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*Hernando Colón bibliophile and bibliographer.
The «Adverte» notes in the Libro de los epítomes*

ABSTRACT: This article discusses a group of handwritten marginal notes of bibliographical content found in the fair copy of the *Libro de los epítomes*, one of the catalogues and inventories developed by Hernando Colón (1488-1539) for the management of his library. After contextualizing the manuscript and the place of the *epítomes* within Colón's knowledge management system, the article describes the features of the six notes and proposes their attribution to Hernando Colón himself. It then offers an examination of the six cases, which deal with uncertain authorships, multiple editions of the same text, incomplete copies, and with a variety of textual contents. The article sheds new light on the content of the collection, on the *epítomes* intended as a knowledge-management tool and on the processes of their elaboration, as well as on Colón's interests and involvement in the organization of his library.

KEYWORDS: Marginal notes; Knowledge Management; Hernando Colón; *Libro de los epítomes*.

ABSTRACT: L'articolo esamina un gruppo di annotazioni manoscritte di contenuto bibliografico, che si trovano nei margini della copia in pulito del *Libro de los epítomes*, uno degli strumenti messi a punto da Hernando Colón (1488-1539) per la gestione della sua biblioteca. Dopo aver contestualizzato il manoscritto e il ruolo delle *epítomes* all'interno del sistema di organizzazione del sapere elaborato da Colón, l'articolo descrive le caratteristiche delle sei annotazioni e ne propone l'attribuzione allo stesso Colón. Viene quindi offerto un esame dei sei casi, che riguardano attribuzioni incerte, edizioni multiple di uno stesso testo, copie incomplete e una varietà di contenuti testuali. L'indagine getta nuova luce sul contenuto della raccolta, sulle *epítomes* intese come strumento di gestione del sapere e sui processi della loro elaborazione, oltre che sugli interessi e sul coinvolgimento diretto di Colón nell'organizzazione della propria biblioteca.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Annotazioni marginali; Gestione della conoscenza; Hernando Colón; *Libro de los epítomes*.

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Introduction. Hernando Colón's library and his cataloguing system

hernando Colón's (1488-1539) library, put together, in various stages, in the last thirty years of his life, was one of the largest and most

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interesting of its time, numbering over 15,000 bibliographical units by the time of its owner's death.¹

While amassing such a substantial collection, Colón committed considerable time and resources to its cataloguing and management. In particular, he devised a refined system where each bibliographic unit (or recognized as such), was assigned a number in a topographical index. The latest and most up-to-date of these topographical indexes, the so-called *Registrum B* (henceforth RB), contains, for the first 4,231 items, detailed information about the content of each edition, including *incipit* and *explicit* of the featured textual units, as well as imprint and purchase information (data on where, when and for how much money each book was bought).² Purchase information included in the first 4,231 RB records is normally also to be found written by hand in the corresponding volumes, in those cases where they are still preserved.³

Many of the texts contained in these first 4,231 RB entries were also catalogued according to their subject, in the list of *Materias* (M), and

¹ The bibliography on Hernando Colón and his library is vast and spans several centuries. I will mention here only those titles which are strictly relevant to the present argument, and particularly to our understanding of the functioning of Colón's library and of its content: TOMÁS MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *"Memoria de las obras y libros de Hernando Colón"* del bachiller Juan Pérez, Madrid, CSIC, 1970, hereafter cited as *Obras y libros*, which also contains the most recent Spanish edition of the fundamental *Memoria* by Juan Pérez, Colón's closest collaborator until the latter's death; TOMÁS MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, JOSÉ MANUEL RUIZ ASENCIO, KLAUS WAGNER, *Catálogo concordado de la biblioteca de Hernando Colón*, 2 vols, Madrid, MAPFRE, 1993–1995, hereafter cited simply as *Catálogo concordado*; JOSÉ MANUEL RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca de Hernando Colón. Una aventura bibliográfica en el siglo XVI, Lección inaugural del Curso Académico 2008-2009*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2008. A substantial portion of Colón's collection is still preserved today in the Biblioteca Capitular Colombina, in Seville; see NURIA CASQUETE DE PRADO SAGRERA, *El patrimonio bibliográfico de la Institución Colombina*, «PH: Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico», VII/28, 1999, pp. 186–88. An extensive introduction to Colón's library in Italian can be found in ALFREDO SERRAI, *Storia della bibliografia. VII. Storia e critica della catalogazione bibliografica*, curated by Gabriella Miggiano, Roma, Bulzoni, 1997, pp. 743–791. For all the copies owned today by the Biblioteca Capitular Colombina, I have referred to the three most recent catalogues of their collection, i.e. ANTONIO SEGURA MORERA, PILAR VALLEJO ORELLANA, JOSÉ FRANCISCO SÁEZ GUILLÉN, *Catálogo de incunables de la Biblioteca Capitular Colombina de Sevilla*, Sevilla, Cabildo de la S. M. y P. Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla, 1999; ANTONIO SEGURA MORERA, PILAR VALLEJO ORELLANA, *Catálogo de los impresos del siglo XVI de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, 5 vols, Sevilla, Cabildo de la S. M. y P. Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla, 2001–2006; JOSÉ FRANCISCO SÁEZ GUILLÉN, PILAR JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS VENCELÁ, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, 2 vols, Sevilla, Cabildo de la S. M. y P. Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla, 2002; as well as to their online catalogue (<https://opac.icolombina.es/opac/>) and to the printed and online versions of the *Catálogo concordado* (<https://icolombina.es/catalogo-concordado/>).

