

# Printing the Law in the 15th Century

## With a Focus on *Corpus iuris civilis* and the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato

Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni  
15cBOOKTRADE, University of Oxford, UK

**Abstract** The editions of legal texts are a major and important part of 15th-century book output, amounting to about 15% of the surviving extant editions. The category comprehends two types of work: (a) the collections of Roman and Canon law, with their medieval supplements and commentaries; (b) acts and regulations produced by governments and by local authorities as part of their day-to-day activity. After a general overview, this article focuses on the first group of texts, which offers an opportunity to address some key questions related to the impact of printing in a particular cultural context, that of the university. A study of legal texts printed in the 15th century aims to provide a relevant contribution to a better understanding of the impact of printing by comparing elements of continuity and discontinuity with the manuscript and later printed tradition.

**Keywords** History of the book. Textual transmission. Incunabula. Scholarly book. Law books. Legal texts. *Ius commune*. Legal history. *Corpus iuris civilis*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato. History of Universities.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Legal Texts in the Age of Print: An Overview. – 2.1 The Categories of Law; *Ius Commune* and *Iura Propria*; Scholarly Production and Current Affairs – 2.2 Civil and Canon law: Scholarly Production. – 2.3 Periodisation of the Texts of Civil and Canon law. – 2.4 Commentaries, Treatises and Reference Works: The Most Published Genres of Scholarly Production. – 3 Editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Focus 1). – 3.1 Introduction. – 3.2 The *editiones principes* of the Books of Civil Law. – 3.3 From Occasional Initiatives Towards the *Corpus iuris civilis*: Key-players, Entrepreneurship and Innovation. – 4 Editions of the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (Focus 2). – 4.1 A General Overview. – 4.2 The *Lectura* of the *Tres libri*: Early Editions and New Evidence from a Manuscript. – 4.3 The Editions of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. – 5 Conclusions.



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Per sapere che non si può fare storia della cultura, né pertanto della letteratura italiana dal Tre al Cinquecento, senza fare i conti con Bartolo, non occorre che lo studioso si rassegni a riesumare un paio di libri [...] basta che adoperi i ferri propri del suo mestiere, che faccia storia delle università e biblioteche di quei secoli, storia della stampa, storia dei testi.<sup>1</sup>  
(Dionisotti, *Filologia umanistica e testi giuridici*, 1971)

## 1 Introduction

The editions of legal texts are a very important part of 15th-century book production; the category is second only to Theology. With about 4,500 editions, it represents 15% of known surviving output.<sup>2</sup>

Two main groups of texts form the category:

- a. the compilations of Civil and Canon law with their medieval supplements and the exegetical works of the jurists: (1) the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the Justinian compilation (Roman law), the law of the Empire; (2) the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the law of the Church; (3) commentaries, treatises, and works written by the jurists for teaching purposes or in the course of their professional activity, such as *consilia* (the texts of the *ius commune*).<sup>3</sup>
- b. Collections of local rules, such as statutes, regulations, customs (the texts of the *iura propria*) but also the acts promulgated by the superior authorities as part of their daily activity. The numerous papal bulls issued for the granting of indul-

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 63 in this volume. An explanation of the figures is found in paragraph 2.1. General note: editions are quoted with reference to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) and the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC); descriptions are based on the latter. For detailed descriptions of texts, the reader is invited to check the TEXTinc database, which is being implemented with new descriptions every day and where most part of the editions discussed in this paper have already been recorded. In TEXTinc the records are identified with a number made of a 't' followed by the ISTC number. A final note on the format: in this paper the format has been specified only in relation to texts not in folio, which is the usual format for law books. Actually, as Paul Needham has shown, for legal texts a particular format was developed, resulting from the use of a sheet of paper of special size, named by him "super-royal". To determine the category and format of 15th century paper, a very helpful tool has been developed: the Needham Calculator ([www.needhamcalculator.net/](http://www.needhamcalculator.net/)). It will be used in a future research on legal texts for a systematic recording of this datum which has not been possible to include in the present research. I should also like to add that the 15cBOOKTRADE has produced a special ruler, on which the categories of paper classified by Needham have been marked so as to simplify their recording.

<sup>3</sup> The *ius commune* is "the complex of normative authorities and doctrinal interpretations produced by jurists from the 12th to the 15th century": Conte, "Consuetudine, Coutume, Gewohnheit and Ius Commune", 233 ("Abstract"); García y García, "The Faculties of Law", 393: "These legal texts and their commentaries are known as Roman-Canon law (*ius commune*), a name signifying that this code of laws was in principle considered to be valid throughout the whole of medieval Christendom, although co-existing with many statutes and other local regulations forming exceptions from it". Cf. also Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe*; Padoa Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, 71-228.

gences are found in this group, making Canon law the largest group of contemporary texts, as well as among the earliest kind of texts, to appear in print.<sup>4</sup>

This essay focuses on the first group of texts, whose production, distribution and transmission were characterised by a direct and strong link with the social, intellectual and cultural environment of the universities.<sup>5</sup> The rediscovery and arrangement of the texts of the law were at the very origin of the university as an institution: “We all know that the teaching of the law was not only the earliest one; it was also the first one to be raised to the level of a university school, during the phase of renewal of the texts and practice”.<sup>6</sup> As is well known, within the universities an efficient book-production system was put in place: the famous *pecia* system. The production and distribution of the texts necessary to students and scholars of the law (as well as of medicine, philosophy and theology) was granted by the *stationarii*, officials in charge of the distribution to scribes of the ‘exemplars’, that is texts previously checked and officially approved. Since the system was first described,<sup>7</sup> an extensive bibliography has been pro-

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**4** Two bulls and two indulgences were printed in Mainz by 1460, all related to the war against the Turks: Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia), *Bulla Turcorum*. [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, about 1456]. 4°. GW 0591610N; ISTC ic00060000; Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia), *Bulla Turcorum* [German] *Die Bulla widder die Turcken*. (Tr: Heinrich Kalteisen), [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, after 29 June 1456]. 4°. GW 5916; ISTC ic00060100; Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, *Indulgentia*, 1454. For contributions to the war against the Turks, [Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg), 1454-55]. Bdsde. GW 6555; ISTC ic00422400; Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, *Indulgentia*, 1454-55. For contributions to the war against the Turks, [Mainz: Printer of the 31-line indulgence and of the 36-line Bible, 1454-55]. Bdsde folio. GW 6556; ISTC ic00422600.

**5** Cf. Dauchy et al., *The Formation and Transmission of Western Legal Culture*, 1-19.

**6** Dolcini, “Le prime università”, 12 (orig.: “Tutti sappiamo che l’insegnamento giuridico fu non solo il più antico ma altresì quello che nella fase del suo rinnovamento testuale e pratico fu per la prima volta sollevato al rango di scuola universitaria”); García y García, “The Faculty of Law”, 388: “The University of Bologna is first heard of at the end of the eleventh century [...]. Its Faculty of law, the first in Europe, was to be the prototype and model of all others until the end of the old regime”; Padoa Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, 71: “between the eleventh and twelfth centuries [...] an astounding series of innovations were to take place [...] the emergence of a legal science, through the founding of an institution, the university, devoted specifically to the training of lawyers”, just to provide a few bibliographical references on the early universities in relation to the teaching of the law, on which theme Manlio Bellomo deserves a particular mention: Bellomo, *Saggio sull’Università nell’età del diritto comune*; Bellomo, *Scholae, Universitates, Studia*. Cf. also Brizzi, Verger, *La nascita delle università*; De Ridder-Symoens, *Universities in the Middle Ages*. A preliminary overview of the connections which exist between the themes explored by the 15cBOOKTRADE project and the history of universities as a discipline was provided in: Panzanelli Fratoni, “Il 15cBOOKTRADE e la storia delle università”.

**7** The first complete study of the system was published in 1935: Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. However, much earlier, Savigny, in

duced on the theme, and relatively recently (2005) a general overview of the works disseminated through the *pecia* system has been published in Italian.<sup>8</sup> The distribution of legal texts through manuscripts has also been the subject of a long list of works written mainly by legal historians, in line with a tradition of studies dating back to the 19th century when the modern critical editions of the texts of the Law were published.

One could actually observe that a philological approach to the study of legal texts was already implemented towards the end of the 15th century, when an in-depth study of *Codex Florentinus* was undertaken by humanists such as Philippus Beroaldus and Angelus Politianus with the purpose of preparing the edition of the text as transmitted by the oldest and most authoritative testimony.<sup>9</sup> During the course of the 16th century, the first critical editions of various parts of the *corpora iuris*, and of a number of works of medieval authors, were prepared, which strengthened the search for the best manuscripts, such as the oldest ones or the autographs; less attention was paid to the early printed editions, often just presented as the first attempts at the preparation of critical editions which were still far from being accomplished.<sup>10</sup> Yet the editions printed in the 15th century appear to have escaped also the attention of later scholars, who often seem to have taken into consideration only the *editiones principes*, almost as if early editions were all the same and, altogether, no more than a bridge over the gulf separating the manuscript tradition from the first early modern editions.<sup>11</sup> “Traditional scholarship in legal his-

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his monumental history of Roman law (1st ed. 1825), had already noticed the presence of *peciae* in manuscripts of parts of the *Corpus iuris*, as Giulio Battelli highlighted in the introduction to a study where he, interestingly, noticed how for a long time the *pecia* had not been taken into account for the study of the transmission of texts: “Dopo che il Savigny segnalò per primo la presenza di pecie in un codice del *Digestum Vetus* e in due dell’*Infortiatum*, per lungo tempo non si tenne conto della loro funzione rispetto alla tradizione del testo, e in particolare dei testi universitari”: Battelli, “Le pecie della glossa ordinaria”, 69.

**8** Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*.

**9** Politianus’ initiative was followed by scholars such as Antonio Agustín, and Lelio Torelli, who eventually published the celebrated *Pandectae florentinae* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1553). Cf. *Le Pandette di Giustiniano. Storia e fortuna di un codice illustre*; Murano, Baldi, “Ludovico Bolognini (1446-1508)”; Rossi, “Letture umanistiche del Digesto”; Osler, “Humanist Philology and the Text of Justinian’s Digest”; Baldi, “Il Codex Florentinus del Digesto”.

**10** Famously, the philological and historical approach to the study of the texts of the law gave rise to the new School of Legal Studies (legal humanism) and a teaching method also known as *Mos Gallicus (iura docendi)*, in opposition to the traditional school of law (*Mos italicus*) as it was developed mainly in France in the course of the 16th century; however, a number of critical editions were published also in Italy and Germany. Cf. Plessis, Cairns, *Reassessing of Legal Humanism and Its Claims: Petere Fontes?*

**11** There are a few exceptions, particularly with reference to individual studies, such as Colli, “Incunabula operum Baldi de Ubaldis”.

tory is based in principle and practice on the conviction that early printed editions are effectively interchangeable”, has written Douglas Osler,<sup>12</sup> to stress the need for a complete bibliography of all early editions of legal texts (1450-1800), so as to extend to later centuries the knowledge we have of the production of the first fifty years.<sup>13</sup> Any such work would be a starting point for scholars to undertake any further analysis, as has taken place now within the 15cBOOK-TRADE project, which has promoted an in-depth analysis of all aspects of the book – texts, illustration, copies – to show why and how the invention of printing became ‘r-evolutionary’.

This article focuses on texts and editions and offers the results of a systematic approach pursued with the aim to understand the evolution of legal texts during the second half of the 15th century.<sup>14</sup> A first section provides a general overview of all kind of texts included in the category of law which were printed in the 15th century; the two following chapters focus on the analysis of the editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and on the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato.

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**12** “Printed Sources and the Philological Method” (<https://www.rg.mpg.de/research/legal-humanism?page=3>).

**13** “Yet our information on the vast book production of European publishing houses remains rudimentary. Only the incunabular period up to the year 1500 is well documented, with a majority of editions and even copies being identified, this information currently being assembled in a single data bank in the ISTC project at the British Library. Thereafter, however, our knowledge falls off dramatically”. Quoted from the presentation of the research project *A Bibliography of European Legal Literature, 1450-1800*: <https://www.rg.mpg.de/research/bibliography-of-european-legal-literature>.

**14** From a methodological point of view there is a continuous line between the present research and the pioneering studies based on data collection conducted in the seventies and eighties by scholars like Carla Bozzolo, Dominique Coq and Ezio Ornato; for a good overview see: Ornato et al., *La face cachée du livre médiéval*. An essay published by Coq and Ornato is of particular interest in this context, as it pertains precisely to law books: “La production et le marché des incunables. Le cas des livres juridiques”; this research was necessarily based on incomplete data, taken from a partial census provided by GW; so, it can now be used as a benchmark to measure the enhancement of knowledge produced in this matter in the meantime. Much attention has been dedicated to the secondary literature published on the subject of early editions of legal texts especially by legal historians, including entries in reference works (e.g. CALMA, DBGI). One has to recall here works providing general overview of the theme by offering a number of relevant articles: Dauchy et al., *The Formation and Transmission of Western Legal Culture* (especially Wijffels, “Accursius, Standard Gloss”; Treggiari, “Bartolus, Commentaria”); Colli, *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter* (especially Neddermeyer, “Juristische Werke auf dem spätmittelalterlichen Buchmarkt”; Quaglioni, “Dal manoscritto alla stampa”); Ascheri, Colli, *Manoscritti, editoria e biblioteche* (especially Mattone, Olivari, “Dal manoscritto alla stampa”). It is also worth mentioning a fairly recent article which highlighted the advantages of applying the tools and knowledge of Analytical bibliography to Legal history (Hespanha, “Form and Content in Early Modern Legal Books”) and the on-going research on the *Corpus iuris civilis* by Rodolfo Savelli, who has already published: “Maestria tipografica e mercato accademico”; “Sulla stampa del *Corpus iuris civilis* nel Cinquecento”.

## 2 Legal Texts in the Age of Print: An Overview

### 2.1 The Categories of Law; *Ius Commune* and *Iura Propria*; Scholarly Production and Current Affairs

The 15cBOOKTRADE assigned a subject to each edition surviving for the 15th century, for a total of 45 descriptors.<sup>15</sup> Within the Law, the following categories have been applied: Civil law, Canon law, Civil & canon law, Practical law, Procedural law, National law, Statutes and Customs. The first three categories are directly taken from the vocabulary used at the time for naming the disciplines within the university system: *ius civile*, *ius canonicum*, *utrumque ius*; they include the texts of the Roman law (the law of the Empire), the law of the Church, along with the exegetical works of the jurists - on civil law, on Canon law, or on both. Classifying the works printed in 15th-century editions was challenging also in relation to the often miscellaneous nature of early editions. More important, it soon became clear that not all the works nor their authors are well-known enough to be classified with certainty, and in a number of cases the proposal of periodisation had to be assigned with a question mark. Indeed, the very process of classifying turned out to be a powerful tool of research in itself, by highlighting the existence of texts and authors that are either unknown or known only to a group of very few specialists and not placed in a wider context.

A number of categories were added as the project progressed, starting with 'Civil & Canon law'. 'Procedural law' was introduced for works dedicated to the process of trial (such as the *Ordo* or *Processus iudiciarius*), too relevant and distinctive to be classified within the class of 'Practical law'. The latter, on the other hand, has been dedicated to texts written in support of the application of the law in a professional or administrative context; the category includes handbooks for notaries, instructions for chanceries and the like. Altogether, the categories described so far cover more than 90% of legal texts. What remains is formed by the texts of the laws emitted by authorities other than the two main ones, the Emperor and the Pope: the *Ordonnances royales* in France, or the Yearbook in England are includ-

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**15** This work has been based on a preparatory scheme done by Ezio Ornato, member of the advisory board of the Project: a number of changes, such as incorporation, additions and adaptations have been made to the list initially provided by Ornato. Moreover, the Project also decided to assign multiple keywords with the aim to enhance the research and the retrieval of the texts by highlighting aspects not included in the main categories, but also elements considered as of particular interest, like those revealing the cultural or economic context of production, its purpose and potential audience, and, finally, to signal collections of texts or anthologies. On this cf. the Introduction in this volume.

ed in this group, and have been classified as ‘National law’. Finally, two more classes were introduced for the statutes and for the texts of Customary law (*consuetudines*) [charts 1-2; tab. 1].

The categories have been identified and named so as to adhere as much as possible to the vocabulary adopted by legal historians, with the aim of presenting the results of the research in a way that specialists in this field could appreciate and use. Other categorisations, such as the concepts of *ius commune* and *ius proprium*, have not been transferred into descriptors, but have been taken into consideration in analysing the data and are in the background to provide the conceptual framework necessary to interpret them correctly. So, within the given classification, the final three categories (‘National law’, ‘Statutes’ and ‘Customs’) reflect the laws of local/national authorities and fall under the *iura propria*, which cover less than 10% of the whole; all other texts seem to be expression of the system of the *ius commune*, in its extended meaning of the well-coordinated system of laws and principles established by the two superior authorities (Empire and Church) and by the interpretative works of the jurists.<sup>16</sup> ‘Procedural Law’ is therefore part of this main category, and so are the texts that fall under ‘Practical law’, but of course this is still open to the interpretation of the specialists. This very work of classification has been made with the aim to provide the specialists with a tool of research that is essential to explore and understand the bibliographical universe while it was being revolutionised by printing.<sup>17</sup>

With respect to legal texts, among the keywords, the following terms are the most relevant: education; commentary; current affairs; administration (civil or Church); notary. Indeed, these terms allow us to distinguish the texts of jurisprudence (the law as a discipline, the ‘learned law’) from the texts of individual laws produced by the authorities in their day-to-day activity and for administrative purposes. This distinction is particularly important for a better understanding of the distribution of texts between Civil and Canon law. A very important portion of the editions of contemporary texts in Can-

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**16** Cf. above note 3; also, the concept of *ius commune* is a complex one, the result of a long research and debate; the main conceptualisations are due to Francesco Calasso and Giuseppe Ermini: Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune*; Calasso, *Medio Evo del diritto*; Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune* (especially “Ius commune e utrumque ius”, 3-40; “Diritto comune”, 117-26; “Tradizione di Roma e unità giuridica europea”, 59-126); Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune*, vol. 2. Cf. also Segoloni, *Il diritto comune e la tradizione giuridica europea* (especially essays by Guido Astuti, Manlio Bellomo, Giovanni Casandro, Antonio Padoa Schioppa, and Bruno Paradisi).

**17** This work has been done by the 15cBOOKTRADE Project for the first time and it is offered as a starting point, in the choice of descriptors as well as in their application, to the specialists of all disciplines from whom suggestions on how to improve the classification, by making changes and corrections, by modifying terms or adding nuances, may be offered.

on law are bulls or decrees of the pontiffs, bishops and papal commissaries, something which shows very well the substantial use of the technology of printing done by the Church from the beginning of the same. This output consists of documents in print, which differ, also from a bibliological point of view, from the large folio volumes hosting the very long compilations of laws and commentaries that were read and taught in the universities. Within the class of Law, these texts have been marked with the keywords 'current affairs', 'administration'. The format is also a distinctive element, as they are usually printed in single sheets (the format being expressed as 'Broadside'), but most important, in my opinion, is the author, since in these texts the author is the person in charge of an office, rather than a scholar, and the text is usually the result of a bureaucratic procedure, with many different contributors.<sup>18</sup> A general overview and main features of this group of texts, and of the texts of the laws issued by the sovereigns, which are not the focus of this article, is provided in the next few lines.

More than 960 editions of legal texts are printed on single sheets; of these, 700 are indulgences (bulls or letters), 252 are letters related to other matters. The vast majority of these documents were issued in Germany (629),<sup>19</sup> followed by the Iberian Peninsula (102) and the Low Countries (70); Italy follows with only 51 editions [tab. 2]. The official paternity of the text also produces some interesting numbers: the commonest name is that of Raimundus Peraudi (Raymond Pérault, 1435-1505), apostolic commissary and papal legate, who undertook numerous diplomatic missions in Germany and France. The names of the various popes come after, together with those of a number of other legates and bishops, mostly acting in Central Europe [tab. 3]. A synthesis of all the legal texts promulgated by the pontiffs [tab. 4], and not included in the *Corpus iuris canonici* provides a complementary view on this production and further evidence of the intense use of the printing press made by the head of the Catholic Church. This note leads us to the categories of the laws issued by the heads of states (kingdoms, duchy, etc.), as well as collections of the laws of nations, such as the laws of the German people (e.g. the *Sachsenspiegel*) or the Jews. Altogether, more than 200 editions fall into this category, half of which are medieval texts, the other half are contemporary. There are laws issued by the kings of England and France, but also the statutes of the Duchy of Savoy, the *Constitutiones Regni*

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**18** One might observe that this is true also for the two *corpora iuris*, as the text of the *Digestum* was not written by the Emperor Justinian nor the texts of the *Constitutiones clementinae* were written by pope Clement V, but I think it is obvious that both Justinian and Clement V, as well as Gregory IX and John XXII, played the role that is close to the author in relation to the arrangement of the texts of laws into a *corpus*.

**19** Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke*.



*Siciliae*, and the compilation of Jewish laws [tab. 5]. *Statuta* of lower level organisations, such as city statutes, have been gathered in a dedicated group of 60 editions, while 41 editions are in the category of Customs, *consuetudines*. All these texts are of great interest and relevance in relation to the study of the birth and development of the State and public administration in the early modern period, as well as to the study of the system of common law, or national (Jewish) tradition. Evidently, this topic should form the core of a dedicated study.

## 2.2 Civil and Canon law: Scholarly Production

The systematisation and analysis of the texts of Roman and Canon law, later to be gathered respectively into the *Corpus iuris civilis* and *Corpus iuris canonici*, formed the basis of the very creation of the university, as the highest degree of the educational system.<sup>20</sup> These texts are at the core of the category of scholarly production, together with the works written by the jurists in relation with their academic activity. The category therefore includes commentaries, *reportationes*, *quaestiones disputatae*, but also abridgments (*summae*), introductory texts to the study of the discipline and texts conceived as reference works (*vocabularia*, *repertoria* and the like). The category includes works that might not have a close and direct relation with the teaching activity, but were the result of the jurist's investigation, such as treatises exploring a particular subject, but also the *consilia*, reflecting the author's deep knowledge of and expertise in a topic.<sup>21</sup> The keyword 'education' has been used to mark most part of these texts,

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. above notes 5-6. On the birth of the jurisprudence as a discipline, cf. also Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence. Pavia and Bologna 850-1150*, particularly the final chapter "The Invention of a Discipline". In this work Radding shows how the birth of Jurisprudence as a new discipline was the result of a process started in the context of the Lombard court at Pavia, where judges were already using parts of the Justinian's texts (*Codex* and *Novellae*) to solve cases under attention. The rediscovery, after five centuries, of the Digest (the longest and most complex compilation of the texts of the ancient jurists) was to come later, when society, stimulated by a powerful process of renewal, was in need of a sophisticated legal framework that could only be found in the thought of the ancient jurists. Radding's analysis of how the knowledge of the *corpus* of Roman Law was developed in the early Middle Ages was followed by an in-depth study of the earliest texts of the *Corpus iuris* done together with a new codicological and palaeographical analysis made for the purpose by Antonio Ciaralli, and ended up with a new dating of almost all the manuscripts; cf. Radding, Ciaralli, "The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages".

<sup>21</sup> The category of scholarly production is only aimed to distinguish the texts resulting from the speculative works of the jurists from texts of practical or administrative use within the group of texts which form the focus of this article. In this analysis, therefore, the category does not include here texts classified as National law or Customs. Of course this does not imply that the latter are not considered as the result of the work of learned jurists.

yet so far applied only to those which have an obvious relation with the teaching activity; ‘commentary’, ‘index’, ‘abridgments’, to mark respectively exegetical works, texts consisting of or including *tabulae, summae*; ‘notary’ for texts like the *summa artis notariae*, which is also part of this group.

About 2,500 editions belong to this group [charts 3-4]; the majority of them are medieval works, which is obvious as the group includes the texts of both the *corpus iuris civilis* and the *corpus iuris canonici*. Yet, it is worth noting the prevalence of medieval authors, as well as that of the texts of civil law over Canon law, plus a relevant number of editions of texts in both laws (*utroque iure*). Such a synthesis acquires significance when at least the authors are known; a complete list includes more than 250 authors, or titles of anonymous texts. Those printed in 20 or more editions have been highlighted in a ‘top ranking’ list [tab. 8]; a much longer list is formed by all the others [tab. 9], and one can see here how the majority is formed by those authors whose texts were printed only once, such as Johannes Franciscus de Poliascha, Henricus Greve de Göttingen or Jean Bagnyon. A long list of names, usually hiding in the shadow of those who received more attention from the printers, was brought to the surface by such classification and it is hoped that new research, so facilitated, will pursue this type of production. These lists only aim to provide an overview and to allow comparisons between general data and some warnings should be heeded. First of all, only the names of those who in the ISTC appear as main authors (in each edition) are listed and only editions are counted, not the single works that might be found collected together in one edition.<sup>22</sup>

Multiple works within an edition are an important and common feature of 15th-century book production, in this respect continuing a long-standing medieval tradition. It is indeed the main reason why the 15cBOOKTRADE is carrying on the analytical recording of the texts in the database TEXT-inc. In this paragraph a synthetic bird’s-eye view is needed to serve as an introduction to the focuses. For this purpose, uniform headings have been used for those texts that in the ISTC appear either anonymous, or are scattered throughout the database under individual headings. This issue is particularly important for the texts of Civil law, which in the ISTC are found under the name of the Emperor Justinian, including those parts that contain, or only consist of, the texts of feudal law, such as the *Libri feudorum* or Constitutions of medieval emperors. By contrast, in the ISTC, as

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<sup>22</sup> This fact explains why counting the works attributed to an author in 15th-century editions can result in very different final totals, as has been observed, for example, by Vincenzo Colli in relation to the incunabula editions of the works of Baldus de Ubaldi: Colli, “Incunabula operum Baldi de Ubaldis”.

well as in GW, the texts of Canon law appear under the name of the author of each part, Gratian and the popes Gregory IX, Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII; it should be remembered that it was only in the course of the 16th century that they were finally gathered under the common title of *Corpus iuris canonici*. In this table they are kept together for the purpose of comparing different groups of texts, showing, for example, that in the 15th century only the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius, which appeared in all editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato were as popular as the two main collections.

It is worth noting that in the 15th century the texts of Civil law were printed in parts as separate editions, reflecting their traditional arrangement in the manuscript tradition.<sup>23</sup> Previous to printing, the four parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (*Digestum*, *Codex*, *Novellae*, *Institutiones*) were arranged in five volumes: the 50 books of the Digest (or *Pandectae*, the collection of texts of ancient jurists) were divided in: (1) *Digestum Vetus* (1.1-24.2), (2) *Digestum Infortiatum* (24.3-38.17) and (3) *Digestum Novum* (39.1-50.17). The 12 books of the Codex were also divided in two: the medieval *Codex Iustinianus* only included the first nine books, the last three (*Tres ultimi libri*) being gathered together with the *Novellae* (or *Authenticum*, the laws issued by the Emperor Justinian himself) and the four books of the *Institutiones* (introduction and textbook for the study of the law) to form what is also known as the *Volumen*. In the printed editions of the fifteenth century this arrangement is reproduced with a variant concerning the *Volumen* and the *Institutiones*: the internal combination of the *Volumen* varied, especially in relation to the medieval additions, such as the *Libri feudorum*, which are not always present but can also be found alone; the *Institutiones*, on the other hands, were always printed separately [tab. 7].

### 2.3 Periodisation of the Texts of Civil and Canon Law

Legal texts were among the earliest ones to appear in print; and, again, it was the texts of Canon law that were printed first [tab. 8]. The *princeps* of the *Constitutiones Clementinae* – i.e. the constitutions of pope Clement V (1305-14) issued by his successor John XXII (1316-

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**23** The texts of Roman law circulating in the Middle Ages were not identical with the texts written at the court of the Emperor Justinian at Byzantium in the 6th century. They were the result of the exegetical work of early jurists, the Glossators: a collection of texts rearranged and increased with later supplements. A text of reference for the Digest also prevailed, which formed the basis for the work of the Medieval jurists: the *Littera Bononiensis* in opposition to the *Littera Pisana-Florentina*, as testified in a celebrated very early witness of the Digest, the only one containing the texts in Greek.

34) – were printed in Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer in June 1460.<sup>24</sup> Five years later, Fust and Schoeffer also published the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII,<sup>25</sup> and both works were printed again by Schoeffer alone in 1467 and 1470.<sup>26</sup> In the meantime, Schoeffer printed the earliest editions of the *Institutiones*, in 1468.<sup>27</sup> By 1470 no editions had appeared outside Germany, but even there only certain parts of the *corpora* were printed; some of them more than once, which marked a kind of original trend partially confirmed by later production. The most printed books were the *Liber Sextus* by Boniface VIII, with 58 editions, for Canon law and, for Civil law, the *Institutiones*, which were also the most printed legal text of all with 77 editions. In both cases, the majority of editions were printed in Italy; just after 1470, indeed, Italy was the place where the majority of editions appeared and where all the parts of both *corpora* were printed. More details on the editions of the texts of Civil law are provided in the following paragraphs; in the next few lines, instead, some brief considerations are furnished about the general features of editions of Canon law.

The *princeps* of the *Decretum Gratiani* (the core collection of the *corpus*) was not printed by Schoeffer, but appeared in Strasbourg in 1471 in the printing shop of Heinrich Eggstein, who repeated it again the following year, when Schoeffer also added the *Decretum* to his catalogue.<sup>28</sup> Soon it was printed in Italy: in Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1474,<sup>29</sup> in Rome by Lauer in 1476,<sup>30</sup> with further editions in these same cities during the 1470s. In the following years yet more editions appeared in Venice, by various printers/publishers; in the

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**24** Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000.

**25** Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000

**26** Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)*. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ISTC ic00711000; Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 17 Apr. 1470. GW 4850; ISTC ib00978000.

**27** Justinianus, *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24 May 1468. GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000.

**28** Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis. Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein, 1471. GW 11351; ISTC ig00360000; Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca). Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein, 1472. GW 11352; ISTC ig00361000; Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 13 Aug. 1472. GW 11353; ISTC ig00362000.

**29** Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Ed: Alexander de Nevo and Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Add: Johannes Diaconus: *Summarium, seu Flos decreti*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000.

**30** Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar. 1476. GW 11355; ISTC ig00364000.

1490s, however, it was the Tortis brothers who took over the market. Interestingly, no more editions were printed in Rome and only one was printed in Milan, by Honate.<sup>31</sup> Outside Italy, other editions were printed in Strasbourg, Basel, Nuremberg and Lyon. A similar pattern applied to the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, with the addition of two places of publication, Paris and Speyer, where four editions appeared: in Paris in 1476 and 1499-1500;<sup>32</sup> in Speyer, by Peter Drach, in 1482 and 1492.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the *Clementinae* were printed in the same localities, but a fewer number of times, and with the addition of a couple of university towns, Ferrara and Pavia, in 1473, 1479, and 1483.<sup>34</sup> In all these places, Mainz, Strasbourg, Rome, Venice, Basel, Paris, Speyer, Pavia and Ferrara, were printed the 58 editions of the *Liber Sextus* of Boniface VIII. Only two editions of the *Extravagantes* of John XXII were printed in the 15th century, one supposedly in Lyon around 1488,<sup>35</sup> and the other one in Venice in 1497.<sup>36</sup>

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**31** Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 20 Aug. 1483. GW 11367; ISTC ig00374500.

**32** Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales*, cum glossa. Paris: Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, 1 May 1476. GW 11455; ISTC ig00449300; Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa Bernardi Parmensis*. Ed: Sebastian Brant, Jean Chappuis. Paris: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 16 Mar. 1499/1500. GW 11496; ISTC ig00478000.

**33** Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa*. Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 16 Aug. 1486. GW 11473; ISTC ig00461000; Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa*. Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 28 May 1492. GW 11486; ISTC ig00468000.

**34** Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, [12 Apr.] 1473. GW 7084; ISTC ic00715500; Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae with XX Extravagantes). With additions by L. Marius Parutus. Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1479. GW 7099; ISTC ic00729000; Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones*. Comm: Johannes Andreae. Pavia: Gasparinus de Fianbertis, 31 May 1482. GW 0709510N; ISTC ic00725400.

**35** Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze), *Decretales extravagantes*. Comm: Jesselinus de Cassanis. Add: Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis: *Preludium ad extravagantes*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488]. GW M12748; ij00247300.

