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.
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. 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).

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-

2 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 Wiegenducke (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 TEXT-inc 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 TEXT-inc 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/). 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.

3 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.
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.\textsuperscript{3} 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”.\textsuperscript{6} 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,\textsuperscript{7} an extensive bibliography has been pro-

\textsuperscript{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), \textit{Bulla Turcorum}. [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, about 1456]. 4°. GW 0591610N; ISTC ic00060000; Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia), \textit{Bulla Turcorum} [German] \textit{Die Bulla widders die Turcken}. (Tr: Heinrich Kalteisen), [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, after 29 June 1456]. 4°. GW 5916; ISTC ic00060100; Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, \textit{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, \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{5} Cf. Dauchy et al., \textit{The Formation and Transmission of Western Legal Culture}, 1-19.

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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, \textit{Saggio sull’Università nell’età del diritto comune}; Bellomo, \textit{Scholae, Universitates, Studia}. Cf. also Brizzi, Verger, \textit{La nascita delle università}: De Ridder-Symoens, \textit{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”.

\textsuperscript{7} The first complete study of the system was published in 1935: Destrez, \textit{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.\(^8\) 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.\(^9\) 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.\(^10\) 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.\(^11\)

"Traditional scholarship in legal his-

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 Agustin, 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”.

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4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century
tory is based in principle and practice on the conviction that early printed editions are effectively interchangeable”, has written Douglas Osler;\(^{12}\) 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.\(^{13}\) 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.\(^ {14}\) 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](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 incunable 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](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.\(^{15}\) 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.  

‘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.

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-

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 et 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 Cassandro, 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 commissioners, 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 bibliographical 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.\(^\text{18}\)

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),\(^\text{19}\) 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 Sachsen-spiegel) 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

\(^{18}\) 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. 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, quaeestiones 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.21 The keyword ‘education’ has been used to mark most part of these texts,

20 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”.

21 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.22

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

22 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. 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 into: (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 Justinianus 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.\textsuperscript{24} Five years later, Fust and Schoeffer also published the \textit{Liber Sextus Decretalium} of Boniface VIII,\textsuperscript{25} and both works were printed again by Schoeffer alone in 1467 and 1470.\textsuperscript{26} In the meantime, Schoeffer printed the earliest editions of the \textit{Institutiones}, in 1468.\textsuperscript{27} By 1470 no editions had appeared outside Germany, but even there only certain parts of the \textit{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 \textit{Liber Sextus} by Boniface VIII, with 58 editions, for Canon law and, for Civil law, the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{princeps} of the \textit{Decretum Gratiani} (the core collection of the \textit{corpus}) was not printed by Schoeffer, but appeared in Strasbourg in 1471 in the printing shop of Heinrich Eggestein, who repeated it again the following year, when Schoeffer also added the \textit{Decretum} to his catalogue.\textsuperscript{28} Soon it was printed in Italy: in Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1474,\textsuperscript{29} in Rome by Lauer in 1476,\textsuperscript{30} 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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Clemens V, Pont. Max., \textit{Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)}. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., \textit{Liber sextus Decretalium} (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: \textit{Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis}. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000
\item \textsuperscript{26} Clemens V, Pont. Max., \textit{Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)}. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ISTC ic00711000; Bonifaci, VIII, Pont. Max., \textit{Liber sextus Decretalium} (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 17 Apr. 1470. GW 4850; ISTC ib00978000.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Justinianus, \textit{Institutiones} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24 May 1468. GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Gratianus, \textit{Decretum}. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixensis. Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1471. GW 11351; ISTC ig00360000; Gratianus, \textit{Decretum}. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixensis and Johannes Teuconicus (Semeica). Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472. GW 11352; ISTC ig00361000; Gratianus, \textit{Decretum}. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixensis and Johannes Teuconicus (Semeica). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 13 Aug. 1472. GW 11353; ISTC ig00362000.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Gratianus, \textit{Decretum} (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixensis). Ed: Alexander de Nevo and Petrus Albinius Trecius. Add: Johannes Diaconus: \textit{Summarium, seu Flos decreti}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Gratianus, \textit{Decretum} (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixensis). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar. 1476. GW 11355; ISTC ig00364000.
\end{itemize}
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.31 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;32 in Speyer, by Peter Drach, in 1482 and 1492.33 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 1483.34 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 1488,35 and the other one in Venice in 1497.36

31 Gratianus, Decretum (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixensis). 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 Johannes 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, 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.38

‘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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37 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).

38 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;\(^3^9\) there were also repertoria written by celebrated authors, such as Baldus de Ubaldis, for his Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi\(^4^0\) or the Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV), in four editions.\(^4^1\) 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),\(^4^2\) as well as the numerous editions printed of the Modus legendi abbreviaturas (35 editions, ten of which in collection with other texts),\(^4^3\) 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 Caynus, 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. ’Ingenuum’, Dig. De statu hominum. Signata in leg. ’Quaedam mulier’, Dig. Familiae eriscundae. Guillelmi 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: 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; 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. Mattheaeus 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 M24965; ISTC im00748600; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 10 Mar.
guide to abbreviations in legal texts, including information on the titles of the books and their arrangement. Similar information was also provided in the *Vocabularius juris utriusque* (attributed to Jodocus Erfordensis), which was printed in 33 editions, starting in Basel in 1473; five editions of a *Methodus utriusque juris* appeared in 1492. GW M24972; ISTC im00749000; [Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1493. GW M24957; ISTC im00749500; Paris: Felix Bailqault, 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: [Christiaen 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*. 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 Montepessulanino: *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.

"Ius enim civile vel imperatorium quod leges appellatur. Traditur est nobis in multis et generaliter in iiii 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).

*Vocabularius juris utriusque*. [Basel: Michael Wensslser, not after 1473]. GW M12628; ISTC iv00334000; [Basel: Michael Wensslser, about 1473]. GW M12625; ISTC iv00335000; [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, about 1477-78]. GW M12635; ISTC iv00335500; [Basel: Michael Wensslser, 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; [Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminiensis (Georg Reyser?)], not after 1477. GW M12655; ISTC iv00337000; [Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminiensis (Georg Reyser?)], not after 1477. GW M12657; ISTC im00751700.
slightly later, the first one in 1481. 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 or the rubrics of both collections of laws, published in 12 editions; the Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti, 16 editions. Finally, in this group are also found...
works of practical use, such as the collections of formulas, *formularia* of various kind.\(^{50}\)

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.\(^{51}\) Collections of *Repetitiones* follow, with about 120 editions, the *repetitio* being “a lecture outside the normal curriculum”.\(^{52}\)

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”,\(^{53}\) with an exemplification of practical application of the law.\(^{54}\) 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*;\(^{55}\) 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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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 Sassoferato 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 et pecia*, 728-32.
de’ Passageriis was printed in 13 editions⁵⁶ and a Doctrinale florum artis notariae, by Stephanus Marcilletus (Étienne Marcillet, a French notary) appeared in five editions.⁵⁷ 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 sponsabilibus et matrimoniiis sive summa super IV Decretalium by Johannes Andreae, which was printed in 16 editions.⁵⁸ 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 Strucis, 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 Zaratus, 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 Quarenghiis, 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 Gregorius, de Forlivi, 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; [Lyons: Johannes Fabri, about 1494]. GW M20848; ISTC im00255300; [Lyons: n.p., about 1495?]. GW M20842; ISTC im00255500.

⁵⁸ Andreae, Johannes, Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniiis, 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 Guldeinbeck, about 1475]. GW 1744; ISTC ia00641000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldeinbeck, about 1475]. GW 174410N; ISTC ia00641500; [Padua: Bernardinus Celierius, about 1478]. GW 1745; ISTC ia00642000; [Paris: Au Soufflet Vert (Louis Symonel and Socii), about 1480]. GW 1752; ISTC ia00642300; Enlarged edition. Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 5 May 1489. GW 1753; ISTC ia00642500; [Rome: Stephan Plancck, about 1490]. GW 1746; ISTC ia00643000; [Rome: Stephan Plancck, about 1490]. GW 1747; ISTC ia00644000; Enlarged edition. [Leipzig: Gregorius Böttiger (Werman), about 1492-95]. GW 1754; ISTC ia00645000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldeinbeck, 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; Andreae, Johannes, Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniiis 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 Guilielmis 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).\(^{59}\)

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.\(^{60}\) 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 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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\(^{59}\) These editions are commented in section 4.

\(^{60}\) Calasso, “Bartolo da Sassoferato”.

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known as the Volumen, where we always find the Novellae constitutio-
nes (i.e. the Constitutions promulgated by Justinian), the last three
books of the Codex (books X-XII) and the Libri Feudorum. Some edi-
tions include the Constitutiones Extravagantes (promulgated by me-
dieval 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 rea-
sons, followed by a number of editions printed mainly in Italy and
Switzerland. During the 1480s, further editions were printed in sev-
eral more Italian cities and in France, Lyon and Paris. No editions ap-
ppeared 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.61

This is the incipit of the imperial constitution conferring authority
to the Institutiones (the constitution “Imperatoriam maiestatem” in-
deed) and is preceded by the invocation of God, the name of the au-
thor, 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.

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*. 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, as well as in the one printed in Mantua in 1476, the space remained blank and the text opens directly with the *incipit* “Imperatoriam maiestatem”. 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”.

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 7583; 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 TEXT-inc, 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 scientia vobis ex latioribus Digestorum seu Pandectarum libris Deo propicio adventura est”.

Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni

4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century
ceps becomes more often Vandalicus, Flavius alternates with Flavus, etc. 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 princeps 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.

At the very end of the book six couplets were printed, again exalting the enterprise. A few years later Schoeffer printed the princeps of the Codex Justinianus (26 Jan. 1475). A few months after that, another edition of the Codex was printed in Nuremberg, 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. The letter is preceded

67 Full transcriptions can be found in TEXT-inc records.

68 "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 nequeerea, sed artificiosa quadem adinvencionem imprimendi seu caracterizandi sic effigiatum et ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatum per Petrum Schoyffer de Gernsheym. Anno dominice incarnacionis Millesimo cccc.lxviii, vicesimquarta 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:bvb:12-bsb00036837-3). On Schoeffer's entrepreneurship and his awareness of the role he was playing cf. Hellinga, “Peter Schoeffer: Publisher and Bookseller”.

