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Poliziano Correcting Poliziano

A Preliminary Survey of Handwritten Corrections in the Editio Princeps of the Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima

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Abstract

The present article offers the first comprehensive examination of the handwritten corrections attested in copies of Angelo Poliziano's most important scholarly work, the *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (1489). Based on a collation of 32 copies, this study identifies the corrections made by Poliziano's assistants in Antonio Miscomini's Florentine printing house. The first part of the article furnishes an overview of the handwritten corrections and indicates their relevance to our knowledge of the work's textual genesis. The contribution then moves to an in-depth discussion of some specific corrections that reflect, amongst other things, Poliziano's changing ideas on Latin prosody in some of his Greek-to-Latin translations, as well as on his interpretation of classical texts.

Keywords

Angelo Poliziano – *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* – in-house corrections

Few texts in the early history of printing were as demanding for their editors as Angelo Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*. Containing many passages with rare Latin terms, as well as many Greek and a few Hebrew words, its *editio princeps* (Florence, 1489, henceforth *Fl.*) suffered from many orthographic errors and other types of misprints, to which Poliziano took exception in the colophon by attributing them to his assistants (*familiares quidam*

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Politiani).¹ Several scholars have pointed to the presence of handwritten corrections by Poliziano and those who assisted him with the edition in some of the preserved copies of *FL*. Many annotations in these copies reflect Poliziano's interventions to the text, and, thus, are equally relevant for our knowledge about its textual genesis as the corrections which Poliziano issued on a separate bifolium around December 1489 known to scholars as the *Emendationes*, or those textual innovations integrated by Pietro Crinito and Alessandro Sarti in the Aldine edition of 1498, which was posthumously produced on the basis of material from Poliziano's own library.²

The importance of the handwritten corrections for the *constitutio textus* of the first *Miscellanea* has been acknowledged by its recent editors, Andrew R. Dyck and Alan Cottrell:

We do not claim that the present edition is a critical one, since such an enterprise would require inspection of all surviving copies of *FL*, given the Quattrocento practice of issuing editions (especially those containing Greek) with handwritten corrections or textual integrations made 'in house' by publishers' assistants and/or by the author and his friends. This practice essentially extended to the world of print['s] longstanding practices relating to the *correctio* of manuscript codices intended for informal distribution networks.³

When preparing their edition for the I Tatti Renaissance Library, Dyck and Cottrell limited themselves to the study of an authoritative copy of *FL*, to wit, Harvard, Houghton Library's Inc 6149(A), which is one of the four hitherto identified copies displaying autograph annotations by Poliziano.⁴ Until now,

1 A. Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, vol. 1, ed. A.R. Dyck and A. Cottrell (Cambridge MA/London 2020), pp. 495–96, nn. 1 and 7: 'Impressit ex archetypo Antonius Miscominus. Familiares quidam Politiani recognovere. Politianus Ipse nec Horthographian se ait, nec omnino alienam praestare culpam.' All quotations from the *Miscellanea* come from Dyck's and Cottrell's edition (henceforth *DC*), that I follow throughout the present article in matters of punctuation and orthography (including the distinction between *u* and *v* absent from the *editio princeps*). For the expression *ex archetypis*, see C. Bianca, "Ex archetypis": note sulla stampa a Firenze alla fine del Quattrocento' (forthcoming).

2 For a status quaestionis, see the excellent overview in *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 491 (with further bibliography).

3 *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 491.

4 The other three are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. B.2.27 [= Magli], cf. list of sigla below; Harvard, Huntington Library, Inc RB #55503, first identified by Ernest Wilkins and successively examined by Joseph A. Dane; and Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, S.8.2.21 [= Fe], identified by Alessandro Daneloni. See on these copies J.A. Dane,

no attempt has been made to collate the corrections in the other copies or to study their value for our knowledge on the work's textual history.

The *editio princeps* of the first *Miscellanea* has been preserved in at least 67 copies.⁵ For the present contribution I have collated the corrections present in 32 copies. This collation, albeit partial, enables me to provide a stronger philological basis for some of Dyck's and Cottrell's editorial choices, as well as to list some hitherto unnoticed corrections.

The In-House Corrections: An Overview

So far, I have been able to inspect the following copies. Some of the copies bear a note of ownership that I mention in a footnote. For the sake of convenience, I have given each copy a siglum:⁶

- Am** Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, Rijksdeel Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, PH3210⁷
Amb Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, INC. 1963

“Si vis archetypas habere nugas”: Authorial Subscriptions in the Houghton Library and Huntington Library Copies of Politian, *Miscellanea* (Florence: Miscomini, 1489), in: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 10.1 (1999), pp. 12–22; A. Daneloni, ‘Angelo Poliziano (Angelo Ambrogini)’, in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani. Il Quattrocento*, ed. F. Bausi, M. Campanelli et al., vol. 1 (Rome 2013), p. 305; *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Manoscritti, libri rari, autografi e documenti* [Firenze, 23 settembre–30 novembre 1954], ed. A. Perosa (Florence 1955), pp. 42–3. The studies of J.A. Dane surpass two earlier publications (unknown to him) on the Harvard copies by E.H. Wilkins, ‘A Presentation Copy of the “Miscellanea”’, in: E.H. Wilkins, *The Invention of the Sonnet and Other Studies in Italian Literature* (Rome 1959), pp. 225–28; K. Rosen, ‘Two Copies of the First Edition of Politian’s “Miscellaneorum centuria prima”’, in: *Ecumenismo della cultura. Atti del XII Convegno internazionale del Centro di studi umanistici, Montepulciano, Palazzo Tarugi, 1975*, vol. 1, ed. G. Tarugi (Florence 1981), pp. 93–100.

5 The relevant entry in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue [ISTC ip00890000] mentions 67 copies, of which the one previously held by the private library of Daniel Heinrich (1615–1666) in Leipzig is now lost, which brings the total number of copies down to 66. However, I have found that Milan’s Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense holds two copies instead of the single one mentioned by the ISTC entry, which brings the count back to 67. The entry in the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke [M34760] and the Universal Short Title Catalogue [USTC 991839] give no copies overlooked by the ISTC. The same goes for E. Valenziani & E. Cerulli, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d’Italia*, vol. 4 (Rome 1965), p. 305, that has a correction in E. Valenziani & P. Veneziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d’Italia*, vol. 6 (Rome 1965), p. 261.

6 The copies in this list with the *Emendationes* are **Bml**, **Bo** and **Braz**.

7 The ISTC places this copy in The Hague’s Royal Library, whereas it is preserved in the above-mentioned Special Collections section of the University of Amsterdam Library.

- Ar** Arezzo, Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, INC. 21–87a
- Arc** Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, 16.E.IV.28
- Bl1** London, British Library, G.8974
- Bl2** London, British Library, IB.27177
- Bml** Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, D'Elci 754
- Bnfi** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-X-585
- Bnf2** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-Z-509
- Bo** Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.V.B.VIII.37
- Bra1** Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AL.XIII.40
- Bra2** Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Castiglioni MS. 24⁸
- Ca** Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 25⁹
- Co** Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, Fondo Antico, Inc. B.II.46
- Fe** Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, S.8.2.21¹⁰
- Ge** Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BHSL.RES.1416/2¹¹
- Li** Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 53.F.36
- Lu** Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, cod. 582¹²
- Ma** Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, 4.A.IV.62
- Mag1** Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. B.2.27
- Mag2** Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. B.2.27bis¹³
- Mag3** Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. B.2.28¹⁴

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- 8 According to the note on the second folio of the cover, that reads 'Ex codicibus Joannis Angeli ducis ab Altaemps', this copy belonged to Giovanni Angelo d'Altemps (1586–1620). It was printed on parchment and contains many decorated initials.
- 9 The ex-libris on f. piiiiv reads: 'hic liber est s. ageri de monte polo[...]'. Unfortunately, the annotation is difficult to read.
- 10 This copy has a subscription on f. piiiir: xvii Septembris 1507 Benvenii (which refers to Benvignante, near Ferrara). It has been attributed to the Ferrarese humanist Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541) in V. Fera, 'Il dibattito umanistico sui "Miscellanea"', in: *Agnolo Poliziano. Poeta scrittore filologo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Montepulciano 3–6 novembre 1994*, ed. V. Fera & M. Martelli (Florence 1998), pp. 344–7.
- 11 This copy is available online via Google Books.
- 12 This copy only starts at f. aiir and furthermore, ff. hiir-hvv, niir-oviv and piir-pivv are not included – we here find blank pages instead.
- 13 This copy is available online via *Proquest*, <https://www.proquest.com/eebgeo/docview/2090328995?accountid=132765&imgSeq=12>, last accessed 6 March 2023.
- 14 This copy belonged to Petrusantonus Clarentus Geminianensis, whose name is Italianized in a later hand as 'Pier Antontio Chiarenti di San Geminiano'. The name of this little-known nobleman appears in a speech by Niccolò Machiavelli, where he is called a Prior of Montepulciano: U. Nomi-Pesciolini, 'Niccolò Machiavelli a San Gimignano. Con documenti inediti', in: *La Bibliofilia*, 10.2/3 (1908), p. 52.