**36** Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze), *Constitutiones Johannis Papae XXII cum apparatu Jesselini de Cassanis necnon cum additionibus Johannis Francisci de Pavinis. Decretales extravagantes communes selectae Johannis XXII, Benedicti XI et Clementis V*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Sept. 1497. GW M1275210; ij00247100.

## 2.4 Commentaries, Treatises and Reference Works: The Most Published Genres of Scholarly Production

The application of a number of categories or keywords to the 2,250 editions or so of scholarly texts, not including the *corpora iuris*, allowed us to understand what typology was mostly printed and whether the typologies evolved over the years. The following terms have been used: 'Commentum/Lectura'; 'Quaestiones/Disputationes'; 'Reportationes'; 'Summa'; 'Tractatus'; 'Consilia'; 'Casus'; 'Singularia & Brocarda'. To these terms, taken from the tradition and found in the titles,<sup>37</sup> the expression 'Handbook & Reference' has been added, to gather together all texts conceived as tools for the study of the discipline. Such categories have been applied to all texts included in each edition; in a number of cases, therefore, it was necessary to use multiple descriptors (such as 'Quaestiones - Reportationes - Consilia'), as a further manifestation of the variety of combinations in which legal texts (as well as texts of any other disciplines) were published in early editions. The result (chart 4) shows that the vast majority is formed of commentaries on the texts of Civil and Canon law (744 eds, about 35% of the whole); they are also defined *Lecturae* (as the title often reads) as they were written by the jurists in their activity of teaching the law and indeed they are usually commentaries on a specific part of the *corpus* (e.g. *Lectura super prima parte Digesti Veteris*) with relation to the part of the text that was read during a course. The practice of writing comments to the texts was an evolution from the traditional interpretation of the texts, consisting of notes added to the margins (*glosae*, as developed within the earliest school of jurists, the Glossators), and culminated in the compilation of the *Magna glossa* by Accursius (1184-1263). Famously Accursius' work became almost a natural apparatus to the text of the *Corpus* and indeed all the editions printed in the 15th century included it, sometimes with additional notes by later jurists. Among these later jurists Bartolus de Saxoferrato excelled; to him is mostly owed a renewed approach to the study of the text and a development of a new school of jurists, the School of Commentators, also manifested in the number of editions of their works printed in the 15th century.<sup>38</sup>

'Handbooks and reference' works form the second most printed kind of texts (486 eds) mirroring a very important series of works which includes: *repertoria* (indexes, finding aids) in 57 dedicated editions plus 27 editions in which a *repertorium* was combined with oth-

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<sup>37</sup> On this Dondorp, Schrage, *The Sources of Medieval Learned Law*, [section] C. Teaching and Writing; García y García, *The Law Faculties*, 394-400 (*Literary Genres in Legal Writing and Questions of Nomenclatures*).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Treggiari, "Bartolus, Commentaries".

er texts. Some *repertoria* were dedicated to the work of a particular author (30 editions), such as the *Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli* written by Antonius de Prato Veteri, printed in six editions;<sup>39</sup> there were also *repertoria* written by celebrated authors, such as Baldus de Ubaldis, for his *Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi*<sup>40</sup> or the *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*, in four editions.<sup>41</sup> A number of editions of the *modus studendi in utroque* are also in this group, by various authors (Johannes Jacobus Canis, Johannes Camers, or Johannes Baptista de Caccialupis who added a celebrated early biography of jurists, *De modo studendi in utroque et vita doctorum*),<sup>42</sup> as well as the numerous editions printed of the *Modus legendi abbreviaturas* (35 editions, ten of which in collection with other texts),<sup>43</sup> which was especially conceived as a

**39** Antonius de Prato Veteri, *Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli*. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate], for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 23 Mar. 1481. GW 2249; ISTC ia00915000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, [about 1485]. GW 2254; ISTC ia00915050; Milan: [Johannes Antonius de Honate], 13 Jan. 1486. GW 2251; ISTC ia00915100; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, before 20 Aug. 1498]. GW 2251; ISTC ia00915200; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 2252; ISTC ia00915300; [Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, not after 1495]. GW 2253; ISTC ia00915400.

**40** Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi. Signata in leg. 'Ingenium', Dig. De statu hominum. Signata in leg. 'Quaedam mulier', Dig. Familiae eriscundae*. Guillelmus Duranti: *Singularia ad causas cotidianas. Signata super leg. 'Dotis causa', Dig. De iure dotium*. Innocentius IV: *Notabilia dicta*. [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 1475]. GW M48700; ISTC iu00012500.

**41** Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*. Milan: Ulderich Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 13 Aug. 1489. GW M48654; ISTC iu00031000; [Milan: Ulderich Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 30 Sept. 1491. GW M48655; ISTC iu00032000; Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499. GW M48659; ISTC iu00032500; Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*. Add: *Singularia, seu Repertorium*. Angelus de Ubaldis: *Singularia*. Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, 8 Nov. 1499. GW M48660; ISTC iu00032600.

**42** Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de, *De modo studendi in utroque iure et vita doctorum*. Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *Contrarietates*. Matthaeus Mattaselanus: *De electione opinionum*. Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3-4 July 1493. GW 5841; ISTC ic00006000.

**43** *Modus legendi abbreviaturas*. [Cologne: Nicolaus Götz, about 1475]. GW M24955; ISTC im00741000; [The Netherlands (Utrecht?): Printer of Alexander Magnus (GW 875) (Gerardus de Leempt?), between 1475 and 1479]. GW M24944; ISTC im00742000; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 Sept. 1476. GW M24970; ISTC im00743000; [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, about Oct. 1476]. Not in GW; ISTC im00743100; Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [about 1483]. GW M24968; ISTC im00743200; Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [1477-83]. GW M24967; ISTC im00743300; [Cologne: Petrus in Altis (Bergmann?), de Olpe, about 1478]. GW M24958; ISTC im00743500; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 July 1482. GW M24971; ISTC im00744000; Basel: [Printer of the '[same title]'], 7 Apr. 1484. GW M24947; ISTC im00745000; Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, [about 1485]. GW M24956; ISTC im00746000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 31 Oct. 1486. GW M24983; ISTC im00746500; Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1487. GW M24961; ISTC im00747000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 24 Jan. 1488. GW M24984; ISTC im00747500; Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 5 Feb. 1488. GW M24966; ISTC im00748000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 11 May 1490. GW M24985; ISTC im00748600; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 10 Mar.

guide to abbreviations in legal texts, including information on the titles of the books and their arrangement.<sup>44</sup> Similar information was also provided in the *Vocabularius juris utriusque* (attributed to Jodocus Erfordiensis), which was printed in 33 editions, starting in Basel in 1473;<sup>45</sup> five editions of a *Methodus utriusque juris* appeared

1492. GW M24972; ISTC im00749000; [Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1493. GW M24957; ISTC im00749500; Paris: Felix Baligault, 25 Oct. 1493. GW M24976; ISTC im00750000; Paris: [Etienne Jehannot], 24 Sept. 1494. GW M24978; ISTC im00750400; [Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, about 1494-97]. GW M47355; ISTC im00750420; Delft: [Christiaan Snellaert], 28 Sept. 1495. GW M24964; ISTC im00750450; Paris: Pierre Le Dru, 27 Nov. 1495. GW M24982; ISTC im00750500; Leipzig: [Gregorius Böttiger (Werman)], 1497. GW M24965; ISTC im00750700; Paris: Etienne Jehannot, for Durand Gerlier, 5 June 1497. GW M24979; ISTC im00751000; Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 25 June 1498. GW M24986; ISTC im00751100; Paris: [Johannes Higman?, for] Jean Petit, 11 Nov. 1498. GW M24974; ISTC im00751200; Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne], 1500. GW M24969; ISTC im00751500; Paris: [Georg Mittelhus], for Jean Petit and Durand Gerlier, 30 Mar. 1500. GW M24988; ISTC im00751700.

In collection with other texts: *Modus legendi abbreviaturas*. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*; Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*; Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*; Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*; Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*; Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. [Basel: Johannes Solidi (Schilling), not after 1476]. GW M47366; ISTC im00753000. [same collection]. [Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1477]. GW M47359; ISTC im00753500; [same collection]. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, after 1479]. GW M47324; ISTC im00754300.

*Modus legendi abbreviaturas*. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*. Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*. Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*. Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*. Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*. Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus*. [same collection]. Speyer: Peter Drach, [about 1478]. GW M47339; ISTC im00754000; [same collection]. [Speyer]: Peter Drach, [not after 1484]. f° & 4°. GW M47341; ISTC im00755000; [same collection]. Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1487; 26 Feb. 1488. GW M47346; ISTC im00756000; [same collection]. Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 9 Aug. 1490. GW M47350; ISTC im00757000; [same collection]. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 23 June 1494. 4°. GW M47335; ISTC im00758000; Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 21 July 1494. GW M47352; ISTC im00759000; Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 20 and 30 Aug. 1499. GW M47364; ISTC im00760000.

**44** “Ius enim civile vel imperatorium quod leges appellatur. Traditur est nobis in multis et generaliter in iij voluminibus que dicuntur libri legales, ut sunt: Digestum, Codex, Instituta, et Autenticum”, from the first printed edition (Cologne 1475. GW 24955; ISTC im00741000, f. a5v).

**45** *Vocabularius juris utriusque*. [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1473]. GW M12628; ISTC iv00334000; [Basel: Michael Wenssler, about 1473]. GW M12625; ISTC iv00335000; [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, about 1477-78]. GW M12635; ISTC iv00335500; [Basel: Michael Wenssler, between 1475 and 1478]. GW M12614; ISTC iv00335600; Paris: In vico S. Jacobi (Au Soufflet Vert [Louis Symonel et Socii]), 31 Oct. 1476. GW M12648; ISTC iv00335700; Speyer: Peter Drach, 18 May 1477. GW M12653; ISTC iv00336000; [Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1477]. GW M12655; ISTC iv00337000; [Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1477]. GW



slightly later, the first one in 1481.<sup>46</sup> Close to this kind of works are the lists of titles of the rubrics, such as the three editions of the rubrics of the books of civil law<sup>47</sup> or the rubrics of both collections of laws, published in 12 editions;<sup>48</sup> the *Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, 16 editions.<sup>49</sup> Finally, in this group are also found

M12663; ISTC iv00337200; Speyer: Peter Drach, Sept. 1478. GW M12654; ISTC iv00338000; Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 4 Sept. 1481. GW M12646; ISTC iv00340000; Ed: Daniel ab Aqua. Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea and Jacobus de Dusa, 1482. GW M12677; ISTC iv00341000; Basel: [Michael Wenssler], 20 Aug. 1483. GW M12632; ISTC iv00342000; [Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen], 29 Sept. 1483. GW M12634; ISTC iv00343000; Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 25 Dec. 1483. GW M12674; ISTC iv00344000; Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca) and Bernardino di Pino, 18 June 1485. GW M12668; ISTC iv00345000; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Sept. 1486. GW M12661; ISTC iv00346000; Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 19 Dec. 1487. GW M12675; ISTC iv00346500; Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 17 Aug. 1488. GW M12624; ISTC iv00347000; Lyon: Mathias Huss, 21 May 1490. GW M12638; ISTC iv00347500; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 28 Sept. 1490. GW M12666; ISTC iv00348000; Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 30 May 1491. GW M12669; ISTC iv00350000; Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 6 July 1492. GW M12641; ISTC iv00351000; Venice: Philippus Pincius, 31 Oct. 1493. GW M12672; ISTC iv00352000; [Lyon: Mathias Huss, not after 25 Jan. 1494]. Not in GW; ISTC iv00352300; Rome: Stephan Planck, 6 Feb. 1494. GW M12652; ISTC iv00353000; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 'Casus Breves Decretalium' (Georg Husner?)], 13 Aug. 1494. GW M12662; ISTC iv00354000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber], 12 Dec. 1494. GW M12618; ISTC iv00354500; Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1 July 1496. GW M12647; ISTC iv00355000; [Lyon: n.pr.], 8 June 1497. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00355500; Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1498. GW M12676; ISTC iv00356000; Lyon: Jean de Vingle, 24 Dec. 1499. GW M12640; ISTC iv00357000; Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 27 May 1500. GW M12667; ISTC iv00358000; [Spain?: n.pr., after 1500?]. GW M1261710; ISTC iv00358100.

**46** *Methodus utriusque juris*. [Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 24 Dec. 1481. GW M23075; ISTC im00526500; [Louvain: Rodolphus Loeffs de Driel, 1483-84]. GW M23074; ISTC im00526600; [Louvain]: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 23 Feb. 1488. GW M23076; ISTC im00526700; [Paris: Jean Du Pré (printer of Paris), about 1488]. GW M23973; ISTC im00526750; [Paris]: Michel Le Noir, 31 Jan. 1493/94. GW M47133; ISTC im00526900.

**47** *Rubricae iuris civilis*. [Padua: Johannes de Reno, about 1473]. GW M3904110; ISTC ir00340250; Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 6 Feb. 1478. GW M39042; ISTC ir00340500; Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 18 Jan. 1483. GW M39043; ISTC ir00340600.

**48** *Rubricae iuris civilis et canonici*. [Rome: Stephan Planck, before 1485]. GW M39044; ISTC ir00341000; [Rome: Stephan Planck], 20 July 1485. GW M39045; ISTC ir00342000; Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 9 Jan. 1486. GW M39036; ISTC ir00342150; [Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, about 1488]. GW M3904810; ISTC ir00342250; [Rome: Eucharius Silber, ab. 1490; ISTC: Planck undated] GW M39046; ISTC ir00343300; Rome: Eucharius Silber, 5 Oct. 1493. GW M39047; ISTC ir00342300; [Lyon: Antonius Lambillon, about 1494]. GW M39033; ISTC ir00342350; [Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 1494-1500]. GW M39032; ISTC ir00342400; [Paris]: Georg Mittelhus, [about 1494-1500]. GW M39034; ISTC ir00342420; Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayser, 1497. GW M39037; ISTC ir00342500; [Paris: Pierre Le Dru for] Jean Petit, [about 1500]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342600.

**49** *Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti*. [Paris: Pierre Le Rouge, 1487-93]. GW 10065; ISTC if00210000; [Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, Postilla super Psalterium (H 10383), about 1493]. GW 10051; ISTC if00210300; Bologna: Danesius Hectoris, 12

works of practical use, such as the collections of formulas, *formularia* of various kind.<sup>50</sup>

Treatises (*tractatus*) are the third most printed genre of work, with more than 350 editions (about 300 plus a number of editions where a treatise appears together with other works). Like the *commentum*, the *tractatus* was developed by the late school of jurists, from the late 13th century onwards, and to it Bartolus, again, gave an important impulse.<sup>51</sup> Collections of *Repetitiones* follow, with about 120 editions, the *repetitio* being “a lecture outside the normal curriculum”.<sup>52</sup> It consisted, indeed, in the repetition of a lecture in order to provide the students with a more in-depth analysis of the content of a *lectura* and to clarify their doubts. About 100 editions are collections of *Casus*, that is “an introduction to each law, canon or chapter, and paragraph, summarizing its text”,<sup>53</sup> with an exemplification of practical application of the law.<sup>54</sup> More than 70 editions are collections of *Consilia*, that is the expert opinion of the jurist given under request of a judge or of a private citizen. Altogether *consilia* appear in about 130 editions, in half of which together with other texts (often *quaestiones*, *tractatus*, *repertoria*). A little over 50 editions contain the *Ars notaria*, the famous text for notaries, which was taught in various universities, and indeed texts of *Ars notaria* appear in the lists of books distributed by the *stationarii*;<sup>55</sup> the bulk is formed by 33 editions of an anonymous *Ars notariatus*, a brief text of a few leaves summarising the subject. The celebrated *Summa artis notariae* by Rolandinus

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June 1494. GW 10053; ISTC if00210500; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for Denis Roce, [about 1494-95]. GW 10054; ISTC if00210700; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot?], for Denis Roce, [about 1495-1500]. GW 10064; ISTC if00211000; Paris: Guy Marchant, 30 Dec. 1496. GW 10056; ISTC if00212000; Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 1496. GW 10055; ISTC if00213000; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [about 1497]. GW 10057; ISTC if00214000; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, [about 1496-98]. GW 10052; ISTC if00215000; Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayrrer, 1497. GW 10058; ISTC if00215800; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [about 1497]. GW 10059; ISTC if00215900; [Paris]: Jean Treperel, [about 1497]. GW 10062; ISTC if00216000; [Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [after 1497]. Not in GW; ISTC if00216100; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for E., J. and G. de Marnef, [about 1498]. GW 10060; ISTC if00216200; [Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [about 1499]. GW 10063; ISTC if00216600; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for Jean Petit, [about 1500]. GW 10066; ISTC if00216700.

**50** E.g. *Formularium diversorum contractuum*, first edition: Florence: Francesco di Dino, [about 1487]. GW 10190; ISTC if00249000, followed by six editions all printed in Italy.

**51** Rossi, “Bartolo da Sassoferrato alle origini della moderna trattatistica giuridica”.

**52** Dondorp-Schrage, “The Sources of Medieval Learned Law”, 27.

**53** García y García, “The Faculties of Law”, 395.

**54** Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune*, 2: 201-32 (“Le fonti dottrinali”).

**55** Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 728-32.

de' Passageriis was printed in 13 editions<sup>56</sup> and a *Doctrinale florum artis notariae*, by Stephanus Marcilletus (Étienne Marcillet, a French notary) appeared in five editions.<sup>57</sup> About 50 editions are *Summae*, concise commentaries aiming to provide a comprehensive, yet brief, introduction to the subject of parts of the legal text, such as the *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis sive summa super IV Decretalium* by Johannes Andree, which was printed in 16 editions.<sup>58</sup> Two groups of works follow with 27 editions: *Singularia & Brocardica*, variants of a genre consisting in a discussion of a general principle of law by quoting the passages found in the texts; *Quaestiones/Disputationes*: a typical expression of Scholasticism, the *quaestio* consisted in analysing the texts and the authoritative authors in order to provide the response by examining pros and cons, while, for didactic purposes, the question was to be debated by two students, defending opposing views (*quaestio disputata*). The list of genres closes with 25 editions

**56** Rolandinus de Passageriis, *Summa artis notariae*. Modena: Balthasar de Strucius, Oct. 1476. GW M38634; ISTC ir00244500; Turin: Johannes Fabri Lingonensis, 6 May 1478. GW M38637; ISTC ir00245000; Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, 1 Feb. 1480. GW M38635; ISTC ir00246000; Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 30 Apr. 1483. GW M38646; ISTC ir00246500; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 30 Nov. 1485. GW M38642; ISTC ir00247000; Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Johannes de Legnano, 25 Oct. 1486. GW M38633; ISTC ir00247500; Venice: [Baptista de Tortis], 12 Dec. 1489. GW M38654; ISTC ir00248000; Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 9 Sept. 1492. GW M38645; ISTC ir00249000; Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 16 Mar. 1496. GW M38655; ISTC ir00250000; Venice: Petrus de Quarengiis, Bergomensis, 22 Oct. 1498. GW M38644; ISTC ir00251000; [Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, between 1499 and 1506]. GW M38650; ISTC ir00251400; Rolandinus de Passageriis, *Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 31 Oct. 1500. GW M38648; ISTC ir00251500.

**57** Marcilletus, Stephanus, *Doctrinale florum artis notariae*. [Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, about 1487-88]. GW M20840; ISTC im00254700; [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, about 1487-88]. GW M2083710; ISTC im00254800; Turin: Nicolaus de Benedictis and Jacobinus Suigus, 16 Oct. 1492. GW M20846; ISTC im00255000; [Lyon: Johannes Fabri, about 1494]. GW M20848; ISTC im00255300; [Lyon: n.pr., about 1495?]. GW M20842; ISTC im00255500.

**58** Andree, Johannes, *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis, sive Summa super IV Decretalium*. [Rome: Adam Rot, about 1473]. GW 1742; ISTC ia00638900; [Rome: Johannes Gensberg, about 1473-74]. GW 1743; ISTC ia00639000; [Basel: Martin Flach (printer of Basel), about 1472-74]. GW 1751; ISTC ia00640000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1475]. GW 1744; ISTC ia00641000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1475]. GW 174410N; ISTC ia00641500; [Padua: Bernardinus Celerius, about 1478]. GW 1745; ISTC ia00642000; [Paris: Au Soufflet Vert (Louis Symonel et Socii), about 1480]. GW 1752; ISTC ia00642300; Enlarged edition. Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 5 May 1489. GW 1753; ISTC ia00642500; [Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1490]. GW 1746; ISTC ia00643000; [Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1490]. GW 1747; ISTC ia00644000; Enlarged edition. [Leipzig: Gregorius Böttiger (Werman), about 1492-95]. GW 1754; ISTC ia00645000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1482-88]. GW 1748; ISTC ia00646000; [Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, about 1495-1500]. GW 1749; ISTC ia00647000; Enlarged edition. Antwerp: [Govaert Bac, not before 21 Sept. 1500]. GW 1756; ISTC ia00647400; Enlarged edition. Leipzig: Jacobus Thanner, 1498. GW 1755; ISTC ia00648000; [Rome: Johann Besicken, about 1499]. GW 1750; ISTC ia00648200; Andree, Johannes, *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis cum repertorio decreti*. [Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, 1479]. GW 1757; ISTC ia00649000.

of commentaries on the work of an author, *Commentum (auctoris)*, which has been kept apart from the generic *Commentum* as it identifies those authors whose work clearly had become as authoritative as the text of the laws (or the canons): along with an edition of *Apostillae* to the work of the canonist Nicolaus de' Tudeschis, and additions to the *Speculum Gulielmi Durantis* (by Baldus de' Ubaldis). Otherwise this group mainly consists of the *Apostillae* by Alexander Tartagnus (1424-77) to the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313/14-1357/58).<sup>59</sup>

Bartolus gave his name to a major School of Jurisprudence (the 'School of Commentators'); indeed, expertise in the law was associated with his name: the saying 'nemo jurista nisi Bartolista' was still in use in the late 15th century. In the course of that century, both in Spain and Portugal it was established that the opinion of Bartolus would prevail in case of doubt: 1427 in Leon, 1433 in Castiglia and 1446 in Portugal, later extended to Brazil.<sup>60</sup> The fame of Bartolus, which spread through a vast number of manuscripts, was confirmed by the number of early printed editions, which made him the jurist most commonly found in print in the 15th century, far more than any of his rivals. Bartolus specialised in civil law (not in Canon law, nor was he a *doctor utriusque iuris*): his fame is linked to his comments on the texts of the Roman law and a number of treatises mostly based on his interpretation of the Roman law, such as the *Tractatus super constitutione «ad reprimendum crimen lese maiestatis»* and the constitution *Qui sint rebelles*, promulgated by the Emperor Henry VII, which became part of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (the *Constitutiones Extravagantes*). The analysis of the editions of these two groups of texts, the *Corpus iuris civilis* and Bartolus' works, forms the core of this paper.

### 3 Editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Focus 1)

#### 3.1 Introduction

A synthetic overview of the editions of all the parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* [tab. 7] shows how the *Institutiones* (the textbook of jurisprudence, *Institutes* in English) was the earliest and the most frequently printed book (also in comparison with the *Corpus iuris canonici*): 77 editions as opposed to an average of 23-25. The collection of Imperial Constitutions (the *Codex Iustinianus*, books I-IX) follows, with 30 editions. All the other parts were printed more or less the same number of times, with between 22 to 25 editions. So too are the three parts of the Digest (*Vetus*, *Infortiatum* and *Novum*), but also the combination

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<sup>59</sup> These editions are commented in section 4.

<sup>60</sup> Calasso, "Bartolo da Sassoferrato".

known as the *Volumen*, where we always find the *Novellae constitutiones* (i.e. the Constitutions promulgated by Justinian), the last three books of the *Codex* (books X-XII) and the *Libri Feudorum*. Some editions include the *Constitutiones Extravagantes* (promulgated by medieval emperors) and the *Acta de Pace Constantiae* (1183) [tabs. 6-7].

The earliest editions appeared in Germany, Mainz, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg, here included in the German area for historical reasons, followed by a number of editions printed mainly in Italy and Switzerland. During the 1480s, further editions were printed in several more Italian cities and in France, Lyon and Paris. No editions appeared in Spain, nor in the South of Italy, which is worth noticing. The bulk of the editions was produced in Italy, and particularly in Venice, in increasing numbers over three decades: 12, 37 and 44 editions. Lyon follows, with 16 and 33 editions, but they seem to be based on Venetian editions, as will be shown in the next paragraphs [tabs. 9-14].

### 3.2 The *editiones principes* of the Books of Civil law

By 1476 all parts of the *Corpus* were in print, almost all in different places and from different printers. In 1468 Peter Schoeffer printed in Mainz the *princeps* of the *Institutiones*. The text has a celebrated *incipit*, poetically praising the Law:

Imperial majesty should not be only adorned with arms but also armed with by laws, so that both in time of war and in those of peace it can be rightly regulated.<sup>61</sup>

This is the *incipit* of the imperial constitution conferring authority to the *Institutiones* (the constitution “Imperatoriam maiestatem” indeed) and is preceded by the invocation of God, the name of the author, that is the emperor Justinian, together with all his attributes, the mention of the addressees, that is the students, with the addition of the announcement of the book of the *Institutiones*:

In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Cristi. Imperator Cesar Flavius Iustinianus Alamanicus Francus Germanicus Acticus Guandalicus Africus pius felix inclitus victor ac triumphator semper augustus cupide legum iuventuti. Incipit liber primus domini Iustiniani imperatoris Institutionum seu elementorum.

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**61** “Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus et bellorum et pacis recte possit gubernari”, cf. TEXT-inc tij00506000.

In the vocabulary of diplomatic these are the three elements of the protocol (namely *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, and *inscriptio*), which take the appearance here of a *titulus*.<sup>62</sup> In this edition, and in almost all the following ones, this *titulus* was printed in red, as it would be rubricated in manuscripts. Indeed, it is certainly for the purpose of having the job completed by a rubricator that in the editions printed in Rome in 1473,<sup>63</sup> as well as in the one printed in Mantua in 1476,<sup>64</sup> the space remained blank and the text opens directly with the *incipit* “Imperatoriam maiestatem”.<sup>65</sup> Mirroring the first lines, in the *explicit* the author again addresses the students to express the wish that they will carry on their study by reading the books of the Digest: “We have made these remarks on public prosecutions only to enable you to have the merest acquaintance with them, and as a kind of guide to a fuller study of the subject, which, with the assistance of Heaven, you may make by reference to the larger volume of the Digest or Pandects”.<sup>66</sup>

In the many editions of the *Institutiones*, small variants can be observed in the *tituli*, both in the sequence of the attributes of the Emperor and in their spelling; for example ‘Guandalicus’ in the *prin-*

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**62** “Hoc quod in capite librorum scribitur, diversis nominibus a doctoribus appellatur. Dicitur enim capitulus, dicitur titulus, dicitur elenchus, dicitur prologus, dicitur prefacio, dicitur argumentum, dicitur prooemium, dicitur clavis. Capitulus dicitur eo quod in capite ponitur; Titulus a Titane, id est a sole, quia sicut sol oriens sua presentia inluminat, ita et titulus sequentia librorum manifestat”; to Richard Sharpe we owe the rediscovery and evaluation of this text, found in a manuscript written in the 10th century (*Titulus. Identifying Medieval Latin Texts*, 5).

**63** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer and Leonhardus Pflugel, 26 Jan. 1473. GW 7588; ISTC ij00509000.

**64** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: [Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), not after 15 July] 1476. GW 7588; ISTC ij00515000.

**65** As this case clearly shows, *tituli* and *incipit* do not coincide (although the word ‘incipit’ is often found in the *tituli*); similarly *explicit* and *colophon* are different portions of the text. *Tituli* and *colophon*, in fact, do not belong to the main text, they are rather elements of the paratext and, as such, they can vary sensibly, or even be present or not. Notoriously, in printed editions all paratextual elements were increased and enriched, to provide information on the context and on those who were responsible for the edition. Such notes are usually provided by the *colophon*, or in dedicatory letters and prefaces. Yet information is found also in-between the lines of shorter texts, such as the *tituli*, or other opening and closing formulas that the editors used to add to the main text. A detailed description of these texts has therefore been provided in TEXTinc, and *incipit* and *explicit* have been always transcribed apart from *tituli*, *colophon* and the like, so as to allow a comparison of the texts between different editions, as well as to establish the relations between the various editions. Among the principal goals of this research is the construction of a proper *stemma editionum* and an accurate delineation of the links with the manuscript tradition, so that a systematic recording of the paratextual features is very useful in this context.

**66** “Sed de publicis iudiciis hoc exposuimus ut nobis possibile sit summo digito et quasi per indicem diligentior eorum sciencia vobis ex latioribus Digestorum seu Pandectarum libris Deo propicio adventura est”.

*ceps* becomes more often Vandalicus, Flavius alternates with Flavus, etc.<sup>67</sup> The last lines of the main text may also present some variants, yet most of them are found in *colophons* and closing formulas, in the glossa and in further additional texts. In the *colophon* of the *principes* of the *Institutiones* (and in other publications) Schoeffer highlighted the importance of his enterprise, showing great pride at the task done, which he emphasised by printing the *colophon* in red and incapsulated in the glossa:

The present famous work of the Institutes appears in the beloved city of Mainz of the famous German people by the grace of God, who has bestowed on it genius of the first order and this great gift before all the other peoples of the earth, where it was achieved not with mere ink nor with a feather or metal pen, but by the invention of the mechanical art of printing, or making letter-shapes as shown here before you, and it is completed in praise of God's work by Peter Schoeffer from Gernsheim.<sup>68</sup>

At the very end of the book six couplets were printed, again exalting the enterprise. A few years later Schoeffer printed the *principes* of the *Codex Justinianus* (26 Jan. 1475).<sup>69</sup> A few months after that, another edition of the *Codex* was printed in Nuremberg,<sup>70</sup> by Sensenschmidt and Frisner who asked the jurist (*utriusque iuris doctor*) Andreas Rommel to work on the text, as testified by the prefatory letter that he addressed to Sensenschmidt.<sup>71</sup> The letter is preceded

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<sup>67</sup> Full transcriptions can be found in TEXT-inc records.

<sup>68</sup> "Presens Institutionum preclarum opus alma in urbe Maguntina inclite nacionis Germanice quam Dei clemencia tam alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito ceteris terrarum nationibus preferre illustrareque dignatus est, non atramento communi, non plumali canna neque erea, sed artificiosa quadam adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi sic effigiatum et ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatum per Petrum Schoyffer de Gernsheim. Anno dominice incarnationis Millesimo cccc.lxviii, vicesimaquarta die mensis Maii" (translation of the Author) (from the BL copy, IC.128, printed on vellum; BMC I 25; a digital copy of the Munich copy of this edition is available through BSB: urn:nbn:de:hbz:12-bsb00036837-3). On Schoeffer's entrepreneurship and his awareness of the role he was playing cf. Hellinga, "Peter Schoeffer: Publisher and Bookseller".

<sup>69</sup> *Codex Justinianus*. Comm: Franciscus Accursius. (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 26 Jan. 1475. GW 7722; ISTC ij00574000.

<sup>70</sup> *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Andreas Rommel. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, 24 June 1475. GW 7723; ISTC ij00575000.