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

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

71 "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 pie rosequ correctores fecisse mihi sepemumero narras existimans eumulos tuos tanto posse faciulus codices tuos nota male correctionis supprimere 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 precipe quos iam Papię ubi et exemplari-um 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.

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.

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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72 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.

73 “Ne igitur sacratissimę leges quę unicuique quod suum est tribuunt, tali librorum et corruptione et penuria diutius supprimantur, pro communi reipublice utilitate ille ingeniosus impressorίę artis magister Joannes Sensenschmidt et Andreas Frisner de Bunsidel socii Nürmberge 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.74

Interestingly, Roman types were used for printing the preface, the glossa, the versified colophon and the table of contents.75 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.76

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.77 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:

74 “[...] atque de Iustiniano qui confusum iuris corpus in lucem reduxit. Cuius reductione et lucerna complures præstantium iurisconsulti vite perpetuatem 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 inuixerunt 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. 

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 “Iuris Civilis scientia sine qua maxima quaeque regna parvo tempore dilabuntur perbrevi 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 gloriis basi hanc assecuta est maioremque indies unius Almae domus Sapientiae Veteris Perusinae scolastici Iacobi Languenbeke Saxonis et Ioannis Widenastr Sicambri singulari beneficio et coelandi sculpndique Henrici Clayn Sueui arte consequetur illorum enim impensis et huius ingenio fm. [i.e. Digestum] hoc vetus quo nullum nostra secula quod ad antiquas illas Pisanorum Pandectas proprius 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 Sulpicius Verulanus who wrote the four final verses that precede the colophon.
his ecclesiastical benefices, mainly in central Europe. 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*. 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. It is therefore particularly interesting what Paolo Veneziani wrote about the type used in the Perugia edition of the Digest, which was very close,
if not the same, to the type used in Rome precisely by Lauer. 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 and in 1478 the first Italian edition of the Codex. 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). 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, before being printed with the same combination of type, Gothic for the text and Roman for the apparatus.

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; ISTC ij00509000.

84 Codex Justinianus (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 13 Mar. 1478. GW 7724; ISTC 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; ISTC ij00591000.

86 Institutiones (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Corr: Carolus de Alexandris. Rome: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), 14 July 1475 (GW 7586; ISTC 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; ISTC ia00457500. On him Vermiglioli, Biografia degli scrittori perugini, 1: 5-6; Perugia, University Archive, Statuto e matricula 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.87

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.88

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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87 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.

88 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. Dondi, 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, 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*. 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*. 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 Clarious Brixianus iuris utriusque doctor prothonotarius et comes apostolicus”, whose name is otherwise very little known. 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-

89 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).

90 *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).

91 Cf. below footnote 101.

92 Hieronymus Clarious, 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).

93 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”, “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; summaria were also added to the Digestum Novum, based on the reading of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro. 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). Anonymous summaries were printed in the second edition (shared, with a differentiation of the colophons, between Georgius Arrivabene and Torti), 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. Although numerous printers/publishers in Venice

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 complicantu et simul voluntur”. 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-h8 i-k6), number of leaves (76), all *incipits* and *explicit* of the texts; moreover, two of them even have the same date in the colophon, 1 March 1497.\(^{100}\) 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*,\(^{101}\) which clearly demonstrates the kind of production

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

\(^{100}\) ISTC ij00541000 and ij00541500 (cf. below). Interestingly, both Georgius Arrivabene and Bernardino Stagnino seem to have based their own editions of the *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summario of Hieronymus Clarius; respectively Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 17 May 1494 GW 7634; ISTC ij00535600, and Venice: Bernardinus Stagginus, 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 Summario 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\(^{8}\) [et con rum]\(^{8}\) A-R\(^{8}\) ST\(^{6}\)) 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 Summario 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 Stagginus, de Tridino, 4 Mar. 1495 (1496?) (GW 7693; ISTC ij00565000). All are made of 270 numbered leaves and the same collation (a-z et con rum A-G\(^{8}\) H\(^{8}\); 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]\(^{8}\) A-K\(^{8}\) L-N\(^{8}\), 306 leaves. From the second edition onwards, the structure never changed (a-z [et con rum]\(^{8}\) A-M\(^{8}\) N\(^{8}\), 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.¹⁰²

sius and Summarii according to Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro). Second, expanded edition (Ed: Hieronymus Clarus?). 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-I⁴ KL⁶; 292 numbered leaves. All the following collate a-z [et con rum] A-N⁶ O⁶, 317 numbered leaves: **Codex Justinianus** (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summarii of Hieronymus Clarus). 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 ij00585000; 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-x⁶ y⁶ a⁵; 182 leaves; **Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes** (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summarii of Hieronymus Confortus). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 28 Oct. 1492. GW 7764; ISTC ij00598000; collation: a-n⁶ o⁶ p⁶ z⁶ a⁶; 194 leaves. All the following have the same collation (a-z [et]⁶ [con]⁶ a⁶; 206 leaves): **Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum** (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: Hieronymus Confortus: **Summaria in Novellae; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum**. 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 Summarii 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 Summarii 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*). The *Codex* was printed on February 27, 1483. 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. Castelliono was among the founders of the earliest editions of the *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.

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103 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Mathaeus 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: Mathaeus 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 XXII; 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: Mathaeus 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. 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. 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. 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 Matthaeus 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. Of the Digestum Vetus Honate printed shortly afterward a second edition, which he signed alone, presumably as a response to the success of the first edition.

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, Matthaeus. Repertorium in Singulairia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaei 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 Mediolanensis ... Historia litterario-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 1462,111 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”.112 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”.113

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”.114 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,
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,\footnote{\textit{Digestum vetus} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7659; ISTC ij00548200.} which GW considers likely to be based on the edition printed by Jenson in 1479.\footnote{\textit{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.} 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.\footnote{\textit{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.} Still in 1482 Siber printed the Digestum novum,\footnote{\textit{Digestum novum} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7705; ISTC ij00568500.} this time on the basis of the edition printed in Padua in 1479 by Petrus Maufier for Zacharias de Zacharotis (Zaccaria Zaccaroti),\footnote{\textit{Digestum novum} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Padua: Petrus Maufier 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”.} which was the model also for the edition printed in Milan by Honate-Castelliono-Caymis.\footnote{\textit{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.}

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.\footnote{“(1) \textit{Institutiones} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1461-83]. Collation: \textit{ab}\textsuperscript{10} c-g\textsuperscript{10} h-k\textsuperscript{10}; GW 7662; ISTC ij00521500; [same title and imprint date; \textit{same collation}] GW 7663; ISTC ij00522000. (2) \textit{Institutiones} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: \textit{a-n}\textsuperscript{2}; GW 7616; ISTC ij00530300; [same title and imprint date; \textit{same collation}] GW 7617; ISTC ij00530500. (3) \textit{Institutiones} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: \textit{a\textsuperscript{3} b\textsuperscript{3} c\textsuperscript{3} d\textsuperscript{3} e\textsuperscript{3} f\textsuperscript{3} g\textsuperscript{3} h-k\textsuperscript{3} l-n}\textsuperscript{4}; GW 7618; ISTC ij00530700. (4) \textit{Institutiones} (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summari by Angelus de Gambilionibus). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1500]. Collation: \textit{a-h}\textsuperscript{4}; GW 7625; ISTC ij00534600.”} The earliest editions, dated to about 1480-83, have been recognised...
as modelled on the edition printed, supposedly, by Jacobus Rubeus in about 1480. 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. 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. 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. Such *Summari* 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 summari” (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. Compared to all the others, howev-
er, Siber’s editions seem to have been prepared autonomously, as is also evidenced by the fairly irregular collation of the first edition. 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

127 ISTC ij00595500, printed about 1488-90 (without summaries). The collation (a10 b5 c6 cc2 d-f2 f10 g-i2 ij12 k-m12 n-p pp2 q-f2 s10 t5 v6 u8 x10; 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 paratextual and structural paratexts and structure of Torresano’s one printed in 1491. 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. 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 ii00554000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500] GW 7676; ISTC ii00554300. [same texts and imprint dates]. GW 7677; ISTC ii00554500.

129 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 18 Jan. 1483, 4°. GW 7608; ISTC ii00524000; [Rome: Stephan Plannck], 23 Oct. 1483, 4°. GW 7609; ISTC ii00525000; Turin: Jacobinus Suigus, 21 Apr. 1488, 4°. GW 7619; ISTC ii00531000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 29 Mar. 1493, 8°. GW 7629; ISTC ii00535000; Venice: Johannes Hamman, for Octavianus Scotus, 7 Aug. 1494, 8°. GW 7635; ISTC ii00536000; Lyon: Jean du Pré (printer of Lyon), 20 June 1495, 8°. GW 7637; ISTC ii00538000; [Lyon: Perrinus Lathomi?], 23 Mar. 1495/96, 8°. GW 7641; ISTC ii00540500; Ed: Johannes de Gradibus; with additions. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 21 Nov. 1497, 8°. GW 7648; ISTC ii00542000; *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 Gregoris, de Forlivio, for Gulielmus Pincius, 10 Mar. 1499, 4°. GW 7650; ISTC ii00544000; *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 ii00545300; *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 Vinglé], 9 Dec. 1499, 8°. GW 7651; ISTC ii00545500; *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 ii00545600.

*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 ii00545650. The only other text printed in a small format is *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). With additional supplements. Ed: Johannes de Gradibus. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 18 Aug. 1496, 4°. GW 7750; ISTC ii00587000.
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 (Giasone 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. 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.\footnote{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 Vindelinus in 1472: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Tractatus varii. [with additions of other authors’ treatises]. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000.}

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 Thom- }

\footnote{“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 secondum Digesti novi partem commentaria. ... Venetiis: Apud Iuntas, MDCXXI, f. 164v.} as-Diplovatatius (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
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”. In a few lines Diplovatatius 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. It is also worth mentioning a number of works based on Bartolus’ texts, which were also printed in the 15th century, such as a Reper-torium super operibus Bartoli or the commentaries written by Alexander Tartagnus (1424-77) [tab. 15].

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 nonnullus 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 Diplovatatius 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 Sassoferato – Il Cigno Galileo Galilei). A shorter reference to the treatises is found in the other version of Bartolus’ biography written by Diplovatatius: Diplovatatio, De claris iurisconsultis, 278; Rossi, “La Bartoli vita di Tommaso Diplovatacco”, 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, 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. 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.

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.