- Magl4** Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. C.6.9¹⁵
Pal Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. E.6.2.1
Par1 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Parm. 1018
Par2 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Pal. 286 1
Par3 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Pal. 286 2
Ri Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. rare 416.2¹⁶
Rid Florence, Fondazione Biblioteche della Cassa di Risparmio,
 Rid. A-A108
Se Florence, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile, D.IV.28¹⁷
Va Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Ross. 1291
Vi Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Inc. 24.E.16¹⁸

Dyck and Cottrell mention ‘an unknown number’ of copies that have corrections, while Joseph A. Dane who extensively examined Houghton Library’s Inc 6149(A) speaks of ‘many’ without further reference.¹⁹ To my surprise, I found that every single copy which I have had the opportunity to inspect thus far contains annotations. In reporting them, I have been careful not to include further annotations added by later readers of some copies.²⁰ The following list provides

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- 15 The copy belonged to the library of San Marco, as we are informed by a note on f. air: ‘Hoc liber est conventus Sancti Marci ordinis praedicatorum diocesis florentinae’. This copy is available online via *Proquest*, <https://www.proquest.com/eebgeo/docview/2090320797?accountid=132765&imgSeq=12>, last accessed 6 March 2023.
- 16 The copy contains an ownership note of the further unknown Iacobus Iussanus on f. bivr: ‘Adiecta Graecorum interpretatio Iacobi Iussani viri in utraque lingua eruditus quem et desumpsimus uti extant in editione Lugdunensi Sebastiani Gryphii anno 1533 [USTC 122168] et in Basileeno anno 1553 [USTC 604822]’. The Riccardiana copy of *Fl.* is bound together with an exemplar of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola’s *Heptaplus* [1STC ip00641000] that belonged to Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542), poet in the vernacular and a friend of Poliziano and Pico. Benivieni may have also possessed this copy of Poliziano’s first *Miscellanea*.
- 17 Ex dono domini Nicolai B[?]cciriis abbatis ex ordine Cistercensium. This copy has been incorrectly bound together: after f. eiv (Caput xviii) follows again f. ciir (Caput v) – p. cvv (Caput x), followed by f. evir (Caput xxvi). This means that ff. eiir- evv (Caput xviii–xxvi) are missing from this copy.
- 18 This copy belonged to Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529), who signed one of his notes, at f. ivr, and afterwards to Johann Fabri (1478–1541). The note of possession (f. piiiiv) is difficult to read. The copy is available online via the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5209711&order=1&view=SIN_GLE, last accessed 6 March 2023.
- 19 Dane, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 13.
- 20 Likewise, I have not included Greek accents which have been added in all copies at those places where accents are lacking. This type of notation and commentary added to copies of *Fl.* by later readers has received attention in recent scholarship: the notes

an overview in order of appearance. Many of the corrections are common to all or nearly all copies. Therefore, after each lemma I mention which copies do *not* display the correction of interest, ω indicating all copies consulted. It is specified whether the same correction also appears in the *Emendationes bifolium* (*Em.*) and the posthumous edition by Aldo Manuzio (*Ald.*). Furthermore, I have chosen to indicate with asterisks those handwritten corrections that have not been reported in Dyck's and Cottrell's recent edition.²¹

f. aiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 6]	Praefatio	alabastus] alabastrus <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Bnfi Lu Se) <i>Em. Ald.</i>
f. aiiiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 14]		a cura: quaquam] a cura: quanquam <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Braz) <i>Ald.</i> **
f. aiiiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 14]		currat] curat <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Ca) <i>Em. Ald.</i>
f. biiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 48]		digitus medius] digitus medicus <i>corr.</i> ω <i>Ald.</i> **
f. bvr	[<i>DC</i> , p. 60]	Caput I	intellectum] intellectuum <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Braz) <i>Ald.</i> **
f. diiiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 128]	Caput XIII	[נבֿל missing]] נבֿל <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Braz Magl3) <i>Ald.</i>
f. diiiir	[<i>DC</i> , p. 130]		utticulariam] utriculariam <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Magl4) <i>Ald.</i>
f. diiiiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 134]	Caput XV	voluptuarios] voluptarios <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Braz Se) <i>Ald.</i> ***
f. fiiv	[<i>DC</i> , p. 190]	Caput XXVIII	da Pane deo] de Pane deo <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Arc Braz Ri) <i>Ald.</i> **
f. fvir	[<i>DC</i> , p. 208]	Caput XXXIII	tyrannicidiarum] tyrannicidarum <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Lu) <i>Ald.</i> **
f. gvr	[<i>DC</i> , p. 238]	Caput XXXX	ad divinas] addivinas <i>corr.</i> ω (<i>om.</i> Bl Bnfi Bra1 Braz Ca Ge Pal Par2) <i>Ald.</i>

present in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 507 by three early Cinquecento hands have been edited in A. Longhi, 'I *marginalia* dell'incunabolo marciano 507 della *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* di Angelo Poliziano', in: *History of Classical Scholarship*, 4 (2022), pp. 69–95.

21 The absence of an asterisk indicates that Dyck and Cottrell have rectified the error on the basis of corrections in the Houghton Library's copy; one asterisk (*) indicates that the editors integrated this correction on the basis of another source than the handwritten corrections; two asterisks (**) denote that the editors have rectified the error *ope ingenii* (also occasionally without reporting so in the Notes to the Text); finally, three asterisks (***) indicate that the editors printed the text as *Fl.* has it. My information on the Houghton Library's copy is based on the collation of Dyck and Cottrell, which I have not verified.

- f. hiiv [DC, p. 258] Caput XXXXVII graece latineque vir doctissimus et istiusmodi lauticiarum diligentissimus Iohannes Laurentius] ~~graecelatinequevir doctissimus et istiusmodi lauticiarum diligentissimus Iohannes Laurentius~~ *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bra2 Lu**) *Ald.*
- f. hvr [DC, p. 272] Caput LI Martiale] *some copies have in the title of this chapter Martiale in the printed text (Am Amb Ar Bl2 Bra1 Bra2 Ge Li Ma Ri Par3 Vi), others have Martiale, corrected by hand into Martiale (Arc Bl1 Bml Bnfi Bnf2 Bo Ca Co Fe Magl1 Magl2 Magl3 Magl4 Pal Par1 Par2 Rid Se Va)***
- f. hvir [DC, p. 278] Caput LII adhuc Appollinem] adhuc Apollinem *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bra1 Bra2 Lu**) *Ald.***
- f. iiiiv [DC, p. 296] Caput LVII trabonas] traonas *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bra2**) *Ald.***
- tetrahonas] tetraonas *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bra2 Ri**) *Ald.***
- f. ivr [DC, p. 306] Caput LVIII Sibyllorum] Sibyllinorum *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bml**) *Em. Ald.*
- f. kiv [DC, p. 320] Ilythyias] Ilithyias *corr.* ω (*om.* **Se Em.**) *****
- f. kivv [DC, p. 338] Caput LXVIII vesus Ausoni] versus Ausoni *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bml Ma Rid Se Va**) *Ald.***
- f. kvr [DC, p. 338] Sed hoc uno dispar ... Sed in antepenultima ... Sed ipse versiculi ...] Sed hoc uno dispar ... Sed in antepenultima ... Sed ipse versiculi ... *corr.* ω (*om.* **Bml Par2 Se Em.**) *22 Ald.**
- f. kviiir [DC, p. 346] Caput LXVI dicete] dicere *corr.* ω (*om.* **Magl4 Se**) *Em. Ald.*
- f. lvv [DC, p. 378] Caput LXXVII in studio laboriosissimo] in stadio laboriosissime *corr.* ω (*om.* **Se**) *Em. Ald.*
- f. miiiiv [DC, p. 402] Caput LXXX Namque auro et multis permixtus floridus undas] Namque auro et multis permixtus floribus undas *corr.* ω (*om.* **Se Bl1 Se**) *Em. Ald.*

22 *Em.* only suggests to delete the first and third mention of *sed*.

- f. mvr [DC, p. 404] Pro cervis paucis dorcalibusque habeas]
Pro cervis paucis dorcadibusque habeas
corr. ω (om. Se) *Em. Ald.*
- f. niir [DC, p. 418] Caput LXXXIIII Domitio] domino corr. ω (om. Lu Va)
Em. Ald.
- f. oiiv [DC, p. 454] Caput LXXXXI κρτάτιστος] κρτάτιστος corr. ω (om. Lu)
Em. Ald.