<sup>71</sup> "Andreas Rumel Nurembergensis utriusque iuris doctor magistro Joanni Senseschmid impressori salutem. Rogas me mi Joannes quam instantissime velim tibi epistolam ad caput Codicis imprimendam componere sicut plerosque correctores fecisse mihi sepe numero narras existimans emulos tuos tanto posse facilius codices tuos nota male correctionis suppressimere quanto magis muti simus" (a4v).

by a sophisticated analytical index at the opening of the book, and is full of notes on the accuracy of the text, including a reference to the city of Pavia, where – Rommel says – there were both expert jurists and good exemplars: “eos precipue quos iam Papię ubi et exemplarium et doctissimorum virorum magna copia est”. Apparently the first and second round of corrections on the texts had been done in Pavia, and the third and fourth ones in Nuremberg: “prima ac secunda Codicis correctione, deinde Nurembergę tercia ac quarta quibus et egoipse desudavi” (ll. 7-9). Along with the index, further innovations were introduced: woodcut initials were printed at the beginning of the books, whereas in Schoeffer’s edition, as well as in others, spaces were left blank for initials to be added by hand, sometimes splendid miniatures such as those seen in the British Library copy (IC.128), but of course not found in every copy. Sensenschmidt and Frisner were very proud of their job, as manifested in the advertisement they printed to announce the publication of the edition, a unique copy of which is preserved today at the British Library:<sup>72</sup>

In order to avoid that the sacred laws, which allocate to each and every one according to what they deserve, disappear due to textual corruption or the lack of copies, for the benefit of all citizens, the skillful master of the art of printing, Joannes Sensenschmidt with Andreas Frisner de Bunsidel, companions here in Nuremberg, have published the Codex of the most sacred prince Justinian, the navel or centre in which all laws come together, accompanying it with the glossa ordinaria by Accursius Florentinus, and the type is not just for today, but they have printed it in such a way that for a long time it will be easier to admire it than to imitate it.<sup>73</sup>

Almost at the same time, but far away, the three parts of the Digest went into print. The *principes* were printed in Italy, in Rome and Perugia. In 1475 the *Infortiatum* was printed in Rome, introduced by an elegant preface mentioning the history of the Digest, the need of a printed edition, the great opportunity provided by the new tech-

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<sup>72</sup> Sensenschmidt, Johann and Andreas Frisner, *Bücheranzeige* [Advertisement for the Codex of Justinianus with the commentary of Accursius (GW 7723)]. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, [1475]. ISTC is00443200 GW M41555; British Library, IC.7845.

<sup>73</sup> “Ne igitur sacratissimę leges que unicuique quod suum est tribuunt, tali librorum et corruptione et penuria diutius supprimantur, pro communi reipublicę utilitate ille ingeniosus impressorię artis magister Joannes Sensenschmidt et Andreas Frisner de Bunsidel socii Nürmbergę commorantes Justiniani sacratissimi principis Codicem in quo tanquam in umbilico et centro fere omnes leges concurrunt una cum apparatu ordinario Accursii Florentini his nunc characteribus non solum dico imprimunt sed ita imprimunt ut admirandi sint longe facilius quem imitandi” (British Library, IC. 7845, ll. 9-16).



nology and the cooperation between the scholar who edited the text and the German master who printed it:

[...] and of Justinian who brought back to light the corpus of laws, previously dispersed and confused; a restoration to which many distinguished jurists gave their contribution and, by doing so, provided the republic with the most important offices [...] Considering this, a number of people interested in Civil law have finally decided that the corpus was worth printing and for this purpose joined forces with certain Germans, most expert in the art of printing.<sup>74</sup>

Interestingly, Roman types were used for printing the preface, the glossa, the versified *colophon* and the table of contents.<sup>75</sup> Less than one year later, the *princeps* of the *Digestum novum* was printed, in the same printshop “apud sanctum Marcum”; the preface written by Johannes Guarinus, professor of Law at the University of Rome, was now explicitly addressed to the printer Vitus Puecher.<sup>76</sup>

These two editions, resulting from the cooperation between Italian scholars and German printers, were most likely known to three people in Perugia who very soon (1476) took the initiative of printing the *Digestum Vetus*.<sup>77</sup> They adopted a similar layout and arrangement of the texts, with a preface and a versified colophon written by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus. The preface was shorter than the Roman ones, but full of interesting notes: the three men involved in the enterprise were all from Germany, they came from Saxony, the Valley of the Rhine and Swabia. They were part of the academic community, they called themselves ‘scolastici’, affiliated with the celebrated college of the ‘Old Sapientia’, that is *Domus Sapientiae Veteris*:

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**74** “[...] atque de Iustiniano qui confusum iuris corpus in lucem reduxit. Cuius reductione et lucerna complures prestantissimi iurisconsulti vite perpetuitatem consecuti fuere [...] qui [...] maximis reipublice muneribus fungebatur [...] Revolventes igitur hoc in animo nonnulli iuris civilis curiosi remque satis dignam putantes si aliquis Digestorum liber per huiusmodi impressores expediretur iniunxerunt hoc onus quibusdam Germanis viris in hac imprimendi facultate expertissimis”. *Digestum Infortiatum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: [Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher)], 13 Apr. 1475. GW 7678; ISTC ij00555000, a1v (translation of the Author).

**75** Leaves a2v, T3v, T4r, cf. also TEXT-inc tij00555000. I read the text from the BL copy (IC.17945), which was shown at the conference; online is available the digitised version of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek copy (urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00076887-9).

**76** On the role of Vitus Puecher within the printing-shop “apud Sanctum Marcum” including information on the production of legal texts: Modigliani, “La tipografia ‘apud sanctum Marcum’ e Vito Puecher”.

**77** *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius, and a poem by Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus). Perugia: Heinrich Klein (Clayn), for Johannes Vydenast and Jakob Langenbeke, 29 Apr. 1476. GW 7656; ISTC ij00546500.

The knowledge of the Civil law, without which even the greatest kingdoms quickly disintegrate, will be hopefully restored very shortly to its original observance and merit, with honour of the men of our time. And if many were put off the study of this science because of the huge sums of money these books were sold for, or because they were in short supply, or because they were full of mistakes, now all will be able to aspire to this divine science, compared to which nothing is better nor more useful. In the same was found all the eloquence of the Romans that was almost as important as their other achievements, and to which the efforts of all the other cities in Italy tend. Among these the biggest effort has been made by the ancient city of Perugia, which above others obtained glory with arms as well as laws, and has gained ever greater fame due to the services of the following: the Saxon Jacob Languenbeke, student in the House of the Old Sapientia of Perugia, and Johann Vydenast, from the Valley of the Rhine, and made possible thanks to the skill in punchcutting and making type of Heinrich Clayn from Swabia. At the expense of the first two and with the genius of the third, this *Digestum vetus* (compared to which nothing in our time could get closer to those *Pandectas Pisanas*), has been diligently printed in Perugia.<sup>78</sup>

The mention of the college of the 'Old Sapientia' is worth noticing; it was founded around 1360 by cardinal Niccolò Capocci, a friend of the cardinal and papal legate Gil de Albornoz, who soon after founded a similar institute in Bologna, the celebrated Collegium Hispanicum. The college in Perugia was meant for students of Theology, Canon and Civil law coming from places where the cardinal had had

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**78** "Turis Civilis scientia sine qua maxima quaeque regna parvo tempore dilabuntur perbreui ut spero cum magna nostrorum hominum gloria ad illam pristinam observationem dignitatemque restituetur. Et si vel magnae pecuniarum summae quibus ii libri vendebantur vel parva librorum copia et eorum quidem qui mendosi fuerant multos admodum ab hoc studio deterrunt nunc merito omnes ad divinam hanc scientiam aspirabunt qua nulla utilior nullaque melior reperiri potest. In qua una omnis Romanorum eloquentia quae preclaris rebus gestis haud minor fuit recondita est cui cum Italie omnes urbes operam impendunt. Tum vel maximam **Augusta Perusia** praeter ceteris ut armis sic legibus gloriam assecuta est maioremque indies unius **Almae domus Sapientiae Veteris Perusinae scolastici Iacobi Languenbeke Saxonis et Ioannis Widenast Sicambri singulari beneficio et coelandi sculpendique Henrici Clayn Sueui arte consequetur** illorum enim impensis et huius ingenio **ffm.** [i.e. *Digestum hoc vetus quo nullum nostra secula quod ad antiquas illas Pisanorum Pandectas propius accederet habuere diligenter Perusii impressum est*] (ISTC ij00546500 a1v; emphases added). The reference to the *Littera Pisana*, the text of the Digest as preserved in the *Codex Florentinus*, as the manuscript was called since it was brought to Florence, is worth noting; it was possibly suggested to the three who organised the publishing ventures in Perugia by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus who wrote the four final verses that precede the *colophon*.

his ecclesiastical benefices, mainly in central Europe.<sup>79</sup> From then onwards, groups of students from ‘beyond the Alps’, ‘Ultramontani’, were regularly present in Perugia in order to attend university classes, together with their servants or other professionals whose presence is testified in a number of documents. Indeed, different styles of handwriting reflecting the various origins of the guests can still be seen in the registers preserved in the college archive, where names of students can be read along with the name of servants and scribes, *scriptores*.<sup>80</sup> Also, evidence of relationships between German students and professionals in Perugia and in Rome have been found in other documents and it is possible that the whole initiative of printing the three parts of the *Digestum*, as well as other early editions of legal texts, was conceived within a network of people who were in touch with each other, for example, to Georg Lauer, whose name is found in 1479 in the register of a notary from Perugia.<sup>81</sup> It is therefore particularly interesting what Paolo Veneziani wrote about the type used in the Perugia edition of the Digest, which was very close,

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**79** The entry for Capocci in the Italian Biographical Dictionary (Guillemain, “Capocci, Niccolò”), does not pay much attention to the foundation of this college (considered as one of the various charitable activities undertaken by the cardinal, and even named with the wrong name of ‘santa Sofia’); on the contrary, it was the choice of a refined politician, aiming to create a centre for the education of the leading class under the control of the Church. Cf. Nicolini, “La ‘Domus sancti Gregorii’ o ‘Sapienza Vecchia’ di Perugia”; Angeletti, Bertini, *La Sapienza Vecchia*.

**80** The college was suppressed towards the end of the 18th century and its archive is now preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Perugia. The oldest documents went lost, but the earliest preserved ones are the registers of the head of the college (the Rector), dating back to 1472, one year after the art of printing was introduced in Perugia. In 1472 six students from Germany were recorded, starting with “magister Georgius Teoticus” and including a “dominus Jhovannes de Mens[is?]” who is said to be from Mainz: “Teoticus ab Maguntia”: Perugia State Archive, Sapienza Vecchia, *Registri dei Rettori*, 1 (1472-73), ll. 2rv, 6v. The year after D[ominus] Joannes de Maguntia is recorded together with fifteen other students, including a Jacobus de Franconia de Alamania Alta, apparently arrived in 1474. Could he be identified with Langenbeke? Also, a list of scribes (*scriptores*) is found in the same register, opening with a “Petrus de Alamania bassa” and including a “Ioannes Almanus”, who paid for their room in the college (1 florin a month) (Perugia State Archive, Sapienza Vecchia, *Registri dei Rettori*, 2 (1473-74), ll. 4, 6, 34). Other names of individuals who were members of printing companies can be found in the registers of later years (registers nrr. 3-11, 1479-1491).

**81** Together with three other individuals, he was overseer of a student from Würzburg (from where Lauer came as well): “die primo Iulii [1479], actum in audientia notariorum [...] D. Georgius Georgii Osterberger, clericus Ervipoensis diocesis, scolarus Sapientie Nove Perusine, omni meliori modo fecit eius procuratorem M[agistrum] Georgium Lauer impressorem librorum, M. Iohannem Brotreich [...]. D. Iohannes Cluppel, D. Federicum Tietz de Alamania” (Perugia State Archive, Notarile, *Bastardelli*, 358, ll. 34v-35r; emphases added). The *Sapientia Nova* mentioned in this document was a college for students founded around 1430 and so called as it came after the other college, hence called *Sapientia Veteris*. The use of the term ‘Sapientia’, in relation to the university context, that would become common with time, seems to have made its early appearance in Perugia (Denley, “The Vocabulary of Italian Colleges to 1500”).

if not the same, to the type used in Rome precisely by Lauer.<sup>82</sup> The latter, on the other hand, had already given his contribution to the printing of the *Corpus*. In 1473, together with Leonhard Pfluegel, he printed the first Italian edition of the *Institutiones*<sup>83</sup> and in 1478 the first Italian edition of the *Codex*.<sup>84</sup> In the meantime (1476), Vitus Puecher published another *princeps*, the edition of the *Volumen* (including *Novellae, Tres libri* and *Extravagantes* with the commentary of Bartolus).<sup>85</sup> So, in a few years, all parts of the *Corpus* were made available in print thanks to the initiative of groups of Germans, who were moving between Perugia and Rome, trying to make the most of the relationships developed within the university environment and the curia, as is witnessed indirectly by the names of those who wrote the prefaces, the professor of Law Ludovicus de Passeris, Andreas de Murris, Coronatus de Planca; the *advocatus concistorialis* Johannes Aloysius Toscanus, etc. A further example is offered by the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in Rome by Ulrich Han in 1475, where the text was fully revised and corrected by a jurist from Perugia, Carolus de Alexandris,<sup>86</sup> before being printed with the same combination of type, Gothic for the text and Roman for the apparatus.

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**82** “It is a rather eccentric production, typographically speaking, for the text was printed in a gothic of 17 mm (type 1A), while the commentary was printed in a roman of 103 mm (type 2A). Both are practically indistinguishable from types of the same measurement used by Georg Lauer in Rome in the years immediately preceding, and were no doubt cast from the same matrices”, cf. Veneziani, “Johann Vydenast and a New Incunable from Perugia”, 177; Veneziani, s.v. “Lauer, Georg”.

**83** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer and Leonhardus Pflugel, 26 Jan. 1473. GW 7583; ISTD ij00509000.

**84** *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 13 Mar. 1478. GW 7724; ISTD ij00575500.

**85** *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato); (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), 15 July 1476. GW 7753; ISTD ij00591000.

**86** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Corr: Carolus de Alexandris. Rome: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), 14 July 1475 (GW 7586; ISTD ij00510000). Carolus de Alexandris was a member of the College of Jurists of Perugia, and often sent to the Curia as an ambassador. Along with his corrections to the *Corpus*, he printed with Han a *Sermo de Passione Christi*; GW 1225; ISTD ia00457500. On him Vermiglioli, *Biografia degli scrittori perugini*, 1: 5-6; Perugia, University Archive, *Statuto e matricola dei Giuristi (1407-1570 ca.)*, f. 32v (1478).

### 3.3 From Occasional Initiatives Towards the *Corpus iuris civilis*: Key-players, Entrepreneurship and Innovation

#### 3.3.1 From Mainz and Rome to Venice

By 1475-76 a first phase in the printing of the texts of Civil law had been concluded, with a number of occasional initiatives (including the *principes*) undertaken in different places. In the area of Mainz-Strasbourg and Rome-Perugia attempts were made to produce a complete edition of the *corpus*; in all other places (Nuremberg, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Louvain) only isolated editions of the *Institutiones* were printed [tab. 11], something which kept happening until the final years of the century. The *Institutiones*, indeed, were printed over twice more often than all the rest of the *Corpus*, including places where the other parts were not printed at all. This fact is noteworthy and suggests that these editions were planned as a response to the request for the basic textbooks of the law (such as the *Institutiones* were), which was shared possibly by a wider readership than the university students and the professionals who were interested in the *corpus* in its entirety.<sup>87</sup> In 1475-76 a second phase began, when Venice made its first appearance in this particular publishing field and duly revolutionised it. In only five years, all the parts of the *Corpus* were printed in twelve different editions, something which happened repeatedly until the end of the century, with a climax marked by the 27 editions printed between 1491 and 1495. The list of printers and publishers who undertook the printing of the whole *Corpus iuris civilis* is also very interesting; in Venice, where most of the editions were realised by a wide range of printers/publishers, it is noticeable that only a few of them completed a full edition comprising all the parts, while others seem to have followed the temporary demand of the market and printed only one or two books, though it is impossible to say to what extent this happened as part of an agreement with their seeming rivals [tabs. 12-14]. Also very interesting are some temporary joint-ventures that occurred especially in Venice, showing once more how market and working environment were particularly lively in the city.<sup>88</sup>

At the beginning (1476-80), the scene in Venice was occupied by Jacobus Rubeus and Nicolaus Jenson, neither of whom printed the whole collection on their own. Rubeus printed all the parts except

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<sup>87</sup> This is leading us to think that they were printed in connection with the provision of basic education in the law outside university and in preparation for it.

<sup>88</sup> It is also useful to recall the cost of producing a complete set of law books, as this affects the final cost, as is clearly shown in the *Zornale* of Francesco de' Madiis, where a complete copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis* was the most expensive item of all. Cf. Don-di, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*, 86-7.

the *Digestum Novum*, while Jenson printed everything with exception of the *Infortiatum*; however, while Jenson only realised one edition for each book, beautifully printed with his celebrated gothic type,<sup>89</sup> Rubeus printed the *Institutiones* more than once and, possibly, the *Volumen*, in a combination formed of only *Novellae*, *Tres libri* and *Libri feudorum*, therefore not including the *Extravagantes*.<sup>90</sup> During the 1480s, both Rubeus and Jenson disappeared from the scene (the latter actually died in 1480) and many other printers produced partial editions of single elements of the *corpus*: there was a sort of outpouring between 1481 and 1485, with 16 editions produced with 14 different imprints. Among the others there was also Baptista de Tortis (Battista de' Torti), who soon became the dominant figure in the market for editions of legal texts, and not just in Venice. By the end of the century, Tortis had printed more than 110 editions of legal texts. As far as the *Corpus iuris civilis* is concerned, one can see how, from 1485 onwards, he steadily increased his production, by printing 9, 11 and 16 editions of all parts of the *corpus*, altogether 8 editions of the *Institutiones*, 6 of the *Digestum Vetus*, 6 of the *Infortiatum*, 5 editions of the *Novum*, 8 of the *Codex* and 6 of the *Volumen*.<sup>91</sup> These were not always totally new editions, but they were not always a proposal of the same text either.

An improvement of the texts with an addition of paratextual materials can easily be observed between Tortis' second and third editions (around 1490) when the addition of summaries at the beginning of the chapters were printed, always written by "Hieronymus Clarius Brixianus iuris utriusque doctor prothonotarius et comes apostolicus",<sup>92</sup> whose name is otherwise very little known.<sup>93</sup> A collation of samples of the text reveals the presence of variations introduced in the successive editions, in the progress from the first edition to the second and from the second to the third, after which the text seems to remain stable and unaltered, except for minor variants, for the next five editions. In structural terms all these editions con-

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<sup>89</sup> Respectively: *Digestum Novum* 1477 (TEXT-inc tij00566000); *Institutiones* [1478-80] (TEXT-inc tij00519000); *Digestum Vetus* [1478-80] (TEXT-inc tij00548000); *Codex* 1479-80 (TEXT-inc tij00577000).

<sup>90</sup> *Institutiones* 1476, 1478 (ISTC ij00514000, ij00517000); *Institutiones* Pinerolo 1480? (ISTC ij00520300); *Digestum Vetus* 1477 (ISTC ij00547000); *Digestum Infortiatum* 1477 (ISTC ij00555500); *Codex* 1478 (ISTC ij00576000); *Volumen* 1477 and 1478, the latter only testified by an imperfect copy at the Vatican Library (ISTC ij00592000, ij00592500).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. below footnote 101.

<sup>92</sup> Hieronymus Clarius, doctor of Canon and Civil law, apostolic protonotary and count Palatine; the quotation is taken from the first lines of the letter to the reader appearing at the opening of the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in 1490 (TEXT-inc tij00534700).

<sup>93</sup> His name, indeed, is not included in the Italian biographical dictionary, nor does he appear in the biographical dictionary of the jurists (DBGI).

sist in eight gatherings of eight leaves and two gatherings of six; 76 leaves in total, which Tortis had numbered also in Arabic numerals, a feature that made the text much more accessible.

Among other things, it made it possible to include a table of contents with direct reference to the leaves, instead of to a section of the text. Similar innovations are observable in other editions printed during the final decade of the century. Tortis seems, however, to have pursued his goal with special care and pride, clearly manifested in the printing of a title page, often in red, where he wished to add his family name: “Instituta de Tortis”,<sup>94</sup> “Volumen de Tortis”, etc. The printer followed a similar pattern in the other parts of the *Corpus*, but additions appeared in the second edition: *summaria* again written by Hieronymus Clarius were printed in the *Codex*, in the *Digestum Vetus* and the *Infortiatum*,<sup>95</sup> *summaria* were also added to the *Digestum Novum*, based on the reading of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro.<sup>96</sup> More changes and additions were made to the “Volumen de Tortis”, of which four new editions can be identified. A first one (1489) only contained the ‘basic’ component of the *Volumen (Novellae; Tres libri; Libri feudorum and Extravagantes)*.<sup>97</sup> Anonymous summaries were printed in the second edition (shared, with a differentiation of the colophons, between Georgius Arrivabene and Torti),<sup>98</sup> again on the basis of the lectures of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Angelus de Ubaldis. A third edition offered new *summaria*, this time written by another jurist from Brescia, Hieronymus Confortus, who graduated in Civil law in Padua and then worked as a judge in his home-town.<sup>99</sup> Although numerous printers/publishers in Venice

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**94** The *Institutiones* from 1495 onwards (TEXT-inc tij00539000-tij00545000); the *Volumen* from 1492 (TEXT-inc tij00598000).

**95** They first appeared in the editions printed in 1490 (*Codex*, ISTC ij00582000; *Digestum Vetus*, ISTC ij00550500) and 1491 (*Infortiatum*, ISTC ij00558500).

**96** A first edition with such *summaria* was printed in 1491 and is attributed to Tortis and Andreas Calabrensis (ISTC ij00571000); it was soon followed by another expanded edition printed in 1494 by Tortis alone (ISTC ij00571600).

**97** TEXT-inc tij00596000; 182 leaves.

**98** Cf. GW 7763 and TEXT-inc tij0059700 (184 leaves), based on the three copies preserved at the Bodleian Library, which have examples of both the colophons.

**99** I am most grateful to Angelo Brumana who provided me with information on Confortus, mainly based on documents from the Brescia archives, dating from 1503 to 1522, when Confortus died. They are mostly notary documents written in the house of Confortus, who is always defined as *legum doctor* (doctor in civil law). We also know that he received his degree in Padua, and it was there that he worked on the editions of the *Corpus iuris*. Along with the summaries he very likely wrote the prefaces. Although the first one is anonymous, it is addressed to the students and opens by analysing the reason for the name of the book: “Et primo quero: quare iste liber nuncupatur volumen? [...] quia diversi tractatus et varie materie in hoc libro complicantur et simul voluuntur”. Another letter, explicitly written by Confortus, works as a preface to the *Constitutiones Extravagantes*, and is addressed in a way to his companions, the young

engaged with the printing of *libri legales*, Tortis seems to have been the only one in Venice who realised the whole *corpus*, by printing all parts about five times each. Once established a good combination of texts and paratexts, around 1490-91, he kept printing new editions, from 2 to 6, until the end of the century and later. It should be said that a number of new editions seem to be entirely based on previous ones, without a real new investment in updating the work apart from the work of the compositors and the pressmen, as well as the costs for the paper and the ink. For example, seven editions of the *Instituta* were printed by Torti between 1490 and 1499, all of which have the same structure: collation (a-h<sup>8</sup> i-k<sup>6</sup>), number of leaves (76), all *incipits* and *explicitis* of the texts; moreover, two of them even have the same date in the colophon, 1 March 1497.<sup>100</sup> As for this case (which is not unique within Torti's production) I can only think of the following possible explanation: the second edition was set up and printed as a line-by-line copy of the other, to respond to the fact that the print run was sold out, but without wishing to publish a new edition. Similar relationships are visible in the other editions of the other parts of the *Corpus*,<sup>101</sup> which clearly demonstrates the kind of production

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students of Law in Padua: "Hieronymi Conforti Brixiensis ad studiosam iuristarum Patavinam universitatem in Voluminis emendationem epistola. Divinum illud Tullianum Institutum ..." (TEXT-inc tij00598000).

**100** ISTC ij00541000 and ij00541500 (cf. below). Interestingly, both Georgius Arrivabenus and Bernardino Stagnino seem to have based their own editions of the *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius; respectively Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 17 May 1494 GW 7634; ISTC ij00535600, and Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 5 Dec. 1494 GW 7636; ISTC ij00537000) on Torti's one (8 May 1490 GW 7626; ISTC ij00534700).

**101** **Digestum vetus** (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Dec. 1490 (GW 7669; ISTC ij00550500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 July 1492 (GW 7670; ISTC ij00550600); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 31 Oct. 1494 (GW 7671; ISTC ij00551000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, '31 Oct. 1494' [about 1495-96] (GW 7672; ISTC ij00552000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 5 Oct. 1498 (GW 7673; ISTC ij00553000). All have the same collation (a-z<sup>8</sup> [et con rum]<sup>8</sup> A-R<sup>8</sup> ST<sup>6</sup>) and 356 numbered leaves. Quite likely belonging to this same group is the unsigned edition alternatively attributed to Milan [no printer] or Venice: Torti (GW supporting the latter attribution) and printed on 31 Oct. 1498 (GW 767310N; ISTC ij00553300).

**Digestum Infortiatum** (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Apr. 1491 (GW 7690; ISTC ij00558500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Nov. 1495 (GW 7692; ISTC ij00559500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Feb. 1497/98 (GW 7694; ISTC ij00561000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, [probably after] 16 Feb. 1497/98 (GW 7695; ISTC ij00562000). Also the following edition seems to belong to this group: Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 4 Mar. 1495 [1496?] (GW 7693; ISTC ij00560000). All are made of 270 numbered leaves and the same collation (a-z et con rum A-C<sup>8</sup> H<sup>8</sup>; Stagnino with double letter, which is also interesting).

**Digestum novum** (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 9 Jan. 1487/88. GW 7711; ISTC ij00569600; collation: a-z [et con rum]<sup>8</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup> L-N<sup>6</sup>, 306 leaves. From the second edition onwards, the structure never changed (a-z [et con rum]<sup>8</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>6</sup>, 310 leaves). *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accur-



which Baptista de Tortis and his brother Silvester, who does not appear in the books, but whose existence is known through archive documents, had put in place. One which is meticulously organised in order to make the most of any investment. It is not a surprise, therefore, that in 1507 they ended up promoting the foundation of a publishing company in association with Giorgio Arrivabene, Lucantonio Giunta, Antonio Moretto and Amedeo Scoto with the purpose of managing and rationalising the production of legal texts and their distribution all over Europe.<sup>102</sup>

sus and Summaria according to Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro). Second, expanded edition (Ed: Hieronymus Clarius?). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 23 Dec. 1494. GW 7719; ISTC ij00571600; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 12 Feb. 1498/99. GW 7720; ISTC ij00572000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 July 1499. GW 7721; ISTC ij00573000.

**Codex** *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Dec. 1488. GW 7736; ISTC ij00581500; collation: a-z [et con rum] A-I<sup>8</sup> KL<sup>6</sup>; 292 numbered leaves. All the following collate a-z [et con rum] A-N<sup>8</sup> O<sup>6</sup>, 317 numbered leaves: *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 22 Mar. 1490. GW 7739; ISTC ij00582000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 10 Jan. 1493/94. GW 7741; ISTC ij00583000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 31 July 1495. GW 7742; ISTC ij00584000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 July 1496. GW 7744; ISTC ij00586000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, [after] 29 July 1496. GW 7743; ISTC ij00586500; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 19 Feb. 1498. GW 7745; ISTC ij00587400; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 14 Jan. 1500. GW 7746; ISTC ij00588000.

**Volumen** *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 May 1489. GW 7762; ISTC ij00596000; collation a-x<sup>8</sup> y<sup>6</sup> a<sup>8</sup>; 182 leaves; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 28 Oct. 1492. GW 7764; ISTC ij00598000; collation: a-n<sup>8</sup> o<sup>10</sup> pz-a<sup>8</sup>; 194 leaves. All the following have the same collation (a-z [et]<sup>8</sup> [con]<sup>6</sup> a<sup>8</sup>; 206 leaves): *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum* (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: Hieronymus Confortus: *Summaria in Novellas*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis: *Summaria in Codicem; Libri Feudorum; Acta de pace Constantie*. Comm: Angelus and Baldus de Ubaldis; *Extravagantes*. Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 3 Nov. 1497. GW 7767; ISTC ij00599000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Jan. 1498/99. GW 7768; ISTC ij00600000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 Oct. 1500. GW 7769; ISTC ij00600500.

**102** Venice State Archive, Miscellanea di documenti non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32, 25 June 1507. Cf. Fulin, *Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana*, 401-5; cf. also Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, 56; Sattin, "Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziane del Cinquecento", 134. Cf. also, in this volume, the article of Ester Camilla Peric.

### 3.3.2 Milan

The question of whether the printing of each part was conceived autonomously or within a more extended project of publishing all parts of the *Corpus* has been addressed. It allows us therefore to notice that important initiatives were taken in Milan: indeed, while several printers produced many editions of various parts, only three of them printed the entire *Corpus*. Along with Baptista de Tortis and Johannes Siber in Lyon, who printed all the parts several times over, there was Johannes Antonius de Honate (Giovanni Antonio Onate), who worked in Milan between 1477 and 1491 [tab. 14]. In less than two years (1482-83), Honate printed all the parts of the *Corpus*, starting with an impressive sequence of publications: 1482, March 26 (*Digestum Vetus*); July 25 (*Digestum Novum*); October 10 (*Digestum Infortiatum*) and 14 (*Institutiones*); November 28 (*Volumen*).<sup>103</sup> The *Codex* was printed on February 27, 1483.<sup>104</sup> This rapid progress reveals a well-conceived project of publishing the *Corpus* as a whole, something more than the sum of the single volumes, and it was most likely the result of a plan put in place by the company formed by the jurist Petrus Antonius de Castelliono (Pier Antonio Castiglione) and the merchant Ambrosius de Caymis (Ambrogio Caimi), whose names are also found in those five volumes.

Petrus Antonius de Castelliono was a main figure in the publishing activity of legal texts in Milan, where about 250 editions of law books were published by 1500, including an important selection of works of various authors, which is a distinctive feature of the Milanese production.<sup>105</sup> Castelliono was among the founders of the earliest

**103** *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 26 Mar. 1482. GW 7660; ISTC ij00548300; *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 25 July 1482. GW 7706; ISTC ij00568700; *Digestum Infortiatum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 10 Oct. 1482. GW 7682; ISTC ij00557000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 14 Oct. 1482. GW 7607; ISTC ij00523000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis); *Glossa Constitutionum Friderici III*. Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 28 Nov. 1482. GW 7757; ISTC ij00594000.

**104** *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 27 Feb. 1483. GW 7729; ISTC ij00579000.

**105** Indeed, instead of various editions of the same texts which can be found in Venice, where about 680 editions of law books were printed in the 15th century, in Milan one finds a choice of the works of almost all major authors, such as Dinus de Mugello, Johannes Petrus de Ferrariis, Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, Angelus de Gambilionibus,

printing company and from the early 1470s he launched a project to publish mainly legal texts, which he realised in collaboration with a number of printers, including Christophorus Valdarfer, Ulrich Pachel, Leonhard Scinzenzeler, and the brothers Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate.<sup>106</sup> The name of Petrus Antonius de Castelliono is found in 60 editions, of which 37 were printed by Johannes Antonius de Honate, alone or together with his brother, between 1478 and 1484; the name of the merchant Ambrosius de Caymis is found in 19 editions of the same period, during which commercial relationships are known between them and the famous Company of Johannes de Colonia and Nicolaus Jenson.<sup>107</sup> On the selling of legal texts printed in Milan and shipped to Venice the research conducted by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris on the ledger of Francesco de Madiis is now adding further information and evidence. Indeed, the five volumes of the *Corpus iuris* printed by Honate for Castelliono and Caymis in 1482-83 have been identified as those which were sold in Venice by De Madiis, soon after printing, together with several other legal works printed in Milan. The evidence from de Madiis seems to suggest a gap in the Venetian market eventually filled by de Tortis.<sup>108</sup> It is also worth noting that the *Volumen* was enhanced with the addition of the text of the *Acta de Pace Constantiae*, with the commentary of Baldus de Ubaldis, added in the Milanese edition for the first time. The volume ended with a poem addressed to the publisher by Matthaëus Barlasina, a jurist from Milan, who also worked on the editions of the *Digestum Vetus* and the *Novum* printed by Honate, as he made clear in a letter printed at the end of the *Novum*, and whose figure is otherwise almost unknown.<sup>109</sup> Of the *Digestum Vetus* Honate printed shortly afterward a second edition,<sup>110</sup> which he signed alone, presumably as a response to the success of the first edition.

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Johannes de Imola, Paulus de Castro, Nicolaus de Tudeschis, Ludovicus Pontanus, Felinus Sandeus, Alexander Tartagnus, Baldus de Ubaldis.

**106** Cf. Ferro, “Castiglione (de Castelliono), Pier Antonio”. Information is also found in the entry for the printer: Ganda, “Onate, Giovanni Antonio”.

**107** On the company Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, 21-33.

**108** Dondi, Harris, “Exporting Books from Milan to Venice in the 15th Century”, 13-14; Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*, 86-7, and personal communication (Sept. 2019).