The bulk of the editions is formed by the texts of Bartolus’ *Lecturae*, 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. 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. 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 apparatus Joannis Andreae). [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC io00710000; [same authors and texts]. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; io00711000; 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; Zabarella, Franciscus de, *Lectura super Clementinis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1468-69]. GW M51984; ISTC io00020000.

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.138

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.139

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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”.

Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni
4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century
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. 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. 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, including the princi-
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 Vindelinus 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 1472.143

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 ii. [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.144

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

3563; ISTC ib00220500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Super secunda parte Digesti veteris. [Venice: Vindelinus 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 Bamberga, 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 Incunable 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.  

The same lectura was printed very soon afterwards (less than three weeks) by Vindelinus in Venice. 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) 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. 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 Bambergia. 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. Three lectures of Bartolus were printed in Perugia by Petrus de Co-
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.150 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.151 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.152

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 Castelliono,153 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 Castelliono, this time together with Ambrosius de’ Caymis and in the printshop of Johannes Antonius de Honate.154

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 Vindelinus,155 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

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 Castelliono, 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 Castelliono 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.\footnote{156}

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’ \textit{lecturae}.\footnote{157} during the time when he was also engaged with the printing of the \textit{ Corpus iuris civilis}, and after having printed almost all parts of the \textit{ 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-

\footnote{156}{In chronological order: [Roman type] Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti veteris}. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475. GW 3583; ISTC ib00222000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Infortiati}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 9 Mar. 1475. GW 3630; ISTC ib00237900; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Codicis}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3490; ISTC ib00191000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Codicis}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3508; ISTC ib00198000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3547; ISTC ib00215000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Infortiati}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 May 1477. GW 3614; ISTC ib00232000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 May 1477. GW 3614; ISTC ib00232000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 May 1477. GW 3614; ISTC ib00232000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 Jan. 1478/79. GW 3632; ISTC ib00239000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super secunda parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 21 Mar. 1478. GW 3568; ISTC ib00221000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti veteris}. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 6 Nov. 1479. GW 3584; ISTC ib00225000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3493; ISTC ib00193000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Digesti novi}. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson], 1478. GW 3566; ISTC ib00220800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Digesti novi}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [after 21 Mar.] 1478. GW 3569; ISTC ib00221200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima et secunda parte Digesti veteris}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477-78. GW 3605; ISTC ib00229000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Infortiati}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3616; ISTC ib00233000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super prima parte Infortiati}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3617; ISTC ib00234000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super secunda parte Infortiati}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3631; ISTC ib00238000.}
important 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.  

### 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.\(^\text{159}\) 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.\(^\text{160}\) 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.\(^\text{161}\) Also, Tortis introduced in his books a most helpful element: printed leaf numbers, soon adopted also by Torresanus, al-

\(^{159}\) 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 of 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 Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 31 July 1488. GW 3587; ISTC ib00225300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 16 Sept. 1488. GW 3554; ISTC ib00219000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. 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. 1488/89 [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*. 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, with Torti only issuing the texts the former had omitted, until 1493, when Torresanus realised his last edition and the latter printed six new editions all at once. From then onwards, until the end of the century and beyond, Torti embarked on a regular programme of Bartolus’ works. Seemingly

162 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 June 1491. GW 3600; ISTC ib00227400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 8 Dec. 1491. GW 3515; ISTC ib00202300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Add: *Super tribusulis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1492. GW 3485; ISTC ib00190000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 6 June 1492. GW 3590; ISTC ib00225600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 Aug. 1492. GW 3501; ISTC ib00196000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 July 1493. GW 3560; ISTC ib00220200.

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; ISTC 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; ISTC ib00228000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Apr. 1493. GW 3576; ISTC ib00223000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 May 1493. GW 3519; ISTC ib00204000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 May 1493. GW 3558; ISTC ib00220000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 30 June 1493. GW 3641; ISTC ib00241600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 July 1493. GW 3625; ISTC ib00236500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Nov. 1493. GW 3502; ISTC 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; ISTC 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; ISTC ib00213000; GW 3545; ISTC 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; ISTC ib00228500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 14 Feb. 1499. GW 3522; ISTC ib00204300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 9 Aug. 1499. GW 3505; ISTC ib00197700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Sept. 1499. GW 3580; ISTC 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; ISTC 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>9</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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<sup>166</sup> Treggiari, “Sulle edizioni dei *Consilia quaestiones et tractatus* di Bartolo da Saxoferrato”, 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 desiccat ossa.\(^{167}\) 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 aliqualiter 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 his que bene dictum sunt mecum Deo gratias agat.\(^{168}\)

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\textsuperscript{169} 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.\textsuperscript{170} Mari concluded that the \textit{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’ \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{princeps}.\textsuperscript{171} This edition is also unique in terms of its additions: here Bartolus’ \textit{lectura} is enhanced with the additions of Angelus de Ubaldis,\textsuperscript{172} 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].\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{170} Mari, “Aspetti della vita quotidiana nell’opera di Bartolo”, 674-8.

\textsuperscript{171} Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 17 Sept. 1476. GW 3524; ISTC ib00204700.

\textsuperscript{172} “cum additionibus d. Angeli de Ubaldis de Perusio suo loco ubique positis”; the additions indeed are placed right after the text and easy to find, being announced by the term \textit{Addicio} (cf. TEXT-inc tib00204700).

\textsuperscript{173} Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. GW 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Ed: Petrus Albinius Trecius. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 31 Jan. 1479/80. GW 3527; ISTC ib00206000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Venice: Andreae de Sozis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Venice: Andreas de Sozis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Venice: Andreas de Sozis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni}. Venice: Andreas de Sozis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, \textit{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, \textit{Super tribus ultimis
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. 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.

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 Mauser de Maliferis 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. 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);
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 bene dicte et ad instantiam egregii viri dominii Johannis Mendel scolaris Patavini per me Johannem Hasselt Leodiensem, die xxiii mensis Julij Mºccccºlxxiº.

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 Pirckheymr 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. 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 Eichstätt 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: ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t3CqP5FR), https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t3CqP5FR. 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 positis’, 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; 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 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 MEI, 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),\textsuperscript{179} the three groups of texts were assembled in a single edition, printed in Milan in 1479 by Johannes Antonius de Honate [tab. 23].\textsuperscript{180} A few years later another edition appeared, \textit{sine notis}, but attributable to the same printer, where some important innovations were made by the already mentioned Bernardinus Landrianus.\textsuperscript{181} 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”.\textsuperscript{182} This intervention provoked a fierce debate that was conducted in the prefaces of

\textsuperscript{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.

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

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

\textsuperscript{182} “Bernardinus Landrianus I.V. doctor et in collegio Mediolanensi iurisperitorum minimus. Clarissimo I.V. monarce ac preceptori 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 ingenii mei figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometrice confecerat, necnon nonnullas addiciculas ad calcem quamplurimusorum consiliorum colocare [sic] ante confusse [sic] editorum corrige, 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). 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”. 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. All this helps us

183 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. Ed: Honofrius. Venice: [Georgius Arrivabenus and] Bernardinus Bernalius, 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 Forliviis, 7 Mar. 1485. GW 3539; ISTC ib00211000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Forliviis, 7 Mar. 1485. GW 3539; ISTC ib00211000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, not after 1492]. GW 3542; ISTC ib00212700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. [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 reficiere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometrice 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): “bunc tractatum Tiberiadis 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 deviabitis habetis Io. Puteum communem preceptorem cui gratum onus imposui q[u]o 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 edition 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 insignis et armis*. Here 39 woodcuts were added for the first time (22 in the section *De alluvione* and 17 in the section *De insula*); 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.\footnote{187} As a final note to this paragraph,
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? 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.

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 tripartitus ab Hercule Buttrigario restitutus ...* Bononiae: apud Ioannem Rosciurn, 1576; Edit.16 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; 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. The very first edition is one of these, known today only in four copies, not one of them in Italy. Germany is the country where the highest number of copies of Bartolus’ editions can be found today 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.

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

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-bsb90065525-2).

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. 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. 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; 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, Hießmann, 1925-. URL http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/;
MEI = Material Evidence in Incunabula. URL http://data.cerl.org/mei/_search;
RAG = Repertorium Academicicum 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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4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century

Studi di storia 13

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4 • Printing the Law in the 15th Century

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[Basel: Berthold Ruppel, ab. Oct. 1476]. ISTC im00743100 (not in GW)  
[Cologne: Petrus in Altis (Bergmann?), de Olpe, ab. 1478]. GW M24958; ISTC im00743500  
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Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 July 1482. GW M24971; ISTC im00744000  
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Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1487. GW M24961; ISTC im00747000  
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Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 5 Feb. 1488. GW M24966; ISTC im00748000  
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| Location                  | Date              | Authors/Principles/Printer | GW/ISTC Numbers |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner | 10 Mar. 1492     |                          | M24972; im00749000 |
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| Paris: [Etienne Jehannot], 24 Sept. 1494 | M24978; im00750400 |
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| Paris: Pierre Le Dru, 27 Nov. 1495 | M24982; im00750500 |
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Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, 1 Feb. 1480. GW M38635; ISTC ir00246000
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[Modena]: Henricus de Colonia, 11 Oct. 1482. GW M44935; ISTC it00018730
Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Ultericus 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 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 prae-
scriptionum. Petrus Jacobus Montipessulano: De arbitris et arbitratoribus. Galvanus Salvianus, de Bononia: Differentiae legum et canonum. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: De tabellionibus. Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis: Repetitio-
tiones 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 per-
mutationibus beneficiarum. Tractatus discrepantiarum legum et canonum.
Bartolus de Saxoferrato: De insigniis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus. Jo-
hannes Raynaudi: De nobilitate. Boninconcisus Andreatae: De privilegiis cleri-
corum. Paris: [Pasquier and Jean Bonhomme, about] 28 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW M48674; ISTC it00034900
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. Boninconcius Andreae: De privilegiis clericorum. Dinus de Mugello: Tractatus praelectionum. Johannes Raynaudi: De nobilitate. Johannes de Legnano: De pluritate beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum. Guillelmus Bont: Responsio ac decisio quaestionis quoddambeticae