These corrections must all stem from Poliziano himself. It seems probable that he made a list of the errors that caught his eye after the printing of the text on 19 September 1489, and urged his assistants to correct them in all copies. It is also possible that the corrections have been made on the basis of copies approved by the author and distributed in learned circles, but this seems less likely since in that case, one would expect at least some copies to have left the printing shop without ever having been corrected on the basis of such an 'official' copy later, whereas I have not found one such a copy in my sample. Even the few copies that bear Poliziano's name are most likely to have been corrected by his assistants, since they do not correspond to Poliziano's handwriting but resemble the hands which we find in the other copies. When one or another copy lacks a correction present in all other copies, it seems that Poliziano's assistants simply skipped a page.²³ In a previous study, these corrections in the Houghton Library's Inc 6149(A) have been dated 1491, the year Poliziano indicated in a note,²⁴ but they also could easily have been made shortly after the printing process.²⁵

When on 17 December 1496 a printer in Brescia, Bernardino Misinta, published a new edition of the *Miscellanea* in appendix to Filippo Beroaldo's *Annotationes centum* [ISTC ib00465000], a copy of *Fl.* was used that presented all abovementioned corrections. Misinta must have used a copy without the *Emendationes* sheet for his edition, as he rectified some corrections that lack from *Em.* and that cannot easily be recognized as trivial orthographic errors,

23 This happened, for example, in **Am** where *curat* (f. aiiiv) is not corrected into *currat*, and in **Magl4** where *utticulariam* (f. diiir) is not corrected into *utriculariam*.

24 Dane, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 18 argues that these corrections were made subsequent to the errata sheet, however this can only be stated with certainty for the particular correction in chapter LXXX (*O pueræ emicuit rubor illico matutinus*) that Dane discusses. On this particular error, see the discussion below.

25 It is extremely unlikely that, in the many cases where a correction in the copies of *Fl.* also appears in the Aldina of 1498, all buyers individually adopted the correction from an edition that appeared nine years later.

such as Poliziano's preference of the classical *voluptarius* over the later variant *voluptuarius*.²⁶

So far I have only treated errors that appear in all or nearly all preserved copies, and of which we can be sure that they indeed reflect Poliziano's wishes, given that they must have been added shortly after printing. There is a second category of interventions that occur in only some of the copies consulted, and that were added by various hands:

f. biiir	[DC, p. 52]	Praefatio	Seleuci] Lysimachi <i>corr.</i> Amb Fe *
f. biiiv	[DC, p. 60]	Caput I	sic ipsum animum entelechian] sic ipsum animum endelechian <i>corr.</i> Am Ar Arc Braz Vi Em. Ald.
f. bvr	[DC, p. 60]		sciat endelechian] sciat entelechian ²⁷ <i>corr.</i> Am Ar Arc Braz Vi Ald. ***
f. dvir	[DC, p. 142]	Caput XVII	lunigenam mentitam feram] lunigenam mentita feram <i>corr.</i> Am Amb Ar Arc Bl1 Bl2 Bnf2 Bo Bra1 Braz Fe Li Mag1 Par1 Va Vi Em. Ald.
f. iiiir	[DC, p. 300]	Caput LVIII	hostiam primo] hostiam pergens <i>corr.</i> Bnf2 Bra1 Em. Ald. ***
f. kiv	[DC, p. 320]		luce imola: nam lux superis gratissima divis] luce feri: nam lux superis gratissima divis <i>corr.</i> Am Amb Ar Arc Bl2 Bnf2 Bra1 Ca Fe Li Par1 Va Vi Em. Ald. *
f. liiir	[DC, p. 366]	Caput LXXIII	supernata] expernata <i>corr.</i> Am Amb Ar Arc Bnf2 Bra1 Braz Fe Ge Li Mag1 Par1 Va Em. Ald.

26 Due to practical reasons, Misinta did not fill in the gap for the Hebrew in chapter XIII. In chapter LVIII he corrected the original *Ilythyias* from *Fl.* into *Ilithyas* (f. kiiiv), probably by mistake, since the copy of *Fl.* he used must have displayed the correction *Ilithyas*. Of the rare corrections listed below, only two appear in Misinta's edition: *luce feri* (chapter LVIII) and *O puerae emicuit rubor illico matutinus* (chapter LXXX).

27 **Braz** also has corrections to the word *endelechia/entelechia* in two later places, where they are not coherent with the rest of the discussion (cf. the analysis of these corrections in the second section of the article), and therefore should be redeemed. The corrections are the following *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 60: 'Quod enim quidque est, ab hac est *entelechia* [*endelechia Braz*] potissimum. Cicero autem non quidem hanc Aristoteleam vocem sed aliam prorsus ei contiguam finitimamque similitudinis praestigio falsus enarravit. *Endelechos* enim continuatim mobiliter, continuataque mobilitas *endelechismos*, unde haec Aristotelis *entelechiam* [*endelechiam Braz*] deduci putavit ille, quae non *d* litteram tamen sed *t* potius habeat in syllaba secunda.'

- f. lviv [DC, p. 382] Caput LXXIX Seleuci (*corrected twice, in chapter title and text*)] Lysimachi *corr.* **Amb Fe Ge Em. Ald.** *
- f. miiv [DC, p. 392] Caput LXXX ηπι κορωνειασ ινα οι τεθωμενον αλσοσ / και βωμοι ποταμωι κειντ επι κουραλιωι] ηπι κορωνειασ η εισ αλιαρτον ελαυνοι / ιππουσ, βοιωτων εργα διερχομενα / ηπι κορωνειασ ινα οι τεθωμενον αλσοσ / και βωμοι ποταμωι κειντ επι κουραλιωι²⁸ *corr.* **Am Amb Ar Arc Blz Bnfz Brai Fe Ge Vi Em. Ald.** *
- f. miiir [DC, p. 400] O puerae sed enim rubor emicuit matutinus] O puerae emicuit rubor illico matutinus²⁹ *corr.* **Am Amb Ar Arc Blz Bnfz Brai Ge Li Pari Va Vi O puerae:** emicuit rubor haut mora matutinus *corr.* **Fe O puerae:** emicuit rubor haud mora matutinus *corr.* *Em.* O puerae emicuit rubor illico matutina *corr.* *Ald.*
- f. miiiv [DC, p. 402] Vecta iugis visens Boeotiae populos] Boeotum visens vecta iugis populos³⁰ *corr.* **Am Amb Ar Arc Blz Ca Fe Ge Vi Em. Ald.** *

Poliziano and his editorial assistants recognized these errors at a later stage, after some copies had already been sold. Some of the corrections may also have been added in Miscomini's printing house, while there are probably others that were made by Poliziano's friends in their individual copies at request of the author. Since the corrections in this second series are not consistently found in every copy, and they are in different handwritings, it is impossible to deny the theoretical possibility that some of them might have been added in some copies by later individual users; however, if this is the case for some corrections, it regards only very few of them in only a few copies, because it is even more difficult to speculate that multiple learned readers happened to

28 **Bo** also has this correction, but it seems to have been added there on the basis of the errata sheet (*Em.*) that contains the same corrections and is bounded with this copy. The same goes for the correction on f. miiiv.

29 On Dyck's and Cottrell's editorial choices, see the discussion in section 2 below.

30 In Ca, the first part of the correction in the margin (*Boeotum visens*) has been cut off, but it can be inferred from the other copies' readings.

intervene in the text with exactly the same emendation. That these corrections have been made by several hands rather suggests that several of Poliziano's assistants were involved in making the corrections.

Making changes by hand was a rather common practice in Quattrocento printing houses, and many similar cases have been documented in scholarship.³¹ Although a comprehensive study of in-house corrections is currently lacking,³² it is plausible to consider the way in which Poliziano and his printer Miscomini reacted to the many errors in the first *Miscellanea* as the standard practice in their day. Less than a decade later, in the printing house of Aldus Manutius, also other correcting practices were used on great scale, such as typographically recomposing the text (in my case-study this technique was only used in the luxury copy *Braz*), and adding a paste-slip correction.³³

In some cases we have additional evidence to situate the corrections more precisely in time, with the help of Poliziano's epistolarium. These and some other specific corrections are the subject of the following section.