² See T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 517–614 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 49–52.

³ For a summary typology of the notes contained in the surviving copies, see J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 13–18.

summarized in short abstracts, collected in the book of *Epítomes* (E).⁴ Even in such a concise introduction as this one, it is worth noting that the RB does not stop with entry 4,231, and neither did the library. In line with what Juan Pérez himself wrote in his *Memoria*, it is generally agreed by scholars that after a certain point in time, new volumes began to be purchased and incorporated in the collection at such a rate that it became impossible to keep pace with this complex system. At this point, new arrivals started being simply recorded in the RB with an entry number – but without a detailed description – and in the so-called *Abece-darium B* (henceforth AB).⁵ This contains entries, in alphabetical order, for all the texts included in the collection, usually listed under author's name, title, and/or incipit, and accompanied by indications of the bibliographical unit in which they were included, provided through the mention of the corresponding RB number.⁶ Hence, as will be remarked below, the AB also often serves as a sort of concordance between the different catalogue numbers (listing mainly RB, *Materias* and *Epítomes*).

The Libro de los epítomes

The abstracts known as “epítomes” were composed as part of the cataloguing process by employees of the library who were given specific responsibility for the task.⁷ They were first written in a rough version – the so-called *borrador* – and later transcribed into a fair copy volume, described by Juan Pérez as «a large book comprising folio sheets, sewn (*cosidos*) in white parchment, written by hand, in good handwriting».⁸ Once fair-

⁴ Ruiz Asencio defines them as «repertorios documentalistas» and, like other scholars before him, highlights the close connections between the two; for the *Libros de Materias y de Proposiciones* see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 363–428 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 73–79. For the *Epítomes*, see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 315–362 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 68–72 and below.

⁵ See T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 71, 551–555.

⁶ On the AB see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 451–516 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 55–58.

⁷ This generalization does not exclude that Colón himself was involved in the composition of some epitomes; a topic currently under scrutiny, especially for the earliest ones (up to number 508) for which we have lost the *borrador* version.

⁸ The process of composition of the epitomes was reconstructed, on the basis of the Sevillian *borrador*, by T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 315–361; some of his considerations are at the basis of J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 68–72. New investigations, prompted by the recent rediscovery of the fair copy of the *Libro de los epítomes* in Copenhagen, are currently being conducted both on the content and on the form of the epitomes, and on the processes of their composition and transfer from the *borrador* to the fair copy. See MATILDE MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations and hypotheses on the structure and content of the fair copy of Hernando Colón's Libro de los epítomes (Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol.)*, forthcoming.

copied, many of the abstracts underwent further rounds of revision and correction, also described by Juan Pérez in his *Memoria*.⁹

In his *Memorial a Carlos V*, dated by scholars to around 1538, Colón mentions that the epitomes and the «proposiciones o materias» had by that time been extracted from more than 3,500 books over the course of the previous fifteen years.¹⁰ According to the online catalogue of the Biblioteca Capítular Colombina (henceforth BCC), around 800 epitomes are currently preserved in the *borrador* version; as will be seen below, the fair copy contains around 1,800 epitomes, while epitome numbers up to nearly 4,000 are recorded in the AB.¹¹

Each abstract is assigned one epitome number and is typically dedicated to a single text, with multiple texts included in a single bibliographical unit epitomized separately: in other words, multiple epitome numbers can refer to a single RB number.¹² Although they might contain specific information about the year of composition of the summarized text, the abstracts do not usually delve into the bibliographical details of the edition of it that Colón owned: this separation between the content of a given book and its bibliographical attributes facilitated, for instance, the substitution of certain editions with others of the same texts, considered superior for various reasons, without the need for alterations to all the associated catalogue entries.¹³

In general, and with the differences and exceptions which are unavoidable when dealing with such a large corpus, the abstracts seem to follow a fairly stable structure, which opens by stating the content and, where known, the author of the summarized text and is completed by some very succinct notes on its content and on the context of its composition, if known. The abstracts are then typically organized around the structure of

⁹ See T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 47–76: paragraphs 4 and 5 of the *Memoria* are dedicated to the *borrador* and to the fair copy respectively. An English translation of the *Memoria* can be read in MARK P. MCDONALD, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539). A Renaissance Collector in Seville*, I, London, The British Museum Press, 2004, pp. 269–285.

¹⁰ The text is published in JOSÉ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, ANTONIO MURO OREJÓN, *El testamento de don Hernando Colón y otros documentos para su biografía*, Sevilla, Gavidia, 1941, pp. 241–243 and in M. MCDONALD, *The Print Collection*, cit., I, pp. 295–297, with an English translation; see also J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 47–48.

¹¹ All these numbers are being revised in light of the ongoing investigations on the *borrador* and on the fair copy of the epitomes, but also in light of the full transcription of the AB which is being undertaken as part of the *Book of Books* project, mentioned above.

¹² For instance, the edition printed in Cologne in 1516 of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples' *Opus astronomicum* (HPB DE-601.GVK.150130333) has RB number 253 and is associated with two different epitomes: number 549, dedicated to the actual text, and number 550, which summarizes Christianus Sculpinus' commentary, also included in the edition. There are, however, a number of cases that contradict this general practice, i.e. epitomes that include paragraphs dedicated to different texts, sometimes even gathered from different editions.