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: Uldeericus Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 13 Aug. 1489. GW M48654; ISTC iu00031000
[ Milan]; Uldeericus 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 eriscundae. Guillelmus Duranti: Singularia ad causas cotidianas. Signata super leg. ‘Dosit causa’, Dig. De iure dotium. Innocentius IV: Notabilia dicit. [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldebeck, 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
[Strasburg: 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
Strasbour: [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
[Rome: Mathias Huss, not after 25 Jan. 1494]. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00352300
[Rome: Stephan Plannck, 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 Riessinger, [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

| Law (ius canonicum) | Law-civil (ius civilis) | Law-practical | Law-civil & canon (ius utrumque) | Law-national | Law-procedural | Law-statutes | Law-customs |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| contemporary        | 1391                   | 460           | 228                              | 100         | 104            | 5            | 2          |
| medieval            | 664                    | 714           | 163                              | 158         | 112            | 35           | 45         |
| contemporary?       | 25                     | 9             | 42                               | 26          | 13             | 19           | 1          |
| medieval?           | 20                     | 16            | 5                                | 8           | 8              | 29           |            |
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

| Country          | Contemporary | Contemporary? | Medieval | Medieval? |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| **Italy**        | 941          | 48            | 1099     | 21       |
| Law-civil (ius civile) | 433         | 5             | 519      | 5        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) | 332         | 10            | 277      | 615      |
| Law-practical    | 102          | 26            | 125      | 13       |
| Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius) | 62          | 7             | 91       | 160      |
| Law-statutes (statuta) | 1           | 40            | 3        | 44       |
| Law-national     | 10           | 29            | 32       | 39       |
| Law-procedural   | 5            | 16            | 16       | 21       |
| Law-customs (consuetudines) | 2           | 2             |          |          |
| **Germany**      | 805          | 49            | 306      | 5        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) | 697         | 6             | 178      | 881      |
| Law-practical    | 78           | 9             | 11       | 98       |
| Law-civil (ius civile) | 16          | 4             | 53       | 3        |
| Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius) | 9           | 5             | 40       | 54       |
| Law-national     | 4            | 10            | 15       | 31       |
| Law-procedural   | 15           | 6             |          | 21       |
| Law-statutes (statuta) | 1           | 3             |          | 4        |
| **France**       | 170          | 20            | 337      | 48       |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) | 76          | 5             | 128      | 209      |
| Law-civil (ius civile) | 27          |               | 124      | 12       |
| Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius) | 22         | 10            | 45       | 77       |
| Law-practical    | 27           |               | 11       | 3        |
| Law-customs (consuetudines) | 6           |               | 29       | 35       |
| Law-national     | 18           | 1             | 12       | 33       |
| Law-procedural   | 4            | 11            |          | 15       |
| Law-statutes (statuta) | 2           |               |          | 2        |
| **Iberian Peninsula** | 187         | 3             | 45       | 235      |
| 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        |
| **Low Countries**| 92           | 6             | 56       | 154      |
| 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        |
| **Switzerland**           | **59**       | **7**        | **62**   | **128**  |
| 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        |
| **England**              | **41**       | **2**        | **33**   | **3**    | **79**   |
| 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 |
| **Unknown**              | **8**        |              |          |          | 8        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) |              | 8            |          |          |          |
| **Austria**              | **4**        |              |          |          | 7        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) |              | 4            |          |          | 7        |
| **Sweden**               | **2**        |              |          |          | 2        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) |              | 2            |          |          | 2        |
| **Bohemia**              | **1**        |              |          |          | 1        |
| Law-practical            |              | 1            |          |          | 1        |
| Law-national             |              |              | 1        | 1        |
| **Ottoman Empire**       |              |              |          |          |          |
| Law-national             |              |              | 1        | 1        |
| **Hungary**              | **1**        |              |          |          | 1        |
| Law-canon (ius canonicum) |              | 1            |          |          | 1        |
| **Total**                | **2311**     | **135**      | **1942** | **78**   | **4466** |

**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        |

| **Total**          | **963**  |
### Table 3

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

| Author and genre | Eds |
|------------------|-----|
| Commissary (card. Raimundus Peraudi) | 190 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 166 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 24 |
| pope (Sixtus IV) | 180 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 102 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 78 |
| pope (Innocentius VIII) | 104 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 61 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 43 |
| [Indulgentia] | 82 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 82 |
| Commissary (Johannes de Cardona) | 33 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 32 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 1 |
| Commissary (Werdenberg) | 27 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 27 |
| pope (Alexander VI) | 23 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 16 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 7 |
| Bishop of Sebenico (Lucas de Tollentis) | 17 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 17 |
| Bishop of Würzburg (Rudolphus de Scherenberg) | 16 |
| Decree (bulla, breve, regula etc.) | 16 |
| Commissary (Robertus Castellensis) | 13 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 13 |
| Commissary (Bartholomaeus de Camerino) | 13 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 13 |
| Commissary (Alphonsus de Losa) | 13 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 13 |
| Commissary (Emericus de Kemel) | 11 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 11 |
| Commissary (Robertus Gaguinus) | 10 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 10 |
| Commissary (Ximenes de Cisneros) | 10 |
| Decree (indulgentia) | 10 |
| **Total** | **742** |
### Table 4  
Editions of papal legal texts (out of the *Corpus iuris canonici*)

| Editions | Canon law | Practical law | Statutes (statuta) | Eds |
|----------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|-----|
| **contemporary** | | | | |
| pope (Sixtus IV) | 410 | 76 | | 485 |
| pope (Innocentius VIII) | 218 | 36 | | 254 |
| pope (Alexander VI) | 137 | 14 | | 150 |
| pope (Paulus II) | 37 | 21 | | 59 |
| pope (Calixtus III) | 14 | 5 | | 19 |
| pope (Leo VIII) | 2 | | | 2 |
| pope (Leo VIII) | | | | 1 |
| pope (Leo VIII) | | | | 1 |
| **medieval** | | | | 5 |
| pope (Johannes XXII) | 4 | 1 | | 5 |
| pope (Bonifacius VIII) | 2 | | | 2 |
| pope (Nicolaus V) | 1 | | | 1 |
| pope (Martinus V) | 1 | | | 1 |
| pope (Martinus V) | | | | 1 |
| pope (Martinus V) | | | | 1 |
| **medieval & contemporary** | 9 | | | 9 |
| popes (Johannes XXII; Benedictus XII; Martinus V; Eugenius IV; Paulus II) | 9 | | | 9 |
| **Editions** | 422 | 76 | 1 | 499 |
Table 5  Editions of texts classified as National law (only showing texts printed in 5 or more editions)

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

*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

| Corpus iuris civilis | 206 |
|---------------------|-----|
| Institutiones       | 77  |
| Codex Iustiniianus  | 30  |
| Digestum Vetus      | 25  |
| Digestum Infortiatum| 24  |
| Digestum Novum      | 22  |
| Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Constitutiones Extravagantes) | 18 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum) | 6  |
| Libri feudorum      | 4   |

| Corpus iuris canonici | 202 |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium | 58 |
| Gregorius IX, Decretales | 55 |
| Gratianus, Decretum    | 45  |
| Clemens V, Constitutiones | 42  |
| Johannes XXII, Extravagantes | 2 |

Table 7Editions 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 |
|------------------|-------|--------|---------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1451-60          |       |        |         |             | 1             | 1         |
| Corpus iuris canonici | 1   | 1      |         |             |               |           |
| Clemens V, Constitutiones | 1   | 1      |         |             |               |           |
| 1461-70          |       |        |         |             |               | 4         |
| Corpus iuris canonici | 3   | 3      |         |             |               | 3         |
| Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium | 2   | 2      |         |             |               |           |
| Clemens V, Constitutiones | 1   | 1      |         |             |               |           |
| Corpus iuris civilis | 1   | 1      |         |             |               | 1         |
| Institutiones    | 1     | 1      |         |             |               | 1         |
| 1471-80          | 61    | 3      | 22      | 14          | 1             | 101       |
| Corpus iuris canonici | 30  | 3      | 14      | 9           | 1             | 56        |
| Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium | 9   | 1      | 3       | 3           | 16           |           |
| Clemens V, Constitutiones | 9   | 1      | 4       | 4           | 18           |           |
| Gratianus, Decretum | 7   | 4      | 1       | 1           | 12           |           |
| Gregorius IX, Decretales | 5   | 1      | 3       | 1           | 10           |           |
| Period and texts | Italy | France | Germany | Switzerland | Low Countries | Total eds |
|------------------|-------|--------|---------|-------------|---------------|----------|
| Corpus iuris civilis | 31 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 45 |
| 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 |
| 1481-90 | 88 | 36 | 17 | 13 | 154 |
| Corpus iuris canonici | 42 | 19 | 12 | 9 | 82 |
| 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 |
| Corpus iuris civilis | 46 | 17 | 5 | 4 | 72 |
| 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 |
| 1491-1500 | 74 | 56 | 10 | 6 | 146 |
| Corpus iuris civilis | 46 | 37 | 3 | | 86 |
| 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 |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------|---------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| **Corpus iuris canonici**   |       |        |         |             |               |           |
| 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         |
| **Total Editions**         | 223   | 95     | 54      | 33          | 1             | 406       |

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

| Medieval                    | Contempory | Cont? | Eds |
|-----------------------------|------------|-------|-----|
| Corpus iuris civilis        | 204        |       | 204 |
| Corpus iuris canonici       | 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  |
| Gambilinsonus, Angelus de   | 45         |       | 45  |
| Sandeus, Felinus            | 43         |       | 43  |
| Cepolla, Bartholomaeus      | 41         |       | 41  |
| Modus legendi abbreviaturas| 40         |       | 40  |
| Casus                       | 38         | 1     | 39  |
| Formularium                 |            |       | 39  |
| Ars notariatus              | 36         |       | 36  |
| Socinus, Bartholomaeus      | 36         |       | 36  |
| Barbatia, Andreas           | 35         |       | 35  |
| Vocabularius juris          | 33         |       | 33  |
| Pontanus, Ludovicus (Romanus)| 30       |       | 30  |
| Modus vacandi et acceptandi beneficiorum | 28    |       | 28  |
| Ubaldis, Angelus de         | 27         |       | 27  |
| Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de | 27    |       | 27  |
| Medieval                      | Contemporary | Cont? | Eds |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-------|-----|
| Accoltis, Franciscus de       | 26           | 26    |     |
| Modus servandus in executione| 25           | 25    |     |
| Johannes de Imola             | 23           | 23    |     |
| Bologninus, Ludovicus         | 21           | 21    |     |
| Rolandinus de Passagerii      | 20           | 20    |     |
| Socinus, Marianus, de Senis   | 20           | 20    |     |
| Ferrariis, Johannes Petrus de | 20           | 20    |     |
|                               | **1144**     | **493** | **40** | **1677** |