Corrections of Particular Interest

In the first chapter of the *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, Poliziano discusses a passage in Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* where the Aristotelian term ἐντελέχεια ('perfection') is confused with the very similar ἐνδελείχεια ('perpetual motion').³⁴ Poliziano's passage is multi-layered and reports many voices – as

31 See for the in-house revision of a well-known humanist text, Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*, the studies by J. Monfasani, 'Il Perotti e la controversia tra platonici ed aristotelici', in: *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), pp. 195–231; J. Monfasani, 'Bessarion Latinus', in: *Rinascimento*, 21 (1981), pp. 165–209; J. Monfasani, 'Still more on Bessarion Latinus', in: *Rinascimento*, 23 (1983), pp. 217–35. These articles have been reprinted in J. Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés* (Aldershot 1995), original page numbering retained. See for the reconstruction of several correction practices at Aldo Manuzio's printing house G. Della Rocca de Candal, 'Lost in Transition: A Significant Correction in Aldus Manutius's Psalterion (1496/8)', in: *The Library*, 23.2 (2022), pp. 155–79.

32 Such a study has been announced to appear this year with Oxford University Press: *Printing and Misprinting: A Companion to Mistakes and In-House Corrections in Renaissance Europe (1450–1650)*, ed. G. Della Rocca de Candal, A. Grafton & P. Sachet (Oxford 2023).

33 Della Rocca de Candal, op. cit. (n. 32), pp. 162–3 and 169–72.

34 John Argyropoulos's analysis of the two Ciceronian passages has elicited many responses in Quattrocento and Cinquecento humanism, for which see E. Garin, 'Ἐνδελείχεια e ἐντελέχεια nelle discussioni umanistiche', in: *Atene e Roma*, 15.3 (1937), pp. 177–87. Poliziano might also have been triggered in his criticism by Francesco Filelfo, who in two of his letters (17.19 and 37.19) supported Argyropoulos' viewpoint, see Francesco Filelfo, *Collected Letters. Epistolarum Libri XLVIII*, ed. J. De Keyser (Alessandria 2016), pp. 822 and 1584–5.

he reprehends how John Argyropoulos refuted Cicero's use of Aristotle's neologisms – and it has consequently elicited some confusion from the editors of Poliziano's text. I cite again from Dyck's and Cottrell's text (reporting relevant textual variants between square brackets):

§2. Sed ut ad Argyropyllum revertar, oculos ad hunc modum nostri parentis viventis victurique sigillantem, utebatur hoc ille vel maxime argumento, quod in primo *Tusculanarum quaestionum* scribat Cicero, censere Aristotelen quintam esse quandam praeter elementa naturam, de qua sit mens, verbaque denique ipsius ita legantur: 'Quantum genus adhibet vacans nomine, et sic ipsum animum (1) *endelechian* [*corr. Am Ar Arc Braz Vi Em. Ald. DC; entelechian Fl.*] appellat novo nomine, quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem,' [Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10.22; 2.65] sed enim nemo est, aiebat, in Aristotelis lectione paulo frequentior, quin sciat (2) *endelechian* [*Fl. DC; entelechian corr. Am Ar Arc Braz Ald.*] esse potius Aristoteleum verbum, ne utiquam significans quod Cicero putat, continuatam motionem et perennem, sed perfectionem potius aut consummationem quampiam.³⁵

It is somewhat ironic that in a passage where Poliziano deals with confusion between two Greek terms, two places in his own text suffer from exactly the same infelicity.³⁶ Handwritten corrections in five of the consulted copies have the first mention of the term *entelechia* corrected in *endelechia*. This first place considers the core of the problem, Cicero's false understanding of ἐνδελείχεια as Aristotle's neologism for 'perfection', ἐνδελείχεια being a well-established term, whereas the Greek philosopher had introduced ἐντελείχεια instead.³⁷ Thus in

35 *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 60–61: 'But to return to Argyropoulos, fixing my eyes with the look of my father when he was alive and about to get the better of me, he would make use of this argument in particular, that in the first book of the *Tusculan Questions* Cicero writes that Aristotle thought there was a fifth nature beyond the [other] elements from which the mind derives, and that his own words are as follows: "He [Aristotle] cites a fifth, nameless category and thus calls the soul itself by a new name, *endelechia*, as a certain continuous, perpetual motion." But there is no one, he [Argyropoulos] used to say, even moderately well read in Aristotle, who does not know that *endelechia* is an Aristotelian word that by no means signifies what Cicero thought, a continuous and perpetual motion, but rather a perfection or completion.'

36 Having read passages such as this one, we might better understand Poliziano's frustration expressed at the end of the *editio princeps*, where he takes distance from all orthographic mistakes: see above.

37 See on this issue the interpretative notes in *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 524, n. 72 and p. 525, n. 77.

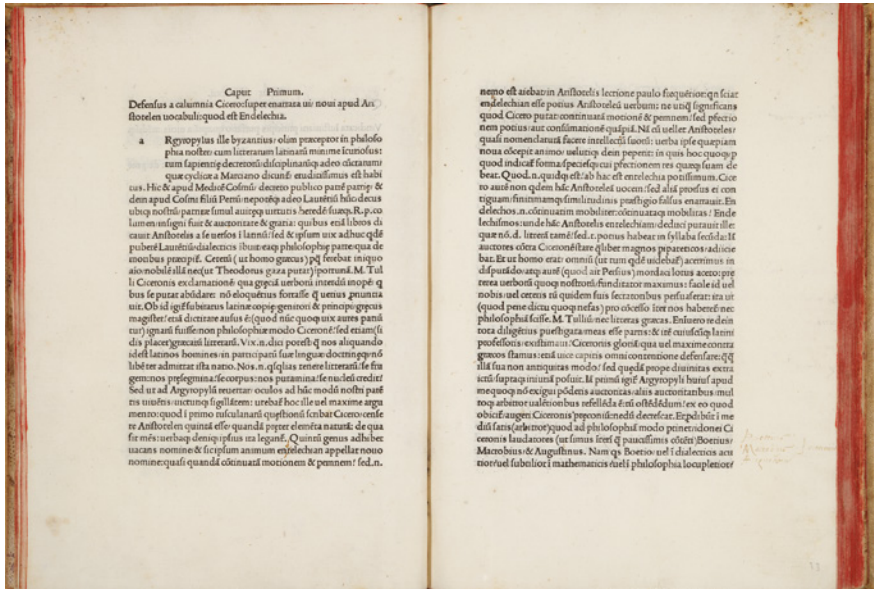


FIGURE 1 Corrections in chapter I. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, Rijksdeel Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, PH32107, ff. biiiiv–bvr

the place indicated above with (1), the only right spelling is *endelechia*, because it reflects Cicero’s blunder that Argyropoulos attacks.

However, yet another mention of the term, marked above with (2), has caused confusion and necessitated a handwritten intervention, in this case exclusively attested in four consulted copies (*Am*, *Ar*, *Arc* and *Bra2*). This textual problem has its origin in an ambiguous placing of the words used by Poliziano to frame Argyropoulos’ critique of Cicero. In a simplified and schematic version, Poliziano’s words after the quotation of Cicero go something like ‘Everyone knows, Argyropoulos says, that *endelechia* is an Aristotelian word that by no means signifies what Cicero thought, *x*, but rather *y*.’ In such a phrasing it is ambiguous whether the negative phrase *ne utiquam significans* applies exclusively to *x*, or also to *y*. In the first option, *y* is Cicero’s interpretation of the term that Argyropoulos dismisses as wrong;³⁸ according to the second option, *y* is Argyropoulos’ suggestion for the meaning of Aristotle’s term.³⁹

38 In this reading the parts in italics go together: *sed enim nemo est, aiebat, in Aristotelis lectione paulo frequentior, quin sciat entelechian esse potius Aristoteleum verbum, ne utiquam significans quod Cicero putat, continuatam motionem et perennem, sed perfectionem potius aut consummationem quampiam.*

39 Following this reading, the following parts go together: *sed enim nemo est, aiebat, in Aristotelis lectione paulo frequentior, quin sciat endelechian esse potius Aristoteleum*

Only the first option can be true, because if one follows the second suggestion, Argyropoulos would be identifying *endelechia* as Aristotle's common term for 'perfection', whereas he actually thinks this term is *entelechia*, as is made evident from the rest of the chapter. Therefore, the term indicated with (2) above should read *entelechia* in a critical edition, as in the correction of **Am**, **Ar**, **Arc** and **Braz**, against the reading of *Fl.* and the I Tatti edition. Only then is Argyropoulos' critique congruent with the rest of the chapter, where his opinion is that Cicero was wrong in using *endelechia* for perfection.

We also find the form *entelechian* in this place in the Aldine edition. It is difficult to establish with certainty whether the corrections in **Am**, **Ar**, **Arc** and **Braz** were added at the printing house by Poliziano's assistants (and thus correspond with the other 'second stage' corrections listed in section 1), which seems more likely, or rather by erudite readers who confronted their copy of the Aldine edition with one of *editio princeps*.