¹³ As some of the examples mentioned in this article will highlight, the perceived superiority was sometimes related to a more extensive or complete content (or perceived as such).

the epitomized work, so that if the work is divided into books or subsections, the content of each of these is described. The depth and accuracy of the descriptions can vary substantially from one epitome to another, as does the length of the abstracts, ranging from three or four lines in the shortest examples, to dozens of pages for the longest ones. In Pérez's own words:

The advantage derived from the book of epitomes is clear, since it provides essential information about the contents of the books, and if somebody does not have many books to read, at least he will have one that will provide him with a glimpse of what is treated in many others. Hence, if he likes the book and its subject, he can buy it, otherwise, he will leave it, and he will not be misled into buying it, because there are many books with long and pompous titles, which do not contain what they promise. Publishers do this in order to cheat readers.¹⁴

In 2019 the imposing manuscript Copenhagen, Arnemagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol. was identified as the fair copy of the *Libro de los epítomes* described by Juan Pérez: this manuscript, and more specifically some notes found in its margins, are at the centre of the present contribution.¹⁵

The six «Adverte» notes and the role of Hernando Colón

AM 377 fol. is a paper volume in folio format consisting of just under one thousand leaves, in all likelihood copied between the mid-1520s and Colón's death in 1539.¹⁶ Within its pages, several different hands are found at work transcribing the text of the epitomes; furthermore, a series of secondary hands also intervene with revisions, corrections and comments.¹⁷ In this context, it is possible to recognize the hand of Hernando Colón, both in its more paused and carefully executed and in its quicker expressions, carrying out different tasks and particularly (albeit not exclusively) concentrated in the first thirty-five leaves of the manuscript.

Among the contributions found in AM 377 fol. which seem to be ascribable to Hernando Colón himself are six notes written in Latin in the lateral margins of as many epitomes, all quite short, and usually appearing towards the beginning of the epitome in question. In terms of content, these notes do not intervene in the text of the epitome (changes, corrections and

¹⁴ See M. McDONALD, *The Print Collection*, cit., I, p. 271.

¹⁵ For an account of the identification of the *Libro*, see NURGUL KIVILCIM YAVUZ, *Hernando Colón's Book of Books: AM 377 fol.*, blog post published on <https://manuscript.ku.dk/motm/herando-colons-book-of-books/> on 15 April 2019 (last accessed in August 2024).

¹⁶ While the composition of the first epitomes is usually dated to around 1522, the *borrador* itself seems to refer to the fact that the process of transcribing them into the fair copy had already started before 1524 (see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 349–353). As seen above, the process of writing the epitomes is described as still ongoing in the *Memorial a Carlos V*, usually dated to the late 1530s.

¹⁷ The structure of the manuscript, and the interventions of the different hands throughout, are described in M. MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations*, forthcoming.

the like); instead they focus on observations or comments usually of a bibliographical nature. In other words, they do not refer to the content of the epitomized text but rather provide supplementary information either on its author or on the form and place it had in the library. Because four out of six of these notes begin with the imperative form «Adverte», I have grouped them under the name of «Adverte notes».

The attribution of these notes to Hernando Colón can be proposed, in the first place, on the basis of an examination of the handwriting in which they were written. Second, because they always refer to the books mentioned and to the collection in the first person and as something owned by the writer.¹⁸ Third, because in some cases their content corresponds to corrections or changes in other indexes written in a hand which can also be attributed to Colón.¹⁹ And finally, because similar notes by Colón were inserted in other catalogues. In particular, it is worth mentioning here a series of notes found in the so-called *Registrum A* (RA), which, apart from the use of Spanish, show a striking resemblance in content and form to the ones discussed in this paper: «Adverte quod hunc librum habeo Hispali et debeo eum expellere» (item 2165); «Este libro torné yo a mercar pero no creo que es tan cumplido como el de esta estampa de Venecia» (item 954); «Et in quodam antiquo codice manuscripto reperi intitulatum hunc librum Isagoge in moralium dogmate composite per Vilelmum de Concis, rogatu comitis Enrrici de Campania» (item 937).²⁰

A transcription and commentary of each of the «Adverte» notes found in the fair copy of the *Libro de los epítomes* are provided below.

1) Iohannes Versor commentator of Aristotle?

The first note of this kind appears on f. 12r and is a marginal annotation to lines 28–29: «Adverte an sit Versoris hec expositio ex collactione aliorum codicum» (Fig. 1).²¹

The note refers to epitome 180, and particularly to the author of the *Elucidatio doctrinalis in quattuor libros logice nove Aristotelis*, a copy of which Colón owned in an edition printed in Cologne, by Quentell, in 1503.²² The

¹⁸ See in particular notes number 4 («emi», «expuli») and 6 («est apud me»).

¹⁹ See for instance the third and fourth notes discussed in this article: in both cases, the RB records corresponding to the annotated epitomes also contain annotations, I believe made by Colón himself, which relate in some way to the remarks made in the margins of the *Libro*.

²⁰ See J. M., RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., p. 54. More on the RA will be said in the following paragraphs.

²¹ In the working transcriptions featured in this essay I have silently expanded abbreviations and generally standardized the use of capital letters, with minimal or no interventions on the spelling and on the use of punctuation. Where possible, I have compared the transcriptions with the corresponding ones published in the *Catálogo concordado*.

²² HPB DE-603.435285564; no copy survives at the BCC; a full digital reproduction is available at <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00003125?page=,1>>, last accessed in August 2024.