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 Lapus 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 Salviatus 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 (dyce-sis); Bassianus, Johannes; Bellamer a, Aegidius de; Bertrandi, Petrus; Bouhic, Henricus; Cappel, Ludeco; Corneto, Tancredus de; Expositiones; Faber Runcinus, Johannes; Fulgosio, Raffaele; Jacobi, Petrus, de Aureliaco; Jacobi, Petrus, de Montepessulano; Johannes Diaconus; Liazariis, Paulus de; Liber assisarum; Mattaselanus, Petrus; Oendendorff, Henricus de; Sardis, Ludovicus de; Spinellus, Nicolaus, de Neapoli; Vitalinis, Bonifacius de; Zochis, Jacobus de |
### Medieval?

| Number | Author/Texts |
|--------|--------------|
| 19     | *Flores legum* |

### Contemporary author/texts

| Number | Author/Texts |
|--------|--------------|
| 9      | Breitenbach, Johannes de; Canis, Johannes Jacobus; Curtius, Franciscus |
| 8      | Bartolinis, Baldus de; Bulgarinis, Bulgarinus de; Decius, Lancelottus; Regniers, Helias |
| 7      | Laures, Bernardus ; Michael de Dale ; Ubaldis, Nicolaus de |
| 6      | Antonius de Prato Veneri; 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, Paolus; 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; Palatius, 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; Seyssel, 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; Diaz de Montalvo, Alonso |
| 10     | Alexander de Nevo; Alexandro, Antonius de; Amicis, Johannes de; Antiboli, Petrus; Bagneyon, Jean; Barlasina, Mattheus de; Bartolinis, Pius Antonius; Baveris, Marcus Antonius de; Bologninus, Bartholomaeus (Jurist); Bonifacius Lusitanus; Branditius, Ioannes Georgius; Bricius, Jordanus; Camers, Johannes; Carafa, Johannes Antonius; Clarius, Hieronymus; Consilicia; Consilium; Contarenus, Franciscus; Curtifex, Johannes; Dragaci, Jacobus; Ebeling, Bernhard; Fortunatus Perusinus, Franciscus; Gothardus de Buscoducis; Grassus, Petrus; Greve, Henricus, de Göttingen; Hermes, Flavius; Lanfrancus Balbus, Jaffredus; Mongardinis, Agamemnon de; Montevibiano, Balionus de; Nicasius de Voerda; Nicellis, Christophorus de; Nicellus, Antonius; Oppizonus, Ambrosius; Pepis, Franciscus de; Pfeffer de Wydenberg, Johannes; Platus, Anastasius; Pohlascha, Johannes Franciscus de; Rolewineck, Werner; Ruinus, Carolus; Sadoletus, Johannes; Segura, Didacus de; Sifridus Teutonicus de Arena; Stephanus de Caieta; Vegius, Maephæus |

### Contemporary?

| Number | Author/Texts |
|--------|--------------|
| 19     | *Rubrica* |
| 16     | *Ordo judiciarius [German]* |
| 14     | Rota Romana |
| 5      | *Methodus utriusque iuris* |
| 3      | *Margarita Decretalium*; Turnhout, Johannes de |
| 2      | Fitzherbert, Anthony |
| 1      | *Compendium juris canonici; Repertorium aureum sive Concordantiae utriusque iuris*; Endrino, Martinus Ferdinandus; *Exceptiones*; Langer, Johannes; *Margarita Legum*; *Quaestio*; *Regulae* [Index]; *Tituli utriusque iuris*; 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 Eggestein | [Vitus Puecher] | H. Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast |
| WHEN  |             |            |                 |                              |
| 1468  | 1           |            | 1               |                              |
|       | Institutiones | 1          |                 |                              |
| 1472  | 1           | 1          | 1               |                              |
|       | Libri feudorum | 1          |                 |                              |
| 1475  | 1           | 1          | 2               |                              |
|       | Codex       | 1          |                 |                              |
|       | Digestum Infortiatum | 1   | 1               |                              |
| 1476  | 2           | 1          | 3               |                              |
|       | Digestum Novum | 1          |                 |                              |
|       | Digestum Vetus | 1          | 1               |                              |
|       | Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 1 | 1 | 7 |
Table 11 Country of printing and time periods of editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

|       | Italy | France | Germany | Switzerland | Low Countries |
|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------------|---------------|
| 1461-70 | 1     |        |         |             | 1             |
| Mainz | 1     |        |         |             | 1             |
| 1471-80 | 31    | 8      | 5       | 1           | 45            |
| 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           |               |
| 1481-90 | 47    | 17     | 6       | 4           | 74            |
| 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             |
| 1491-1500 | 45  | 38     | 2       |             | 85            |
| Venice | 44    |        |         |             | 44            |
| Lyon  | 32    |        |         |             | 32            |
| Paris | 6     |        |         |             | 6             |
| Augsburg | 2   |        |         |             | 2             |
| Milan | 1     |        |         |             | 1             |
|       | 123   | 55     | 17      | 9           | 1             |
|       |       |        |         |             | 204           |
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 |
|------------|--------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-----------|-------|----------|---------|-------|--------|-------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| **1465-70** |        |      |      |       |       |       |   1   |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Institutiones | 1      |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| **1471-75** | 4      |      | 2 1 3 |       |       |       |   1   |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 12      |        |
| Institutiones | 3      | 1    | 1    | 1     | 1     |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Libri feudorum | 2     |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Codex       | 1      | 1    |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 1    |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| **1476-80** | 12     | 5    | 1    | 5     | 2     |       |   2   | 1 2 1    | 1 1 1    |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 33      |        |
| Institutiones | 3      | 2    | 1    | 3     |       | 1     |       | 1 1 1    | 1 1 1    |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum) | 3     | 1    | 1    |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 5       |        |
| Digestum Novum | 1     | 1    | 1    |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 4       |        |
| Codex       | 2      | 1    |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Digestum Vetus | 2     |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 1 3     |        |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) |          |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 1    |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 2       |        |
| **1481-85** | 16     | 6    | 1    | 7     | 1     |       |   2   | 1 1      | 1 1      |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 34      |        |
| Institutiones | 4      | 2    | 1    | 1     | 1     |       |       | 1 1      | 1 1      |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Digestum Vetus | 2     | 1    | 2    | 1     |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 6       |        |
| Codex       | 3      | 1    | 1    |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 5       |        |
| Digestum Novum | 2     | 1    | 1    |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 5       |        |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 3     | 1    | 1    |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        | 5       |        |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 2     |      |      |       |       |       |       |           |           |       |          |         |       |        |       |         |        |         |        |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae) | 1 |
| Institutiones | 1 |
| **1481-90** | **1** |
| Institutiones | 1 |
| **1485-90** | **20** |
| Institutiones | 5 |
| Codex | 4 |
| Digestum Vetus | 4 |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 3 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 2 |
| Digestum Novum | 2 |
| **1491-95** | **27** |
| Institutiones | 6 |
| Digestum Novum | 5 |
| Codex | 4 |
| Digestum Vetus | 4 |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 4 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 3 |
| Libri feudorum [German] | 2 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae) | 1 |
| Year  | Venice | Lyon | Rome | Milan | Basel | Paris | Mainz | Nuremberg | Strasbourg | Pavia | Augsburg | Ferrara | Padua | Mantua | Turin | Perugia | Louvain | Pinerolo | Venice |
|-------|--------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|------------|-------|----------|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1495-1500 | 17 | 22 | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 93 |
| Institutiones | 4 | 5 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 44 |
| Codex | 4 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 13 |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 3 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| Digestum Vetus | 1 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 7 |
| Digestum Novum | 2 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae) | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |

| Total | 93 | 48 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 204 |
### Table 13  Printers and publishers of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

|                  | 1466-70 | 1471-75 | 1476-80 | 1481-85 | 1486-90 | 1491-95 | 1496-1500 |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| **Venice**       | 12      | 16      | 1       | 20      | 27      | 17      | 93        |
| B Tortis         |         |         | 1       | 9       | 11      | 16      | 37        |
| G Arrivabene     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| J Rubeus         |         |         | 7       |         |         |         |           |
| A Calabrensis    |         |         | 2       | 3       | 1       |         | 6         |
| B Stagninus      |         |         |         |         |         | 5       |           |
| N Jenson         |         |         | 4       |         |         |         |           |
| J & G de Gregoriis | J      |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Britannicus      |         |         |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| R Novimagius     |         |         |         |         | 2       |         | 2         |
| A Torresanus      |         |         |         | 1       | 1       |         | 2         |
| A de Bonetis      |         |         |         |         | 2       |         | 2         |
| H Paganini       |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| A Sozis for Birreta & Grassis |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| B Rizus          |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| N de Benedictis  |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| J Hamman for O Scotus |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Anonymous        |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| [A Calabrensis | B Torti] |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| N Rubeus         |         |         | 1       |         |         |         | 1         |
| A de Stanchis    |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| A Sozis          |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| O Scotus         |         |         |         |         |         | 1       | 1         |
| [A Torresanus] for A de Pavia & B de Mononis |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| J & G de Gregoriis |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| G Anima Mia      |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| J & G de Gregoriis for Pincius |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| G Arrivabene for B Torti |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| G Grassis for Birreta |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| J Herbort        |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Lyon             | 6       | 10      | 10      | 22      | 48      |         |           |
| J Siber          |         |         |         |         |         |         | 6         |
| J Du Pré         |         |         |         | 1       | 6       |         | 7         |
| N de Benedictis|B Suigus |         |         |         |         |         | 3         |
|                 |         |         |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| Year       | Rome | Milan | Basel | Paris | Mainz | Nuremberg |
|------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|
| 1466-70    | 4    | 1     | 5     | 1     | 1     | 1         |
| 1471-75    | 5    | 7     | 1     | 2     | 2     | 2         |
| 1476-80    | 1    |       | 3     | 4     | 3     | 5         |
| 1481-85    | 10   | 1     | 9     | 1     | 5     | 5         |
| 1481-90    | 8    | 1     | 9     | 1     | 5     | 5         |
| 1486-90    | 1    | 1     | 9     | 1     | 5     | 5         |
| 1491-95    | 1    | 1     | 9     | 1     | 5     | 5         |
| 1496-1500  | 1    | 1     | 9     | 1     | 5     | 5         |