Chapter LVIII displays a correction which can be found in up to eight of the copies I consulted. The passage of interest is part of Poliziano's metric translation of the Greek Sibylline oracles:

Agnae caprigenumque pecus genitalibus Parcis,
 hostia furva utraeque cadant, tum numina placa
 laeta puerperis (quod fas fuat) Ilithyias,
 terra suem ferat, et scropham sibi fertilis atram,
 sed Iovis ante aram candenti corpore tauros
 luce *feri* [*corr. Am Amb Ar Bnf2 Brai Ca Fe Li Par1 Va Vi Em. Ald. DC;*
imola Fl.], nam lux superis gratissima divis.⁴⁰

We are well-informed about the genesis of this particular correction since Poliziano touches upon it in a letter (*Epistolarium* 1.20) to the Ferrarese humanist Battista Guarini. In the beginning of this letter, Poliziano acknowledges that he heard from his friend Pico della Mirandola about a list made by Guarini of metrical errors in Poliziano's Greek-to-Latin translations throughout the first

verbum, ne utiquam significans quod Cicero putat, continuatam motionem et perennem, sed perfectionem potius aut consummationem quampiam.

40 *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 320–21: 'Let lambs and goats fall to the generative Fates, / A dark victim to each, then appease the goddesses / Who delight in childbirth (as is right), the Ilithyiae. / Let the fertile Earth have her pig, a black breeding sow, / But slay white bulls before the altar of Jupiter / By daylight, for the daylight is highly pleasing to the upper gods.'

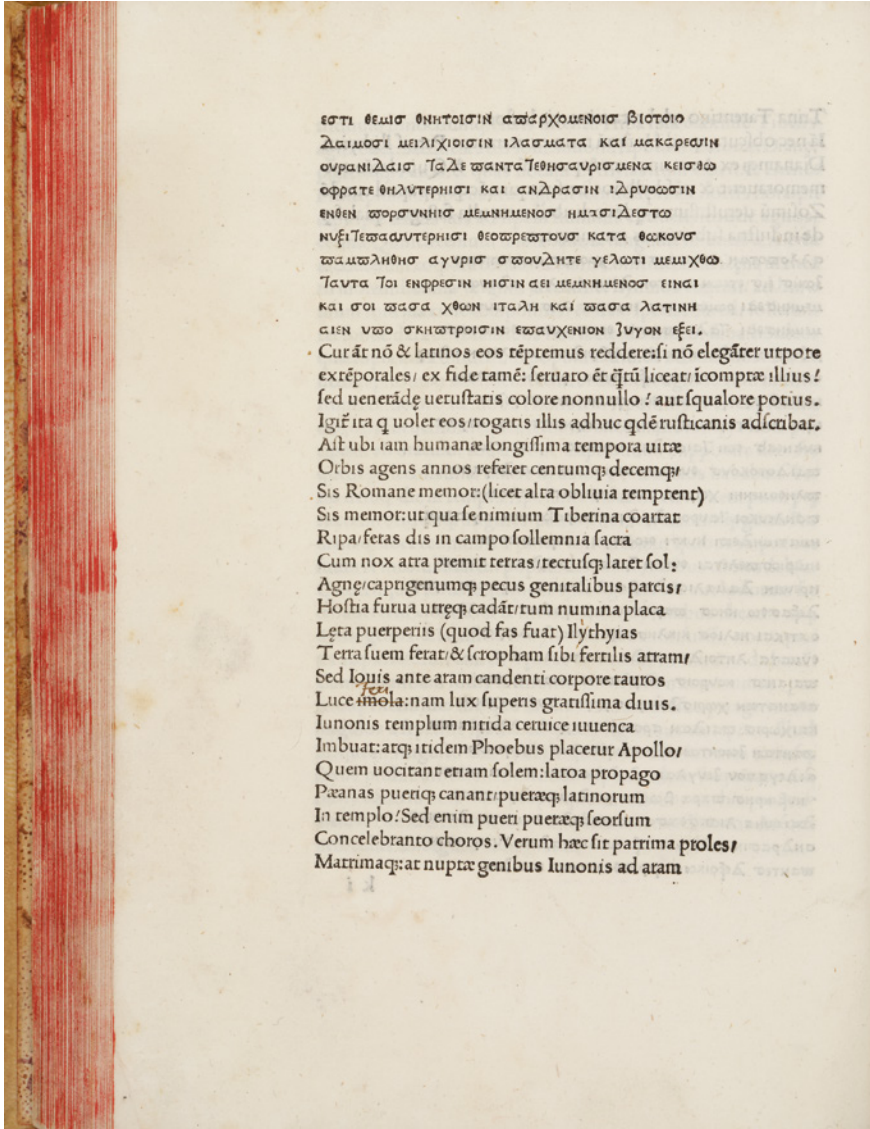


FIGURE 2 Correction in chapter XVII. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, Rijksdeel Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, PH32107, f. dvir

Miscellanea, especially in chapters LVIII and LXXX about the Sibylline oracles and Callimachus. Poliziano accepts some of Guarini's criticisms and states to have urged his friends to change *luce imola* into *luce feri* in their copies to make the meter fit:

Sed quoniam quod ego studio novitatis quaesiveram syllabarum scilicet ignorationi plerique tribuebant, mandavi statim quibus maxime potui amicis, ad quos ulla modo exemplaria pervenissent, ut versiculos eos, velut in quadram, redigerent ad hoc exemplum:

luce feri, nam lux superis gratissima divis⁴¹

This statement is quite interesting as it shows that Poliziano also tried to intervene in the text of copies that had already left the bookseller's shop. The letter has been dated by Ida Maier to early December 1489. It is difficult to establish whether the handwritten corrections I have found were made after the printing of the *Emendationes* sheet, as Joseph Dane has suggested,⁴² or rather that they were already added in the typographer's house, as I have argued for the first series of corrections in section 1. The correction *imola/feri* has been added by different hands, but this does not suggest anything concrete: each of these changes could easily have been made by a group of Poliziano's assistants in the typographer's house at various moments, or by his friends in already sold copies at the author's request, whereas the first series of corrections listed in section 1 generally seems to have been made by one hand and in one go.

In chapter LXXIII, Poliziano suggests an emendation for a passage in Catullus on the basis of an authoritative Festus manuscript, shown to him by the Byzantine scholar Manilius Cabacius Rallus four years before in Rome. Though originally adopting in Catullus' line 17.19 the now widely accepted *supernata* based on Festus' use of the word *supernatus*, Poliziano changed his reading shortly after the printing of *Fl.* into *expernata* (suspecting transpositions in the manuscripts' reading *separata*):⁴³

Siquidem ubi exponitur in hoc compendiaro vocabulum *supernati*, quod eos significare ostendit quibus femina sunt succisa in modum suillarum pernarum, atque ex Ennio versus allegatur:

His pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni,

41 A. Poliziano, *Letters. Volume 1: Books I–IV* (Cambridge MA/London 2006), pp. 64–67: 'But since what I had pursued in the interest of novelty many people attributed in just this way to ignorance of syllable-lengths, I immediately wrote those friends I especially could, instructing them, in the event that any copies had reached them, to bring these little verses back to square, so to speak, in accord with the following: luce feri, nam lux superis gratissima divis.'

42 Dane, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 18.

43 See for further information on this chapter the notes in *DC*, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 576–77 (especially nn. 771 and 775).

hoc utique loco vetus codex circumrosam plane habet expositionem, sed ita tamen ut appareat ex reliquiis litterarum male cohaerentibus, Catullum quoque post Ennium adduci citarique eum versiculum, qui nunc mendose sic legitur:

Infossa Liguri iacet separata securi.