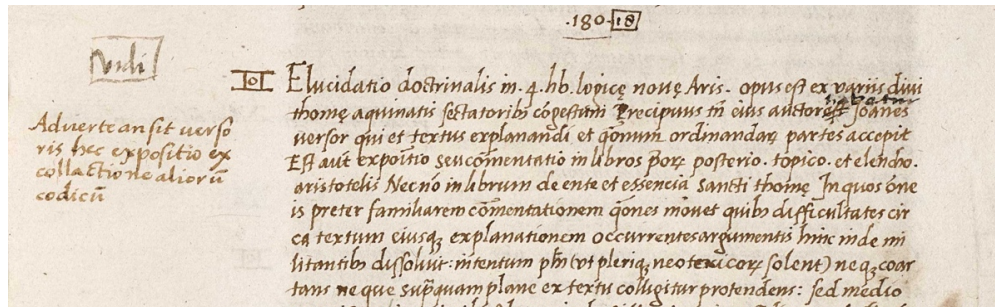


Fig. 1. Copenhagen, Arnemagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 12r (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

work is referenced in the AB under «Iohannes Versor super logicam novam cum elucidatione gymnasii corneliani coloniensis RB134 M18 E180» (col. 960) and «Aristoteles logica nova cum commento secundum gymnasium cornelianum RB134» with the addition in red ink «C. 1503 folio, 2 col.» (col. 143). Quentell's edition contains a commentary – *Elucidatio* – to the four books traditionally constituting the *Logica nova*, i.e. *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophismata*, and concludes with the commentary to Thomas Aquinas's *De ente et essentia*; the latter work is also referenced in epitome 180.²³ The printing was commissioned by the so-called *Bursa Cornelianum*, the centre for the teaching of Thomistic philosophy in 15th-century Cologne.²⁴ On the title page of the edition it is stated that the texts included were collected from various authors who were close to Aquinas's positions, and especially from the commentaries of Johannes Versor (d. after 1482) and from Johannes Tinctoris (d. 1469).²⁵ Despite this statement, it is the name of Versor that appears more often in the edition: it is repeated after the title on the title page, and at the beginning of the commentary on

²³ The same combination of texts had already been printed, also by Quentell, in 1497 (ISTC, iv00248200; GW M50243).

²⁴ On the *bursa* and its relationship with Versor, mentioned below, see HARM GORIS, *Thomism in Fifteenth-century Germany*, in *Aquinas as Authority. A Collection of Studies Presented at the Second Conference of the Thomas Instituut Utrecht, December 14-16, 2000*, edited by Paul van Geest, Harm Goris, Carlo Leget, Mishtooni Bose, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, pp. 1-24 and PEPIJN RUTTEN, "Secundum processum et mentem Versoris": John Versor and His Relation to the Schools of Thought Reconsidered, «*Vivarium*», XLIII/2, 2005, pp. 292-336; CHRISTOPHE GEUDENS, Versoris, Johannes, in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, edited by Marco Sgarbi, Cham, Springer, 2020 (https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02848-4_572-3).

²⁵ «Elucidatio doctrinalis in quattuor libros Logice nove Aristotelis peripateticorum philosophorum facile ducis atque magistri, cum libro de Ente et essentia, ex variis doctissimorum virorum officinis utpote domini Joannis Versoris philosophi disertissimi, et Tinctoris, ceterorumque divi Thome Aquinatis positionibus conformium studiosissime conquisitis in presens hoc volumen ad studentum (sic) commodum et utilitatem Cornelianum Gymnasium Agrippinensem Colonie bonarum artium amore incolentium scholastico sub processu quam aptissime congesta novissime vestro vigili animo iterata recognitione (ubi opus erat) ex amussim perspecta». See EFREM JINDRÁČEK, *Thomism in Renaissance Philosophy*, in *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, cit., pp. 3242-3253, with bibliography.

the *Prior Analytics*, which coincides with the beginning of the work: «Incipiunt questiones pulcerrime fundatissimi philosophi magistri Joannis Versoris in totam novam logicam» (a2r), as well as at the end of the *Elucidatio*: «Questiones libri elenchorum venerandi magistri Johannis Versoris metha gaudent perfausta et cetera» (aa6r). Furthermore, it appears at the beginning of the last commentary included in the edition: «Questiones magistri Johannis Versoris super de ente et essentia sancti Thome de Aquino ordinis fratrum predicatorum»; it is also worth noticing that in this last part of the book, «Versor» was printed as a running title in the top margin of the *rectos*.²⁶

The multiple mentions of Versor seem to contrast with the ambiguous information contained on the title page, which in fact mirrors the first redaction of the text of epitome 180 found in the Copenhagen manuscript: «Elucidatio doctinalis in 4 libros logicę novę Aristotelis; opus est variis divi Thomę Aquinatis sectatoribus congestum. Precipuus tamen eius auctor est Ioannes Versor qui et textus explanandi et questionum ordinandarum partes accepit».²⁷ It is plausible that Hernando Colón, during a first revision of the abstracts, noticed the ambiguity and made the marginal note where he suggested checking, through a comparison with other sources, whether Versor was actually the author of the commentary on the *Logica Nova*.

The AB informs us, however, that, although Colón had other editions of the *Logica nova*, none of them included Versor's *Elucidatio*: one could therefore surmise that he was not able to clarify the matter.²⁸ Hence, going back to the revision of the *Libro* sometime later, and without having resolved his doubts, he decided to express his persisting uncertainties on the authorship of the *Elucidatio* directly in the text, as suggested by the layering of the secondary interventions: this explains the change of

²⁶ The commentary to the *De ente et essentia* starts at f. aa6r.