J de Vingle 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

Rome

V Puecher 1 3
Han 2 2
G Lauer 1 1
B Guldinbeck 1 1
Plannck 1 1
G Lauer|L Pflugel 1 1

Milan

JA Honate for PA 6 6
Anonymous 1 1
L Pachel|U Scinzenzeler 1 1
JA Honate 1 1

Basel

M Wenssler 4 1 1 6
M Wenssler for Helmut 1 1
B Ruppel 1 1
N Kesler 1 1

Paris

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

Mainz

P Schoeffer 1 2 2 5

Nuremberg

A Koberger 2 2 4
J Sensenschmidt|A Frisner 1 1
| Location         | 1466-70 | 1471-75 | 1476-80 | 1481-85 | 1481-90 | 1486-90 | 1491-95 | 1496-1500 |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| Strassburg       | 3       | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 4         |
| H Eggestein      | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| J Grueninger     |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Pavia            |         | 2       | 1       |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| A de Carcano     |         | 2       | 1       |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| Ferrara          | 1       | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 2         |
| A Belfortis      |         | 1       | 1       |         |         |         |         | 2         |
| Augsburg         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 2         |
| L Zeissenmair    |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| E Ratdolt        |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Padua            |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 2         |
| P Maufer for Zacharotis | 1 |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| P Maufer         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Turin            | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| B Suigo          |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Venice or Pinerolo|         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| J Rubeus         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Mantua           |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| P de Butzbach    |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Louvain          |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Johannes de Westfalia | 1   |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Perugia          |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast | 1 |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
|                  | 1       | 12      | 33      | 35      | 2       | 37      | 41      | 44        | 204      |
Table 14 Who printed all parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*

|                    | 1481-85 | 1486-90 | 1491-95 | 1496-1500 |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| **B Torti**        |         |         |         |           |
| Codex              | 1       | 9       | 11      | 16        | 37         |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 2   | 2       | 4       | 8         |
| 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 | | | |
| **[J Siber]**      |         |         |         |           |
| Codex              | 3       | 8       | 11      | 22        |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 1   | 1       | 2       | 4         |
| Digestum Novum     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| Digestum Vetus     | 2       | 2       | 4       |           |
| Institutiones      | 2       | 3       | 1       | 6         |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 1 | 3 | 4 | | |
| **JA Honate for PA Castellione** | | | | | |
| Codex              | 6       | 6       |         |           |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 1   | 1       | 2       | 4         |
| Digestum Novum     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| Digestum Vetus     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| Institutiones      | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae) | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **J Siber**        |         |         |         |           |
| Codex              | 3       | 1       | 1       | 5         |
| Digestum Infortiatum | 1   | 1       | 2       | 4         |
| Digestum Novum     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| Digestum Vetus     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 3         |
| **JA Honate**      |         |         |         |           |
| Digestum Vetus     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 4         |
| **A Calabrensis | B Torti** |         |         |           |
| Digestum Novum     | 1       | 1       | 2       | 4         |
| **G Arrivabene for B Torti** | | | | | |
| Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes) | 1 | 1 | | | | | 14 | 18 | 13 | 28 | 73 |
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             | *Lecturae*                         | 162 |
|                         | *Tractatus* (minor collections/single text*) | 20  |
|                         | *Consilia* (244-5), *Quaestiones* (18), *Tractatus* (collectio maior: 28-31)** | 8   |
|                         | *Consilia* (244-5)                 | 1   |
|                         | *Quaestiones* (18)                | 1   |
|                         | *Tractatus* (collectio maior: 28-31 texts) | 1   |
|                         |                                    | **193** |

*Not including editions of the *Processus Satanae* not attributed to Bartolus

** In almost all editions 244 Consilia 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 *Corpus iuris civilis* | 33 |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----|
|                            | Tractatus (collectiones aliorum auctorum)     | 26 |
|                            | **59**                                        |    |

| Works based on Bartolus’ texts | *Alexander Tartagnus, Apostillae ad Bartolum* | 19 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----|
|                                | *Repertorium super operibus suis* (attributed to Bartolus) | 7  |
|                                | *Antonius de Prato Veteri, Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli* | 6  |
|                                | *Contradictiones/Contrarietates Bartoli*      | 5  |
|                                | *Johannes de Turnout, Casus breves ex lecturis Bartoli et al.* | 3   |
### Table 16  Editions of Bartolus’ *Lecturae* on the *Corpus iuris civilis*

| Period of Time and Texts | Eds |
|-------------------------|-----|
| **1466-70**             |     |
| Super prima Infortiati  | 1   |
|                         |     |
| **1471-75**             | **18** |
| 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   |
| **1476-80**             | **34** |
| 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   |
| **1481-85**             | **22** |
| 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   |
| **1486-90**                                                  | **34** |
| 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   |
| **1491-95**                                                  | **44** |
| 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   |
| Period of Time and Texts                                      | Eds |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1496-1500                                                    | 9   |
| 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   |
|                                                            | 162 |
Table 17  Editions of all Bartolus’ works by the time when all the *principes* (in bold) were printed (1477)

| Year | VENICE | VENICE | NAPLES | NAPLES | PERUGIA | PERUGIA | TREVEN | MILAN | MILAN | PADOVA | PADOVA | MANTUA | MANTUA | PAVIA | PAVIA | ROME | ROME | ANGERS | ANGERS | BOLOGNA | BOLOGNA |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------|------|--------|--------|----------|----------|
| 1470 |        |        |        |        |         |         |        |       |       |        |        |        |        |       |       |      |      |        |        |          |          |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Infotati | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1471 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Codices | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Digesti Novi | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Infotati | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Infotati + Baldus, *Super titulo De excusationibus tutorum* | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super secunda | Codices | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1471 [ab.] | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super tribus libris | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | QUAEESTIONES | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1471 [ab. 1471-72] | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super prima | Digesti Veteris | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1472 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | TRACTATUS (collectio maior) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1472 [ab.] | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super secunda | Digesti Veteris | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super secunda | Digesti Veteris De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium (+Baldus, same subject) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1473 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super secunda | Digesti Novi | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Super secunda | Digesti Veteris | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | CONSILIA | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|      | Lectura Processus Satane | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Year | Venice | Vincenza | Naples | Perugia | Rome | Vienna | Padua | Mantua | Parma | Angers | Bologna |
|------|--------|----------|--------|---------|------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------|
| 1473 [ab. 1473-74] | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| | [Tractatus] De tabellionibus | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1475 [ante] | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1475 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Tractatus] De insignis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus. In Baldus et al. | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1476 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| | [Lectura] Super prima Codicis | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1476 [ab. 1476-77] | | | | 1 | 1 |
| | [Tractatus] De insignis et armis. De alimentis (+ Baldus, De quaes. et torm.) | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1477 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | [Lectura] Super Authenticis | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | [Tractatus] De testibus. In: Baldus et al. | | | 1 | | | | | | |

*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 |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| Venice            |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis | 1       | 21      | 11      | 26      | 26      | 9       | 94        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis  | 3       | 1       | 2       | 1       | 7       |         |           |
| [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 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 Veteris, cum additionibus | 3       | 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         |
| Location   | 1466-70 | 1471-75 | 1476-80 | 1481-85 | 1486-90 | 1491-95 | 1496-1500 |
|------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| [Venice]   | 8       | 2       | 10      |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi | 1       | 1       | 2       |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Codicis       | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi  | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati    | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis     | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris | 1       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati  | 1       | 1       | 1       | 1       |         |           |
|            | Quaestiones                           | 1       | 1       |         |         |         |           |
| [Lyon]     | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
|            | [Lectura] Super omnibus Digesti et Codicis (i-ix) | 1       |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lyon]     | 2       | 2       | 19      | 23      |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super Authenticis          | 1       | 1       | 1       | 3       | 3       |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus | 3       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | 1       | 1       | 1       | 3       |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
|            | Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior) | 2       |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Milan]    | 2       | 7       | 5       | 3       | 17      |         |           |
|            | [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         |
| Year       | 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 |
| [Milan]    | Super Authenticis | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| [Lectura]  | Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | 1 | 1 |
| Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior) | 1 | 1 |
| [Naples]   | Super prima Digesti Novi | 1 | 1 |
| [Naples]   | 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 |

*Note: Milan and Naples entries indicate the number of copies.*
| Location       | 1466-70 | 1471-75 | 1476-80 | 1481-85 | 1486-90 | 1491-95 | 1496-1500 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| **Pavia**     | 3       | 1       | 4       |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super Authenticis |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super prima Codicis | 1     |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super prima   |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Infortiati    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Digesti Veteris |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Perugia]     | 3       |         |         |         |         |         | 3         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super prima Digesti Veteris |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Digesti Veteris |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Infortiati    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Venice|or|Rome]   | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super prima Digesti Veteris |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Digesti Veteris |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Infortiati    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Trevi         | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super prima   |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Infortiati + Baldus, Super tit. |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| De exc.       | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Rome          | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Consilia      | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Mantua        | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super tribus libris, cum additionibus |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Parma         | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Digesti Novi  | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Bologna       | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super secunda |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Digesti Novi  | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| Nuremberg     | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Super Authenticis |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| [Paris]       | 1       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| [Lectura]     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |
| Collatio 11   |         |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |
| extravagantium |       |         |         |         |         |         | 1         |

| Total         | 1       | 20      | 35      | 24      | 35      | 48      | 9        | 172      |
### 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 |
|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----|
| Venice    |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| A Torresanu | 1       | 21      | 11      | 26      | 26      | 9       | 94        |     |
| B de Tortis | 3       | 10      | 9       | 22      |         |         |           |     |
| J de Colonia | 1   | 10      |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| N Jenson  | 10      |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| A Paltasichis | 3    | 5       |         |         |         |         |           | 8   |
| P Maufer  | 1       | 5       |         |         |         |         |           | 6   |
| B Stagninus (A Torresanu) | 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] | 1 |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| A Soziis  | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| Lyon      |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| [Venice]  | 8       | 2       |         |         |         |         |           | 10  |
| Vindelinus de Spira | 6 |         |         |         |         |         |           | 6   |
| J de Colonia | 1   | 1       |         |         |         |         |           | 2   |
| [N Jenson] | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| [Vindelinus de Spira] | 1 |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| Lyon      |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| [Lyon]    | 2       | 2       | 19      |         |         |         |           | 23  |
| J Siber   | 2       | 2       | 17      |         |         |         |           | 21  |
| J Siber [J Suigus [de Benedictis] |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Lyon      |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| [Lyon]    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| [G Le Roy] for Buyer |         |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| Milan     |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| [Milan]   | 2       | 7       | 5       | 3       |         |         | 17        |     |
| L Pacheli |         |         |         |         |         |         |           | 8   |
| Scinzenzeler |       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |

**Note:** The table provides a detailed record of printers and their editions from the years 1466 to 1500, focusing on Bartolus de Saxoferrato's major works. The entries indicate the number of editions each printer produced in each time period, with columns for Venice, Lyon, Milan, and Eds (total editions).
|           | 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   |
| [Milan]   |         |         |         |         |         |         |           | 5   |
| [JA Honate] | 3       | 2       |         |         |         |         |           | 5   |
| [Naples]  | 6       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 6   |
| S Riessinger | 6       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Naples    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| S Riessinger|del Tuppo |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Pavia     | 3       | 1       |         |         |         |         |           | 4   |
| D Confaloneriis | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 3   |
| C de Canibus |         |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| [Perugia] | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 3   |
| [PP de Colonia|JN de Bamberg] | 3       |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| [Venice|or|Rome] | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| Anonymous | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| Trevi     | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| J Reinhard | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Rome      | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| J Gensberg | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Mantua    | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| P de Butzbach | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Bologna   | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| D de Lapis |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Parma     | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| A Portilia | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
| Nuremberg | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| A Koberger | 1       |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| [Paris]   |         |         |         |         |         |         |           | 1   |
| [J Bonhomme] |         |         |         |         |         |         |           |     |
|           | 1       | 20      | 35      | 24      | 35      | 48      | 9         | 172 |
Table 20  Torreanus, Stagninus (in Torreanus’ workshop) and Tortis’ editions of Bartolus: a parallel

| Date, texts, collation and leaves | Torreanus | Stagninus | Tortis |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| 1485                             | 1         |           |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati |           | A-Z^s     | 1      |
|                                  |           | 184       |        |
| 1486                             | 1         | 1         |        |
| [Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus |           | a^b b–g^s| 1      |
|                                  |           | 44        |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi |           | ab^c d–z [et con rum]^a aa^z| 1 |
|                                  |           | 220       |        |
| 1486/87                          | 1         |           |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis    |           | a^ii bc^d e^f–m^o n^o–r^s s^s| 1 |
|                                  |           | 136       |        |
| 1487                             | 2         |           |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati |           | a–u^x^s | 1      |
|                                  |           | 166       |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati |           | A–T^s    | 1      |
|                                  |           | 152       |        |
| 1487/88                          | 1         |           |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis  |           | a–o^a    | 1      |
|                                  |           | 112       |        |
| 1488                             | 5         |           |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio |           | aa–pp^a qqr^a | 1 |
|                                  |           | 140       |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris |           | aaa–ppp^a| 1     |
|                                  |           | 120       |        |
| Date, texts, collation and leaves | [Torresanus] | Stagninus (Torresanus) | Tortis |
|----------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------|
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis    |             |                        |       |
| AA–OO* PP²                       | 1           |                        |       |
| 118                              |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis  |             |                        |       |
| AAA–MMM* NNN*                    | 1           |                        |       |
| 102                              |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris |         |                        |       |
| a–v⁴ x¹⁰                         | 1           |                        |       |
| 170                              |             |                        |       |
| 1489                             | 3           |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati |          |                        |       |
| a–e.f.f–q⁶                       | 1           |                        |       |
| 136                              |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris |          |                        |       |
| a–v⁴                            | 1           |                        |       |
| 160                              |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi |         |                        |       |
| aA–uU¹ xX¹²                      | 1           |                        |       |
| 170                              |             |                        |       |
| [1488-89?]                       | 1           |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati |             |                        |       |
| A–H¹ I¹[K–R⁶ S⁶                 | 1           |                        |       |
| 144                              |             |                        |       |
| 1490                             | 2           | 2                      |       |
| [Lectura] Super Authenticis      |             |                        |       |
| a–d⁴ e⁴ f⁴ g⁴                   | 1           |                        |       |
| 48 (numbered)                    |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus | | 1 | |
| AA–OO* PP²                      | 1           |                        |       |
| 118                              |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | | 1 | |
| a–f⁴ g⁴                         | 1           |                        |       |
| 40 (numbered)                    |             |                        |       |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio | | 1 | |
| aa–pp⁵ qqrr¹³                    | 1           |                        |       |
| 140                              |             |                        |       |
| Date, texts, collation and leaves | [Torresanus] | Torresanus | Stagninus (Torresanus) | Tortis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1491 | 2 |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis | AAA–MMM² NNN⁴ 102 |
| 120 |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris | aaa–ppp⁸ |
| 1492 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | aaa–ttt² vvv² 202 (numbered) |
| AA–TT¹ UU⁶ 162 (numbered) |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | a–z [et con rum]¹² A¹ B⁶ 274 (numbered) |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus | aa–zz² [et et concon]¹² |
| 254 (numbered) |
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus | A–T¹¹ UX¹ |
| 202 |
| [Lectura] Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus | aaaa–ddddd⁸ eeee–g§§§§¹⁰ hhhh–nnnn¹ oooo⁸ 116 |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus | AAA–PPP² QQQRRR¹² 174 (numbered) |
| [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus | a–d¹⁰ e¹¹ f¹² g¹² h¹³ m¹² n z¹⁰ 234 (numbered) |
| Date, texts, collation and leaves | [Torresanus] | Torresanus (Torresanus) | Stagninus | Tortis |
|----------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1493                             | 1           | 1                      | 1         | 6     |

[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus
AAAA-ZZZZ 8 AAAA-LLLL8
270 (numbered)
A–ZaA–IL14 mM8
348 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio
a–u10 x12
212 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus
aa–zz8 [etet concon rumrum]8
208 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus
AAA–YYY ZZZ8
180 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus
(AAaaa)bbb–xxx8 yyyy8zzz8
178 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus
aaaa–rrrr8
136 (numbered)

[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus
a–q8 s–z8 [et con rum]8 A8
206

1494

[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus
A–Z8
224 (numbered)
| Date, texts, collation and leaves | [Torresanus] | Torresanus | Stagninus (Torresanus) | Tortis |
|----------------------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------------|--------|
| 1495                             | 2            |            |                       |        |
| Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior) | a–s t–v     | 2          |                       |        |
|                                  | 154          | (numbered) |                       |        |
| 1499                             | 7            |            |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | AA–TT UU  | 1          |                       |        |
|                                  | 162 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus | AAA–YYY ZZZ | 1          |                       |        |
|                                  | 180 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | A–Z        | 1          |                       |        |
|                                  | 224 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus | AAAA–ZZZZ AAAAA–LLLL | 1 |                       |        |
|                                  | 270 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus | aaa–xxx yyyy zzz | 1 |                       |        |
|                                  | 178 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus | aaaa–rrrr | 1          |                       |        |
|                                  | 136 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus | a–z [et con] [rum] | 1 |                       |        |
|                                  | 206 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
| 1500                             | 2            |            |                       |        |
| [Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus | aa–zz [et et con rumrum] | 2 |                       |        |
|                                  | 208 (numbered)|           |                       |        |
## Table 21: Authors of additions to Bartolus’ Lecturae

| Date-authors of additions-titles | Venice | [Lyon] | Milan | [Milan] | Mantua |
|----------------------------------|--------|--------|-------|---------|--------|
| 1476-80 Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A | 2      | 1      | 1     | 4       |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super tribus libris, cum        |        |        |       |         |        |
| additionibus                    |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1476-80 Ubaldis A de             | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super tribus libris, cum        | 2      | 1      | 1     | 3       |        |
| additionibus                    |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1481-85 Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A| 1      | 1      | 1     | 2       |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super tribus libris, cum        | 1      | 1      | 1     | 2       |        |
| additionibus                    |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1486-90 Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A| 5      | 1      | 5     | 11      |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Tartagni A                      | 3      | 4      | 7     |         |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super prima Infortiati,         | 1      | 1      | 1     | 2       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super secunda Digesti Veteris,  | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super secunda Codicis,          | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super prima Digesti Veteris,    | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super prima Codicis,            | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super prima et Secunda Digesti | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| Veteris, cum additionibus       |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1491-95 Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A| 2      | 1      | 1     | 4       |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super tribus libris, cum        | 2      | 1      | 1     | 4       |        |
| additionibus                    |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1491-95 Tartagni A; Ubaldis A de| 22     | 16     | 3     | 41      |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, | 1      | 1      | 1     | 1       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| 1491-95 Tartagni A              | 18     | 15     | 3     | 36      |        |
|                                  |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super secunda Digesti Novi,     | 3      | 2      | 1     | 6       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| Super secunda Infortiati,       | 3      | 2      | 1     | 6       |        |
| cum additionibus                |        |        |       |         |        |
| 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       |
| Tartagni A et al | 1      | 1      |       |         |
| Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus | 1      |       |       |         |
| Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A | 1      | 1      |       |         |
| Super tribus libris, cum additionibus | 1      |       |       |         |
| Tartagni A; Landriani B | 2      | 2      |       |         |
| Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | 1      |       |       | 1       |
| Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus | 1      |       |       | 1       |
| 1496-1500 | 9      | 9      |       |         |
| Tartagni A | 6      | 6      |       |         |
| 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       |
### Table 22 Editions of Bartolus’ comment on the *Tres libri Codicis* and their introitus

