ferrara, BC, Cl. II, 216 (14th cent.), added on the margin; in a few more manuscripts, traces of textual confusion remain in this point of the text (see BUSDRAGHI 2005, p. 65).
[750] The scene is from VA1, 'De fraude conversorum Esopi et eius astutia'. A similar circumstance happens in the 1491 edition printed in Venice by Bernardinus Benalius and Mattheus de Capcasa (ISTC ia00155500, n° 47 in this *Catalogue*) and in the other Florentine edition (n° 61).

EXAMINED COPY: Parma, BP, Inc. Pal. 646/2 (MEI 00202089).
PROVENANCE NOTES: Pen trials, *maniculae* and small reading marks in different parts of the book, pointing at different passages of the text, with special attention for the moral of the fables. The same 16th-century hand also supplied some of the missing initials at the beginning of each fable. Other initials were instead stamped in with small decorated woodblocs (c. 20 x 20 mm).

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