²⁷ Unfortunately, we cannot compare the redaction of the abstract copied in the *Libro* with its rough version, as the Sevillian *borrador* does not contain any abstract before number 509 (see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit. p. 341).

²⁸ Col. 143 lists two more editions: «Logice nove et veteris reparationes secundum bursam Laurentii RB165» and «Logice nove exercitium RB270». The former refers to Arnold von Tongern's *Epitoma, sive Reparationes logicae veteris et novae Aristotelis*, printed in Cologne in 1500 (ISTC ia01064000; GW 2515) for the Bursa Laurentiana, the contemporary centre of Albertian philosophical interpretation; the latter refers to Bartholomäus Arnoldi's *Exercitium Nove Logices* printed in Erfurt in 1516 (HPB DE12.VD16.A 3699). Colón also owned at least another copy of Versor's commentary on Aquinas' *De ente et essentia*, as recorded in the AB, col. 960: «Io. Versor super librum de ente et essentia RB134 M18 RB9353 quarto, 2 col. RB134 C. 1503, folio, 2 col.». Based on other occurrences of the RB9353 in the AB (coll. 144, 1313, 1363) and on the bibliographic information and incipit that that index provides, it seems possible to identify this second occurrence of Versor's commentary to the *De ente et essentia* as part of the edition of his *Quaestiones librorum praedicabilium et praedicamentorum et posteriorum Aristotelis* attributed to Milan, about 1483 (ISTC iv00250000; GW M50275).

«Precipuuus tamen eius auctor est Ioannes Versor» to «Precipuuus tamen eius auctor habetur Ioannes Versor».²⁹

2) Rodericus episcopus

The second marginal annotation which can be ascribed to the type discussed here is found on f. 13v, next to line 11: «Adverte quod iste est Rodericus Sanchez qui composuit historiam Hispanie» (Fig. 2).³⁰

The note refers to the text summarized in epitome 187, i.e. the *Speculum humanae vitae*, composed by the 15th-century clergyman Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. One of the most authoritative canonists of his time, Sánchez de Arévalo wrote a large number of works on various topics and held several ecclesiastic and civil offices, which resulted in a number of possible ways of referring to him. It seems to be precisely an attempt to deal with this confusion which stands behind this note: while the text of the epitome mentions a «Rodericus hispanus çamorensis episcopus» – bishop of Zamora, which Sánchez de Arévalo became in 1465 – as the author of the *Speculum*, the note specifies at least part of his surname and identifies him with the author of an «historiam Hispanie», with reference to his *Compendiosa historia Hispanica*.³¹ But what did Colón know about this author, and how was he able to make this connection?

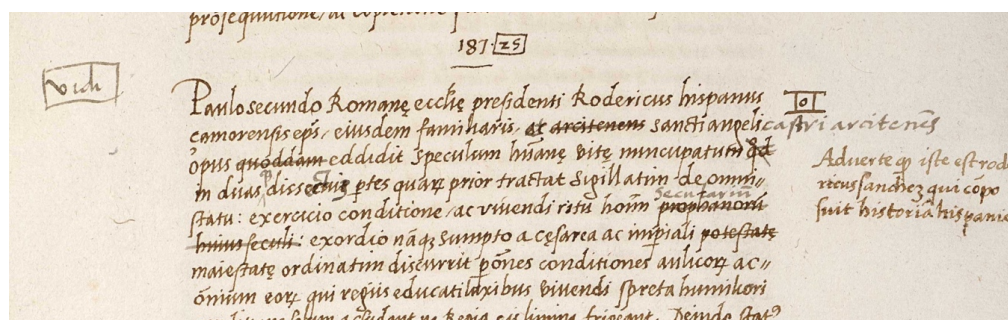


Fig. 2. Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 13v (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

In the AB, the *Speculum* is listed in col. 1555: «Roderici episcopi speculum humane vite RB1972 M25 E187»; through the RB description, we are

²⁹ For the attribution of both layers of intervention to Colón and the reconstruction of their sequence in the revision process of the manuscript, see M. MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations*, forthcoming.

³⁰ See CIRILO FLÓREZ MIGUEL, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, online at <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/6345/rodrigo-sanchez-de-arevalo> (last accessed in August 2024).

³¹ See GUILLERMO ALVAR NUÑO, *La Compendiosa Historia Hispanica (1470) como fuente en el primer Renacimiento castellano*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Albasitensis. Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Albacete 2018)*, edited by Florian Schaffnerath, Maria Teresa Santamaría Hernández, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2020, pp. 117–129, with bibliography.

informed that the edition used for the epitome was printed in Leuven by Johannes de Westfalia and dated to the early 1480s, and contained this text as part of a collection of works of moral literature, several of which were of uncertain or disputed attribution.³² In this respect, it is worth noting that the six texts included in Westfalia's edition are all epitomized in successive sequence (epitomes 182 to 187) and that in all cases the authorship (or absence thereof) indicated in the epitome follows that given in the edition (including the two works printed anonymously).³³ As for the author of the *Speculum humanae vitae*, he is referred to in the edition as Rodericus Zamorensis, and so this is recorded both in the relevant RB entry and in the epitome.³⁴

The following AB item in col. 1555 reads «Roderici episcopi chronica hispanie RB3077 E5 M1997»: in this case, the RB refers to an edition printed by Ulrich Han and usually dated not after 4 October 1470, and specifies that the author was «Rodericus Sanctius, episcopus palentinus» – bishop of Palencia, which Sánchez de Arévalo became in 1469.³⁵ It is unfortunate that we are currently unable to locate the text of the epitome of the *Chronica* (E5), which is missing both from the Copenhagen manuscript and from the Seville *borrador*; it is however possible to hypothesize that the identification of the author in the epitome was taken directly from the title page of the edition, as was usually the case, and therefore corresponds to the one given in the RB; in this case «Rodericus Sanctius, episcopus palentinus».