| GW; ISTC       | Imprint                              | Texts                                      | introitus In nomine Domini | introitus Omnes gaudentes |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 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 *Angeli de Ubaldis* | Yes                        | No                         |
| 3525; ib00205000 | Venice: Jenson, 1477                 | Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus *Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni* | Yes                        | Yes                        |
| 3527; ib00206000 | Venice: J. de Colonia-Manthen, 1479/80 | =                                          | Yes                        | Yes                        |
| 3526; ib00205500 | [Milan: Onate, 1480 ca.]             | Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus *Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni* | 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 *Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni* | Yes                        | Yes                        |
| 3534; ib00210100 | [Lyon: Siber, 1495 ca.]              | Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus *Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni* | 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 |
|--------------------------------|----------|----|-----|----|----|----|----------|----|
| **Editions**                   | Rome 1473 ib00210700 | Milan 1479 ib00210800 | Venice 1485 ib00211000 | [Milan 1485] ib00212000 | Venice 1487/88 ib00212500 | [Lyon ante 1492] ib00212700 | Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000 | [Lyon ca. 1495] ib00212800 |
| Leaves                         | 136 | 100 (C) | 172 (Q, T) | 162 | 228 | 170 | 178 | 154 | 178 |
| Title                          | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table of contents              | Tabula consiliorum | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Preface                        | --- | --- | Berardinus Landrianus to Johannes de Puteo | Note to the reader, anonymous [Honofrius?] | --- | 'Cuidam Honofrio' reply to criticisms | --- | --- | --- |
| Texts officially printed       | 245 [i.e. 244] | = | = | 237 | 245 [i.e. 244] | = | 245 [i.e. 244] | 245 [i.e. 244] | 245 [i.e. 244] |
| Note                           | “Hic erat duplicatum consilium numero tali videlicet CCLXIII” | = | = | No note: the consilia are renumbered and the duplication cancelled | “Hic erat duplicatum…” | = | The cons. 243 is missing, without notes | “Hic erat duplicatum…” | = |
| Quaestio Bartoli (at the end)  | “Adunantia generalis Comunis Perusii” | = | = | absent | present | present | absent | present | Lyon [ante 1492] |
| Additiones                     | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |

| Quaestiones Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus | Venice [1471] ib00249000 | Milan 1479 ib00210800 | Venice 1485 ib00211000 | [Milan 1485] ib00212000 | Venice 1487/88 ib00212500 | [Lion ante 1492] ib00212700 | Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000 | [Lion ca. 1495] ib00212800 |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| texts                                  | 18 | = | = | = | = | = | = | = | = |
| Illustrations (trattati De fluminibus, De insula, De alveo) | List of 35 titles with leaf | List of 42 titles of tractatus (including titles of paragraphs) | General reference to 245 consilia and 18 quaestiones, list of 42 tractatus | Table of contents | List of 33 tractatus and general reference to Quaestiones |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Space left blank                                            | List of 35 titles with reference to leaf | List of 42 titles of tractatus (including titles of paragraphs) | General reference to 245 consilia and 18 quaestiones, list of 42 tractatus | Table of contents | List of 33 tractatus and general reference to Quaestiones |

**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 |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----|
| Collectio 'maior' (Bartolus)                     | 1       |         |         |           | 1   |
| (in: Consilia, Quaestiones et Tractatus)          |         | 1       | 3       | 4         | 8   |
| Single text                                      |         |         |         |           |     |
| Bartolus de Saxoferrato                          | 4       | 2       | 4       | 6         | 16  |
| Bartolus de Saxoferrato [or Baldus de Ubaldis o Gozzadinus de' Gozzadinis] | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | |
| Anonymous (Processus Satanae)                    | 1       | 1       | 1       | 1         | 5   |
| Minor collections (Bartolus)                     |         | 1       | 2       | 2         | 4   |
| Collections (other authors)                      |         |         |         |           |     |
| Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de                 | 2       | 3       | 8       | 12        | 26  |
| Faure, Jean                                      | 1       | 1       |         |           | 1   |
| Gambilionibus, Angelus de                         | 1       |         |         | 1         |     |
| Innocentius III                                  | 1       |         | 1       | 3         |     |
| Jean Le Moine (Johannes Monachus)                | 1       | 1       |         |           | 1   |
| Lauret, Bernard et al.                           | 7       | 7       | 7       |           |     |
| Margarita legum                                  | 1       | 1       |         |           | 1   |
| Modus legendi abbreviaturas                      | 1       | 5       | 1       | 7         |     |
| Goffredo da Trani et al.                         | 1       | 1       |         |           |     |
| Ubaldis, Baldus de                               | 1       | 1       | 1       | 3         |     |

| Total                                             | 8       | 8       | 17      | 26        | 60  |
| Text                                      | C.A.L.M.A. Collectio maior (1472) | Printed as single text | In minor collections | Other author collection | Printing places                                                      | Eds |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| *Processus Satanae*                     | 158                             | [9]                   | 10                   | 5                      | Padua; Leipzig; Memmengen; Augsburg; Rome; Venice; Vienne; Toulouse; Paris; Lyon; Lovanio; Speyer; Strassburg; Norimberga | 18  |
| De Tabellionibus                         | 153                             | ____                  | 5                    | 9                      | Rome; Venice; Bologna; Speyer; Strassburg; Lovanio; Nuremberg        | 14  |
| De alimentis                             | 100                             | [8]                   | 1                    | 7                      | Angers; Lyon; Toulouse; Paris                                       | 8   |
| Ordo iudici                              | 149                             | [20]                  | 5                    | 1                      | Vienne; Toulouse; Paris                                             | 6   |
| De insignis et armis                     | 127                             | [7]                   | 4                    | 1                      | Angers; Rome; Leipzig; Paris                                        | 5   |
| De renuntiationibus beneficiorum in publicis instrumentis | 146?                             | ____                  | 5                    |                         | Vienne; Toulouse; Paris                                             | 5   |
| De testibus*                             | 154                             | [31]                  | 3                    |                         | Paris                                                              | 3   |
| De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus**| ≠ [31]                          | ≠ [33]                | 1                    |                         | [Vienne]                                                           | 1   |
| Tractatus excussionum pignorum           | 119                             | ____                  | 1                    |                         | Urbino                                                             | 1   |
| De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium| 115                             | [3]                   | 1                    |                         | Rome                                                               | 1   |
| De falcone                               | 121                             | [12]                  | 1                    |                         | Leipzig                                                             | 1   |
| De causis allegationis iudicis suspecti  | 128                             | ____                  | 1                    |                         | Urbino                                                             | 1   |
| De nobilitate                            | 133                             | ____                  | 1                    |                         | Leipzig                                                             | 1   |
| De regimine civitatis                    | 145                             | [24]                  | 1                    |                         | Leipzig                                                             | 1   |
| De minoritis                             | 157                             | [2]                   | 1                    |                         | Venice                                                              | 1   |
| De fluminibus seu Tyberiadi              | 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) |
|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| ISTC             | ib00255000             | ip01001000           | ib00246500             |
| \( C \) = collection \( S \) = single | \( C \)               | \( S \)             | \( S \)               |
| **Heading**      | Tractatus Bartoli de Saxoferrato qui sua scientia leges illuminavit [collectio maior] | Processus iudiciarius (Litigatio Mascaron contra genus humanum) | Bartolo, Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro … |
| **Titulus of Processus Satanae** | Tractatus questionis ventilate coram dominum nostro lesu Christo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte | Processus iudiciarius | Tractatus questionis ventilate coram dominum nostro lesu Cristo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte |
| **Incipit (variant)** | Nostis fratres carissimi (A) | Accessit Mascaron (B) | Nostis fratres carissimi (A) |
| **Explicit**     | … Salve regina mater misericordie vita dulcedo et spes salve. | … et thesum benedictum fructum [etc.] exploso dyabolo. | … Salve regina mater mie vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve. |
| **Closing formula and/or Colophon** | Explicit processus et tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro lesu 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 cive Perusinum cuius anima requiescat in pace amen | Litigacio Mascaron contra genus humanum finit feliciter. | [= Venice 1472, followed by the new data imprint:] |
| **Attribution (Bartolus)** | YES (closing formula) | NO | YES (closing formula) |
| **Notes**        | In the following Latin edition Bartolus’ name appears in the opening titulus together with the word processus; the closing formula is identical. Most likely from the Padua edition derive the two translations into German (about 1493). |
| Year | Location | Edition | Title |
|------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1473 | Lyon     | C       | *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* |
| 1475 | Rome     | S       | *Tractatus iudiciarum per Bartolus de Saxoferrato.* |
| 1478 | Vienne   | C       | *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* |

**Notes**

- *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* is called here the *Processus*; the incipit is partially visible, which begins with Innocent III’s works; there the *Processus* is called *Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum*; the incipit is partially different (*Nostis fratres carissimi*) 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 *Tractatus iudiciarum* (first in the collection). This collection reappears many times (4 in the 15th century) with paratextual developments (e.g. a running title: *Processus Sathanae*); found also alone, with no attribution to Bartolus.

- There is one following collection which begins with Innocent III’s works; here the *Processus* is called *Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum*; the incipit is partially different (*Nostis fratres carissimi*) as well as the closing formula (which consists in a comment instead of the prayer). Bartolus is never mentioned.

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| Year | Location | Edition | Title |
|------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1473 | Lyon     | C       | *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* |
| 1475 | Rome     | S       | *Tractatus iudiciarum per Bartolus de Saxoferrato.* |
| 1478 | Vienne   | C       | *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* |

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|------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1473 | Lyon     | C       | *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* |
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**Notes**

- *Processus Satanae contra genus humanum* is called here the *Processus*; the incipit is partially visible, which begins with Innocent III’s works; there the *Processus* is called *Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum*; the incipit is partially different (*Nostis fratres carissimi*) as well as the closing formula (which consists in a comment instead of the prayer). Bartolus is never mentioned.

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- There is one following collection which begins with Innocent III’s works; here the *Processus* is called *Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum*; the incipit is partially different (*Nostis fratres carissimi*) as well as the closing formula (which consists in a comment instead of the prayer). Bartolus is never mentioned.
| Later editions roughly belonging to the same group | ISTC |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|
| Milan (2) 1479; [1485] Venice (4) 1485; 1487/88; 1495 (2) Lyon (2) [1492; 1495 ca.] | ib00247000 |
| [Leipzig ca. 1495] Translation [2; Leipzig ca. 1493] | [translation] |
| Strasbourg: Eggestein, 1482 Leuven [ca. 1484/85-1487] Venice (1478) Rome (2) 1486; [1491-1500] Toulouse [1485] Paris (3) [1495; 1500] (single) [Memmingen 1500] | ib00248000 ib00248100 |
| Total editions 9 1 4 (2+2) | |
| Location                        | Year(s) and Editions |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Strasbourg: Eggestein, 1482     |                    |
| Leuven (ca. 1484/85-1487)       |                    |
| Venice (1478)                   |                    |
| Rome (2) 1486; [1491-1500]     |                    |
| Toulouse [1485]                 |                    |
| Paris (3) [1495; 1500] (single) | [Memmingen 1500]   |

| ii00082000 | ip01003000 | ib00242800 |
| ii00087000 | ip01004000 | ib00243000 |
|            | ip01005000 | ib00244200 |
|            |            | ib00244500 |
|            |            | ib00247500 |

| | 3 | 4 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|
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