Nam ut de carminis residuo nihil mihi arrogem temere, videbar sane tum syllabatim quaeque olfactans etiam pro explorato afferre posse *expernata* [*corr. Am Amb Ar Arc Bnfz Bra1 Braz Fe Ge Li Magl1 Pari Va Em. Ald. DC; supernata Fl.*] legendum in eo, non *separata*, quantum ex paucis illis poteram veluti minutalibus aut ramentis colligere, quantumque etiam vel ex oblitteratis pene iam vestigiis ariolari.⁴⁴

Although the change into *expernata* has not been made in all copies of *Fl.* consulted, the many copies which do contain it hint towards the fact that Poliziano rectified the error relatively early. He did so on the basis of criticism raised in several of Michael Marullus's poems which touched upon topics presented in Poliziano's book, in this case deriding Poliziano for the prosodic oddity which *supernata* creates.⁴⁵ The correction was later incorporated into the *Emendationes*.⁴⁶

The textual variants in chapter LXXIX offer a rare example of how Poliziano's views on a philological matter could still change after the printing of the *editio princeps*:

44 *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 364–7: 'For when the word *supernati* ('hamstrung') is explained in this abridgment, which shows that it denotes those persons whose thighs have been cut through like swine hams, and the line from Ennius is adduced, "The Carthaginians, haughty and wicked, hamstrung them," in this passage in any case, the old codex has an explanation that has been gnawed at all round, but nonetheless in such a way that it appears from the remnants of the badly cohering letters that Catullus, too, is cited after Ennius, and this line is adduced, which now reads faultily as follows: "She lies buried, severed (*separata*) by a Ligurian ax." While making no rash claim about the rest of this poem, by sniffing out each point syllable by syllable, I seem able to assert confidently that *expernata* must be read in this text, not *separata* – so far as I could infer from these few chopped bits or shavings, as it were, and divine from traces now nearly obliterated.'

45 M. Marullus, *Poems*, ed. C. Fantazzi (Cambridge MA/London 2012), pp. 134–5: 'In Encomum. // Quid separatam, vane, supernas, rogo, / alnum Catulli nobilem, / plebi otiosae scilicet risum parans, / oblitus ut soles pedis?' ('Against Encomus. // Why, I ask you, you blockhead, do you hamstring the famous solitary alder of Catullus, providing laughter for the idle crowd, neglecting the meter, as usual.')

46 See on Marullus' other criticisms to the first *Miscellanea* the discussion by Fera, op. cit. (n. 10).

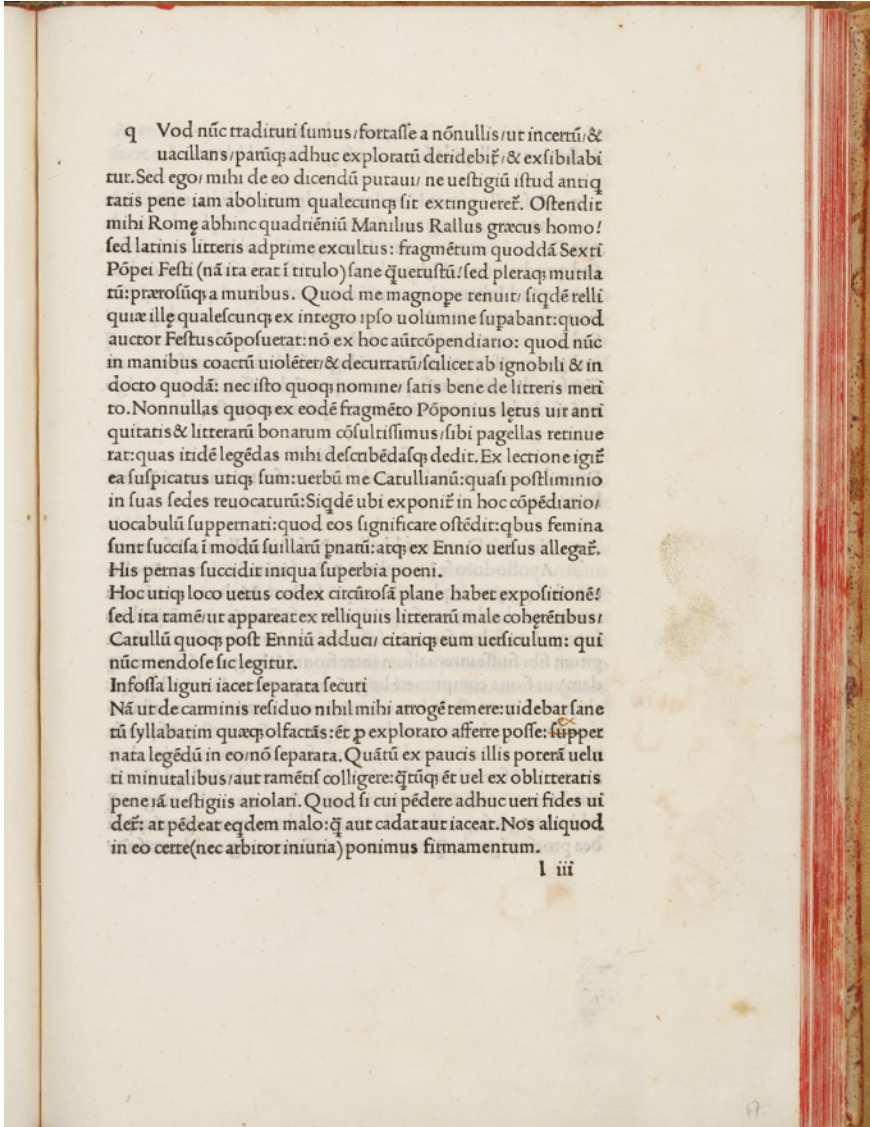


FIGURE 3 Correction in chapter LVIII. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, rijksdeel bibliotheca philosophica hermetica, PH32107, f. kiv

Cur Lysimachi [corr. Amb Fe Ge Em. Ald. DC; Seleuci Fl.] regis facies in nomismatis cornigera

Lysimachi [corr. Amb Fe Ge Em. Ald. DC; Seleuci Fl.] regis facies in nomismatis cornigera. Causa eius apud Appianum in *Syriacis*. Namque ait ab eo ferum taurum de sacrificio Alexandri Magni vinculis elapsam,

retentum manibus ambabus et occisum. Atque ob id, inquit, προστιθέασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε τὰ κέρατα, quod significat: ob id eius status denique apponi cornua.⁴⁷

In **Amb**, **Fe** and **Ge**, one finds the name of the Hellenistic king Seleucus changed into that of Lysimachus, another of Alexander the Great's successors.⁴⁸ The notes antedate the *Emendationes* bifolium where Poliziano, with some reservation, suggests that Appian's story tells of Lysimachus, but that the matter needs further research.⁴⁹ Interestingly, the correction in **Fe** was made by Poliziano himself, as initially observed by Alessandro Daneloni.⁵⁰ The fact that **Amb** and **Ge** share this note may indicate that these copies originally belonged to scholars from Poliziano's close surroundings.

As for chapter LVIII, Guarini's letter provides crucial information for textual variants of the Greek-to-Latin translation in chapter LXXX, where Poliziano offers an elegant rendering of Callimachus' fifth hymn. The Greek text as the *editio princeps* has it suffers from a saut du même au même:

(...) αθαναια νυμφαν μιαν εν ποκα θηβαισ
 πουλυ τι και περι δη φιλατο ταν εταραν
 ματερα τειρεσιαο και ου ποκα χωρισ εγεντο
 αλλα και αρχαιων ευτ επι θεσπιων
 ηπι κορωνειασ⁵¹ [η εισ αλιαρτον ελαυνοι

47 *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 382–3: 'Why the image of King Lysimachus on coins is horned. The image of King Lysimachus is horned on coins. The reason for this is found in Appian, in his *Syrian War*. For he says that when a wild bull intended for sacrifice for Alexander the Great once slipped free from its chains, he restrained it with both hands and killed it. And on account of this, he says, "they added horns to his statues," which means [in Latin] "for this reason, horns were added to his statues."

48 In **Amb** and **Fe**, the correction is also made to the title in the chapter overview.

49 On the *Emendationes* bifolium one reads: 'Loco Seleuci nescio an Lysimachi esse debeat. In nomismatis enim Lysimachi video imaginem comigeram. Seleuci nondum vidi. Quare de hoc amplius pronuntiandum.' In the end, Poliziano was wrong about the matter, since Appian tells of Seleucus, and the depictions of Lysimachus on coinage are actually images of Alexander as Zeus Ammon, cf. *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 580, n. 809.