Furthermore, Colón also owned at least a third work by Sánchez de Arévalo, the treatise *De origine ac differentia principatus imperialis et regalis*, in the edition printed in Rome by Étienne Guillery in 1521, which he had purchased in Rome at the end of September 1530 for 135 *quatrini*.³⁶ The latter work is recorded in third position in the AB as «Roderici episcopi de origine et differentia principatus imperialis et regalis RB8396 R. 1521, folio». It is worth highlighting that in this edition, the author is mentioned twice: in the first introductory text as «Rodericus episcopus zamorensis arcis Sancti Angeli de urbe [...] castellanus»; and in the second as «Rodericus Sanctii de

³² ISTC ib01346000; GW 5829; HPB GB-Uk.ISTC ib01346000. The other works printed in the edition, with their attribution—when specified—are: *Speculum de confessione*, attributed to Antonius de Butrio; a *Speculum animae peccatricis*; an *Ars moriendi* «Cum de praesentis exilii miseria mortis transitus»; *Speculum ecclesiae et sacerdotum*, attributed to Hugh of Saint-Cher; *Speculum conversionis peccatorum*, attributed to Dionysius van Leeuwen (Carthusiensis). The RB specifies that Colón's exemplar was bought bound, in London, in June 1522, for 10 *penins*; the volume is still in the BCC (3-6-29).

³³ The listed authors and works are: Antonius de Butrio, *Speculum confessionis* (E182); Anonymous, *Speculum aureum animae peccatricis* (E183); Anonymous, *Ars bene moriendi* (E184); Hugo cardinalis, *Speculum ecclesie* (E185); Dyonisius de Leuwis alias Rikel, *Speculum confessionis peccatorum* (E186); Rodericus hispanus zamorensis episcopus, *Speculum humane vite* (E187).

³⁴ RB says: «Editus a Roderico Zamorensi et postea galagarritano (*sic*) hispano», where «hispano» could be a mistake for «episcopo».

³⁵ ISTC ir00211000; GW M38526; the dating of the edition follows ISTC and GW. Colón's copy was bought in Seville, bound, for 136 maravedis and still survives at the BCC (1-6-3).

³⁶ Sevilla, BCC, 6-1-21(2). The edition is HPB IT-ICCU.TO0E044511.

Arenalo (*sic*) episcopus zamorensis ac deinceps calaguerritanus et palentinus prefectusque fidelissimus arcis Sancti Angeli». This edition, therefore, brings together the two designations of the author which are contained, separately, in the editions mentioned above, and it explicitly states the identity of Rodericus, Bishop of Zamora (mentioned as author of the *Speculum*), with Rodericus Sánchez de Arévalo (author of the history of Spain). Either way, the preoccupation with avoiding potential confusion is reflected in the entry found in the AB, where the author's name appears first in col. 1555 as «Rodericus episcopus» (as it was probably first indexed, based on the edition of the *Speculum*), where the three editions mentioned above are listed, and, a few items later, also in col. 1556: «Rodericus Sanchez de Arevalo vide Rodericus episcopus».

3) *One Bernard, many Bernards*

On f. 25r, two successive marginal annotations appear next to lines 30-32. They read: «Adverte quod iste Bernardus vocatur Bernardus Silvester ut est in codice Florii Francisci qui est registratus sub numero 3705, 4664» and, added later «et postea cognovi esse divi Bernardi abbatis» (Fig. 3).

The two annotations refer to the last part of epitome 230: the text summarizes the treatise *De cura reipublicae et sorte principantis* by the 14th-century Dutch jurist Philip of Leiden, which Colón owned in the edition printed in Leiden by Jan Seversz in 1516.³⁷ The text is mentioned in AB, col. 1323: «Philippus de Leyden de reipublice cura et sorte principantis RB117 M68 E230, folio, 2 col., res., 1516».³⁸ The RB entry reads:

De reipublice cura et sorte principantis Philippi de Leydem. Epistola Iudoci Franconis incipit: "Illud potissimum". Item prelectio cuiusdam Bernardi <Silvestris> de modo et regula reipublice facilius gubernande, incipit: "Glorioso et felici militi", <et desinit: "damnabilis senectus">. Item sequitur tabula alphabetica dimidii folii casuum in opere contentorum, qui sunt 85. Prohemium operis incipit: "Cum me iuvenem". Item methaphora super dispositionem bonorum reipublice incipit: "Quibus admodum". Opus incipit: "Illustri et potenti", et desinit: "libro II ad finem libri XII". Item sequitur compilatio seu epithoma totius operis, cuius prohemium incipit: "Quia felix propagatur". Compilatio incipit: "Imperialem decet", et desinit: "in prohemio". Item sequitur eiusdem de formis et semitis reipublice utilius et facilius gubernande tractatus, in 8 divisus rubricas, incipit: "Prudentibus et industriosis", desinit: "vere gubernantis". Est in folio, 2 columnarum.