**109** Barlasina is also the author of a *Repertorium* where he called himself *legum doctor*: Barlasina, Matthaëus. *Repertorium in Singularia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaëi Mattaselani* [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, not before 28 June 1477]. GW M34966; ISTC ib00128500; nonetheless he is almost ignored, even by Filippo Argelati (*Philippi Argelati Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium ... Historia literario-typographica Mediolanensis ab anno 1465 ad annum 1500*. Mediolani: in Aedibus Palatini, 1745), probably because only five copies survive, of which only one in Italy, in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.

**110** *Digestum vetus* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, 1 Oct. 1484. GW 7663; ISTC ij00549400.

### 3.3.3 Lyon

After Venice, the largest number of 15th-century editions of the *Corpus iuris* was printed in Lyon, or have been attributed to this city [tab. 13]. Indeed, while most of the editions printed in Venice are explicitly placed there (90), only 13 editions, out of 35, state to have been printed in Lyon. Similarly, most of them (28) are attributed to one printer, Johannes Siber, whose name, however, only appears on five. There is no reason to doubt the attribution, but of course the fact that it is not explicit has to be taken into consideration. The reason why Siber did not sign most of his editions has not been clarified, and one can only make hypotheses. In a fairly recent biographical dictionary of the printers of Lyon, published in 2003, Johannes Siber is identified with certainty with a student from Nördlingen, who matriculated at Freiburg im Breisgau in 1462;<sup>111</sup> BMC, however, argued at an earlier date that “the printer is more likely to have been a member of the family of Siber of Zurich”.<sup>112</sup> No doubt, in any case, that he started his career in Basel, where he eventually found himself in financial difficulties (1475) and, what is important, part of his material went to Ruppel and Wenssler, so that he was “no doubt responsible for the Basel type and the Northern style in which the partners’ books were executed”.<sup>113</sup>

In 1477 Siber is found in Lyon, where in 1481 he started his own production made of almost only law books (114 editions out of 143). He had also completely changed his type-material, as is announced in 1481 in the colophon of the compilation of the Decretals of Gregory IX, which was “*impressa littera Venetiana per Johannem Syber Almanum*”.<sup>114</sup> As noted by Scholderer, Siber might have spent some time, between 1477 and 1481, in Venice, where he learnt how to produce the best types to print the kind of texts he was interested in,

<sup>111</sup> Nieto, “Dictionnaire des imprimeurs et libraires lyonnais du quinzième siècle”, 253-4.

<sup>112</sup> BMC, VIII, xlvi, footnote 3, where further hypothetical identifications are discussed. One must also consider that Johannes Siber was a fairly common name and several students are found in the German area called in this fashion (source: RAG).

<sup>113</sup> BMC, VIII, xlvi. Of the *Corpus iuris civilis* Wenssler printed in Basel five editions of the *Institutiones* (GW 7591, ISTC ij00513000; GW 7594, ISTC ij00516000; GW 7597, ISTC ij00518000; GW 7599, ISTC ij00520000; GW 7612, ISTC ij00528000), one of the *Codex* (GW 7734, ISTC ij00580800) and one of the *Volumen* (GW 7762, ISTC ij00590000); later on (1496/97) he printed in Lyon another edition of the *Institutiones* (GW 7642, ISTC ij00540700). Wenssler printed many more editions of the texts of Canon law (18 editions altogether), as well as texts of reference, such as four editions of a *Vocabularius iuris* (GW M12628, ISTC iv00334000; GW M12625, ISTC iv00335000; GW M12614, ISTC iv00335600; GW M12632, ISTC iv00342000; cf. above note 45) and a number of indulgences and other official announcements.

<sup>114</sup> Gregorius IX, *Decretales cum glossa*. Lyon: Johannes Siber, 4 Nov. 1481. GW 11461; ISTC ig00453500.

i.e. legal ones. He is thought to have been in touch also with Erhard Ratdolt and Nicolaus Jenson, whose editions he might have taken as example to imitate. Indeed, the earliest edition of a part of the *Corpus* explicitly printed by Siber is the *Digestum Vetus* published in Lyon in 1482,<sup>115</sup> which GW considers likely to be based on the edition printed by Jenson in 1479.<sup>116</sup> The same applies to the *Codex*, printed by Siber the first time in November 1482 and was likely modelled on Jenson's edition of 1479.<sup>117</sup> Still in 1482 Siber printed the *Digestum novum*,<sup>118</sup> this time on the basis of the edition printed in Padua in 1479 by Petrus Maufer for Zacharias de Zacharotis (Zaccaria Zaccaroti),<sup>119</sup> which was the model also for the edition printed in Milan by Honate-Castelliono-Caymis.<sup>120</sup>

The mentioned editions, plus a later one of the *Codex*, are the only ones that Siber printed with his name. None of the six editions of the *Institutiones* which are attributed to Siber bears his name; nor have they an imprint date, so their sequence is uncertain. Anyway, they can be divided in four groups, on the basis of the structure of the books and the dependence of some editions on previous ones.<sup>121</sup> The earliest editions, dated to about 1480-83, have been recognised

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**115** *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7659; ISTC ij00548200.

**116** *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, [about 1478-80]; ISTC ij00548000 GW 7658. Both are made of 404 leaves, with a similar, yet not identical, collation.

**117** *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, [about 1479]. GW 7726; ISTC ij00577000; [Lyon]: Johannes Siber, 23 Nov. 1482 GW 7728; ISTC ij00578000.

**118** *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7705; ISTC ij00568500.

**119** *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Padua: Petrus Maufer de Maliferis, for Zacharias de Zacharotis, 1479 GW 7704; ISTC ij00568000. Zaccaria Zaccaroti was a jurist and a main figure in the publication of legal texts in Padua, where he set up a temporary company with the De Gregoris brothers of Venice and others with the purpose of printing all commentaries of Bartolus de Saxoferrato to the *Corpus iuris civilis*. Cf. Pesenti, "De Gregori, Giovanni e Gregorio".

**120** *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaeus Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 25 July 1482 GW 7706; ISTC ij00568700.

**121** (1) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1481-83]. Collation: **ab**<sup>19</sup> **c-g**<sup>8</sup> **h-k**<sup>10</sup>; GW 7602; ISTC ij00521500; [same title and imprint date; **same collation**] GW 7603; ISTC ij00522000. (2) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: **a-n**<sup>8</sup>; GW 7616; ISTC ij00530300; [same title and imprint date; **same collation**] GW 7617; ISTC ij00530500. (3) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: **a**<sup>8</sup> **b**<sup>6</sup> **cd**<sup>8</sup> **ef**<sup>6</sup> **g**<sup>8</sup> **h-k**<sup>6</sup> **l-n**<sup>8</sup>; GW 7618; ISTC ij00530700. (4) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria by Angelus de Gambilionibus). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1500]. Collation: **a-k**<sup>8</sup>; GW 7625; ISTC ij00534600.

as modelled on the edition printed, supposedly, by Jacobus Rubeus in about 1480.<sup>122</sup> The following two editions, dated to about 1488-90, have a different structure and collation, 104 leaves (a-n8), which made them practically identical to the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in Basel by Michael Wenssler in 1486 and by Kesler soon after.<sup>123</sup> Almost at the same time Siber printed another edition of the *Institutiones* different from the other two; he used a smaller type for the glossa and so reduced the number of leaves to 92.<sup>124</sup> Finally, towards the end of the century Siber printed a sixth edition, where he once again reduced the size of the type and therefore the leaves, but added a textual element, the summaries, based on the exegetical work of Angelus de Gambilionibus.<sup>125</sup> Such *Summaria* had already appeared in one edition printed in Venice by Reynaldus de Novimagio in 1490 and by Georgius Arrivabene in 1491. Four editions of the *Volumen* are also assigned to Siber, one dated [about 1488-90] the other three [about 1498-1500]. The text of the earliest one is made of the four main sections (*Novellae*, *Tres ultimi libri*, *Libri feudorum* and *Extravagantes*), with the glossa of Accursius and the commentary of Bartolus to the *Extravagantes*. In the latest edition “a collection of summaria” (as pointed out in ISTC) is also included. Summaries to the parts of the *Corpus* included in the *Volumen* had already appeared in about eight editions, starting with those published by Arrivabene and Torti in 1491.<sup>126</sup> Compared to all the others, howev-

**122** “Ist Nachdruck der vorhergehenden Nr.,” one can read in GW 7602, referred to an undated edition assigned to Rubeus, printing place Venice (in GW) or Pinerolo (in ISTC, based on the fact that Rubeus moved to Piedmont around 1479) about 1480. GW 7601; ISTC ij00520300. It is worth noticing that the structure of this edition is not regular (the collation reads: a<sup>10</sup> b-g gg h<sup>12</sup> ik<sup>6</sup>, for a total of 90 leaves) although two other editions had already been printed by Rubeus in Venice in 1476 and 1478, both with the same amount of 90 leaves but a regular collation (ab<sup>10</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>6</sup> ef<sup>10</sup> g<sup>12</sup> i<sup>6</sup> k<sup>8</sup>): *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 4 July 1476. GW 7591; ISTC ij00514000; [same title] Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 20 July 1478. GW 7596; ISTC ij00517000.

**123** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Basel: Michael Wenssler, 1486. GW 7612; ISTC ij00528000. Collation: aa-nn<sup>8</sup>; 104 leaves; [Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, about 1487-88]. GW 7615; ISTC ij00530000, same collation. Interestingly the *editio princeps* printed by Schoeffer was formed of 103 leaves GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000, which pattern Schoeffer repeated twice, in 1472 (GW 7582; ISTC ij00508000) and 1476 (GW 7590; ISTC ij00512000). The same structure is found in the edition printed in Mantua by Butzbach in 1476 (GW 7589; ISTC ij00511500).

**124** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. GW 7618; ISTC ij00530700.

**125** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria according to Angelus de Gambilionibus). Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 18 Mar. 1490. GW 7623; ISTC ij00534000; Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 25 Sept. 1491. GW 7624; ISTC ij00534400. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1500]. GW 7625; ISTC ij00534600.

**126** *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria accord-

er, Siber's editions seem to have been prepared autonomously, as is also evidenced by the fairly irregular collation of the first edition.<sup>127</sup> At the end of this overview one can see how Siber's production was quite different from both Torti's and Honate's. He was certainly the main figure in the production of law books in Lyon and a major one in France. On the other hand, the fact that most of his books do not carry his name nor a date of printing not only makes it very difficult to reconstruct the sequence of their printing, it also suggests the lack of a specific publishing programme. Siber seems to invest his energy in the typographical work for (re)printing the texts of Civil law in the most recent and better arrangements realised by a number of other printers, from whose work he clearly took inspiration: from Nicolaus Jenson and Jacobus Rubeus to Baptista de Tortis, or Andreas Torresanus.

From Torresano, Siber seems to have taken the model for his two editions of the *Digestum vetus* dated about 1498-1500, which have

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ing to Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Angelus de Ubaldis). Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, [in part] for Baptista de Tortis, 20 Mar. 1491. GW 7763; ISTC ij00597000; TEXT-inc ij00597000. Imprint dates of the other editions are: Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 28 Oct. 1492. GW 7764; ISTC ij00598000. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 18 July 1494. GW 7765; ISTC ij00598400. Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 17 Dec. 1494? GW 7766; ISTC ij00598500. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 3 Nov. 1497 GW 7767; ISTC ij00599000. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Jan. 1498/99. GW 7768; ISTC ij00600000. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7770; ISTC ij00600100. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7771; ISTC ij00600200. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7772; ISTC ij00600300. [Lyon]: Nicolaus de Benedictis, 8 Aug. 1500. GW 7773; ISTC ij00600400. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 Oct. 1500. GW 7769; ISTC ij00600500. Summaries can be found either inserted within the glossa (in which case it can be difficult to distinguish the two) or in the main text, and in this case they usually come after the *tituli*, and are printed in smaller types. The question of summaries on what pertains the authorship of such summaries in all editions is a complex and not fully clarified one (hence some inconsistency in the titles in the ISTC). From the overview provided in GW the names of Hieronymus Clarius and Hieronymus Confortus emerge in some editions as the persons responsible for the summaries; sometimes also the names of the authors (the authorities) who provided the basis for such summaries were made clear, such as Bartolus and Angelus. The identification of Bartolus is never difficult (he always is Bartolus de Saxoferrato), but Angelus is a more common name among the jurists (he could be either Angelus de Gambilionibus, Angelus de Ubaldis, Angelus de Periglis, Angelus de Ubaldis jr, etc.) and identifications are made according to the different parts they had commented: Angelus de Gambilionibus is behind the summaries of the *Institutiones* whereas Angelus de Ubaldis is mentioned in relation to the summaries of the *Authenticum*.

<sup>127</sup> ISTC ij00595500, printed about 1488-90 (without summaries). The collation (a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>6</sup> cc<sup>9</sup> d-f<sup>8</sup> ff<sup>10</sup> g-i<sup>8</sup> ij<sup>10</sup> k-m<sup>8</sup> mm<sup>12</sup> n-p.pp<sup>8</sup> q-f<sup>8</sup> s<sup>10</sup> t<sup>8</sup> v<sup>6</sup> u<sup>8</sup> x<sup>10</sup>; 235 leaves) is an evidence of some difficulties encountered in the building of the collection of texts, which could have been avoided, had the printer taken a previous edition as a model. About ten years later Siber printed an edition which included the summaries, but he reduced the sizes of the type so as to fit the texts in a lesser number of leaves, 212 (they became 214 in the next two editions, where the index was added, cf. the descriptions in TEXT-inc under tij00600100 and tij00600200).

the same paratexts and structure of Torresano's one printed in 1491.<sup>128</sup> Torresano did not invest much in the *Corpus iuris*, he only printed three editions altogether, yet in the Digest he included new summaries by an author, Petrus Fossanus, whom we have not previously encountered and who also wrote a postface; Torresano then added an index, and completed the work with *tituli* printed in red, and printed leaf numbers. Initiatives, such as this one, marked a step up in the development of the texts of the *Corpus* over the years. The most relevant innovations are obviously those concerning the editing of the text and the introduction of new paratexts, such as the summaries; yet, they were often accompanied by changes made to the layouts, which were enriched and refined so as to match both the needs and the taste of the readers. In this context the appearance of editions in smaller formats is finally worth a mention; not surprisingly, it concerned almost exclusively the *Institutiones*, the textbook of law. Thirteen editions were printed in 4° or in 8°, starting in 1483; the earliest editions were printed in Italy, Rome, Venice, and Turin; then most of the production moved to France, Lyon and Paris.<sup>129</sup> New summaries and additions made also their appearance by modern authors,

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**128** *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Petrus Fossanus). Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 26 Mar. 1491. GW 7675; ISTC ij00554000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500] GW 7676; ISTC ij00554300. [same texts and imprint dates]. GW 7677; ISTC ij00554500.

**129** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 18 Jan. 1483, 4°. GW 7608; ISTC ij00524000; [Rome: Stephan Planck], 23 Oct. 1483, 4°. GW 7609; ISTC ij00525000; Turin: Jacobinus Suigus, 21 Apr. 1488, 4°. GW 7619; ISTC ij00531000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 29 Mar. 1493, 8°. GW 7629; ISTC ij00535000; Venice: Johannes Hamman, for Octavianus Scotus, 7 Aug. 1494, 8°. GW 7635; ISTC ij00536000; Lyon: Jean du Pré (printer of Lyon), 20 June 1495, 8°. GW 7637; ISTC ij00538000; [Lyon: Perrinus Lathomi?], 23 Mar. 1495/96, 8°. GW 7641; ISTC ij00540500; Ed: Johannes de Gradibus; with additions. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 21 Nov. 1497, 8°. GW 7648; ISTC ij00542000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius with annotations of the Summaria by a pupil of Jason de Mayno). Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregorius, de Forlivo, for Gulielmus Pincius, 10 Mar. 1499, 4°. GW 7650; ISTC ij00544000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: Hieronymus Clarius: *Summaria*. Ed: Johannes Chappuis. Paris: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 20 June 1499, 4°. GW 7652; ISTC ij00545300; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius with annotations of the Summaria by a pupil of Jason de Mayno). [Lyon: Jean de Vingle], 9 Dec. 1499, 8°. GW 7651; ISTC ij00545500; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Paris: André Bocard, for Jean Petit, 25 Feb. 1499/1500, 4°. GW 7647; ISTC ij00545600. *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Add: Johannes de Gradibus: *Summaria*. Ed: Robertus Bertoul. Paris: Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 28 Mar. 1499/1500, 8°. GW 7649; ISTC ij00545650. The only other text printed in a small format is *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). With additional supplements. Ed: Johannes de Gradibus. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 18 Aug. 1496, 4°. GW 7750; ISTC ij00587000.



such as Johannes de Gradibus (Jean Gradi, fl. 1490-1515), Johannes Chappuis (fl. 1500-1503), or an anonymous ‘pupil of Jason de Mayno’.

Jason de Mayno (Giason del Maino, 1435-1519) was a landmark in the study of the law, as he was among the earliest jurists to introduce a critical approach to the texts and the works of the authors of the past. The question of attribution raised by him about the works of the most famous jurist of the late Middle ages became almost a manifesto of the new school traditionally referred to as Legal humanism: “attribuuntur Bartolo et tamen non sunt Bartoli, et ab eius stilo et ordine multum deviant”. Famously Mayno inserted such a consideration in his commentary on the Digest (Second part to the *Digestum novum*), where he wrote a long note on the life and work of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, trying to put some order into the mass of works that circulated under his name.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, Bartolus became an authority very soon after his death, which occurred in 1357-58, as is witnessed by the huge number of manuscripts, and subsequently of printed editions, which transmitted his works; even more by the recurrence of his name in texts such as the summaries discussed in this paragraph or also by the fact that certain texts never appeared in print without his commentary, such as the *Constitutiones Extravagantes Ad reprimendum*’ and *Qui sint rebelles*, about which Bartolus wrote a famous separate treatise.<sup>131</sup>

## 4 Editions of the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (Focus 2)

### 4.1 A General Overview

It was precisely with reference to the editions of treatises that Thomas Diplovatatus (1468-1541), a pupil of Jason de Mayno and Bartolus’ earliest biographer, wrote a note of particular interest in relation to early printing. Several of Bartolus’ treatises – he wrote – were found

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**130** “De verborum obligationibus”, first title of the second part of the *Digestum novum* (D. 45,1,132). No edition printed in the 15th century of Mayno’s commentary to this part is known; the earliest ones appeared in Milan in the 1510s, printed by Johannes Angelus Scinzenzeler (cf. EDIT16 CNCE 54579 and CNCE 54727); the text has been checked in a copy of the edition printed by Giunta in 1621: *Iasonis Maini Mediolanensis In secundam Digesti novi partem commentaria*. ... Venetiis: Apud Iuntas, MDCXXI, f. 164v.

**131** The earliest edition of the *Extravagantes* with the comment of Bartolus was printed in 1476: *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), 15 July 1476. GW 7753; ISTC ij00591000. The treatise had already appeared in the collection of Bartolus’ treatises printed by Vindelinius in 1472: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. [with additions of other authors’ treatises]. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000.

in print and because of this he felt the need to clarify that some of them were not by him; their distribution in large numbers of copies, indeed, would reinforce the erroneous attribution. On the other hand, he had to add the treatises that were still found only in manuscript and – we may deduce – therefore ran the risk of being forgotten: “He also wrote several treatises which are now printed; some of them, though, are attributed to Bartolus but are not actually his, and so I have written here, in my additions. Also, here I added some other treatises, which were written by Bartolus but have not been printed”.<sup>132</sup> In a few lines Diplovatatus perfectly expressed the importance of printing (at that time still a fairly new invention) in relation to the transmission of the texts and their attribution, possibly better than many of the explicit manifestations of enthusiasm expressed at the time.

About 200 editions of the works of Bartolus were printed in the 15th century, both alone or in combination with works of other authors. A number of additional editions include Bartolus as the author of the commentary to the *Corpus* or in relation to ‘secondary’ texts such as the summaries added to the *Corpus*; so, the total number of editions which include Bartolus’ name can be increased to over 250.<sup>133</sup> It is also worth mentioning a number of works based on Bartolus’ texts, which were also printed in the 15th century, such as a *Reperitorium super operibus Bartoli* or the commentaries written by Alexander Tartagnus (1424-77) [tab. 15].

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**132** “Item scripsit plures tractatus qui sunt impressi et quia sunt aliqui qui attribuuntur Bartolo qui vere non sunt ibi scripsi in additionibus meis et addidi nonnullos alios tractatus Bartoli qui non fuerunt impressi”. The sentence is taken from the *Bartoli vita* printed at the opening of the *Opera omnia* edited by Diplovatatus and enriched with additions, by him as well as by the most celebrated editors of Bartolus, such as Alexander Tartagnus and Jason de Mayno: *Bartoli Saxoferrati preclarissimi I.U. interpretis vita per dominum Thomam Diplovatatum I.U. doctorem edita*, in *Expolita commentaria domini Bartoli de Saxo ferrato* [...]. Venice: Battista de Tortis, 1526-29, c. [\*]2r-3r (consulted in the facsimile edition printed in 1996 by Istituto giuridico Bartolo da Sassoferrato – Il Cigno Galileo Galilei). A shorter reference to the treatises is found in the other version of Bartolus’ biography written by Diplovatatus: Diplovatazio, *De claris iuriconsultis*, 278; Rossi, “La Bartoli vita di Tommaso Diplovataccio”, 464.

**133** In ISTC (last checked 2019-09-08) 199 records are retrieved through a search for Bartolus de Saxoferrato as author, including 5 postincunable editions; 69 records are found if one searches for his name in the title, where he appears as author of additional texts, including 2 postincunables; finally, 273 records are found through a simple search (Bartol\* de Saxoferrato in the main search field) which include 7 additional records where Bartolus is mentioned in the notes in relation to one edition of his *Contradictiones* (within a collection of other authors’ texts: ISTC il00057000) and to six editions of the so-called *Processus Satanae*, a case extensively analysed (Pasciuta, *Il diavolo in Paradiso*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento*) and summarised in a dedicated table [tab. 26]. Note that postincunable editions are not included in the analysis provided in this article.

The chronology and the sequence of editions are impressive. After the *princeps* of the *lectura* of the *Infortiatum*, which appeared in 1470,<sup>134</sup> new editions were published almost every year until the end of the century. It has been observed that the appearance in print of the texts necessary for university teaching, such as Bartolus' *lecturae*, occurred quite late.<sup>135</sup> It should be remembered, however, that only a limited number of authors and texts appeared in print during the first ten to fifteen years of the new industry, despite the amount of editions, about 423, produced up to and including 1469. Only major authors such as Cicero, saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas or pontiffs, such as Pius II, were published before Bartolus, who preceded his famous contemporary Dante, since the *Comedia* was first printed in 1472. A closer look at the section of legal texts relating to scholarly production shows that only the *Institutiones*, some parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, and a commentary of the canonist Zabarella were published before 1470.<sup>136</sup> Bartolus did not just appear in print earlier than most other jurists: his works were published in a number of editions comparable only to the *corpora iuris*, and far higher than any other legal author [tab. 8].

The bulk of the editions is formed by the texts of Bartolus' *Lectura*, that is the interpretation of the various parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the result and content of the activity of the jurist as a professor, and the manifestation of the core of his thought.<sup>137</sup> Each edition followed the same pattern of the division of the texts established for the university courses and consisted in the *lectura* of a subdivision of a section of the *Corpus* (*Lectura super prima Digesti veteri, super secunda Codicis* and so on); they were printed an average of 10-13 times each [tab. 16]. However, Bartolus' fame is linked also to the so-called 'minor works': the *Quaestiones disputatae* (the texts of the university disputations), the *Consilia* (the jurist's opinion on particular

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**134** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Italy: Printer of Sallustius, 'Opera' (H 14196)], 1470. GW 3611; ISTC ib00230800.

**135** Corsten, "Universities and Early Printing"; Mattone, Olivari, "Dal manoscritto alla stampa".

**136** *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24 May 1468. GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000; Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000; [same authors and texts]. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ic00711000; Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000; Zabarellis, Franciscus de, *Lectura super Clementinis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1468-69]. GW M51984; ISTC iz00002000.

**137** Cf. Mari, "Letture bartoliane e 'bartolismo'", 28, where it is noticed how the result of Bartolus' teaching activity never took the form of the commentary: "Pur con le doverose cautele, che devono essere praticate allorché si tratta dei 'generi letterari' i cosiddetti commenti bartoliani sono tutte letture universitarie".

cases) and *Tractatus* (treatises), a genre that Bartolus greatly contributed to develop. In the 15th century these three groups of texts were brought together in collections of: 18 *Quaestiones*, 244-5 *Consilia* and about 30 *Tractatus*; they were published in nine editions altogether, with almost the same internal arrangement of texts [tab. 23]. Some treatises were published also in minor collections, often together with works of other authors [tabs. 24-26]. The first two groups of texts - the *Lecturae* and the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus* - were published for a large part in Italy [tab. 18]. A good portion of the minor collections, on the other hand, was printed in Germany and France and, interestingly, it is mostly in this group that texts of uncertain attribution are found.<sup>138</sup>

As has already been noticed, not all the texts promulgated under the name of Bartolus belonged to him with certainty; some are doubtful and the question of attribution began to be raised by the jurists of the 15th century. It seems plausible therefore that the whole issue of attribution and textual paternity was facilitated by the huge efforts made by early editors and printers who worked on the editions produced in the first fifty years of printing. This paragraph is aimed to provide a general overview and is followed by the presentation of case studies which illustrate effectively how already in the 15th century the ground was prepared for a new critical approach to Bartolus' work.<sup>139</sup>

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**138** A detailed analysis of the editions of minor works could not be done in this article, but it has been summarised through two tables [tabs. 23-24], where a prospect of all treatises printed outside the 'collectio maior' has been provided.

**139** By the end of the 15th century, an important part of Bartolus' production was in print, although not all his works, as they appear in the list compiled by Susanne Lepsius in C.A.L.M.A.: 768 works, with 603 *consilia* gathered under no. 73. The *lecturae* were all printed (apart from a *lectura* of the *Institutiones*, which is doubtful, very rare in manuscript and which was printed in 1504); most of the treatises (about 45 out of 65), the *quaestiones* (18 out of 25), a third of the *consilia* (244-5) and about ten *repetitiones* (out of 65). A few articles, during the years of research within the 15cBOOKTRADE project, have been published in Italian on this subject: Panzanelli Fratoni, "Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa"; "Il 15cBOOKTRADE e la storia delle università"; "Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento".

#### 4.1.1 Editiones principes and Other Earliest Editions: Printing Places and Key Players

The bulk of Bartolus' work was made available in print in a very short time: by 1477 all the *principes* had been published, some of the *lecturae* in as many as three editions [tab. 17]. The *principes* appeared in five places, apparently as the result of initiatives independent of each other, a clear manifestation of a great interest for the jurist's work, both from the intellectual and the commercial point of view. The earliest edition was printed in 1470, with only the date, and is attributed either to Rome or Venice.<sup>140</sup> In both cities other important initiatives were undertaken. In Rome Sixtus Riessinger distinguished himself, among other things, for printing the very first legal commentary in Italy (the Zabarella mentioned above), before moving to Naples where he realised two possible other *principes* of Bartolus' *lecturae*, plus some more editions of his works, including the apparently unique edition of a *Repertorium super omnibus operis suis*.<sup>141</sup> It is also interesting that Riessinger was the only one working south of Rome. In Venice, Vindelinus de Spira realised an impressive series of editions of almost all Bartolus' works,<sup>142</sup> including the *princi-*

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**140** "The affinities of the type are with Roman and Venetian models", ISTC quoting BMC VII, 1122. GW shows a preference for Venice.

**141** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, 1471. GW 3488; ISTC ib00190400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, 1471. GW 3506; ISTC ib00197800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471]. GW 3523; ISTC ib00204500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Naples: Sixtus Riessinger and Francesco del Tuppo, 19 Nov. 1476. GW 3548; ISTC ib00215500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1475]. GW 3564; ISTC ib00220600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Ed: Paris de Puteo. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471-72]. GW 3581; ISTC ib00223500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1472]. GW 359210N; ISTC ib00225850; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis, lib. I-III*. Ed: Rufinus Gabloneta. Add: *De insigniis et armis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger [and Georgius Herolt?], before 27 Oct. 1483]. GW 3610; ISTC ib00230500; [Followers of] Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Repertorium super omnibus lecturis suis*. Naples: Sixtus Riessinger and Francesco del Tuppo, 6 Mar. 1477. GW 3658; ISTC ib00249500.

**142** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 9 Feb. 1471. GW 3613; ISTC ib00231000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3489; ISTC ib00190600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3507; ISTC ib00198000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3546; ISTC ib00214500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Quaestiones disputatae*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, [1471]. GW 3657; ISTC ib00249000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De successionibus ab intestato*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De testibus*. Jacobus Aegidius: *De reprobatione testium*. Nellus de Sancto Geminiano: *De testibus*. *De publicatione testium*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000. Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1473. GW

pes of the collections of *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*, where the internal arrangement of the texts was first established. It was all done by 1474, but the bulk was completed as early as 1471, when he printed four, possibly five, editions. During the same period, a number of other editions of the same texts appeared in different places, which makes it difficult to identify the *principes*: both the lectures of the Code were printed in 1471, by Vindelinius in Venice and by Riessinger in Naples; the *Lectura super prima Digesti veteris* was printed in Naples between 1471 and 1472, but it was also printed in Perugia by 20 October 1472.<sup>143</sup>

Not surprisingly some of the earliest editions, four to be precise, were printed in Umbria, the land where Bartolus spent most part of his life and teaching activity. The first one was printed in Trevi, a small centre close to Foligno, where in 1472 the *princeps* of Dante's *Comedia* would be printed with much the same type. The Trevi edition came soon after the *princeps*, offering the same text, *Lectura super prima Infortiati*, yet enhanced with a comment of Baldus, the most celebrated pupil of Bartolus:

Explicit lectura Bartholi de Saxoferrato civis Perusini super prima parte Infortiati cum qua reperies lecturam Baldi de Perusio esse insertam a titulo de excus[ationibus] tutorum usque ad titulum de testamentis. Impressa in Trevio per magistrum Iohannem Reynhardi Almanum sub correctione domini Peri Donati ll. [i.e. legum] doctoris eiusdem terre. Anno domini M.CCCC.LXXI. Die xxiii. mensis Ianuarii, tempore sanctissimi domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia pape secundi, pontificatus sui anno VII.<sup>144</sup>

There is no mention in the colophon of the man who was most likely responsible for the enterprise: "ser Costantino Lucarini", who created three companies in order to print Bartolus and a life of Saint Francis of Assisi. Lucarini first set up a company with the German printer 'Johannes Reinhardi Rothomannus', then with the jurist 'Petrus Donatus', and later on, with his cousin for financial purposes. The Trevi edition of Bartolus was clearly the outcome of a one-off initiative, as

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3563; ISTC ib00220500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Venice: Vindelinius de Spira], 1473. GW 3594; ISTC ib00225900.

**143** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg, before 20 Oct. 1472]. GW 3582; ISTC ib00223600 GW includes Johannes Vydenast in the group of printers and dates 1471. On the identification of the printers working in Perugia: Veneziani, "Pietro da Colonia e il Tipografo del Robertus Anglicus"; "Johann Vydenast and a New Incunabulum from Perugia".