50 Daneloni, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 305.

51 In *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 258, one finds the beginning of this line indicated as a *locus desperatus* (†ηπι κορωνειασ†) in accordance with modern editions of Callimachus, as the line is repeated later where it better fits the sentence (cf. *DC*, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 508, n. 258). However, since Poliziano actually maintains this anomaly in his Latin translation (where an elegiac couplet starts twice with *Sive Coroneas*), it is safe to induce that he thought Callimachus' Greek to be a sound text, and by consequence, it should not be

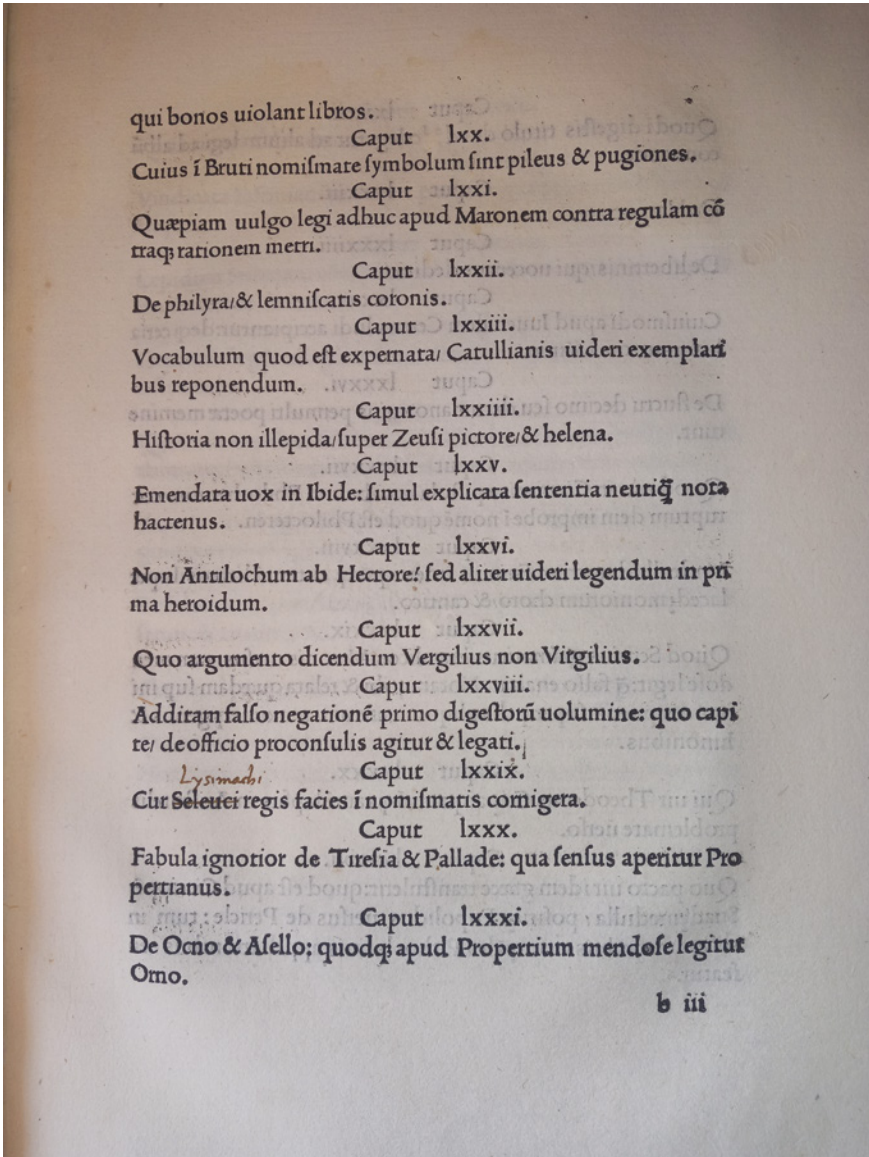


FIGURE 4 Correction in chapter LXXIII. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, Rijksdeel Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, PH32107, f. liiir

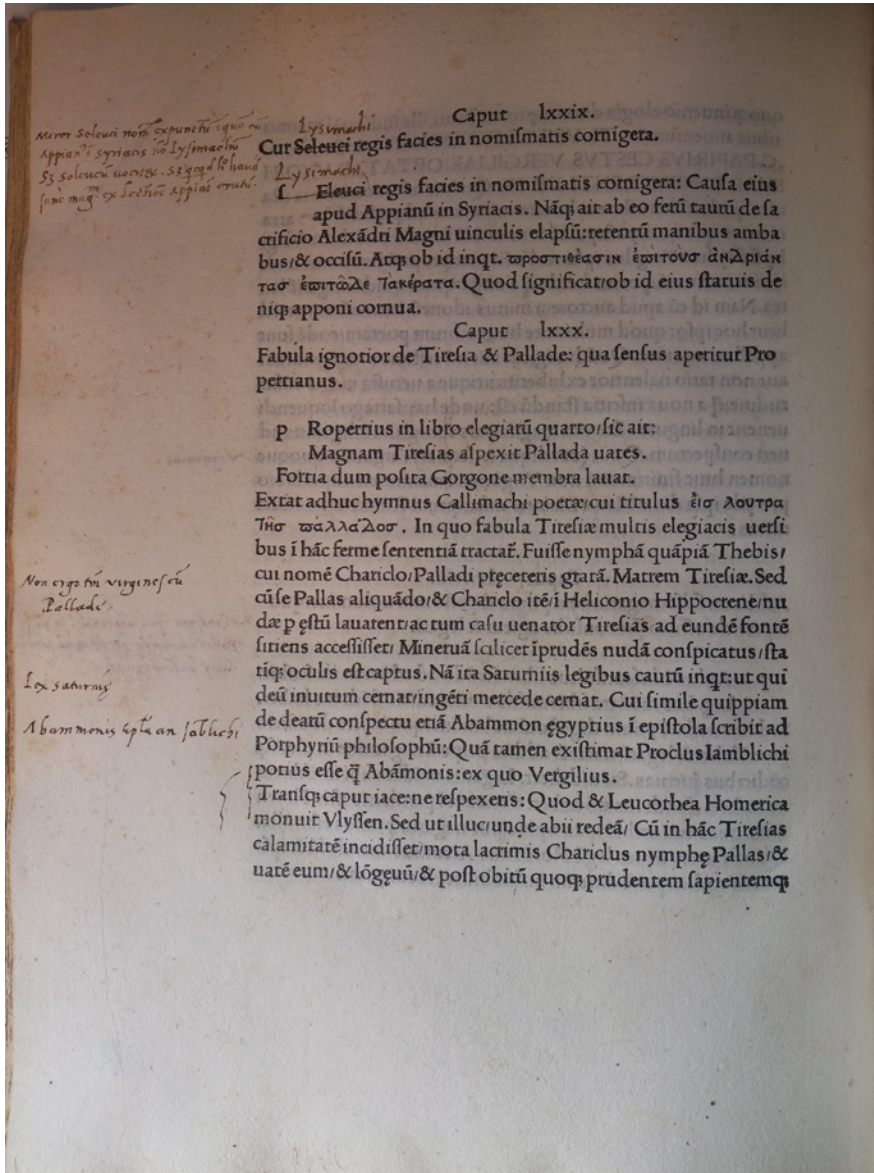


FIGURE 5 Correction of the title of chapter LXXIX (praeatio). Ferrara, biblioteca comunale ariosteana Biblioteca Comunale Ariosteana, S.8.2.21, f. biiir
 COURTESY OF THE SERVIZIO BIBLIOTECHE E ARCHIVI DEL COMUNE DI FERRARA

ιππους βοιωτων εργα διερχομενα,
 ηπι κορωνειας *corr.* Am Amb Ar Arc Bnfz Bra1 Fe Ge Vi Em. Ald.; om. Fl.]
 ινα οι τεθυωμενον αλσοσ
 και βωμοι ποταμωι κειντ επι κουραλιω⁵²

This correction is apparently absent from the copies consulted by Dane and by Dyck and Cottrell but I found it in nine copies. This suggests that it was an in-house correction that antedates the *Emendationes* sheet, where it also features.

Chapter LXXX also contains what is probably the most famous correction within the whole *Miscellanea*:

O puerae, *emicuit rubor illico matutinus* [*corr.* Am Amb Ar Arc Bnfz Bra1 Ge Li Par1 Va Vi DC; sed enim rubor emicuit matutinus Fl.; emicuit rubor haud mora matutina *corr.* Guarini letter; emicuit rubor haut mora matutinus *corr.* Fe; emicuit rubor haud mora matutinus *corr.* Em.; emicuit rubor illico matutina *corr.* Ald.]
 quem rosa, quem grano Punica mala ferunt.⁵³

The textual variants for this line are surprisingly numerous: each correction elicited a new one because it produced yet another prosodic mistake, or because it created ambiguity in the concord of gender.⁵⁴ Joseph Dane has proposed a chronology for the interventions that were known to him: *editio princeps*, Guarini letter, errata sheet, handwritten correction in the Houghton Library's

put between cruces (nor should this part of the Latin translation be redeemed: see DC, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 402 and p. 509, n. 273). Other examples of cases where Dyck and Cottrell have been too eager in restoring classical passages within Poliziano's text are discussed in G. Cattaneo's review of Dyck's and Cottrell's edition for *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (doi: <https://bmc.brynmaur.edu/2022/2022.03.27/>), and in L. Verreth, 'A New Edition and Translation of Poliziano's *Miscellanea*', in: *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24 (2022), pp. 294–95.