³⁷ HPB NL-0100030000.STCN.102188939; Colón purchased his copy in Cologne in February 1522. The volume does not survive in the BCC. On the text, see PHILIPPUS DE LEYDEN, *De cura reipublicae et sorte principantis*, reprint of the *editio princeps* of 1516 with an introduction by Robert Feenstra, Amsterdam, Graphic, 1971 and PIET LEUPEN, *Philip of Leyden, A Fourteenth-Century Jurist. A Study of his Life and Treatise De cura reipublicae et sorte principantis*, Den Haag-Zwolle, Leiden University Press - W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1981.

³⁸ The second part of the note, after the epitome number, was added later, in red ink, and is based on a detailed system of symbols and references which is explained in Juan Pérez's *Memoria* (see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 59-60); the system is also described and commented in *Catálogo concordado*, cit., I, pp. 356-357.

Impressum Leydis, 14 septembris anno 1516. Costó en Colonia 54 fenins por hebrero de 1522.³⁹

It seems likely that the two interlinear additions indicated in angle brackets in the transcription above were made by Colón himself: one specifies «Silvestris» after Bernardus; the second one adds the explicit of the text indicated wrongly as «De modo et regula reipublice facilius gubernande», found at the beginning of the edition and attributed to the same «Bernardus» of the previous note. It is worth highlighting that the title is

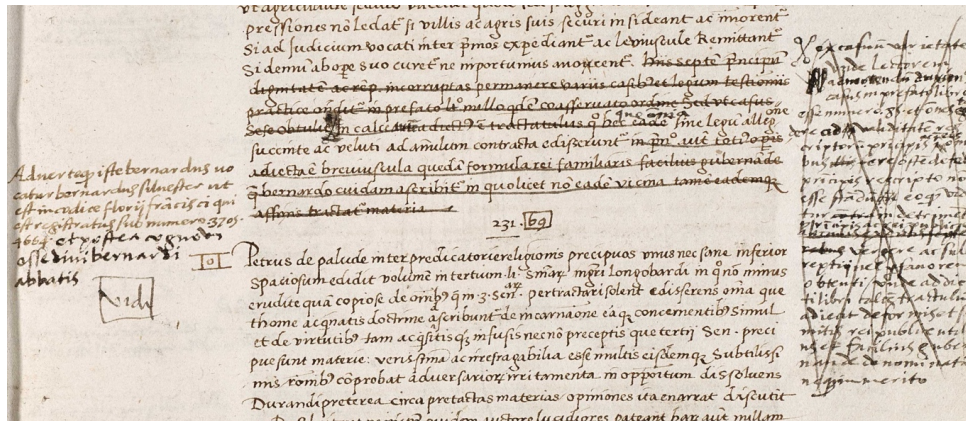


Fig. 3. Copenhagen, Arnemagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 25r (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

recorded wrongly in the RB: it should be «De modo et regula rei familiaris facilius gubernande», as it appears in the edition (f. *2r).

However, the mistake in the RB did not affect the text of the epitome, which after describing the structure and content of Philip of Leiden's work, concludes by mentioning: «In principio autem totius operis adiecta est breviuscula quedam formula rei familiaris facilius gubernande que Bernardo cuidam ascribitur in quo (sic) licet non eadem vicina tamen eademque affinis tractatur materia».⁴⁰

In the first part of the marginal note Colón added to the information faithfully transcribed from the edition into the epitome that the «Bernardus» referred to in his 1516 edition as the author of the *De modo et regula rei familiaris facilius gubernande* could in fact be identified with the 12th-century philosopher Bernardus Silvestris.⁴¹

³⁹ See also *Catálogo concordado*, cit., I, pp. 482–83.

⁴⁰ Eventually, this final portion of the text of the epitome was cancelled and rewritten as a long addition on the right margin, later also cancelled, essentially in the attempt to expand some aspects of the description of Leiden's text; however, I believe that this happened after the first part of the "Adverte" annotation was written: in fact, this later reworking could well have coincided with the second part of the annotation examined in this section.

⁴¹ On Silvester, see BRIAN STOCK, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972.

The «codex Florii Francisci» which Colón explicitly mentions as the source for this information must have been the edition recorded as RB1362, printed by Jean Lambert, in which the short text was attributed to Bernardus Silvestris and printed together with Franciscus Florius's *De amore Camilli et Aemiliae* and Leonardus Aretinus's *De duobus amantibus Guiscardo et Sigismunda*.⁴² Colón acquired this volume in Cologne in February 1522, for four pfennigs.⁴³ Although the edition mentioned above, where the *De modo et regula rei familiaris facilius gubernande* is generically attributed to some unspecified «Bernardus», and this second one, where it is attributed to Bernardus Silvestris, were bought at the same time, based on the progression of some catalogue entry numbers, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the texts included in the Lambert edition were epitomized later than those included in the Leiden imprint.⁴⁴

On the other hand, the two numbers mentioned by Colón in the first part of the note, i.e. 3705 and 4664, go back to the earliest numbering system in use in the library.⁴⁵ In particular, they are mentioned in two entries of the so-called *Indice alfabetico antiguo* or *Abecedarium A* (AbA): «Franciscus Florius, De amore Camilli et Emilie Aretinorum 3705» and «Bernardus Silvester, Epistola super gubernatione rei familiaris 4664».⁴⁶ According to Juan Pérez, this alphabetical index, which served as the model for the later AB, contained catalogue numbers which were in use in the earliest phases of the library, when large-scale acquisition of books had only just begun: for part of this early numbering system there is still evidence in the so-called RA.⁴⁷

⁴² While no copy of this book survives at the BCC, one exemplar is listed as part of a composite volume owned by the Beinecke Library in Yale (MS 907, ff. 219r-240v; digital reproduction available at <<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/11007478>>); see HPB Cty.01.4627230. On Florius, see the entry by PAOLO VITI, Florio, Francesco, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLVIII, 1997, online at <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-florio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (last accessed in August 2024).