**144** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Add: Baldus de Ubaldis: *Super titulo De excusationibus tutorum usque ad titulum De testamentis*. Trevi: Johannes Reinhardi, 23 Jan. 1471. GW 3612; ISTC ib00230900.

shown by the short existence of the company. Possibly it was stimulated by the appearance of the *princeps* of a text, the *Lectura super Prima Infortiati*, of which Lucarini possessed a good manuscript.<sup>145</sup>

The same *lectura* was printed very soon afterwards (less than three weeks) by Vindelinius in Venice.<sup>146</sup> The three editions of the same text quickly following each other lead us to think that there was a reason for choosing to start with the *lectura* of the *Infortiatum*, rather than another part. Indeed, the order of appearance of the *lecturae* is certainly important, as this may well have depended on the availability of a good manuscript or on the organisation of the courses within the University system (traditionally based on the alternation of the readings of each part of the *Corpus*)<sup>147</sup> or both. We are almost certain, for example, that the edition printed in Trevi was intended primarily for the students of the Universities of Rome and Perugia, where the copies were expected to be distributed.<sup>148</sup> A more coordinated initiative was undertaken in Perugia, where on 26 April 1471 a printing company was founded by two groups of people: on one side there were some citizens of Perugia, including the jurist Matheus de Ubaldis and Braccio Baglioni, the most prominent figure in town; on the other side, two German printers, Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg. None of them are mentioned in the books apart from Baglioni, whose name is found on four prefaces printed at the opening of the editions realised by the company, where he was called ‘magnificent’. He was presented as the one who had called the printers to the city to launch the new art in support of the famous university of the same: the earliest printed texts were the works of the likewise famous jurists Bartolus and Baldus.<sup>149</sup> Three lectures of Bartolus were printed in Perugia by Petrus de Co-

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**145** The company was dissolved as early as September 1471, when the printing material was sold to Evangelista Angelini, who shortly after published the first edition of Dante’s *Comedia* in Foligno with Johannes Numeister. Cf. Valenti, “La tipografia di Trevi e i suoi incunaboli”; BMC VI, ix.

**146** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spera, 9 Feb. 1471. GW 3613; ISTC ib00231000.

**147** On this subject Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV*. As for the University of Perugia, the succession of the texts read each year has been reconstructed in Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell’economia del Comune di Perugia*; unfortunately no records have survived for the 1470s, so we cannot ascertain a direct relation between the texts being printed and the courses.

**148** Valenti, “La tipografia di Trevi e i suoi incunaboli”.

**149** “Huius artificii commoditatem maximam ac studio Perusino pernecessarium considerans nobilissimus ac prestantissimus vir Bracchius Balionius sua cura ac diligencia homines huius artis peritos in hanc civitatem accessiri curavit conduxitque eos ut haec Bartholi commentaria imprimerent. Quae res studio quidem Perusino utilitatem maximam civitati vero honorem & gloriam affert.” Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg, about 1473-74, before 6 Apr. 1474]. GW 3593; ISTC ib00225920, a1v.

lonia and Johannes de Bamberga between 1471 and 1474: both lectures of the *Digestum Vetus*, and the one of the second part of the *Infortiatum*, the latter being the *princeps*.<sup>150</sup> The absence of any imprint dates not only makes it impossible to ascertain how many editions printed in Perugia were the *principes*; this fact also shows the secondary role played by the printers, who did not feel the need, or were not allowed, to put their names on the books.<sup>151</sup> Their duty, it appears, was limited to the material and physical part of the operation and this involvement seems to have been regarded as unworthy of mention.<sup>152</sup>

By 1474 all Bartolus' major works were available in the new medium, with exception of the lecture on the Novels (*super Authenticis*), which was realised by Christophorus Valdarfer in Milan in 1477 for Petrus Antonius de Castellione,<sup>153</sup> whose initiative of publishing legal texts has already been highlighted in relation to the texts of the *Corpus iuris*. It is worth noticing that the first edition of the three collections of Bartolus' 'minor' works was also realised in Milan, in 1479, again for Petrus Antonius de Castellione, this time together with Ambrosius de' Caymis and in the printshop of Johannes Antonius de Honate.<sup>154</sup>

In the meantime, in Venice, the two major printing houses engaged themselves with the works of the jurist from Sassoferrato. The company of Johannes Manthen and Johannes de Colonia, which took over from Vindelinius,<sup>155</sup> started in 1475 with a lecture that the latter had not printed (*super prima Digesti Veteris*). They went on by publishing other eight editions of the *lecturae* in Roman type until 1478, when they started a new series of *lecturae*, this time in Gothic type, for a

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**150** Bartolus De Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberga, about 1473-74, before 6 Apr. 1474]. GW 3629; ISTC ib00237600.

**151** On this cf. also Coppens, *Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler the Early Printed Book and Its Investors*, note 2.

**152** The choice of the texts was likely due in its entirety to the jurist Matheus de Ubaldis, who, for family reasons, might have owned some good manuscripts and be well aware of their value. He was in the best position to start a company, involving two merchants so as to arrange the distribution of the books, and the 'magnificent' local lord to whom the jurist could easily show the importance of the initiative for the prestige of the city. On the history of early printing in Perugia: Rossi, *L'arte tipografica in Perugia durante il secolo XV e la prima metà del XVI*; Capaccioni, *Lineamenti di storia dell'editoria umbra*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Scrivere stampare e leggere a Perugia nel primo secolo*.

**153** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione, 27 Feb. 1477. GW 3475; ISTC ib00184500.

**154** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione and Ambrosius de Caymis, 17 Sept. 1479. GW 3538; ISTC ib00210800.

**155** Scholderer, *Printing at Venice in the Fifteenth Century*; Coppens, *Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler the Early Printed Book and Its Investors*.



total of 13 editions, printed by 1480, all entirely new – as announced by the collation, in addition to the change of type.<sup>156</sup>

The other major firm who worked on Bartolus in Venice was the one of Nicolaus Jenson who, in only two years (1477-78), printed ten editions of Bartolus' *lecturae*,<sup>157</sup> during the time when he was also engaged with the printing of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and after having printed almost all parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*. In the printing of legal texts Jenson accomplished some of his finest achievements, starting with the use of a Gothic type that he made as beautiful as his celebrated Roman. Jenson reshaped the law book and gave it the elegance usually reserved for classical texts. This feature is particularly true as regards the im-

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**156** In chronological order: **[Roman type]** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475. GW 3583; ISTC ib00224000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 9 Mar. 1475. GW 3630; ISTC ib00237900; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3490; ISTC ib00191000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3508; ISTC ib00199000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3547; ISTC ib00215000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 May 1477. GW 3614; ISTC ib00232000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 Jan. 1478/79. GW 3632; ISTC ib00239000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 26 Feb. 1478/79. GW 3596; ISTC ib00226000. **[Gothic type]** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 21 Mar. 1478. GW 3568; ISTC ib00221000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 6 Nov. 1479. GW 3584; ISTC ib00225000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 31 Jan. 1479/80. GW 3527; ISTC ib00206000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 12 June 1480. GW 3493; ISTC ib00193000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 30 June 1480. GW 3510; ISTC ib00201000.

**157** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 25 Apr. 1478. GW 3491; ISTC ib00192000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 7 May 1478. GW 3509; ISTC ib00200000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. GW 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar. De publicanis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3549; ISTC ib00216000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar. De publicanis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3550; ISTC ib00217000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson], 1478. GW 3566; ISTC ib00220800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [after 21 Mar.] 1478. GW 3569; ISTC ib00221200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima et secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477-78. GW 3605; ISTC ib00229000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3616; ISTC ib00233000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3617; ISTC ib00234000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3631; ISTC ib00238000.

portant number of copies of editions of legal texts that Jenson printed on parchment. They were mostly parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, destined for members of the ruling aristocracy, bishops and abbots, or to wealthy institutions, such as the Canons of Monte Donico of Verona whose name has been found, so far, on the copies of two parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the constitutions of Clement V and the decretals of Boniface VIII, scattered between Venice and London, but now gathered together again, in virtual fashion, in the MEI database.<sup>158</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Growth, Development and Innovation

A second phase in the printing of Bartolus' works started around 1480, when all the early printers gradually disappeared and several new ones made their appearance, but all in the north: Venice and Milan in the Peninsula, Lyon beyond the Alps. Almost all editions of the major works – the *Lecturae* and the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus* – were printed in those three places (104 out of 172; **tabs. 18-19**). The number of printers expanded considerably in Venice, where in the 1480s about twelve printing houses were working on one or more editions of Bartolus' works. However, two leading figures soon emerged: Andreas Torresanus and Baptista de Tortis, who printed altogether about half of all Venetian editions of Bartolus' major works [**tab. 20**]. Both Torresanus and Tortis printed all the *lecturae*, more than once, apparently following a similar pattern: first they printed one, two or even three editions of the same works, with some editions entirely based on previous ones; then they printed new series of editions enhanced with the additions of contemporary jurists.

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**158** Clemens V, Pont. Max, *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae) Add: *Decretales extravagantes Johannis XXII*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 7098; ISTC ic00728000. Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Membr. 0005 (MEI 00200232); Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max, *Liber sextus Decretalium* (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Ed: Alexander de Nevo. Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 4856; ISTC ib00984000. London, The British Library, IC.19688 (MEI 02108441). A number of copies on vellum are found of both editions as well as of other parts of the *Corpus*, such as the *Decretum Gratiani*, printed by Jenson in 1474 (GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000). A copy of the latter edition, which is today preserved in the British Library (IC.19678; MEI 02108507), was marvellously illuminated, and bears provenance evidence of importance in relation to the production and distribution of special copies within the network established by Jenson. On this theme a number of groundbreaking studies have been published by Lilian Armstrong: *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice* (individual articles are cited in the MEI records in relation to individual copies and miniaturists); "Information from Illumination: Three Case Studies of Incunabula in the 1470s". Cf. also her contribution in this volume. On patterns and iconographic tradition proper of legal texts L'Engle, Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*.

Similarities apart, a closer look at the series of editions printed by both provides us with interesting elements, starting with the chronology, but also including the sequence of the texts, the introduction of additions, and the change in the structure of the book. It was Torresanus who started printing Bartolus' *lecturae* in 1485 and went on publishing the *lecturae* of the other parts, and new editions of the same ones, with a *crescendo* to the amount of 17 editions printed in the following five years,<sup>159</sup> during which Tortis intervened only once, in 1486, with one edition of the *Lectura super tribus libris* that Torresanus had not included in his first series.<sup>160</sup> Tortis, in the meantime engaged with the printing of the *Corpus*, reappeared in 1490 with the *Lectura super Authenticis* that, again, Torresanus had not yet printed.<sup>161</sup> Also, Tortis introduced in his books a most helpful element: printed leaf numbers, soon adopted also by Torresanus, al-

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**159** In chronological order: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 26 Jan. 1485. GW 3635; ISTC ib00239900; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 22 Nov. 1486. GW 3571; ISTC ib00221600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: [Andreas Torresanus], for Bartholomaeus de Zanis et Socii, 31 Jan. 1486/87. GW 3496; ISTC ib00193800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 9 Mar. 1487. GW 3513; ISTC ib00201600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 5 Dec. 1487. GW 3636; ISTC ib00240000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 31 Jan. 1487/88. GW 3621; ISTC ib00235400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 31 July 1488. GW 3587; ISTC ib00225300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 16 Sept. 1488. GW 3554; ISTC ib00219000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 21 Oct. 1488. GW 3497; ISTC ib00194000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 30 Nov. 1488. GW 3599; ISTC ib00227200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 18 Jan. 1488/89. GW 3514; ISTC ib00202000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 12 Feb. 148[8/89?] [1480 in the book]. GW 3618; ISTC ib00235500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 3 Apr. 1489. GW 3572; ISTC ib00221800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 5 May 1489. GW 3637; ISTC ib00240500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 28 Dec. 1489. GW 3588; ISTC ib00225400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 23 Sept. 1490. GW 3555; ISTC ib00219300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 28 Oct. 1490. GW 3498; ISTC ib00195000.

**160** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Apr. 1486. GW 3530; ISTC ib00209000.

**161** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 27 May 1490. GW 3484; ISTC ib00189600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 July 1490. GW 3533; ISTC ib00210000.

though not in all editions. For a few more years Torresanus continued printing the majority of the editions,<sup>162</sup> with Torti only issuing the texts the former had omitted, until 1493, when Torresanus realised his last edition<sup>163</sup> and the latter printed six new editions all at once.<sup>164</sup> From then onwards, until the end of the century and beyond, Tortis embarked on a regular programme of Bartolus' works.<sup>165</sup> Seemingly

**162** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 June 1491. GW 3600; ISTD ib00227400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 8 Dec. 1491. GW 3515; ISTD ib00202300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Add: *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1492. GW 3485; ISTD ib00190000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 6 June 1492. GW 3590; ISTD ib00225600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et aliorum*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 Aug. 1492. GW 3501; ISTD ib00196000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino (in the workshop of Andreas Torresanus, de Asula), 20 Oct. 1492. GW 3624; ISTD ib00236300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 20 Nov. 1492. GW 3640; ISTD ib00241400.

**163** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni; Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 24 July 1493. GW 3560; ISTD ib00220200.

**164** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 6 Feb. 1492/93. GW 3603; ISTD ib00228000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Apr. 1493. GW 3576; ISTD ib00223000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 May 1493. GW 3519; ISTD ib00204000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 May 1493. GW 3558; ISTD ib00220000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 30 June 1493. GW 3641; ISTD ib00241600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 July 1493. GW 3625; ISTD ib00236500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Nov. 1493. GW 3502; ISTD ib00197000.

**165** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 12 Apr. 1494. GW 3591; ISTD ib00225700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, with the Additiones of the editor Bernardinus Landrianus*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 June 1495. GW 3544; ISTD ib00213000; GW 3545; ISTD ib00214000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Jan. 1499. GW 3604; ISTD ib00228500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 14 Feb. 1499. GW 3522; ISTD ib00204300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 9 Aug. 1499. GW 3505; ISTD ib00197700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Sept. 1499. GW 3580; ISTD ib00223400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Nov. 1499. GW 3592; ISTD ib00225800; Bartolus de Sa-

the operation was conducted on the basis of an agreement between the two firms [tab. 20]. Through a long series of new editions, they found the way to rationalise their own production, alternating fresh editions with others apparently based on previous ones: Torresanus did so five times and Tortis nine. Likewise the collations, when the signatures applied to the various parts are formed by multiple sets of letters (e.g.: aa-pp<sup>8</sup>, aaa-ppp<sup>8</sup>, AA-OO<sup>8</sup> and so on), imply that the publishing of the various parts of the *Corpus* was carefully coordinated and intended as a multi-volume production. The most important feature, however, was the further elaboration of the texts, when the exegetical scholarship conducted on Bartolus' works by later jurists was introduced in printed editions in the form of additions.

The earliest additions appeared in the late 1470s, at the beginning printed in columns following the main text, then introduced into the margins, according to the pattern of the glossa. They mostly came from the work of Alexander Tartagnus, whose *Apostillae ad Bartolum* on the lectures of various parts appeared as self-standing works in 19 editions (1475-1489). Along with the work of renowned jurists, such as Alexander Tartagnus or Angelus de Ubaldis, there are contributions by a scholar of far inferior fame, Bernardinus Landrianus, jurist and member of the College of jurists of Milan, whose work seems to be receiving the attention it deserves only in recent times, in relation to the editions of the collection of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. Here Landrianus manifests the explicit intention of producing a better edition by rationalising and putting order into the mass of Bartolus' texts.<sup>166</sup>

One of the early editions of Bartolus' *lecturae* enhanced with Tartagnus' *Apostillae* and the edition of a treatise edited by Bernardinus Landriani form the subject of two case studies analysed in the next two paragraphs.

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xoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Nov. 1499. GW 3562; ISTC ib00220400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 18 Dec. 1499. GW 3628; ISTC ib00237300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 11 Mar. 1500. GW 3644; ISTC ib00242200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et apostillis Andreae Barbatiae*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 Nov. 1500. ISTC ib00242100 (not in GW).

**166** Treggiari, "Sulle edizioni dei *Consilia quaestiones et tractatus* di Bartolo da Sasoferrato"; Panzanelli Fratoni, "Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento".

## 4.2 The Lectura of the *Tres libri*: Early Editions and New Evidence from a Manuscript

The editions of Bartolus' commentary on the last three books of the Codex are very interesting in relation to various aspects of the transmission of the texts, critical approach, and attribution. Bartolus did not complete the commentary on this part of the Codex, since he died while he was still working on it. The text was therefore completed by a follower of Bartolus, who has been identified with the jurist Conte di Sacco. A reference to his illness is also found in a first prologue, where the circumstances of his bad health are presented by the author as the occasion for a new teaching experience; it also inspires a heartfelt preamble, starting with a quotation from the Book of Proverbs:

Omnes gaudentes floridam etatem faciunt et spiritus tristis desiccant ossa.<sup>167</sup> Cum igitur diu fuerim gravi corporis infirmitate gravatus et propter hoc a consueto gaudio speculationis doctrine cessaverim, cognovi quod in me vires corporis non poterant restaurari, nisi aliquantulum efficeretur meus animus gaudentes. Hoc autem consideravi facile esse posse si auditoribus meis quibus propter infirmitatem servire non valui aliquid utilitatis afferre possem legendo id quid eis esset acceptum michique et eis novum et per consequens delectabile, ideo Tres libros Codicis legere destinavi, ubi multa sunt incognita et per antiquos doctores neglecta, secundum usum tamen frequentia et necessaria. Hac igitur lecturam quilibet videns si in aliquo non bene dictum reperire humiliter corrigat in hiis que bene dictum sunt mecum Deo gratias agat.<sup>168</sup>

A marvellous link between joy and recovery from illness, and between teaching and happiness is made here, which may sound more like the way of thinking of a Renaissance rather than a medieval author. Another, second, prologue exists, which seems much more traditional, opening with the invocation of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary

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**167** *Proverbi*, 17:22, reads: "Animus gaudens floridam aetatem facit".

**168** "Since for a long time I have been weighed down with a serious illness and because of this I have been deprived of the joys of study and thought, I realised that I would never recover strength in my body unless my soul were to find a source of pleasure. I considered that this would happen if I could help my students, whom I was unable to teach because of my sickness, and I decided I could do this by writing a lecture of a text which was new to them as well as to myself and therefore pleasant. I chose to read the *Three Books of the Codex*, where one finds many helpful subjects that, nevertheless, early scholars had neglected". The original text is taken from the *princeps*: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471]. GW 3523; ISTC ib00204500 (a2r).

and three more saints<sup>169</sup> and this is only found in the manuscripts, as Paolo Mari, who first drew attention to this text, pointed out after having analysed a sample of three manuscripts, three incunabula and three 16th century editions.<sup>170</sup> Mari concluded that the *introitus* 'Omnes gaudentes' was not written by Bartolus and was added in the course of the 15th century and, most interestingly, that "its introduction marks the passage from the manuscript tradition to the printed tradition". The thorough analysis of all thirteen editions printed in the 15th century provides a slightly different result, without altering the overall evolution of the texts as presented by Mari. The incunable editions do not only have the 'modern' *introitus* 'Omnes gaudentes' but also include the medieval one 'In nomine Domini'. Where both are present, the modern one always appears first, as suits a later addition. The modern *introitus*, moreover, is found in all the editions except for one: the second edition, printed in Mantua by Paul de Butzbach five years after the *princeps*.<sup>171</sup> This edition is also unique in terms of its additions: here Bartolus' *lectura* is enhanced with the additions of Angelus de Ubaldis,<sup>172</sup> but not with those written by Alexander Tartagnus, which would appear in all later editions, starting with the one printed in Venice by Jenson in 1477 [tab. 22].<sup>173</sup>

**169** "In nomine Domini Ihesu Christi eiusque matris Marie virginis gloriose, nec non beatorum Anthonii et Nicolai et Iheronimi tociusque celebris curie Amen. Quia ubi Christus non est fundamentum nullius boni operis superest edificium ..." (cf. previous footnote).

**170** Mari, "Aspetti della vita quotidiana nell'opera di Bartolo", 674-8.

**171** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis*. Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 17 Sept. 1476. GW 3524; ISTC ib00204700.

**172** "cum additionibus d. Angeli de Ubaldis de Perusio suo loco ubique positus": the additions indeed are placed right after the text and easy to find, being announced by the term *Addicio* (cf. TEXT-inc tib00204700).

**173** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. GW 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, about 1480]. GW 3526; ISTC ib00205500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 31 Jan. 1479/80. GW 3527; ISTC ib00206000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1482]. GW 3528; ISTC ib00207000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas de Soziis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Apr. 1486. GW 3530; ISTC ib00209000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 25 Mar. 1487. GW 3531; ISTC ib00209300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1490]. GW 3532; ISTC ib00209600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus*

The arrangement of text and additions in the Mantua edition appears quite unusual and deserving of further investigation: it was both the absence of the 'modern' *introitus*, together with the absence of Tartagnus' additions, that seems surprising, especially considering that the book was printed when the jurist was still alive and working elsewhere in Northern Italy. Tartagnus taught at the University of Padua until 1470 when he was invited to teach at the University of Bologna.<sup>174</sup> A quick glance at the output of Butzbach, however, was enough to establish that the printer, or more likely those figures who commissioned the publication, were well aware of Tartagnus' work. In fact they arranged to have it printed as a separate work, with the title *Additiones [sive Apostille] ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis per dominum Alexandrum de Ymola* [i.e. Tartagnus] and it appeared just before the commentary itself.<sup>175</sup>

Interesting information comes from studies on Butzbach, which reveal that the publication in Mantua of Bartolus' commentary was a second choice; the original plan was to print it in Padua, where most likely Tartagnus conceived and wrote his *Apostillae*. The evidence is found in the documents of the trial which came about because of the failure of the original project put together by a businessman from Mantua, Gaspare Siliprandi, and his son Domenico. They had arranged for the publication in Padua of Bartolus' commentary *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis* with Petrus Maufer de Maliferiis and Carlo Ridolfi, who eventually abandoned the publication causing the breaking-up of the agreements and Domenico and Gaspare's decision to move back to their home city.<sup>176</sup> To this reconstruction it is possible now to add a further element consisting of evidence from the manuscript Arundel 479 of the British Library, a large folio codex consisting of 178 leaves and containing:

1. Alexandri de Imola Additiones ad Bartolum super tribus libris postremis Codicis Justiniani (ff. 3-24);

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*ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 July 1490. GW 3533; ISTC ib00210000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Add: *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1492. GW 3485; ISTC ib00190000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1495]. GW 3534; ISTC ib00210100.

**174** Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV*, 110-18; Padovani, "Tartagni, Alessandro".

**175** Tartagnus, Alexander, *Apostillae ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis*. Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 12 Sept. 1476. GW M44924; ISTC it00018600. Bartolus' commentary is dated 17 September.

**176** Cf. Fattori, "Nuovi documenti per la storia della tipografia padovana del '400"; Canova, "Paul Butzbach e Gaspare Siliprandi"; "Paolo da Butzbach".



2. Bartoli a Saxoferrato *Commentarius super tribus libris postremis Codicis, una cum quibusdam notis Angeli de Perusio* (25-90);
3. Angeli de Perusio in *Novellas Constitutiones Justiniani Commentarius* (91-177).

Several elements deserve attention, starting with the combination of section 1 and 2, which appear to mirror fairly precisely the arrangement of the printed edition. Most importantly, the texts were not all written by the same hand: the twenty-four leaves bound at the opening of the volume were written by an anonymous scribe to be added to a codex, which was previously formed by what are now sections two and three, as is duly noted in the BL manuscript catalogue. The questions of who created this codex, when, how and for whom are spelt out in the colophon and a later note (f. 177v): the scribe was a certain Johannes (Jan?) Hasselt from Liège, who finished his work on 23 July 1471, and he did it at the request of Johannes Mendel, or Mandel, at the time a university student in Padua:

Et sic est finis ad laudem Dei nostri Ihesu Christi eiusque matris Marie virginis semper benedictae et ad instantiam egregii viri domini Johannis Mendel scholaris Patavini per me Johannem Hasselt Leodiensem, die xxiii mensis Julij M<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxxi<sup>o</sup>.

Mendel, in his turn, had commissioned the work on behalf of an illustrious reader, who also wished to make his ownership known:

Dominus Johannes Mendel scribi fecit ad instantiam mei Johannis Pirckheymer utriusque iuris doctoris.

Johannes Pirckheymer, a Nuremberg patrician and father of the more famous Willibald, was a Doctor of Law and created an important library, part of which was sold to Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel in 1636.<sup>177</sup> A number of important juridical manuscripts, today in the

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**177** Cf. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, record 488: "Fols. 1-24 are a separate MS but the whole volume evidently belonged to Pirckheimer". On Mendel Watson wrote that he became chancellor of Eichstädt in 1488 and owned a remarkable book collection most part of which is now preserved in Augsburg. He is plausibly the Johannes Mandel whose career is recorded in the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*, from his enrolment at the Faculty of Arts in Vienna (1442) to the years that he spent in Italy, from 1467 until 1471, when he was indeed in Padua where he graduated in Canon law. Cf. Johannes Mandel (RAG-ID: ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t5CqP5FR), <https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t5CqP5FR>. The library started by Johannes Pirckheymer was made of mainly legal texts; it was greatly enriched with classics and humanist works by Willibald. After the latter's death, the library was inherited by his daughter Felicitas and her husband Hans Imhoff, and lat-

British Library, belonged to Johannes Pirckheymer, and entered the library with the rest of Arundel's collections. Many of them were written in the 15th century and provide a good picture of the life which existed around the School of Law in Padua and of the university environment in general, beginning with the practices of producing texts, as is also shown in MS Arundel 479.

As has already been stated, the first section of the manuscript was written by someone different from the official scribe and contains the *Apostillae* written by Tartagnus, whose lectures Mendel most likely attended, as they were both in Padua in the same period of time. There is more, however. The 24 leaves containing Tartagnus' *Apostillae* are not the only text written by the anonymous scribe. Angelus's additions to Bartolus' *lectura* were also written at a later moment: they are all found in the margins, linked to the text of the *lectura* with symbols indicating where they should be introduced: 'suo loco ubique positus', as the *colophon* reads in the Butzbach edition. Thus the whole manuscript seems to bear evidence of the creation of the new edition, including the layout of the texts in both the manuscript and the printed edition, which look impressively similar. How should we interpret this?

Further investigation is needed to reach a better understanding of the relation between this witness and the printed edition;<sup>178</sup> I am not suggesting here that this manuscript was the copy-text used in the printshop, since so far no traces have been found in the manuscript of any work done by the printers. There are instead clear traces of a close relationship which has to do with the texts and their arrangement, which is unique among 15th-century editions. Most importantly, the choice of such an arrangement was likely down to Tartagnus, and to his teaching and critical approach to Bartolus' works. In which case

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er by their son, another Willibald, who greatly increased it. His grandson, Johann Hieronymus Imhoff, started selling the collections, despite the originary mandate not to disperse them, due to the financial difficulties consequent to the Thirty Years War. The bulk of the library was purchased in 1636 by Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel, 1586-1646, during a diplomatic mission to the Holy Roman Emperor (he was son to a Roman Catholic family and grandson of Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk executed in 1572). Some time after Arundel's death, his grandson, Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (d. 1684), presented the bulk of the library to the Royal Society (1666-67) which, later on, sold what was not considered as pertinent to the collections of the same; a large portion was purchased by Quaritch in 1873. What the Society had retained was sold by auction at Sotheby's in 1924, after the British Museum had selected a few items. Cf. De Ricci, *English Collectors*, 25; Levy Peck, "Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society"; cf. also the entries for Willibald Pirckheymer, Johann Hieronymus Imhoff, Willibald Imhoff, Thomas Howard, and Henry Howard in the Index of Owners of MEL, where further bibliography is provided (ID numbers respectively 4744, 00010016, 3037, 2736, 4743).

**178** Such analysis will include the text of the third section, the comment of the *Authenticum* by Angelus de Ubaldis. It is interesting that the comment by Bartolus of the same text (*Authenticum*) is found in the edition of his comment of the *Tres Libri* printed by Torresano in 1492 (GW 3485; ISTC ib00190000).

this manuscript would be a vivid testimony to an important phase in the transmission of the text of Bartolus' works. If it is, then it is worth underlining here that many important elements in the manuscript have emerged thanks to the study of the early printed editions.

### 4.3 The Editions of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*

Another very interesting case is provided by the editions of the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. After having appeared in separate editions (Venice, Vindelinus, 1471 and 1472; Rome, Gensberg, 1473),<sup>179</sup> the three groups of texts were assembled in a single edition, printed in Milan in 1479 by Johannes Antonius de Honate [tab. 23].<sup>180</sup> A few years later another edition appeared, *sine notis*, but attributable to the same printer, where some important innovations were made by the already mentioned Bernardinus Landrianus.<sup>181</sup> Landrianus wrote additions to the *Consilia*, but also reduced them, from 245 to 237, in an attempt to rationalise the collection, for example by deleting duplicates (e.g. consilium 245 was the same text as one of the *Quaestiones*): "a few additions at the end of a number of *consilia*, especially where he found a decision opposing a *consilium* or other decisions taken by jurists of a later period".<sup>182</sup> This intervention provoked a fierce debate that was conducted in the prefaces of

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**179** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Quaestiones disputatae*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, [1471]. GW 3657; ISTC ib00249000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De successionibus ab intestato*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De testibus*. Jacobus Aegidius: *De reprobatione testium*. Nellus de Sancto Geminiano: *De testibus*. *De publicatione testium*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia*. Rome: Johannes Gensberg, for Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus, 5 Dec. 1473. GW 3537; ISTC ib00210700. On the edition printed by Gensberg: Ascheri, *The Formation of the 'Consilia' Collection of Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Some of His Autographs*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa*.

**180** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione and Ambrosius de Caymis, 17 Sept. 1479. GW 3538; ISTC ib00210800.

**181** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*, with the *Additiones* of the editor Bernardinus Landrianus. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, about 1485]. GW 3540; ISTC ib00212000.

**182** "Bernardinus Landrianus I.V. doctor et in collegio Mediolanensi iurisperitorum minimus. Clarissimo I.V. monarce ac preceptoris suo Io. Puteo ordinariam iuris civilis de mane interpretanti in almo gymnasio Papiensi salutem. Cum dulcis patria non mediocri contagione vexaretur incole fere omnes quibus abeundi facultas data erat salubriora loca peciere, sed ego in tantis calamitatibus firmavi ac statui pro viribus ingenio mei figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometrice confecerat, **necnon nonnullas addiunculas ad calcem quamplurimorum consiliorum collocare [sic] ante confusse [sic] editorum corrigendo, maxime ubi ita vel contra consultum inveni vel decisum ob multitudinem ac varietatem eorum qui post ipsum scripsere**" (a1v; cf. TEXT-inc tib00212000).

two subsequent editions (both printed in Venice: 1487-88 and 1495).<sup>183</sup>

*Consilia*, in any case, were not Landriani's main concern; in fact, the first thing he highlighted in the preface were the illustrations created for the treatise *Tyberiadis* (*De fluminibus*). He wrote that he "wanted to remake those images that Bartolus had made with his genius and that had been destroyed because of the passage of time".<sup>184</sup> Landriani is not the only one to appreciate the innovations introduced by Bartolus: the importance of the drawings, which are part of Bartolus' treatise, has been strongly underlined by modern scholars, such as Carla Frova and Osvaldo Cavallar, who have clarified how this is further evidence of Bartolus' genius and of his ability to take from other disciplines (such as geometry) the knowledge he needed to solve his legal cases. The importance of the drawings is reinforced by the fact that at least some of them have been identified as having been made by the author himself.<sup>185</sup> All this helps us

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**183** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. Ed: Honofrius. Venice: [Georgius Arrivabenus and] Bernardinus Benalius, 25 Feb. 1487-88. GW 3541; ISTC ib00212500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 June 1495. GW 3544; ISTC ib00213000. [Same text and imprint date]. GW 3545; ISTC ib00214000. The last three editions are: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 7 Mar. 1485. GW 3539; ISTC ib00211000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, not after 1492]. GW 3542; ISTC ib00212700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1495]. GW 3543; ISTC ib00212800. The case has been analysed in detail: Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa*, 264-5; Treggiari, *Sulle edizioni dei Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*, 167-71; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo in tipografia*, 126-34.

**184** "pro viribus ingenioli mei figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometricè confecerat". Landriani showed special care for this treatise also by writing another introduction only for it, again addressed to his master Giovanni dal Pozzo (g1r): "hunc tractatum Tyberiadis figuris abolitum impressioni tradidi ut Bartolo illuminationi nostre quod suum est tribueremus, satis est enim quod nobis eius opera altius investigandi copia data est. Itaque opusculum ipsum in ordine primum accipite, ut ad subsequentes tractatus viam vobis aperiat, sicut Tiber flumen ad varia loca navigando iter prestat et si a recto tramite deviabitur habetis Io. Puteum communem preceptorem cui gratum onus imposui q[ui] vos ad optatum finem perducet".