52 DC, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 392–3: 'Athena once loved one nymph in Thebes far more than her companions, the mother of Tiresias, and was never apart from her, but whenever she would drive her team to ancient Thespieae, to Coronea or Haliartus, passing through the Boeotians' fields, or to Coronea, where her fragrant grove and alters are situated beside the Curalius river.'

53 DC, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 400–1: 'Girls, a morning ruddiness shone, such as neither the rose nor pomegranates with their seed produce.'

54 Dane, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 17–18; Fera, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 340–47; DC, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 582, n. 829.

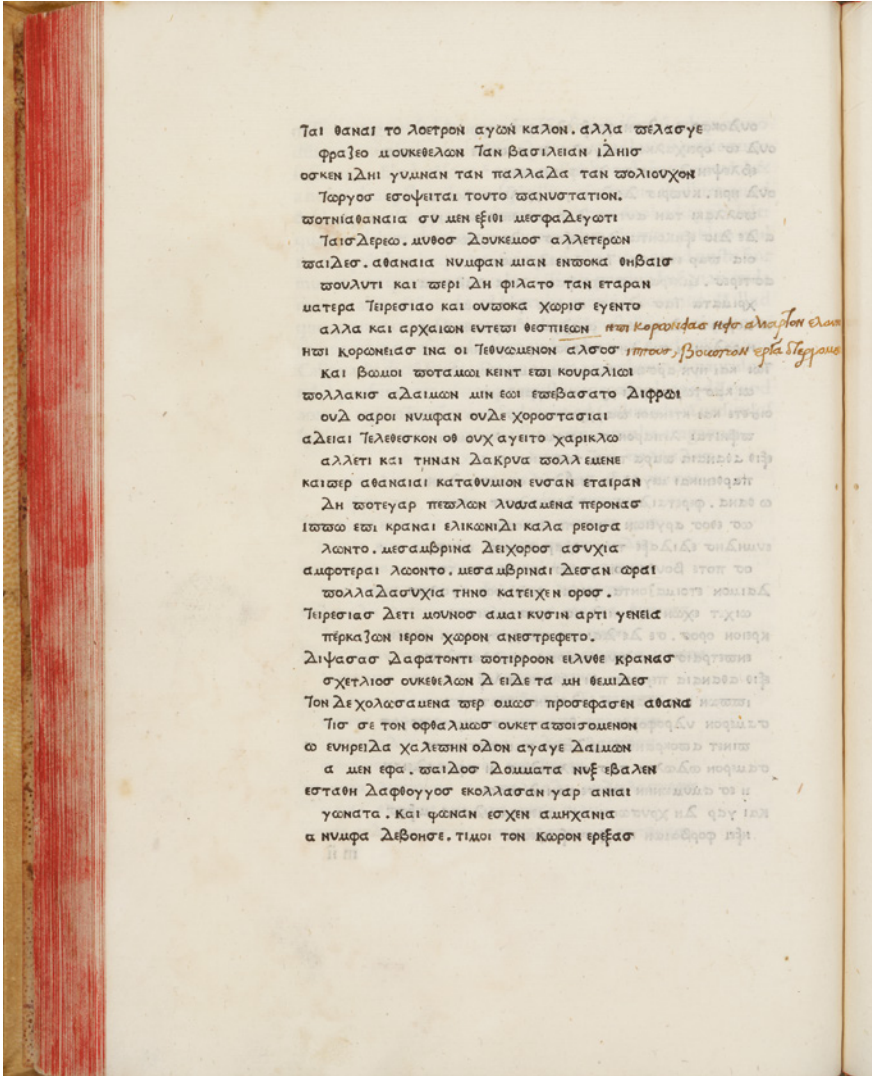


FIGURE 6 Correction in chapter LXXIX. Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariosteana, S.8.2.21, f. lviv
COURTESY OF THE SERVIZIO BIBLIOTECHE E ARCHIVI DEL COMUNE DI FERRARA

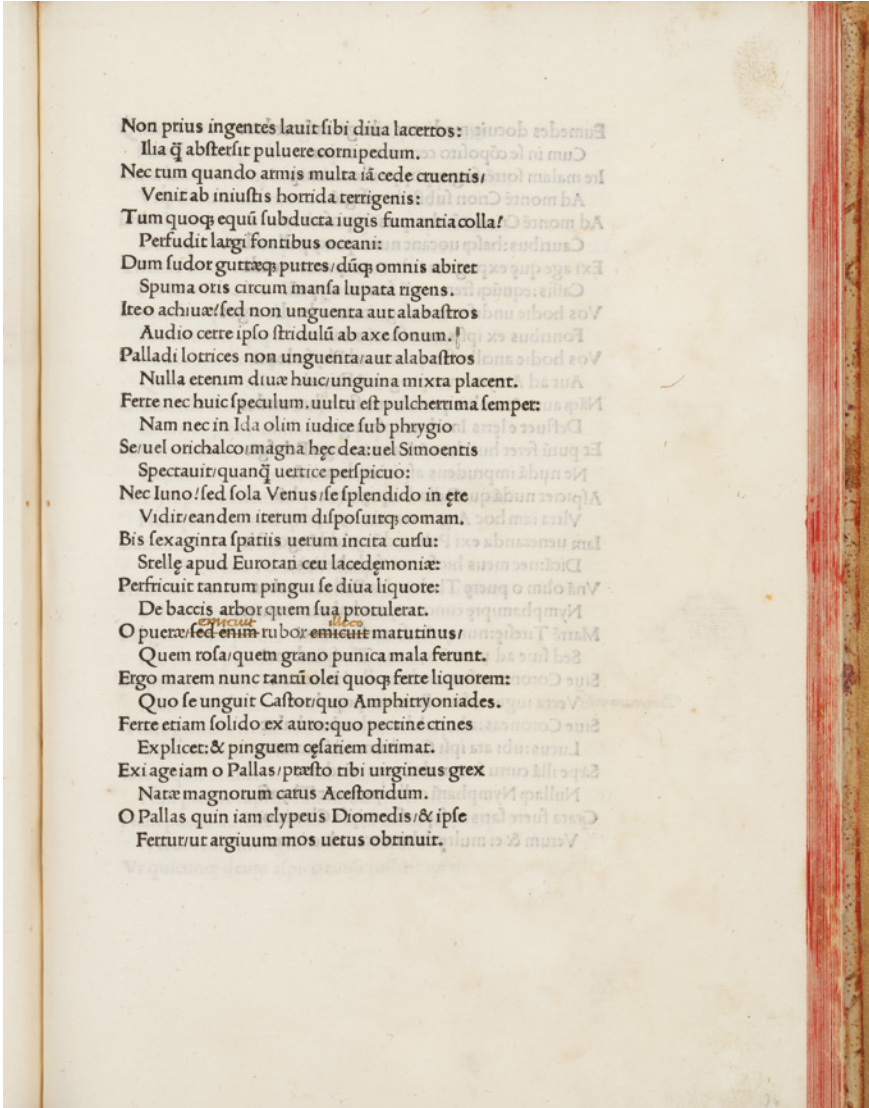


FIGURE 7 Correction in chapter LXXX. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, Rijksdeel Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, PH32107, f. miiv

copy and six others preserved in Anglo-Saxon libraries,⁵⁵ Aldine edition.⁵⁶ The handwritten correction found by Dane in the seven Anglo-Saxon copies corresponds with eleven out of twelve European copies I have found with a correction to this line. Only the copy of the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea bears a different reading. As said above, its hand has been identified by Alessandro Daneloni as Poliziano's, and the reading is that of the *Emendationes* with an orthographic variation (*haud/haut*). The Ferrara copy also attests a few other autograph annotations, on the basis of which I hypothesize that Poliziano used this copy (along with others) to prepare the *Emendationes* bifolium. In any case, the autograph correction in Fe antedates the *Emendationes*.⁵⁷ As in the case of the correction of *luce imola* into *luce feri* from chapter LVIII, it is hard to establish whether the other handwritten corrections were added in the printer's house shortly after the printing of *Fl.* (what I suspect), or rather after the printing of the errata sheet.

The present study, based on a large sample, has shown that all known copies of the first edition of Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* were corrected shortly after printing at the author's request. The fact that in addition to the interventions which all copies have in common, there are also some interventions that only occur in some copies, shows the desideratum to closely inspect all copies in order to fully understand the textual genesis of the work.

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55 Dane, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 18 mentions the copies from the following libraries: Huntington Library, Pierpont Morgan Library, Yale University Library, University of Illinois Library, British Library (copy 1B.27177), Bodleian Library (Auct. N.3:334).

56 Dane, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 18.

57 See also above for a discussion of the Ferrarese copy's correction to chapter LXXIX.

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