**185** Cf. Frova, "Le traité de fluminibus de Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1355)"; Cavallar, "River of Law". The treatise *Tyberiadis* (or *De fluminibus*) is made of three sections: *De alluvionibus*, *De insula*, *De alveo* and they are not always transmitted together in manuscript. It is not a surprise, therefore, that in early editions they are listed one after the other as if they were different texts (nrr. 15-17 in the *princeps*, whose order was not altered in later editions; cf. also the description in TEXT-inc tib00255000). Nevertheless, the three texts are now considered as sections of a single treatise (no. 163 in the entry dedicated to Bartolus in C.A.L.M.A.). Illustrations are found in the sections *De alluvione* and *De insula* and an autograph witness of the first section has been identified in a composite manuscript once owned by Baldus (the most celebrated among Bartolus' pupils) today in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Barb. lat. 1398): Colli, "Collezioni d'autore di Baldo degli Ubaldi", 333-4.

to appreciate fully the initiative taken by Landriani. First of all, illustrations were not included in the *princeps*, where spaces were left blank for them to be added by hand and the same holds true for the two following editions of the ‘collectio maior’, printed in 1479 and 1485. In the meantime, before October 1483, a minor, and very interesting, collection of Bartolus’ treatises was printed in Rome by Sixtus Riessinger, including the *Tyberiadis* with the *De insigniis et armis*. Here 39 woodcuts were added for the first time (22 in the section *De alluvione* and 17 in the section *De insula*);<sup>186</sup> their style, however, appears to be very different from the illustrations that Landriani wished to add to the edition he was working on. In fact, he did not claim to have introduced the illustrations but rather wrote that he wanted to recreate the illustrations, since those made by Bartolus were almost worn away due to their age: “*figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere*”. The suspicion that Landriani was referring precisely to the autograph emerges, especially if one looks at the woodcuts printed in Landriani’s edition, which are very similar to the originals in the Vatican manuscript; the shape of the river is the same, with a profile of a mascaron, whereas the original has the head of a dog (though they are very similar to each other and very different from all other woodcuts); the overall simplicity of the drawings, where only a few lines are used to represent both geometrical figures and real objects, is also found in both sets of images. Most important of all, however, are the colours, which Bartolus used as a real code of communication and which are found as early hand-added decoration in copies of Landriani’s edition (three out of the four in the sample examined so far). In all later editions of the ‘collectio maior’ woodcuts always appear and are more detailed and refined than those used by Landriani; however none of them seem as close to the original drawings as his.<sup>187</sup> As a final note to this paragraph,

**186** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis*, lib. I-III. Ed: Rufinus Galboneta. Add: *De insigniis et armis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger [and Georgius Herolt?], before 27 Oct. 1483]. GW 3610; ISTC ib00230500; TEXT-inc tib00230500.

**187** Cf. also Frova, “Dans notre traité on remarque avant tout comment, dans la partie illustrée, l’écriture et l’image conçue de façon contextuelle s’avèrent indispensables l’une à l’autre. [...] Notons que le texte prévoit l’utilisation de différentes couleurs dans l’exécution des figures. Cela a créé des difficultés pour la réalisation des éditions imprimées; les illustrations de certains exemplaires ont été complétées à la main, tandis que d’autres sont restées en noir et blanc, comme celles de l’édition fac-similé reproduites ici, ce qui nuit à la bonne compréhension des figures” (“Le traité de fluminibus”, 87-8 fn. 20). To these notes Osvaldo Cavallar, who based his analysis on later editions (the 1576 one), added further observations about the lesser effectiveness of woodcuts found in printed editions compared to the original drawings, which sounds like a positive evaluation, *e converso*, of the quality of the woodcuts found in Landriani’s edition. This is what he wrote: “A careful choice and consistent use of colors enabled him [i.e. Bartolus] to differentiate between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ [...]. The colors of the figures [...] speak of Bartolus’ consciousness of both the limits and potentialities of a cogni-

I should like to point out how both the cases presented here (Bartolus' lecture *Super tribus ultimis libris* and his treatise *De fluminibus*) reveal that, when working on the 15th-century editions, it is important not just to reconstruct the textual tradition of the printed editions alone. Such instances also provide insights into the history of the manuscript traditions and make it possible to formulate better questions about the complexities found therein. For example, how are we to explain the almost complete absence of printing initiatives of Bartolus' work in those two countries, Germany and Spain, where a large number of manuscripts of his works circulated from late medieval times onwards?<sup>188</sup> Were the manuscripts sufficient to match readers' needs over a long period or were printed books imported from elsewhere? In short: was the book trade developed to such a point that it was preferable to import Bartolus' lectures from Venice, Naples or Milan into Seu d'Urgell, Zaragoza, Madrid or Freiburg, Würzburg and Munich rather than printing them on the spot? It is highly probable that this was the case: books were preferably imported from those places where skilled printers and scholars had developed a cooperation which was not easy to replicate. On the other hand, the import/export of legal texts was facilitated by the students who were accustomed to travelling long distances in order to attend the most renowned universities. To what extent books were exported soon after they had been printed or accompanied early owners in their travels is a matter that the ongoing analysis of the copies and the critical recording of provenance evidence is clarifying.

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tive tool like geometry. In contrast to the holograph, the printed editions cluttered the figures with redundant elements, such as buildings, castles [...]. The absence of colors compelled the early printers to use other devices [...]. In Bottrigari's edition [i.e. *Tiberiadis D. Bartoli de Saxoferrato ... Tractatus de fluminibus tripertitus ab Hercule Buttrigario restitutus ...* Bononiae: apud Ioannem Roscium, 1576; Edit16 4426]. Another change introduced in the printed editions was the suppression of the heads of animals Bartolus drew to indicate the origin and the direction of the flow of the river. Restoring those heads to the figures will give us an additional facet of Bartolus' personality" which is exactly what Landriani wanted to do. Cf. Cavallar, "River of Law: Bartolus's *Tiberiadis (De alluvione)*", 35, 40-1 (the drawings from the autograph are on pages 30, 119-29). The autograph is now fully available in the digital collections of the Vatican Library, although in black and white: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.1398](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.1398); paradoxically, a comparison between the autograph and the printed editions is made difficult because of the rarity (at the moment, August 2019, unavailability) of any copy of the Landriani edition.

**188** Cf. Casamassima, *Iter Germanicum*; García y García, *Iter Hispanicum*.

## 5 Conclusions

Despite the large number of editions of Bartolus' works, the majority of which were printed in Italy, most are very rare in their country of origin itself and many are totally absent.<sup>189</sup> The very first edition is one of these, known today only in four copies, not one of them in Italy.<sup>190</sup> Germany is the country where the highest number of copies of Bartolus' editions can be found today<sup>191</sup> and there were even more before some of them were sold as duplicates in the course of the 19th century, when they were acquired by institutions such as the British Museum, the forerunner of the present British Library, where the bulk of the research supporting the current essay was done.<sup>192</sup>

The majority of the copies that I have examined in the BL arrived there from German libraries, where they had been conserved for centuries. In Germany copies of legal texts (Bartolus' works as well as the texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*) were imported very soon after

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**189** Of the about 200 editions of Bartolus' main works 50 are not found in Italy, and 57 are held in Italy in only 1 copy. On the other hand, of the 10 editions which survive in unique copies, 6 are in Italy (including a copy in the Vatican Library). The survival rates of the early editions of Bartolus' works (and more generally speaking, of the early editions of legal texts) is connected to a change of the curricula in law studies which took place over the course of the 16th century, as discussed above. In order for this subject to be properly tackled, it would need a detailed and long-term analysis, which would go beyond the purpose of this current research.

**190** They are in Germany (Munich and Lübeck, the latter no more existing), Great Britain (Birmingham) and United States (Cambridge, MA) (ISTC ib00230800; GW 3611). The copy in Munich bears the coat of arms of the Dominicans of Freising, and was decorated with motifs that reinforce the evidence of the early acquisition of the book, as anyone can see (<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00065525-2>).

**191** With 176 copies, Germany is followed by Italy (139), Austria (130), United Kingdom (112), Spain and Portugal (92), France (88), United States (80) and Switzerland (62). Numbers include editions of the CIC or other collections where Bartolus appears in addition to other authors.

**192** The British Library was founded in 1973 by an act of Parliament and took with it the collections of manuscripts and printed books belonging to the previous Library of the British Museum. I would like to take the occasion here to express my gratitude to all members of the Library's Collections and Curation department and to its head Kristian Jensen, who warmly welcomed me during the four years of research. Special thanks go to all colleagues of the area 'Printed Heritage Collections', where I worked, and particularly to Adrian Edwards, Karen Limper-Herz, Philippa Marks, Stephen Parkin, with whom I exchanged ideas and information on daily basis, and to Andrea Clark, curator in Manuscripts area, who helped me with accessing manuscripts. Also, I would like to thank John Goldfinch, who was head of incunabula when we started the recording of the British Library incunabula in MEI. The work done on the BL incunabula and their owners could not be included in this article, given the subject of the present work and its focus on the texts and editions rather than the copies. Also, the analysis of the copies implies another big set of data, which needs to be explored in a dedicated article. The same applies to an aspect of this very research that was not possible to include either, that is a chapter on the copies of law incunabula and their provenance (so far 385 copies of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and 275 of the works of Bartolus have been recorded in MEI; last search 2019-09-13).

they had been printed. This fact holds true also for the many copies of legal texts that are still preserved in the libraries of Oxford colleges, where the same works (the texts of the *ius commune*) were presumably read and taught regularly. Copies of legal texts are found across Europe, in various countries where they had been imported from Italy soon after being published to be used in the local law schools. Copies were also brought back to their native countries by students who had completed their studies in law schools abroad when, on re-entry, they became part of the ruling élite, either in the Church hierarchy or as officers in the lay administration.<sup>193</sup> Once back home, they would apply the law they had learnt in their daily activities, because the *ius commune* (Roman, Canon and Feudal Law) was not just the law of the School: the *ius commune* provided the theoretical, conceptual, structural framework within which the ‘iura propria’ (local laws, statutes, etc.) were applied.<sup>194</sup> The *ius commune* was the law shared all over Europe, where students were free to travel as were printers and booksellers, scholars and artists: this was the Europe in which the Renaissance emerged and so did the printing revolution.

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### Abbreviations

BMC = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum [vols. 11 and 13: Hes & de Graaf; vol. 12 The British Library], 1908-2007 (13 vols.);

C.A.L.M.A. = *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi, 500-1500*, founded by M. Lapidge and C. Leonardi. Cambridge; Firenze: 2003- (the entry for Bartolus by Susanne Lepsius appears in issue 2(1), 101-56);

DBGI = *Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani*. Bologna: il Mulino, 2013;

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1960-;

ISTC = *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*. URL [http://data.cerl.org/istc/\\_search/](http://data.cerl.org/istc/_search/); in ISTC there are links to all the main other repertoires and cata-

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**193** Alain Wijffels clarifies very well the role played by the Roman law in shaping the western society: “Dissipons d’emblée une représentation excessivement réductrice du droit romain parmi les juristes [...] celle d’un droit romain identifié essentiellement comme un droit privé [...] la science médiévale du droit portait sur l’ensemble de la gouvernance publique. [...] Le droit étudié et enseigné aux universités médiévales correspondait avant tout à une science de gouvernement, ou, quoique l’expression rencontre toujours de fortes résistances en français, à une science, voire plutôt à un ‘art’ de la gouvernance publique” (“Une très brève histoire du droit dans la civilisation occidentale”, 398).

**194** “It created the concepts, the institutions, the procedures, the documents, the doctrines without which the *iura propria* would have evolved very differently” (Kenneth Pennington, “Foreword” to Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe*).



- logues of incunabula, starting from *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1925-. URL <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>;
- MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula*. URL [http://data.cerl.org/mei/\\_search/](http://data.cerl.org/mei/_search/);
- RAG = *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum: Die graduierten Gelehrten des Alten Reiches zwischen 1250 und 1550*. URL <https://rag-online.org/>;
- TEXT-inc = *TEXT-inc. A Corpus of Texts Printed in the 15th Century*. URL <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

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**Justinianus** [i.e. *Corpus iuris civilis: Institutiones; Digestum Vetus; Digestum Infortiatum; Digestum Novum; Codex Justinianus; Novellae Constitutiones; Liber feudorum*]

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Andreae, Johannes

*Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis*

[Basel: Martin Flach (printer of Basel), ab. 1472-74]. GW 1751; ISTC ia00640000

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[Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, 1479]. GW 1757; ISTC ia00649000

[Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, ab. 1495-1500]. GW 1749; ISTC ia00647000

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[Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, ab. 1482-88]. GW 1748; ISTC ia00646000

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[Rome: Stephan Planck, ab. 1490]. GW 1747; ISTC ia00644000

Leipzig: Jacobus Thanner, 1498. GW 1755; ISTC ia00648000

[Rome: Johann Besicken, ab. 1499]. GW 1750; ISTC ia00648200

[Leipzig: Gregorius Böttiger (Werman), ab. 1492-95]. GW 1754; ISTC ia00645000

Antwerp: [Govaert Bac, not before 21 Sept. 1500]. GW 1756; ISTC ia00647400

Antonius de Prato Veteri

*Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli*

[Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate], for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 23 Mar. 1481. GW 2249; ISTC ia00915000;

[Lyon]: Johannes Siber, [ab. 1485]. GW 2254; ISTC ia00915050

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[Lyon: Johannes Siber, ab. 1498-1500]. GW 2252; ISTC ia00915300

Barlasina, Matthaeus

*Repertorium in Singularia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaei Mattaselani*

[Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, not before 28 June 1477]. GW M34966, ISTC ib00128500

Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max (formerly Benedetto Caetani)

*Liber Sextus Decretalium* (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000

*Liber Sextus Decretalium* (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 17 Apr. 1470. GW 4850; ISTC ib00978000.

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Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de

*De modo studendi in utroque iure et vita doctorum*. Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *Contrarietates*. Matthaeus Mattaselanus: *De electione opinionum*. Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3-4 July 1493. GW 5841; ISTC ic00006000

*De ludo*. Add: Angelus and Baldus de Ubaldis, Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Martinus de Fano, Odofredus, Ludovicus Pontanus, and Dinus de Mugello: *Tracts*. Urbino: Henricus de Colonia, Aug. 1493. GW 5839; ISTC ic00004000

Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia),

*Bulla Turcorum*, [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, ab. 1456]. 4°. GW 0591610N; ISTC ic00060000

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Carolus de Alexandris

*Sermo de Passione Christi*; GW 1225; ISTC ia00457500.

Chappe, Paulinus, commissary

*Indulgentia*, 1454. [Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg), 1454-55]. Bdsde. GW 6555; ISTC ic00422400

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Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth)

*Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)*

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Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ISTC ic00711000

Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, [12 Apr.] 1473. GW 7084; ISTC ic00715500

Pavia: Gasparinus de Fianbertis, 31 May 1482. GW 0709510N; ISTC ic00725400

*Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)* Add: *Decretales extravagantes Johannis XXII*

Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 7098; ISTC ic00728000  
With additions by L. Marius Parutus. Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1479.  
GW 7099; ISTC ic00729000

Faber Runcinus, Johannes

*Breviarium super Codicem*. Prelim: Johannes Oliverus, *Carmen*; Ludovicus Hon-  
nomus, *Epistola*. Add: *Repetitio super materia quaestionum sive torturarum*;  
Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De insigniis et armis*. Ed: Matthaeus Quadrigerius.  
Paris: André Bocard, for Jean Petit and Jean Alexandre at Angers, 15 Dec.  
1499. GW 9632; ISTC if00009900

*Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti*

[Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, Postilla super Psalterium (H 10383), ab. 1493].  
GW 10051; ISTC if00210300

[Paris: Etienne Jehannot?], for Denis Roce, [ab. 1495-1500]. GW 10064; ISTC  
if00211000

[Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [after 1497]. [not in GW]; ISTC if00216100

[Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for E., J. and G. de Marnef, [ab. 1498]. GW 10060;  
ISTC if00216200

[Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [ab. 1499]. GW 10063; ISTC if00216600

[Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for Jean Petit, [ab. 1500]. GW 10066; ISTC  
if00216700

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Bologna: Danesius Hectoris, 12 June 1494. GW 10053; ISTC if00210500

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if00210700

Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayryer, 1497. GW 10058; ISTC if00215800

Paris: Guy Marchant, 30 Dec. 1496. GW 10056; ISTC if00212000

Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 1496. GW 10055; ISTC  
if00213000

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, [ab.  
1496-98]. GW 10052; ISTC if00215000

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [ab.  
1497]. GW 10059; ISTC if00215900

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [ab.  
1497]. GW 10057; ISTC if00214000

*Formularium diversorum contractuum*, Firenze: Francesco di Dino [ab. 1487].  
GW 10190; ISTC if00249000

Gambilionibus, Angelus de

*Tractatus de maleficiis, cum additionibus Hieronymi de Castellanis*. Add: Bar-  
tolus de Saxoferrato: *Ordo iudicii*. Pavia: Antonius de Carcano, for Jacobus  
de Sancto Petro, 25 Apr. 1477. GW 10523; ISTC ig00060000

Gratianus,

*Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis)

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca).  
Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472. GW 11352; ISTC ig00361000

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca).  
Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 13 Aug. 1472. GW 11353; ISTC ig00362000

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis. Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1471.  
GW 11351; ISTC ig00360000

Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000

Ed: Alexander de Nevo and Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Add: Johannes Dac-  
onus: *Summariū, seu Flos decreti*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June  
1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000.

Rome: Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar. 1476. GW 11355; ISTC ig00364000.

Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione  
and Ambrosius de Caymis, 20 Aug. 1483. GW 11367; ISTC ig00374500.

Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni),  
*Decretales, cum glossa*

Paris: Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, 1 May 1476. GW  
11455; ISTC ig00449300

Lyon: Johannes Siber, 4 Nov. 1481. GW 11461; ISTC ig00453500

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 16 Aug. 1486. GW 11473;  
ISTC ig00461000

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 28 May 1492. GW 11486;  
ISTC ig00468000.

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Ed: Sebastian Brant, Jean Chappuis. Par-  
is: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 16 Mar. 1499/1500. GW 11496;  
ISTC ig00478000.

Innocentius III, Pont. Max. (Lotharius de Conti)

*Compendium breve quinque libros continens*. Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Bar-  
thélemy Buyer, 17 Sept. 1473. 4°. GW M12106; ISTC ii00081800

*Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis*. [Strassburg:  
Heinrich Eggstein, about 1473]. 4°. GW M12152; ISTC ii00082000

*Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis*. Add: *De crea-  
tione mundi. Summa poenitentiae. Sermones pro mortuis*. Bartolus de Saxo-  
ferrato: *Litigatio Satanae contra genus humanum*. Johannes Nider: *De con-  
tractibus mercatorum*. Johannes de Nigro Monte: *Articuli contra impugnan-  
tes privilegia ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*. [Louvain: Johannes de Westfa-  
lia, about 1484/85-87]. 4°. GW M12132; ISTC ii00087000.

Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze),

*Constitutiones Johannis Papae XXII cum apparatu Jesselini de Cassanis necnon  
cum additionibus Johannis Francisci de Pavinis. Decretales extravagantes  
communes selectae Johannis XXII, Benedicti XI et Clementis V*. Venice: Bap-  
tista de Tortis, 4 Sept. 1497. GW M1275210; ij00247100.

*Decretales extravagantes*. Comm: Jesselinus de Cassanis. Add: Johannes Fran-  
ciscus de Pavinis: *Preludium ad extravagantes*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, ab.  
1488]. GW M12748; ij00247300.

Johannes, Monachus Cisterciensis

*Defensorium iuris*. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De praescriptionibus*. Jacobus de  
Montepessulano: *De arbitriis et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bo-  
nonia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellio-  
nibus*. Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 18 Mar. 1499. GW M13387; ISTC ij00378200

Lauretus, Bernardus

*Casus in quibus iudex saecularis potest manus in personas clericorum sine me-  
tu excommunicationis imponere*. Add: Boninconcus Andreae: *De privilegi-  
is clericorum. De exemptionibus*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De carceribus*. Bartolus  
de Saxoferrato: *De alimentis*

[Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, 'Postilla super psalterium' (H 10383),  
about 1491-95?]. 4°. GW M17328; ISTC il00092500

[Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, about 1494]. 4°. GW M17327; ISTC il00092600  
[Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, about 1494]. 4°. GW M1732750; ISTC il00092700  
Paris: Antoine Denidel and Nicole de la Barre, [between 1495 and 1497]. 8°. GW M17331; ISTC il00093000  
Paris: Antoine Denidel, [about 1497]. 8°. GW M17329; ISTC il00094000  
Paris: Antoine Denidel, [about 1498]. 8°. GW M17330; ISTC il00094400  
Paris: Felix Baligault, 22 July 1500. 8°. GW M1733210; ISTC il00094600

Marcilletus, Stephanus,

*Doctrinale florum artis notariae*

[Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, ab. 1487-88]. GW M20840; ISTC im00254700  
[Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, ab. 1487-88]. GW M2083710; ISTC im00254800  
Turin: Nicolaus de Benedictis and Jacobinus Suigus, 16 Oct. 1492. GW M20846; ISTC im00255000  
[Lyon: Johannes Fabri, ab. 1494]. GW M20848; ISTC im00255300  
[Lyon: n.pr., ab. 1495?]. GW M20842; ISTC im00255500.

*Margarita legum*

*Compendium Margarita legum appellatum*. Add: Amanellus de Claris Aquis: *Casus speciales*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis, Angelus de Ubaldis, Antonius de Butrio, Angelus de Gambilionibus, Guillelmus Salicetus, Guillelmus de Ludo: *Textus et glosae singulares et speciales*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus*. [Vienne: Eberhard Frommolt, about 1481]. 4°. GW M20994; ISTC im00264700

*Methodus utriusque juris*

[Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 24 Dec. 1481. GW M23075; ISTC im00526500  
[Louvain: Rodolphus Loeffs de Driel, 1483-84]. GW M23074; ISTC im00526600  
[Louvain]: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 23 Feb. 1488. GW M23076; ISTC im00526700  
[Paris: Jean Du Pre (printer of Paris), ab. 1488]. GW M23973; ISTC im00526750  
[Paris]: Michel Le Noir, 31 Jan. 1493/94. GW M47133; ISTC im00526900.

*Modus legendi abbreviaturas*

[Cologne: Nicolaus Götz, ab. 1475]. GW M24955; ISTC im00741000  
Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 Sept. 1476. GW M24970; ISTC im00743000  
[Basel: Berthold Ruppel, ab. Oct. 1476]. ISTC im00743100 (not in GW)  
[Cologne: Petrus in Altis (Bergmann?), de Olpe, ab. 1478]. GW M24958; ISTC im00743500  
Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [1477-83]. GW M24967; ISTC im00743300  
[The Netherlands (Utrecht?): Printer of Alexander Magnus (GW 875) (Gerardus de Leempt?), between 1475 and 1479]. GW M24944; ISTC im00742000  
Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 July 1482. GW M24971; ISTC im00744000  
Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [ab. 1483]. GW M24968; ISTC im00743200  
Basel: [Printer of the 'Modus legendi abbreviaturas'], 7 Apr. 1484. GW M24947; ISTC im00745000  
Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, [ab. 1485]. GW M24956; ISTC im00746000  
Paris: Pierre Levet, 31 Oct. 1486. GW M24983; ISTC im00746500  
Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1487. GW M24961; ISTC im00747000  
Paris: Pierre Levet, 24 Jan. 1488. GW M24984; ISTC im00747500  
Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 5 Feb. 1488. GW M24966; ISTC im00748000  
Paris: Pierre Levet, 11 May 1490. GW M24985; ISTC im00748600

Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 10 Mar. 1492. GW M24972; ISTC im00749000  
[Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1493. GW M24957; ISTC im00749500  
Paris: Felix Baligault, 25 Oct. 1493. GW M24976; ISTC im00750000  
Paris: [Etienne Jehannot], 24 Sept. 1494. GW M24978; ISTC im00750400  
[Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, ab. 1494-97]. GW M47355; ISTC im00750420  
Delft: [Christiaen Snellaert], 28 Sept. 1495. GW M24964; ISTC im00750450  
Paris: Pierre Le Dru, 27 Nov. 1495. GW M24982; ISTC im00750500  
Paris: Etienne Jehannot, for Durand Gerlier, 5 June 1497. GW M24979; ISTC  
im00751000  
Leipzig: [Gregorius Böttiger (Werman)], 1497. GW M24965; ISTC im00750700  
Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 25 June 1498. GW M24986; ISTC im00751100  
Paris: [Johannes Higman?, for] Jean Petit, 11 Nov. 1498. GW M24974; ISTC  
im00751200  
Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne], 1500. GW M24969; ISTC im00751500  
Paris: [Georg Mittelhus], for Jean Petit and Durand Gerlier, 30 Mar. 1500. GW  
M24988; ISTC im00751700.

*Modus legendi abbreviaturas et al.*

*Modus legendi abbreviaturas.* Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*; Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*; Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*; Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*; Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*; Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*

[Basel: Johannes Solidi (Schilling), not after 1476]. GW M47366; ISTC  
im00753000

[Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1477]. GW M47359; ISTC  
im00753500

[Basel: Berthold Ruppel, after 1479]. GW M47324; ISTC im00754300

*Modus legendi abbreviaturas.* Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*. Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*. Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*. Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*. Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*. Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus*

Speyer: Peter Drach, [about 1478]. GW M47339; ISTC im00754000

[Speyer]: Peter Drach, [not after 1484]. f° & 4°. GW M47341; ISTC im00755000  
Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],  
1487; 26 Feb. 1488. GW M47346; ISTC im00756000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],  
9 Aug. 1490. GW M47350; ISTC im00757000

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 23 June 1494. 4°. GW M47335; ISTC im00758000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],  
21 July 1494. GW M47352; ISTC im00759000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],  
20 and 30 Aug. 1499. GW M47364; ISTC im00760000

*Processus Satanae*

*Processus iudiciarius Mascaron contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli.* [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, before 1473].  
GW 12451 (VII); GW M3555710; ISTC ip01001000

*Processus Satanae contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli*

[Rome]: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 11 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW M35558; ISTC ip01002000

Venice: Gerardus de Lisa, de Flandria, 17 Feb. 1478. 4°. GW M35563; ISTC ip01003000

Rome: Stephan Planck, 16 Jan. 1486. 4°. GW M35560; ISTC ip01004000  
[Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1491-1500]. 4°. GW M35559; ISTC ip01005000

Rolandinus de Passageriis

*Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis.*

Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Johannes de Legnano, 25 Oct. 1486. GW M38633; ISTC ir00247500

Modena: Balthasar de Struciis, Oct. 1476. GW M38634; ISTC ir00244500

Turin: Johannes Fabri Lingonensis, 6 May 1478. GW M38637; ISTC ir00245000

Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, 1 Feb. 1480. GW M38635; ISTC ir00246000

Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 30 Apr. 1483. GW M38646; ISTC ir00246500

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 30 Nov. 1485. GW M38642; ISTC ir00247000

Venice: [Baptista de Tortis], 12 Dec. 1489. GW M38654; ISTC ir00248000

Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 9 Sept. 1492. GW M38645; ISTC ir00249000

Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 16 Mar. 1496. GW M38655; ISTC ir00250000

Venice: Petrus de Quarengiis, Bergomensis, 22 Oct. 1498. GW M38644; ISTC ir00251000

Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 31 Oct. 1500. GW M38648; ISTC ir00251500.

[Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, between 1499 and 1506]. GW M38650; ISTC ir00251400

*Rubricae iuris civilis et canonici*

[Padua: Johannes de Reno, ab. 1473]. GW M3904110; ISTC ir00340250

Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 6 Feb. 1478. GW M39042; ISTC ir00340500

Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 18 Jan. 1483. GW M39043; ISTC ir00340600

[Rome: Stephan Planck, before 1485]. GW M39044; ISTC ir00341000

[Rome: Stephan Planck], 20 July 1485. GW M39045; ISTC ir00342000

[Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, ab. 1488]. GW M3904810; ISTC ir00342250

Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 9 Jan. 1486. GW M39036; ISTC ir00342150

[Rome: Stephan Planck, undated or (GW) Eucharius Silber, ab. 1490]. GW M39046; ISTC ir00343300

Rome: Eucharius Silber, 5 Oct. 1493. GW M39047; ISTC ir00342300

[Lyon: Antonius Lambillon, ab. 1494]. GW M39033; ISTC ir00342350

[Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 1494-1500]. GW M39032; ISTC ir00342400

[Paris]: Georg Mittelhus, [ab. 1494-1500]. GW M39034; ISTC ir00342420

Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayer, 1497. GW M39037; ISTC ir00342500

[Paris: Pierre Le Dru for] Jean Petit, [ab. 1500]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342600

[Paris: n.pr.] for Jean Petit, [after 1500?]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342700

Sensenschmidt, Johann and Andreas Frisner

*Bücheranzeige* [Advertisement for the Codex of Justinianus with the commentary of Accursius (GW 7723)]. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, [1475]. ISTC is00443200; GW M41555

Tartagnus, Alexander

*Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Digesti veteris.*



- [Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, about 1488]. GW M45107; ISTC it00019250  
[Venice: Andreas Calabrensis, Papiensis, 1489]. GW M4510010; ISTC it00019300
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Digesti veteris*  
Venice: Andreas Calabrensis, Papiensis, 27 Jan. 1489. GW M4510020; ISTC it00019400  
Milan: Leonardus Pachel, 3 Oct. 1489. GW M45116; ISTC it00019500
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Infortiati*  
Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 25 Sept. 1482 GW M45156; ISTC it00019600
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Digesti novi*  
[Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, about 1480]. GW M45040; ISTC it00018870  
Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, 27 Mar. 1480. ISTC it00018900 (not in GW)  
[Venice: Johannes Herbort, de Seligenstadt, 1484]. GW M45059(I); ISTC it00018930
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Digesti novi.*  
Bologna: Henricus de Colonia, for Sigismundus de Libris, 15 Mar. 1478. GW M45033; ISTC it00018970  
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 14 Feb. 1488. GW M45061; ISTC it00019200
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima et secunda parte Digesti novi*  
Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 1492. GW M45002; ISTC it00018800;  
'Venice' [i.e. Milan: Leonardus Pachel], 1495. GW M45057; ISTC it00018830;
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Codicis*  
[Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, about 1475]. GW M44928; ISTC it00018650  
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 22 Sept. 1488. GW M44927; ISTC it00018670
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Codicis*  
[Bologna]: Henricus de Colonia, 23 June 1480. GW M44933; ISTC it00018700  
[Modena]: Henricus de Colonia, 11 Oct. 1482. GW M44935; ISTC it00018730  
Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler for Philippus de Lavagnia, 17 May 1483. GW M44934; ISTC it00018750  
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 1488. GW M44919; ISTC it00018770
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis.* Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 12 Sept. 1476. GW M44924; ISTC it00018600
- Trano, Ganfredus (Goffredus) de  
*Summa super titulos Decretalium.* Add: Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris.*  
Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum.* Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum.* Petrus Jacobus Montipessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus.*  
Galvanus Salvianus, de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum.* Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus.* Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis: *Repetitiones super Capitulum Ecclesiae S. Mariae.* Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 26 Jan. 1491; 9 Feb. 1491; 3 Feb. 1491. GW 10951; ISTC it00425000
- Ubaldis, Baldus de  
*De quaestionibus et tormentis.* Add: *De carceribus. De exemptionibus. De permutationibus beneficiorum. Tractatus discrepantarum legum et canonum.*  
Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De insigniis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus.* Johannes Raynaudi: *De nobilitate.* Boninconcus Andrae: *De privilegiis clericorum.* Paris: [Pasquier and Jean Bonhomme, about] 28 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW M48674; ISTC iu00034900
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*De quaestionibus et tormentis. Add: De carceribus. De exemptionibus. Tractatus discrepantiarum legum et canonum. De permutationibus beneficiorum.* Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De testibus.* Johannes Andreae: *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis. Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis.* Boninconcus Andreae: *De privilegiis clericorum.* Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum.* Johannes Raynaudi: *De nobilitate.* Johannes de Legnano: *De pluritate beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum.* Guillelmus Bont: *Responsio ac decisio quaestionis quodlibeticae*

Paris: [Pasquier Bonhomme, about] 28 Aug. 1477. 4°. GW M48687; ISTC iu00034950

Paris: [Jean Bonhomme], 1486. 4°. GW M48690; ISTC iu00035000

*Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*

Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 13 Aug. 1489. GW M48654; ISTC iu00031000

[Milan]: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 30 Sept. 1491. GW M48655; ISTC iu00032000

Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499. GW M48659; ISTC iu00032500

*Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV). Add: Singularia, seu Repertorium.* Angelus de Ubaldis: *Singularia.* Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, 8 Nov. 1499. GW M48660; ISTC iu00032600

*Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi. Signata in leg. 'Ingenuum', Dig. De statu hominum. Signata in leg. 'Quaedam mulier', Dig. Familiae erciscundae.* Guillelmus Duranti: *Singularia ad causas cotidianas. Signata super leg. 'Dotis causa', Dig. De iure dotium.* Innocentius IV: *Notabilia dicta.* [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 1475]. GW M48700; ISTC iu00012500

*Vocabularius juris utriusque*

[Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1473]. GW M12628; ISTC iv00334000

Basel: Michael Wenssler, ab. 1473]. GW M12625; ISTC iv00335000

Speyer: Peter Drach, 18 May 1477. GW M12653; ISTC iv00336000

Speyer: Peter Drach, Sept. 1478. GW M12654; ISTC iv00338000

[Speyer: Peter Drach, ab. 1477]. GW M12655; ISTC iv00337000

[Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1477]. GW M12663; ISTC iv00337200

[Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, ab. 1477-78]. GW M12635; ISTC iv00335500

[Basel: Michael Wenssler, between 1475 and 1478]. GW M12614; ISTC iv00335600

Paris: In vico S. Jacobi (Au Soufflet Vert [Louis Symonel et Socii]), 31 Oct. 1476. GW M12648; ISTC iv00335700

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 4 Sept. 1481. GW M12646; ISTC iv00340000

Ed: Daniel ab Aqua. Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea and Jacobus de Dusa, 1482. GW M12677; ISTC iv00341000

[Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen], 29 Sept. 1483. GW M12634; ISTC iv00343000

Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 25 Dec. 1483. GW M12674; ISTC iv00344000

Basel: [Michael Wenssler], 20 Aug. 1483. GW M12632; ISTC iv00342000

Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca) and Bernardino di Pino, 18 June 1485. GW M12668; ISTC iv00345000

Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Sept. 1486. GW M12661; ISTC iv00346000

Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 19 Dec. 1487. GW M12675; ISTC iv00346500

Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 17 Aug. 1488. GW M12624; ISTC iv00347000

- Lyon: Mathias Huss, 21 May 1490. GW M12638; ISTC iv00347500  
Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],  
28 Sept. 1490. GW M12666; ISTC iv00348000  
Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 30 May 1491. GW  
M12669; ISTC iv00350000  
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 6 July 1492. GW M12641; ISTC iv00351000  
Venice: Philippus Pincius, 31 Oct. 1493. GW M12672; ISTC iv00352000  
[Lyon: Mathias Huss, not after 25 Jan. 1494]. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00352300  
Rome: Stephan Planck, 6 Feb. 1494. GW M12652; ISTC iv00353000  
Strasbourg: [Printer of the 'Casus Breves Decretalium' (Georg Husner?)], 13  
Aug. 1494. GW M12662; ISTC iv00354000  
[Lyon: Johannes Siber], 12 Dec. 1494. GW M12618; ISTC iv00354500  
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1 July 1496. GW M12647; ISTC iv00355000  
[Lyon: n.pr.], 8 June 1497. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00355500  
Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1498. GW M12676; ISTC  
iv00356000  
Lyon: Jean de Vingle, 24 Dec. 1499. GW M12640; ISTC iv00357000;  
Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 27 May 1500. GW M12667; ISTC iv00358000  
[Spain?: n.pr., after 1500?]. GW M1261710; ISTC iv00358100
- Zabarellis, Franciscus de, *Lectura super Clementinis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessing-  
er, [ab. 1468-69]. GW M51984; ISTC iz00002000

Charts and Tables

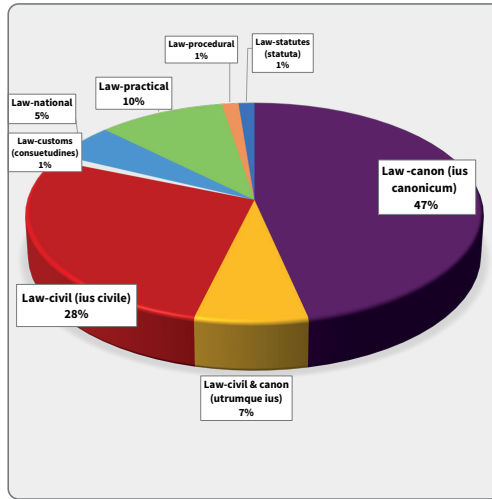


Chart 1 All editions of legal texts by subject

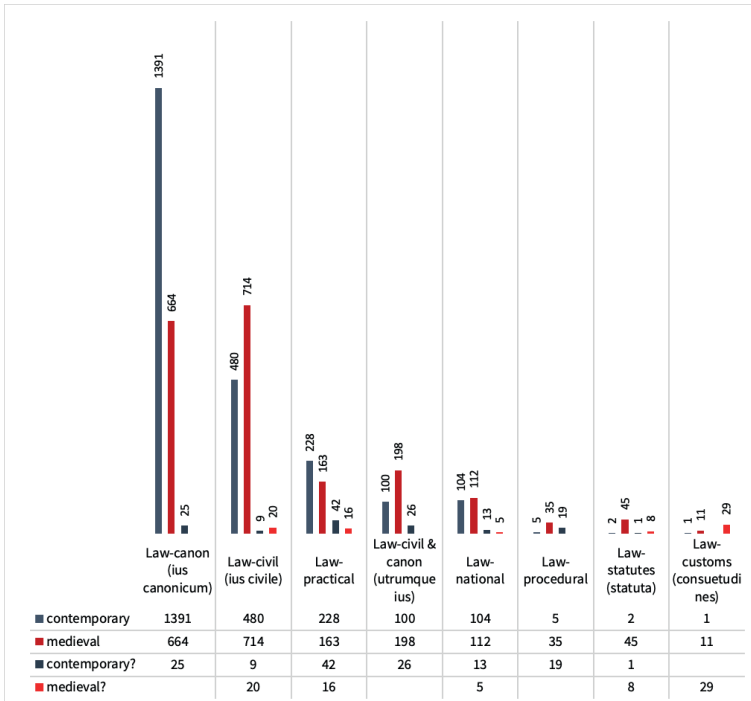


Chart 2 All editions of legal texts by subject and period

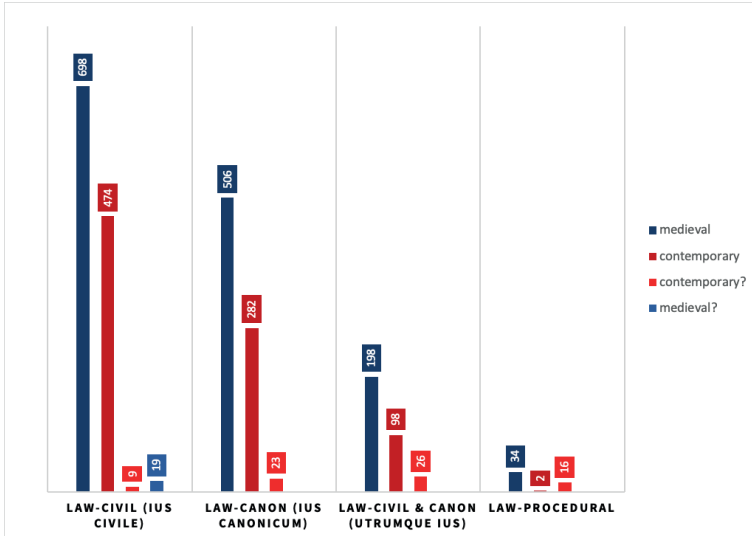


Chart 3 Editions of scholarly works by time period of author/texts

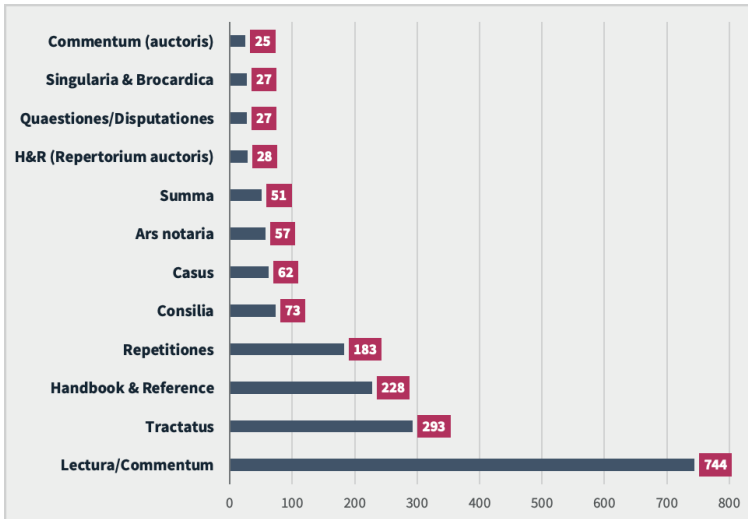


Chart 4 Distribution of scholarly legal texts by genre (not including the texts of the two *corpora iuris*)

## Tables

**Table 1** All editions of legal texts by country of printing and time period

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Medieval?	
<b>Italy</b>	<b>941</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>1099</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2109</b>
Law-civil (ius civile)	433	5	519	5	962
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	328	10	277		615
Law-practical	102	26	125	13	266
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	62	7	91		160
Law-statutes (statuta)	1		40	3	44
Law-national	10		29		39
Law-procedural	5		16		21
Law-customs (consuetudines)			2		2
<b>Germany</b>	<b>805</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1165</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	697	6	178		881
Law-practical	78	9	11		98
Law-civil (ius civile)	16	4	53	3	76
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	9	5	40		54
Law-national	4	10	15	2	31
Law-procedural		15	6		21
Law-statutes (statuta)	1		3		4
<b>France</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>337</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>575</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	76	5	128		209
Law-civil (ius civile)	27		124	12	163
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	22	10	45		77
Law-practical	27		11	3	41
Law-customs (consuetudines)			6	29	35
Law-national	18	1	12	2	33
Law-procedural		4	11		15
Law-statutes (statuta)				2	2
<b>Iberian Peninsula</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>45</b>		<b>235</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	107	1	13		121
Law-national	69		22		91
Law-practical	8	2	5		15
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	1		2		3
Law-civil (ius civile)	1		2		3
Law-statutes (statuta)			1		1
Law-customs (consuetudines)	1				1
<b>Low Countries</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>		<b>154</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	80		21		101
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	3	3	11		17
Law-practical	6	2	8		16
Law-civil (ius civile)	3		5		8
Law-national			5		5

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Medieval?
Law-customs (consuetudines)			3	3
Law-statutes (statuta)		1	1	2
Law-procedural			2	2
<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>128</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	51	3	38	92
Law-practical	6	3	3	12
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	2	1	9	12
Law-civil (ius civile)			11	11
Law-national			1	1
<b>England</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>3</b> <b>79</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	37		6	43
Law-national	3	2	27	32
Law-statutes (statuta)				3 3
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	1			1
<b>Unknown</b>	<b>8</b>			<b>8</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	8			8
<b>Austria</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	4		3	7
<b>Sweden</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>2</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	2			2
<b>Bohemia</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b> <b>2</b>
Law-practical	1			1
Law-national				1 1
<b>Ottoman Empire</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Law-national			1	1
<b>Hungary</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	1			1
	<b>2311</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>1942</b>	<b>78</b> <b>4466</b>

**Table 2** Official documents by country of printing

Country of issue	Editions
Germany	629
Iberian Peninsula	102
Low Countries	70
Italy	51
Switzerland	37
England	36
France	24
Unknown	8
Austria	3
Sweden	2
Hungary	1
	<b>963</b>

**Table 3** Official documents by author/anonymous texts (only showing authors/  
anonymous texts with 10 or more editions)

<b>Author and genre</b>	<b>Eds</b>
<b>Commissary (card. Raimundus Peraudi)</b>	<b>190</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	166
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	24
<b>pope (Sixtus IV)</b>	<b>180</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	102
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	78
<b>pope (Innocentius VIII)</b>	<b>104</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	61
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	43
<b>[Indulgentia]</b>	<b>82</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	82
<b>Commissary (Johannes de Cardona)</b>	<b>33</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	32
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	1
<b>Commissary (Werdenberg)</b>	<b>27</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	27
<b>pope (Alexander VI)</b>	<b>23</b>
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	16
Decree (indulgentia)	7
<b>Bishop of Sebenico (Lucas de Tollentis)</b>	<b>17</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	17
<b>Bishop of Würzburg (Rudolphus de Scherenberg)</b>	<b>16</b>
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	16
<b>Commissary (Robertus Castellensis)</b>	<b>13</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	13
<b>Commissary (Bartholomaeus de Camerino)</b>	<b>13</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	13
<b>Commissary (Alphonsus de Losa)</b>	<b>13</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	13
<b>Commissary (Emericus de Kemel)</b>	<b>11</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	11
<b>Commissary (Robertus Gaguinus)</b>	<b>10</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	10
<b>Commissary (Ximenes de Cisneros)</b>	<b>10</b>
Decree (indulgentia)	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>742</b>



**Table 4** Editions of papal legal texts (out of the *Corpus iuris canonici*)

	Canon law	Practical law	Statutes ( <i>statuta</i> )	Eds
<b>contemporary</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>76</b>		<b>485</b>
<b>pope (Sixtus IV)</b>	218	36		254
<b>pope (Innocentius VIII)</b>	137	14		150
<b>pope (Alexander VI)</b>	37	21		59
<b>pope (Paulus II)</b>	14	5		19
<b>pope (Calixtus III)</b>	2			2
<b>pope (Leo VIII)</b>	1			1
<b>medieval</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>pope (Johannes XXII)</b>	2			2
<b>pope (Bonifacius VIII)</b>	1			1
<b>pope (Nicolaus V)</b>	1			1
<b>pope (Martinus V)</b>			1	1
<b>medieval &amp; contemporary</b>	<b>9</b>			<b>9</b>
<b>popes (Johannes XXII; Benedictus XII; Martinus V; Eugenius IV; Paulus II)</b>	9			
<b>Editions</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>499</b>

**Table 5** Editions of texts classified as National law (only showing texts printed in 5 or more editions)

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Eds
<b>Iberian Peninsula</b>	<b>68</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>Kings of Spain (Ferdinandus et Isabella)</b>	57			57
<b>Díaz de Montalvo, Alonso, <i>Ordenanzas reales</i></b>	11			11
<b>Jacob ben Asher*</b>			7	7
<b>France</b>	<b>12</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>King of France (Carolus VIII)</b>	12			12
<b>King of France (Carolus VII)</b>			11	11
<b>Italy</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Duke of Milan (Sforza, Ludovico Maria)</b>	7			7
<b>Jacob ben Asher</b>			6	6
<b>Rampinis, Andreas de, de Isernia**</b>			5	5
<b>Germany</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Eike von Reggow, <i>Sachsenspiegel</i></b>			12	12
<b>Schwabenspiegel</b>		5		5
<b>England</b>			<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>King of England (Henry VII)</b>			7	7
<b>Low Countries</b>			<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Eike von Reggow, <i>Sachsenspiegel</i></b>			5	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>145</b>

\*Jacob ben Asher (ca. 1269-ca. 1340) is the author of the most complete codification of Jew law

\*\* Andreas de Isernia (d. ca. 1316), professor of Civil law in Naples, is the author of commentaries on the Constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily (feudal law, which is also part of the *Corpus iuris civilis*)

**Table 6** The texts of Civil and Canon law as they were arranged in 15th-century editions

<b>Corpus iuris civilis</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>Institutiones</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Codex Iustinianus</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Digestum Vetus</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Digestum Infortiatum</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Digestum Novum</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Constitutiones Extravagantes)</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Libri feudorum</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>	<b>202</b>
<b>Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Gregorius IX, Decretales</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Gratianus, Decretum</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Clemens V, Constitutiones</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Johannes XXII, Extravagantes</b>	<b>2</b>

**Table 7** Editions of texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and the *Corpus iuris canonici* by time (decades) and space (country of printing)

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
<b>1451-60</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Clemens V, Constitutiones			1			1
<b>1461-70</b>			<b>4</b>			<b>4</b>
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>			<b>3</b>			<b>3</b>
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium			2			2
Clemens V, Constitutiones			1			1
<b>Corpus iuris civilis</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Institutiones			1			1
<b>1471-80</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>56</b>
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	9	1	3	3		16
Clemens V, Constitutiones	9	1	4	4		18
Gratianus, Decretum	7		4	1		12
Gregorius IX, Decretales	5	1	3	1		10

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
<b>Corpus iuris civilis</b>	<b>31</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>45</b>
Codex Iustinianus	3		2			5
Digestum infortiatum	3					3
Digestum novum	3			1		4
Digestum vetus	3					3
Institutiones	14		3	3	1	21
Libri feudorum			2			2
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)	3		1	1		5
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	2					2
<b>1481-90</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>		<b>154</b>
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>82</b>
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	11	5	3	2		21
Clemens V, Constitutiones	11	4	3	2		20
Gratianus, Decretum	8	2	4	3		17
Gregorius IX, Decretales	12	7	2	2		23
Johannes XXII, Extravagantes		1				1
<b>Corpus iuris civilis</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>72</b>
Codex Iustinianus	8	2	1	1		12
Digestum infortiatum	7	2				9
Digestum novum	5	2	1			8
Digestum vetus	8	3	1			12
Institutiones	13	7	1	3		24
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	5	1				6
<b>1491-1500</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>146</b>
<b>Corpus iuris civilis</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>3</b>			<b>86</b>
Codex Iustinianus	8	4				12
Digestum infortiatum	7	4				12
Digestum novum	7	3				10
Digestum vetus	6	4				10
Institutiones	11	18	1			30
Libri feudorum			2			2
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)	1					1
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	6	4				10

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
<b>Corpus iuris canonici</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>60</b>
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	9	7	1	2		19
Clemens V, Constitutiones	1		1			2
Gratianus, Decretum	8	4	2	2		16
Gregorius IX, Decretales	9	8	3	2		22
Johannes XXII, Extravagantes	1					1
<b>Total Editions</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>406</b>

**Table 8** Scholarly production: the ‘top ranking’ of authors/texts printed in 20 or more editions

	Medieval	Contemporary	Cont?	Eds
<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	204			204
<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i>	202			202
Bartolus de Saxoferrato	199			199
Andreae, Johannes	95			95
Tartagnus, Alexander		86		86
Ubaldis, Baldus de	74			74
Tudeschis, Nicolaus de (Panormitanus)		65		65
Paulus de Castro	50			50
Mayno, Jason de		48		48
Gambilionibus, Angelus de		45		45
Sandeus, Felinus		43		43
Cepolla, Bartholomaeus		41		41
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i>	40			40
<i>Casus</i>	38		1	39
<i>Formularium</i>			39	39
<i>Ars notariatus</i>	36			36
Socinus, Bartholomaeus		36		36
Barbatia, Andreas		35		35
<i>Vocabularius juris</i>	33			33
Pontanus, Ludovicus (Romanus)	30			30
<i>Modus vacandi et acceptandi beneficiorum</i>	28			28
Ubaldis, Angelus de	27			27
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de		27		27

	Medieval	Contemporary	Cont?	Eds
Accoltis, Franciscus de		26		26
<i>Modus servandus in executione</i>	25			25
Johannes de Imola	23			23
Bologninus, Ludovicus		21		21
Rolandinus de Passageriis	20			20
Socinus, Marianus, de Senis		20		20
Ferrariis, Johannes Petrus de	20			20
	<b>1144</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1677</b>

**Table 9** Scholarly production: authors (or titles) printed in less than 20 editions

Eds*	Medieval authors/title
17	Duranti, Guillelmus
16	Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano
14	Ancharano, Petrus De; Bernardus Parmensis; Brocardica
12	Saliceto, Bartholomaeus de; Auerbach, Johannes (jurist); Ubaldis, Petrus de; Modus legendi abbreviaturas [et al.]; Zabarellis, Franciscus de;
11	Butrio, Antonius de
9	Albericus de Rosate; Florianus de Sancto Petro
8	Calderinus, Johannes; Cinus de Pistorio; Johannes de Anania; Milis, Johannes Nicolaus de; Petrucius, Fredericus; Rampinis, Andreas de, de Isernia
7	Adam, Magister; Faber Runcinus, Johannes; Guido; Henricus de Segusio; Tuscus, Vivianus
6	Gandino, Albertus de; Innocentius IV; Lignano, Johannes de; Mattaselanus, Matthaeus
5	Azo, Portius; Castellione, Johannes Lopus de; Gerson, Johannes; Militio, Albricus de; Oldradus de Ponte; Raymundis, Raphael de
4	Alvarotus, Jacobus; Antoninus Florentinus; Baysio, Guido de; Calderini, Giovanni; Gaspar Calderinus; Odofredus Beneventanus; Ridolfi, Lorenzo
3	Arena, Jacobus de; Bartholomaeus Brixiensis; Barzis, Benedictus de (Perusinus); Baysio, Guido de; Dinus de Mugello; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia; Nellus De Sancto Geminiano; Platea, Johannes de; Trano, Ganfredus (Goffredus) de
2	Accursius, Franciscus (1225-93); Afflictis, Matthaeus de; Barzi, Benedetto; Castillioneus, Christophorus; Homodeis, Signorolus de; Johannes, Monachus Cisterciensis; Unzola, Petrus de
1	Acceptantibus, Franciscus de; Alvarotus, Petrus; Azo de Ramenghis; Bamberg (dyoecsis); Bassianus, Johannes; Bellamera, Aegidius de; Brandi, Petrus; Bouhic, Henricus; Cappel, Ludeco; Corneto, Tancredus de; <i>Expositiones</i> ; Faber Runcinus, Johannes; Fulgosio, Raffaele; Jacobi, Petrus, de Aureliaco; Jacobi, Petrus, de Montepessulano; Johannes Diaconus; Liazariis, Paulus de; <i>Liber assisarum</i> ; Mattaselanus, Petrus; Oden-dorff, Henricus de; Sardis, Ludovicus de; Spinellus, Nicolaus, de Neapoli; Vitalinis, Bonifacius de; Zochis, Jacobus de

Medieval?	
19	<i>Flores legum</i>
Contemporary author/texts	
9	Breitenbach, Johannes de; Canis, Johannes Jacobus; Curtius, Franciscus
8	Bartolinis, Baldus de; Bulgarinis, Bulgarinus de; Decius, Lancelottus; Regnierus, Helias
7	Lauretus, Bernardus ; Michael de Dalen; Ubaldis, Nicolaus de
6	Antonius de Prato Veteri; Berberius, Johannes; Cornio, Petrus Philippus de; Monte, Petrus de; Puteo, Paris de
5	Bovillus, Nicolaus; Cambanis, Vitalis de; Giocchis, Fabianus de; Koelner de Vanckel, Johannes; Marcilletus, Stephanus; Meckenlocher, Fridericus
4	Attavanti, Paolo; Costa, Stephanus; Franciscus de Crema; Jacobus de Clusa; Johannes Nivicellensis, Abbas; Papa, Guido; Periglis, Angelus de; Porchus, Johannes Christophorus; Tyndarus de Perusio
3	Campegius, Johannes; Caraziis, Martinus de; Castello, Amadeus Justinus de; Natta, Georgius; Palatiis, Laurus de; Piro, Henricus de; Ranchicourt, Carolus de
2	Ambrosius de Woestine; Bellincinis, Bartholomaeus de; Benedictis, Benedictus de; Brant, Sebastian; Brunus, Franciscus; Crispus de Montibus, Johannes; Decius, Philippus; Gerardus de Elten; Montepico, Paulus de; Pavinis, Johannes Franciscus de; Petrus Ravennas (d. 1478); Sancto Blasio, Baptista de; Seysello, Claudius de; Soto, Alphonsus de; Tortis, Hieronymus de; Zanetinis, Hieronymus de
16	Rosellis, Antonius de
13	Sancto Georgio, Johannes Antonius de; Franchi, Filippo
12	Bertachinus, Johannes; Corsettus, Antonius; Lanfrancus de Oriano
11	Canaro, Antonius de; Díaz de Montalvo, Alonso
1	Alexander de Nevo; Alexandro, Antonius de; Amicis, Johannes de; Antiboli, Petrus; Bagnyon, Jean; Barlasina, Matthaues; Bartolinus, Pius Antonius; Baveriis, Marcus Antonius de; Bologninus, Bartholomaeus (Jurist); Bonifacius Lusitanus; Branditius, Joannes Georgius; Briccius, Jordanus; Camers, Johannes; Carafa, Johannes Antonius; Clarius, Hieronymus; <i>Consilia</i> ; <i>Consilium</i> ; Contarenus, Franciscus; Currifex, Johannes; Dragacius, Jacobus; Ebeling, Bernhard; Fortunatus Perusinus, Franciscus; Gothardus de Buscoducis; Grassus, Petrus; Greve, Henricus, de Göttingen; Hermes, Flavius; Lanfrancus Balbus, Jaffredus; Mongardinis, Agamemnon de; Montevidiano, Balionus de; Nicasius de Voerda; Nicellis, Christophorus de; Nicellus, Antonius; Oppizonus, Ambrosius; Pepis, Franciscus de; Pfeffer de Wydenberg, Johannes; Platus, Anastasius; Poliascha, Johannes Franciscus de; Rolewinck, Werner; Ruinus, Carolus; Sadoletus, Johannes; Segura, Didacus de; Sifridus Teutonicus de Arena; Stephanus de Caieta; Vegius, Maphaeus
Contemporary?	
19	<i>Rubricae</i>
16	<i>Ordo iudiciarius</i> [German]
14	Rota Romana
5	<i>Methodus utriusque iuris</i>
3	<i>Margarita Decretalium</i> ; Turnhout, Johannes de
2	Fitzherbert, Anthony
1	<i>Compendium juris canonici</i> ; <i>Repertorium aureum sive Concordantiae utriusque iuris</i> ; Endrino, Martinus Ferdinandus; <i>Exceptiones</i> ; Langer, Johannes; <i>Margarita Legum</i> ; <i>Quaestio</i> ; <i>Regulae</i> [Index]; <i>Tituli utriusque iuris</i> ; Turretinus, Paulus

\*Number of editions for each author/title

**Table 10** The *editiones principes* of all parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

WHERE	Mainz	Strassburg	Rome	Perugia
WHO	Peter Schoeffer	Heinrich Eggstein	[Vitus Puecher]	H. Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast
WHEN				
<b>1468</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Institutiones	1			1
<b>1472</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
Libri feudorum		1		1
<b>1475</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
Codex	1			1
Digestum Infortiatum			1	1
<b>1476</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
Digestum Novum			1	1
Digestum Vetus				1
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)			1	1
	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
				<b>7</b>



**Table 11** Country of printing and time periods of editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	
<b>1461-70</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Mainz			1			1
<b>1471-80</b>	<b>31</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>45</b>
Venice	12					12
Rome	9					9
Basel				5		5
Mainz			4			4
Strassburg			3			3
Pavia	2					2
Ferrara	2					2
Padua	2					2
Louvain					1	1
Mantua	1					1
Milan	1					1
Perugia	1					1
Pinerolo/Venice	1					1
Nuremberg			1			1
<b>1481-90</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>74</b>
Venice	37					37
Lyon		16				16
Milan	7					7
Basel				4		4
Nuremberg			4			4
Strassburg			1			1
Turin	1					1
Pavia	1					1
Rome	1					1
Paris		1				1
<b>1491-1500</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>85</b>
Venice	44					44
Lyon		32				32
Paris		6				6
Augsburg			2			2
Milan	1					1
	<b>123</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>204</b>

**Table 12** Editions of each part of the *Corpus iuris civilis* by time periods and printing places

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice
<b>1465-70</b>							1											1
Institutiones							1											1
<b>1471-75</b>			4				2	1	3			1					1	12
Institutiones			3				1		1			1					1	7
Libri feudorum									2									2
Codex							1	1										2
Digestum Infortiatum			1															1
<b>1476-80</b>	12		5	1	5		2		2		1	2	1		1		1	33
Institutiones	3		2	1	3		1		1		1		1					14
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum)	3				1		1											5
Digestum Novum	1		1		1								1					4
Codex	2		1															3
Digestum Vetus	2															1		3
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)			1						1									2
Digestum Infortiatum	1												1					2
<b>1481-85</b>	16	6	1	7	1			2	1									34
Institutiones	4	2	1	1	1				1									10
Digestum Vetus	2	1		2				1										6
Codex	3	1		1														5
Digestum Novum	2	1		1				1										5
Digestum Infortiatum	3	1		1														5
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	2																	2

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)				1														1
<b>1481-90</b>	<b>1</b>								<b>1</b>									<b>2</b>
Institutiones	1								1									2
<b>1485-90</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>								<b>1</b>		<b>37</b>
Institutiones	5	4			2	1		1								1		14
Codex	4	1			1			1										7
Digestum Vetus	4	2																6
Digestum Infortiatum	3	1																4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	2	1																3
Digestum Novum	2	1																3
<b>1491-95</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>10</b>				<b>2</b>					<b>2</b>							<b>41</b>
Institutiones	6	7				2												15
Digestum Novum	5	1																6
Codex	4	1																5
Digestum Vetus	4	1																5
Digestum Infortiatum	4																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	3																	3
Libri feudorum [German]											2							2
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	1																	1

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice	
<b>1495-1500</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>													<b>44</b>
Institutiones	4	5				4													13
Codex	4	4																	8
Digestum Infortiatum	3	4																	7
Digestum Vetus	1	3		1															5
Digestum Novum	2	2																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		4																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	3																		3
	<b>93</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>204</b>

**Table 13** Printers and publishers of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
<b>Venice</b>			<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>B Tortis</b>				1		9	11	16	37
<b>G Arrivabene</b>					1	1	5		7
<b>J Rubeus</b>			7						7
<b>A Calabrensis</b>				2		3	1		6
<b>B Stagninus</b>							5		5
<b>N Jenson</b>			4						4
<b>J &amp; G de Gregoriis   J</b>									
Britannicus				3					3
R Novimagius						2			2
A Torresanus						1	1		2
A de Bonetis						2			2
H Paganini							1		1
A Soziis for Birreta & Grassis				1					1
B Rizus				1					1
N de Benedictis				1					1
J Hamman for O Scotus							1		1
Anonymus				1					1
<b>[A Calabrensis   B Torti]</b>							1		1
N Rubeus			1						1
A de Stanchis						1			1
A Soziis				1					1
O Scotus				1					1
<b>[A Torresanus] for A de Pavia &amp; B de Moronis</b>				1					1
<b>J &amp; G de Gregoriis</b>				1					1
G Anima Mia						1			1
<b>J &amp; G de Gregoriis for Pincius</b>								1	1
<b>G Arrivabene for B Torti</b>							1		1
G Grassis for Birreta				1					1
J Herbort				1					1
<b>Lyon</b>				<b>6</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>48</b>
J Siber				6		9		13	28
J Du Pré						1	6		7
N de Benedictis B Suigus								3	3

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
J deVingle							1	2	3
P Hongre								2	2
P Lathomi							2		2
N de Benedictis								1	1
P Lathomi etc							1		1
M Wenssler								1	1
<b>Rome</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>10</b>
V Puecher		1	3						4
Han		2							2
G Lauer			1						1
B Guldinbeck			1						1
Plannck				1					1
G Lauer L Pflugel		1							1
<b>Milan</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>				<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
JA Honate for PA Castellione				6					6
Anonymous								1	1
L Pachel U Scinzenzeler			1						1
JA Honate				1					1
<b>Basel</b>			<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>3</b>			<b>9</b>
<b>M Wenssler</b>			4	1		1			6
M Wenssler for Helmut						1			1
B Ruppel			1						1
N Kesler						1			1
<b>Paris</b>						<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>
A Bocard							1	1	2
A Caillaut						1			1
U Gering B Rembolt								1	1
Pigouchet for Vostre								1	1
Wolf							1		1
A Bocard for Petit								1	1
<b>Mainz</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>						<b>5</b>
<b>P Schoeffler</b>	1	2	2						5
<b>Nuremberg</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>2</b>			<b>5</b>
A Koberger				2		2			4
J Sensenschmidt A Frisner		1							1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
<b>Strassburg</b>		<b>3</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>4</b>
H Eggestein		3						3
J Grueninger					1			1
<b>Pavia</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>3</b>
A de Carcano			2	1				3
<b>Ferrara</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>2</b>
A Belfortis		1	1					2
<b>Augsburg</b>							<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
L Zeissenmair							1	1
E Ratdolt							1	1
<b>Padua</b>			<b>2</b>					<b>2</b>
P Maufer for Zacharotis			1					1
P Maufer			1					1
<b>Turin</b>						<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
B Suigo						1		1
<b>Venice or Pinerolo</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
J Rubeus			1					1
<b>Mantua</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
P de Butzbach			1					1
<b>Louvain</b>		<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>
Johannes de Westfalia		1						1
<b>Perugia</b>			1					1
Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast			1					1
	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>44</b>
								<b>204</b>

**Table 14** Who printed all parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*

	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
<b>B Torti</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>37</b>
Codex		2	2	4	8
Digestum Infortiatum		1	2	3	6
Digestum Novum		1	1	2	4
Digestum Vetus		2	3	1	6
Institutiones	1	2	2	3	8
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		1	1		2
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)				3	3
<b>[J Siber]</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>22</b>
Codex				1	1
Digestum Infortiatum	1	1		2	4
Digestum Novum		1		2	3
Digestum Vetus		2		2	4
Institutiones	2	3		1	6
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		1		3	4
<b>JA Honate for PA Castellione</b>	<b>6</b>				<b>6</b>
Codex	1				1
Digestum Infortiatum	1				1
Digestum Novum	1				1
Digestum Vetus	1				1
Institutiones	1				1
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	1				1
<b>J Siber</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
Codex	1	1			2
Digestum Infortiatum				1	1
Digestum Novum	1				1
Digestum Vetus	1				1
<b>JA Honate</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
Digestum Vetus	1				1
<b>A Calabrensis   B Torti</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
Digestum Novum			1		1
<b>G Arrivabene for B Torti</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)			1		1
	<b>14</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>73</b>



**Table 15** A general overview of 15th-century editions of works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato plus works based on his texts

Authorship	Genre	Eds
Main author	<i>Lecturae</i>	162
	<i>Tractatus</i> (minor collections/single text*)	20
	<i>Consilia</i> (244-5), <i>Quaestiones</i> (18), <i>Tractatus</i> (collectio maior: 28-31)**	8
	<i>Consilia</i> (244-5)	1
	<i>Quaestiones</i> (18)	1
	<i>Tractatus</i> (collectio maior: 28-31 texts)	1
		<b>193</b>
*Not including editions of the <i>Processus Satanae</i> not attributed to Bartolus		
** In almost all editions 244 <i>Consilia</i> were printed but were numbered up to 245 because of a repetition; the number of treatises within the collection varied.		
Author of additional texts	Commentary/summaries in <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	33
	<i>Tractatus</i> (collectiones aliorum auctorum)	26
		<b>59</b>
Works based on Bartolus' texts	Alexander Tartagnus, <i>Apostillae ad Bartolum</i>	19
	<i>Repertorium super operibus suis</i> (attributed to Bartolus)	7
	Antonius de Prato Veteri, <i>Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli</i>	6
	Contradictiones/Contrarietates Bartoli	5
	Johannes de Turnout, <i>Casus breves ex lecturis Bartoli et al.</i>	<b>3</b>

**Table 16** Editions of Bartolus' *Lecturae* on the *Corpus iuris civilis*

Period of Time and Texts	Eds
<b>1466-70</b>	<b>1</b>
Super prima Infortiati	1
<b>1471-75</b>	<b>18</b>
Super prima Digesti Veteris	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	3
Super prima Codicis	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super secunda Digesti Novi	2
Super tribus libris	1
Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, Super tit. De exc.	1
Super prima Digesti Novi	1
Super prima Infortiati	1
<b>1476-80</b>	<b>34</b>
Super secunda Digesti Novi	5
Super prima Codicis	4
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	4
Super prima Infortiati	4
Super secunda Codicis	3
Super Authenticis	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	2
Super prima Digesti Novi	2
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris	1
<b>1481-85</b>	<b>22</b>
Super Authenticis	4
Super secunda Infortiati	3
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super prima Codicis	2
Super prima Infortiati	2
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris	1

Period of Time and Texts	Eds
Super prima Digesti Veteris	1
Super secunda Digesti Novi	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1
Super omnibus Digesti et Codicis (i-ix)	1
<b>1486-90</b>	<b>34</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	4
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	3
Super Authenticis	3
Super secunda Digesti Novi	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super prima Codicis	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Infortiati	2
Collatio 11 extravagantium	1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
<b>1491-95</b>	<b>44</b>
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	6
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	6
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	5
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	5
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	5
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	4
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	1
Super Authenticis	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1
Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis	1

<b>Period of Time and Texts</b>	<b>Eds</b>
<b>1496-1500</b>	<b>9</b>
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis , cum additionibus	1
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
	<b>162</b>

**Table 17** Editions of all Bartolus' works by the time when all the *principes* (in bold) were printed (1477)

	[VENICE]	VENICE	[NAPLES]	NAPLES	[PERUGIA]	[ROME]	TREVI	MILAN	ROME	[PADUA]	MANTUA	PARIGI	[VENICE   ROME]	[ANGERS]	BOLOGNA
<b>1470</b>													<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Infortiati</b>													<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>1471</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>2</b>				<b>1</b>								<b>7</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Codicis</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>												<b>2</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Digesti Novi</b>	<b>1</b>														<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, <i>Super titulo De excusationibus tutorum</i>							1								1
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Codicis</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>												<b>2</b>
<b>1471 [ab.]</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>												<b>2</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super tribus libris</b>			<b>1</b>												<b>1</b>
<b>QUAESTIONES</b>	<b>1</b>														<b>1</b>
<b>1471 [ab. 1471-72]</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>										<b>2</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Digesti Veteris</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>										<b>2</b>
<b>1472</b>	<b>1</b>														<b>1</b>
<b>TRACTATUS (collectio maior)</b>	<b>1</b>														<b>1</b>
<b>1472 [ab.]</b>			<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>									<b>2</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Digesti Veteris</b>			<b>1</b>												<b>1</b>
[Tractatus] <i>De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium</i> (+Baldus, same subject)						1									1
<b>1473</b>	<b>2</b>								<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>4</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Digesti Novi</b>	<b>1</b>														<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1														1
<b>CONSILIA</b>									<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>
[Tractatus] <i>Processus Satane</i>										1					1

	[VENICE]	VENICE	[NAPLES]	NAPLES	[PERUGIA]	[ROME]	TREVI	MILAN	ROME	[PADUA]	MANTUA	PARIGI	[VENICE   ROME]	[ANGERS]	BOLOGNA	
<b>1473 [ab. 1473-74]</b>					2	1										3
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris					1											1
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Infortiati</b>					1											1
[Tractatus] <i>De tabellionibus</i>						1										1
<b>1475 [ante]</b>			1													1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1													1
<b>1475</b>	1	1										1				3
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris	1															1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati			1													1
[Tractatus] <i>De insigniis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus.</i> In Baldus et al.												1				1
<b>1476</b>		3	1								1					5
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis		1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi		1	1													2
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis		1														1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus											1					1
<b>1476 [ab. 1476-77]</b>														1		1
[Tractatus] <i>De insignis et armis. De alimentis (+ Baldus, De quaes. et torm.)</i>														1		1
<b>1477</b>		3						1				1			1	6
[Lectura] <b>Super Authenticis</b>								1								1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris		1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati		1														1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi														1		1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus		1														1
[Tractatus] <i>De testibus.</i> In: Baldus et al.												1				1
	9	7	6	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	38

\*Not including the editions of *Processus Satane* which are not attributed to Bartolus in the book

**Table 18** Bartolus de Saxoferrato major works (*Lecturae* and major collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones*, and *Tractatus*) by printing places and period of time

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
<b>Venice</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>94</b>
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis			3	1	2	1		7
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis			3	1	2			6
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio			2	1	3			6
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati			3	1	2			6
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati		1	1	2	2			6
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus					1	3	1	5
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris			2	1	2			5
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			2		3			5
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris			1	1	2	1		5
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						3	2	5
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			2	1	2			5
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus						3	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						3	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)				1	1	2		4
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	1	3
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1	1			2
[Lectura] Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus						1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi			1					1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio						1		1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris			1					1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
<b>[Venice]</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>2</b>				<b>10</b>
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi	1		1				2
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati				1			1
Quaestiones	1						1
<b>Lyon</b>				<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super omnibus Digesti et Codicis (i-ix)				1			1
<b>[Lyon]</b>				<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1	1	1	3
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus						3	3
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus				1	1	1	3
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						2	2
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)						2	2
<b>Milan</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>
[Lectura] Super Authenticis			1				1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio				1			1



	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio						1	1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						1	1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						1	1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus					1		1
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)			1				1
<b>[Milan]</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>5</b>
[Lectura] Super Authenticis			2	1			3
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			1				1
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)				1			1
<b>Naples</b>			<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi			1				1
<b>[Naples]</b>		<b>6</b>					<b>6</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis		1					1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris		1					1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
<b>Pavia</b>			<b>3</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>
[Lectura] Super Authenticis					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis			1				1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati			1				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris			1				1
<b>[Perugia]</b>		<b>3</b>					<b>3</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati		1					1
<b>[Venice]or[Rome]</b>	<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1						1
<b>Trevi</b>		<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, Super tit. De exc.		1					1
<b>Rome</b>		<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
Consilia		1					1
<b>Mantua</b>			<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			1				1
<b>Parma</b>			<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1				1
<b>Bologna</b>			<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1				1
<b>Nuremberg</b>				<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1			1
<b>[Paris]</b>					<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
[Lectura] Collatio 11 extravagantium					1		1
	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9</b>
							<b>172</b>

**Table 19** Printers of Bartolus de Saxoferrato's major works by place and time

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	Eds
<b>Venice</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>94</b>
A Torresanus				1	15	7		23
B de Tortis					3	10	9	22
J de Colonia   J Manthen		1	10					11
N Jenson			10					10
A Paltasichis					3	5		8
P Maufer			1	5				6
B Stagninus (A Torresanus)						4		4
J & G de Gregoriis				2				2
A Calabrensis					2			2
[P Maufer]				1				1
[A Torresano]					1			1
[P Paganini]					1			1
[A Calabrensis]				1				1
[G Arrivabene] B Benali					1			1
A Soziis				1				1
<b>[Venice]</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>					<b>10</b>
Vindelinus de Spira		6						6
J de Colonia   J Manthen		1	1					2
[N Jenson]			1					1
[Vindelinus de Spira]		1						1
<b>[Lyon]</b>				<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>		<b>23</b>
[J Siber]				2	2	17		21
J Siber						1		1
[J Suigus de Benedictis]						1		1
<b>Lyon</b>				1				1
[G Le Roy] for Buyer				1				1
<b>Milan</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>17</b>
L Pachel U Scinzeler				7	1			8

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	Eds
L Pachel					4	3		7
C Valdarfer for PA de Castelliono			1					1
JA Honate			1					1
<b>[Milan]</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>				<b>5</b>
[JA Honate]			3	2				5
<b>[Naples]</b>		<b>6</b>						<b>6</b>
S Riessinger		6						6
<b>Naples</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
S Riessinger del Tuppo			1					1
<b>Pavia</b>			<b>3</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>4</b>
D Confaloneriis			3					3
C de Canibus					1			1
<b>[Perugia]</b>		<b>3</b>						<b>3</b>
[PP de Colonia]JN de Bambergia]			3					3
<b>[Venice or Rome]</b>	<b>1</b>							<b>1</b>
Anonymous	1							1
<b>Trevi</b>		<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>
J Reinhard		1						1
<b>Rome</b>		<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>
J Gensberg		1						1
<b>Mantua</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
P de Butzbach			1					1
<b>Bologna</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
D de Lapis			1					1
<b>Parma</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
A Portilia			1					1
<b>Nuremberg</b>				<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
A Koberger				1				1
<b>[Paris]</b>					<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
[J Bonhomme]					1			1
	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>172</b>

**Table 20** Torresanus, Stagninus (in Torresanus' workshop) and Tortis' editions of Bartolus: a parallel

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
<b>1485</b>		<b>1</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati</b> A-Z <sup>8</sup> 184		1		
<b>1486</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus</b> a <sup>8</sup> b–g <sup>6</sup> 44				1
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi</b> ab <sup>8</sup> c <sup>10</sup> d–z [et con rum] <sup>8</sup> aa <sup>10</sup> 220		1		
<b>1486/87</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Codicis</b> a <sup>10</sup> bc <sup>8</sup> d <sup>6</sup> e <sup>4</sup> f–m <sup>8</sup> n <sup>6</sup> o–r <sup>8</sup> s <sup>6</sup> 136	1			
<b>1487</b>		<b>2</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati</b> a–u <sup>8</sup> x <sup>6</sup> 166		1		
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati</b> A–T <sup>8</sup> 152		1		
<b>1487/88</b>		<b>1</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis</b> a–o <sup>8</sup> 112		1		
<b>1488</b>		<b>5</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio</b> aa–pp <sup>8</sup> qrr <sup>10</sup> 140		1		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris</b> aaa–ppp <sup>8</sup> 120		1		

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Codicis</b>				
AA-OO <sup>8</sup> PP <sup>6</sup>		1		
118				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis</b>				
AAA-MMM <sup>8</sup> NNN <sup>6</sup>		1		
102				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris</b>				
a-v <sup>8</sup> x <sup>10</sup>		1		
170				
<b>1489</b>		<b>3</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati</b>				
a-e.f-f-q <sup>8</sup>		1		
136				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris</b>				
a-v <sup>8</sup>		1		
160				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi</b>				
aA-uU <sup>8</sup> xX <sup>10</sup>		1		
170				
<b>[1488-89?]</b>		<b>1</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati</b>				
A-H <sup>8</sup> I <sup>10</sup> K-R <sup>8</sup> S <sup>6</sup>		1		
144				
<b>1490</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>2</b>
<b>[Lectura] Super Authenticis</b>				
a-d <sup>8</sup> e <sup>f6</sup> g <sup>4</sup>				<b>1</b>
48 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus</b>				
AA-OO <sup>8</sup> PP <sup>6</sup>		<b>1</b>		
118				
<b>[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus</b>				
a-f <sup>6</sup> g <sup>4</sup>				<b>1</b>
40 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio</b>				
aa-pp <sup>8</sup> qqrr <sup>10</sup>		<b>1</b>		
140				

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
<b>1491</b>		<b>2</b>		
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis</b>				
AAA–MMM <sup>8</sup> NNN <sup>6</sup>		1		
102				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris</b>				
aaa–ppp <sup>8</sup>		1		
120				
<b>1492</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus</b>				
aaa–ttt <sup>10</sup> vvv <sup>12</sup>				1
202 (numbered)				
AA–TT <sup>8</sup> UU <sup>10</sup>			1	
162 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus</b>				
a–z [et con rum] <sup>10</sup> A <sup>8</sup> B <sup>6</sup>		1		
274 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus</b>				
aa–zz <sup>10</sup> [etet concon] <sup>12</sup>		1		
254 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus</b>				
A–T <sup>10</sup> UX <sup>6</sup>		1		
202				
<b>[Lectura] Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus</b>				
aaaa–ddd <sup>8</sup> eeee–gggg <sup>10</sup>		1		
hhhh–nnnn <sup>8</sup> oooo <sup>6</sup>				
116				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus</b>				
AAA–PPP <sup>10</sup> QQRRR <sup>12</sup>			1	
174 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus</b>				
a–d <sup>10</sup> e <sup>8</sup> f <sup>10</sup> g <sup>8</sup> h–l <sup>10</sup> m <sup>12</sup> n–z <sup>10</sup>			1	
[et]6				
234 (numbered)				

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
<b>1493</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus</b>				
AAAA-ZZZZ <sup>8</sup> AAAA-LLLL <sup>6</sup>				1
270 (numbered)				
A-ZaA-IL <sup>10</sup> mM <sup>8</sup>			1	
348 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio</b>				
a-u <sup>10</sup> x <sup>12</sup>		1		
212 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus</b>				
aa-zz <sup>8</sup> [etet concon rumrum] <sup>8</sup>				1
208 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus</b>				
AAA-YYY <sup>8</sup> ZZZ <sup>4</sup>				1
180 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus</b>				
(AAaaa)bbb-xxx <sup>8</sup> yyy <sup>6</sup> zzz <sup>4</sup>				1
178 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus</b>				
aaaa-rrrr <sup>8</sup>				1
136 (numbered)				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus</b>				
a-q <sup>8</sup> s-z <sup>8</sup> [et con rum] <sup>8</sup> A <sup>6</sup>				1
206				
<b>1494</b>				
<b>[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus</b>				
A-Z <sup>8</sup>				1
224 (numbered)				



Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
<b>1495</b>				<b>2</b>
<b>Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)</b> a-s <sup>8</sup> t <sup>6</sup> v <sup>4</sup> 154 (numbered)				2
<b>1499</b>				<b>7</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus</b> AA-TT <sup>8</sup> UU <sup>10</sup> 162 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus</b> AAA-YYY <sup>8</sup> ZZZ <sup>4</sup> 180 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus</b> A-Z <sup>8</sup> 224 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus</b> AAAA-ZZZZ <sup>8</sup> AAAA-LLLL <sup>6</sup> 270 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus</b> aaa-xxx <sup>8</sup> yyy <sup>6</sup> zzz <sup>4</sup> 178 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus</b> aaaa-rrrr <sup>8</sup> 136 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] <b>Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus</b> a-z [et con] <sup>8</sup> [rum] <sup>6</sup> 206 (numbered)				1
<b>1500</b>				<b>2</b>
[Lectura] <b>Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus</b> aa-zz <sup>8</sup> [etet concon rumrum] <sup>8</sup> 208 (numbered)				2
	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>22</b>

**Table 21** Authors of additions to Bartolus' *Lecturae*

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua
<b>1476-80</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>1 4</b>
<b>Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2			1	3
<b>Ubaldis A de</b>					<b>1 1</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus				1	1
<b>1481-85</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>2</b>
<b>Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>2</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	1	1			2
<b>1486-90</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>11</b>
<b>Tartagni A</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>7</b>
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1		1		2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus			1		1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus			1		1
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus			1		1
<b>Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2	1	1		4
<b>1491-95</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>41</b>
<b>Tartagni A; Ubaldis A de</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus	1				1
<b>Tartagni A</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>36</b>
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	3	2	1		6
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	3	2	1		6

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	3	2			5
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	2	3			5
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	2	2			4
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	2	2			4
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio	1		1		2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus		2			2
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
<b>Tartagni A et al</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
<b>Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus		1			1
<b>Tartagni A; Landriani B</b>	<b>2</b>				<b>2</b>
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
<b>1496-1500</b>	<b>9</b>				<b>9</b>
<b>Tartagni A</b>	<b>6</b>				<b>6</b>
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua
<b>Tartagni A; Landriani B</b>	<b>2</b>				<b>2</b>
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
<b>Tartagni A.; Barbatia A.; Landriani B.</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1
	<b>39</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
					<b>67</b>

**Table 22** Editions of Bartolus' comment on the *Tres libri Codicis* and their *introitus*

GW; ISTC	Imprint	Texts	introitus <i>In nomine Domini</i>	introitus <i>Omnes gaudentes</i>
3523; ib00204500	[Naples]: Riessinger, [1471]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis	Yes	Yes
3524; ib00204700	Mantua: Butzbach, 17 Sett. 1476	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus <b>Angeli de Ubaldis</b>	Yes	<b>No</b>
3525; ib00205000	Venice: Jenson, 1477	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus <b>Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni</b>	Yes	Yes
3527; ib00206000	Venice: J. de Colonia-Manthen, 1479/80	= [ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius]	Yes	Yes
3526; ib00205500	[Milan: Onate, 1480 ca.]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus <b>Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni</b>	Yes	Yes
3528; ib00207000	[Lyon:Siber, 1482 ca.]	=	Yes	Yes
3529; ib00208000	Venice: Sozi, 1485	=	Yes	Yes
3530; ib00209000	Venice: Torti, 1486	=	Yes	Yes
3531; ib00209300	Milan: Pachel, 1487	=	Yes	Yes
3533; ib00210000	Venice: Torti, 1490	=	Yes	Yes
3532; ib00209600	[Lyon: Siber, 1490 ca.]	=	Yes	Yes
3485; ib00190000	Venice: Torresano, 1492	Super authenticis. Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus <b>Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni</b>	Yes	Yes
3534; ib00210100	[Lyon: Siber, 1495 ca.]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus <b>Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni</b>	Yes	Yes

**Table 23** Editions of the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*: an analysis

Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus									
	PRINCEPS	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII-VIII	IX	
	Consilia		Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus						
Editions	<b>Rome 1473 ib00210700</b>	<b>Milan 1479 ib00210800</b>	<b>Venice 1485 ib00211000</b>	<b>[Milan 1485] ib00212000</b>	<b>Venice 1487/88 ib00212500</b>	<b>[Lyon ante 1492] ib00212700</b>	<b>Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000</b>	<b>[Lyon ca. 1495] ib00212800</b>	
Leaves	136	100 (C) 172 (Q, T)	162	228	170	178	154	178	
Title	---	---	---	---	---	---	<i>Consilia questiones et tractatus Bartoli cum additionibus novis</i>	---	
Table of contents	<i>Tabula consiliorum</i>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Preface	---	---	---	Berardinus Landrianus to Johannes de Puteo	Note to the reader, anonymous [ <b>Honofrius?</b> ]	---	<b>'Cuidam Honofrio'</b> reply to criticisms	---	
Texts officially printed	<b>245</b> [i.e. 244]	=	=	<b>237</b>	<b>245</b> [i.e. 244]	=	<b>245</b> [i.e. 244]	<b>245</b> [i.e. 244]	
Note	"Hic erat duplicatum consilium numero tali videlicet CCLXIII"	=	=	No note: the <i>consilia</i> are renumbered and the duplication cancelled	"Hic erat duplicatum ..."	=	The cons. 243 is missing, without notes	"Hic erat duplicatum ..."	
<i>Quaestio Bartoli</i> (at the end)	"Adunantia generalis Comunis Perusii"	=	=	<b>absent</b>	present	present	<b>absent</b>	present	
<b>Additiones</b>	---	---	---	In column after each <i>consilium</i> introduced with ' <b>Addi- tio</b> '	Gathered at the end of consilia (quire hh), as announced in the pre- face.	On the mar- gins (as a glosa)	"cum ad- ditionibus novis" shortened and printed on the mar- gins	= Lyon [ante 1492]	
	<b>Quaestiones</b>	<b>Consilia</b>	<b>Quaestiones Tractatus</b>						
	<b>Venice [1471] ib00249000</b>	Milan 1479 ib00210800	Venice 1485 ib00211000	<b>[Milan 1485] ib00212000</b>	Venice 1487/88 ib00212500	[Lion ante 1492] ib00212700	Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000	[Lion ca. 1495] ib00212800	
texts	18	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	
	<b>Tractatus</b>	<b>Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus</b>							

Venice 1472 ib00255000								
Illustrations (trattati <i>De fluminibus</i> , <i>De insula</i> , <i>De alveo</i> )	space left blank	space left blank	space left blank	39 woodcuts (announced in the preface), some coloured by hand	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	= [Lione ante 1492], apart from the last two
Table of contents	List of <b>35</b> titles with reference to leaf	List of <b>42</b> titles of tractatus (including titles of paragraphs)	General reference to 245 <i>consilia</i> and 18 <i>quaestiones</i> , list of <b>42</b> tractatus	List of <b>33</b> tractatus and general reference to <i>Quaestiones</i>	= Venice 1485, <b>42 titles</b>	= Venice 1487	Similar to Venice 1485 (or 1487), but 43 titles of tractatus	= [ante Lyon 1492] summarised in half a column

**Table 24** All editions of Bartolus' treatises in all combinations

Typology of collections and related main authors	1471-75	1476-80	1481-90	1491-1500	Eds
<b>Collectio 'maior' (Bartolus)</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
(in: <i>Consilia, Quaestiones et Tractatus</i> )		1	3	4	8
<b>Single text</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b>
Bartolus de Saxoferrato	1			5	6
Bartolus de Saxoferrato [or Baldus de Ubaldis o Gozzadinus de' Gozzadinis]	1	1	3		5
Anonymous ( <i>Processus Satanae</i> )	2	1	1	1	5
<b>Minor collections (Bartolus)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Collections (other authors)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>26</b>
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de				1	1
Faure, Jean				1	1
Gambilionibus, Angelus de		1			1
Innocentius III	1		1		3
Jean Le Moine (Johannes Monachus)				1	1
Lauret, Bernard et al.				7	7
Margarita legum			1		1
Modus legendi abbreviaturas		1	5	1	7
Goffredo da Trani et al.				1	1
Ubaldis, Baldus de	1	1	1		3
	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>60</b>

**Table 25** Bartolus' treatises printed in the 15th century

Text	C.A.L.M.A.	Collectio maior (1472)	Printed as single text	In minor collections	Other author collection	Printing places	Eds
<i>Processus Satanae</i>	158	[9]	10	5	3	Padua; Leipzig; Memmingen; Augsburg; Rome; Venice; Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris; Lyon; Lovanio; Speyer; Strassburg; Norimberga	18
<i>De Tabellionibus</i>	153	---	5		9	Rome; Venice; Bologna; Speyer; Strassburg; Lovanio; Nuremberg	14
<i>De alimentis</i>	100	[8]		1	7	Angers; Lyon; Toulouse; Paris	8
<i>Ordo iudicii</i>	149	[20]		5	1	Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris; Pavia;	6
<i>De insigniis et armis</i>	127	[7]		4	1	Angers; Rome; Leipzig; Paris	5
<i>De renuntiationibus beneficiorum in publicis instrumentis</i>	146?	---		5		Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris	5
<i>De testibus*</i>	154	[31]			3	Paris	3
<i>De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus**</i>		≠ [31] ≠ [33]			1	[Vienne]	1
<i>Tractatus excussionum pignorum</i>	119	---			1	Urbino	1
<i>De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium</i>	115	[3]		1		Rome	1
<i>De falcone</i>	121	[12]		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De causis allegationis iudicis suspecti</i>	128	---			1	Urbino	1
<i>De nobilitate</i>	133	---		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De regimine civitatis</i>	145	[24]		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De minoritis</i>	157	[2]	1			Venice	1
<i>De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis</i>	163	[15]		1		[Rome]	1

\* Short version of *Tractatus testimoniorum*, ending with chapt. 33 (out of 125 of the critical edition).

\*\*Other text from both *De testibus* and *De reprobatione testium* (as they are in *collectio maior*)

**Table 26** An overview of 15th-century editions of the Tractatus known as Processus Satanae

	princeps 1472 (Venice)	ante 1473 (Augsburg)	1473 (Padua or Venice)
<b>ISTC</b>	ib00255000	ip01001000	ib00246500
<b>C = collection</b> <b>S = single</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>
<b>Heading</b>	<i>Tractatus Bartoli de Saxoferrato qui sua scientia leges illuminavit</i>  [collectio maior]	<i>Processus iudiciarius (Litigatio Mascaron contra genus humanum)</i>	<i>Bartolo, Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro ...</i>
<b>Titulus of Processus Satanae</b>	<i>Tractatus questionis ventilate coram dominum nostro Iesu Christo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte</i>	<i>Processus iudiciarius</i>	<i>Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro Iesu Cristo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte</i>
<b>Incipit (variant)</b>	<i>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</i>	<i>Accessit Mascaron (B)</i>	<i>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</i>
<b>Explicit</b>	<i>... Salve regina mater misericordie vita dulcedo et spes salve.</i>	<i>... et Ihesum benedictum fructum [etc.] exploso dyabolo.</i>	<i>... Salve regina mater mie vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.</i>
<b>Closing formula and/or Colophon</b>	<i>Explicit processus et tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro Iesu Christo inter virginem Mariam advocatam humani generis ex una parte et dyabolum contra genus humanum ex alia parte compositus et compilatus per eximium legum doctorem dominum Bartolum de Saxoferrato civem Perusinum cuius anima requiescat in pace amen</i>	<i>Litigacio Manscaron contra genus humanum finit feliciter.</i>	[= Venice 1472, followed by the new data imprint:]  <i>Mcccc<sup>o</sup>lxxiii<sup>o</sup> xiiii<sup>o</sup> die mensis aprilis.</i>
<b>Attribution (Bartolus)</b>	<b>YES</b> (closing formula)	<b>NO</b>	<b>YES</b> (closing formula)
<b>Notes</b>			In the following Latin edition Bartolus' name appears in the opening <i>titulus</i> together with the word <i>processus</i> ; the closing formula is identical. Most likely from the Padua edition derive the two translations into German (about 1493).



1473 (Lyon)	1475 (Rome)	1478 (Vienne)
ii00081800	ip01002000	ib00242700
<b>C</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>C</b>
<i>Innocentius III, Compendium breve quinque continens libros</i> De trinitate. De miseria humanae conditionis. De Anticristo. De vitiis fugiendis. <b>De Sathane litigatione contra genus humanum.</b>	<i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum</i>	<i>Tractatus iudiciorum per Bartolum de Saxoferrato.</i>  <i>De renunciationibus</i>  <i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum</i>
<i>Spurcissimi Sathane litigationis infernalisque nequie procuratoris contra genus humanum coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo agitate beata virgine Maria eius matre pro nobis advocata et comparenti liber feliciter incipit</i>	<i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli</i>	<i>Spurcissimi Sathane litigationis infernalisque nequie procuratoris contra genus humanum coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo agitate. Beata Virgine Maria eius matre pro nobis advocata et comparente liber feliciter incipit</i>
<b>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</b>	<b>Accessit Mascaron (B)</b>	<b>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</b>
<i>... quo pretermissio nullum rite fundat exordium. Amen.</i>	<i>... et Ihesum benedictum fructum ventris tui excluso diabolo nobis ostende. O clemens. O pia. O dulcissima virgo Maria Amen.</i>	<i>... Pro quibus omnibus supradictis laudandus est ille pater verus pius et misericors quo pretermissio nullum rite fundatur exordium Amen.</i>
<b>Scelestissimi Sathane litigationis contra genus humanum liber feliciter explicat.</b> <i>Lugduni per magistrum Guillerum Regis huius artis impressorie expertum honorabilis viri Bartholomei Buyerii dicte civitatis civis iussu et sumptibus impressus. Anno verbi incarnati M.CCCC.Lxxiii. Quintodecimo kal. Octobres. .s.</i>	<b>Finitus &amp; impressus est presens iste tractatus per magistrum Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck de Sultz anno lubilei. M.cccc.lxxv. die vero lune videlicet xi Septembris</b>	<b>Scelestissimi Sathane litigationis contra genus humanum liber feliciter explicat.</b> <i>Viennae per magistrum Iohannem Solidi huius artis impressorie expertum. Anno incarnationis M.CCCC.lxxviii.</i>
<b>NO</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>YES and NO (surreptitious)</b>
There is one following collection which begins with Innocent III's works; here the <i>Processus</i> is called <i>Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum</i> ; the incipit is partially different ( <i>Nostis carissimi</i> ) as well as the closing formula (which consists in a comment instead of the prayer). Bartolus is never mentioned.		Bartolus appears as author only in relation with the <i>Tractatus iudiciorum</i> (first in the collection). This collection reappears many times (4 in the 15th century) with paratextual developments (e.g. a running title: <i>Processus Sathanae</i> ); found also alone, with no attribution to Bartolus.

<b>Later editions roughly belonging to the same group</b>	Milan (2) 1479; [1485]	[Leipzig ca. 1495]	
	Venice (4) 1485; 1487/88; 1495 (2)	Translation [2: Leipzig ca. 1493]	
	Lyon (2) [1492; 1495 ca.]		
<b>ISTC</b>	ib00210800	ib00247000	
	ib00211000		
	ib00212000	[translation]	
	ib00212500	ib00248000	
	ib00212700	ib00248100	
	ib00212800		
	ib00213000		
	ib00214000		
<b>Total editions</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4 (2+2)</b>

**Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni**  
**4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century**

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[Strasbourg; Eggstein, 1482] Leuven [ca. 1484/85-1487]	Venice (1478) Rome (2) 1486; [1491-1500]	Toulouse [1485] Paris (3) [1495; 1500] (single) [Memmingen 1500]
ii00082000 ii00087000	ip01003000 ip01004000 ip01005000	ib00242800 ib00243000 ib00244200 ib00244500  ib00247500

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**3**

**4**

**6**