⁴³ As usual, purchase information is recorded in the RB.

⁴⁴ The other texts included in the edition printed by Lambert are recorded in the AB as «Franciscus Florius de amore Camilli et Emilie RB1362 M749 E2497» (col. 657, with a very high epitome number) and «Leonardi Aretini de amore Guiscardi et Sigismunde RB1362 M749» (col. 1000, apparently not epitomized at all).

⁴⁵ «There are also three small books in folio that are bound together in old vellum, written by hand, and are not useful, since their contents correspond to the time when the first books were bought, and that is already copied somewhere else, especially in the numerical index» (see M. McDONALD, *The Print Collection*, cit., I, pp. 276–277). On the AbA see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 767–802 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 59–61.

⁴⁶ Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-8, ff. 172r and 73r respectively.

⁴⁷ The *Memorial* represents what is left of a first version of a bibliographical catalogue of the books that were being acquired: that first system of numeration was disrupted by the loss of over 1600 books in a shipwreck between 1521 and 1522, and in the following years the numeration of the remaining volumes was changed into the system that remains recorded today in the first parts of the RB (see T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 685–760 and J. M. RUIZ ASENCIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., pp. 52–54).

The story of this attribution does not end here, however. In addition to the two editions just considered, the *De modo et regula rei familiaris facilius gubernande* was also included in another two items owned by Colón. First, the edition of Saint Bernard's *Opus preclarum* printed in Paris in 1517, a copy of which was bought by Colón in Ghent in August 1520 and recorded as number 488 in the RB.⁴⁸ In this edition, the text appears on f. R8v and is still attributed to Bernardus Silvestris, although with some ambiguity: «Epistola Bernardi Silvestris viri equidem eruditissimi, de cura et regimine rei familiaris; ideo in hoc apposita volumine quod nonnulli eam a Sancto Bernardo putant fuisse compositam».⁴⁹ From this edition, four epitomes were extracted, i.e. numbers 1132 (*Bernardi Clarevallensis opera*. 488), 1133 (*Guilielmus Abbas de vita Sancti Bernardi*. 488), 1134 (*Philoteus monachus, De vita et moribus divi Bernardi*. 488) and 1135 (*Gilleberti abbatis de Hoilanda supplementum sermonum beati Bernardi super Cantica canticorum*. 488). At the end of the first one, the text mentions «et alia nonnulla opuscula quorum [quod] aliis particularibus epithomatibus mentionem feci hic meminisse nolui. Qui eorum medullam [requirit ad hunc] epithomatum indicem recurrat»: it seems that at this stage, the *De cura rei familiaris* was included in these «nonnulla opuscula», with reference to the fact it had been mentioned in epitome 230.⁵⁰

Finally, the text was also included in the collection of *Opuscula* attributed to Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux (1090–1153), printed in Speyer by Petrus Drach in 1501: in this edition, recorded as number 3369 in the RB, the letter occupies f. con4r/v, with the title «Divi Bernardi abbatis epistola de gubernatione familie».⁵¹ It is therefore this last edition which must have confirmed the attribution to Saint Bernard, which had already been mentioned but with some uncertainties in the 1517 *Opus preclarum*, thus explaining the second part of the annotation examined here («et postea cognovi esse divi Bernardi abbatis»).

All the occurrences mentioned above are summed up, as usual, in the AB, col. 216: «Bernardi Clarevalensis de rei familiaris gubernatione RB117 [later deleted in red] RB1362 RB3369 M68 RB488 E2108» and then, added in red «RB117, folio, 2 col., res., 1516». Noticeably, the AB also lists an epitome, number 2108, which bears the title «Divi Bernardi epistola de re familiari

⁴⁸ RB488; this volume seems to survive as Sevilla, BCC, 1-5-9.

⁴⁹ In the corresponding RB entry (488), the text is indicated as «Item epistola Bernardi Silvestris incipit: 'Gratioso et felici'».

⁵⁰ The text only survives in the *borrador* redaction (Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-17, f. 148v; see also *Catálogo concordado*, II, pp. 109–16).

⁵¹ HPB DE-603.221675817; Colón's copy, bought in Seville in 1511, bound, for 136 maravedis, still survives in the BCC, with shelfmark 3-2-31. For Saint Bernard, it suffices here to mention the entry by LYNN RANSOM, Bernard, St, Abbot of Clairvaux, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, available online at <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-0842?rskey=h17C02&result=15>> (last accessed August 2024) as a first access point to the very extensive bibliography which is available.

gubernanda».⁵² In the epitome, the text is definitively attributed to Saint Bernard, although the final part of the text acknowledges the confusion of the attribution: «De iis inquam Sanctus Bernardus in hac epistola quam etiam sub Bernardi Silvestri nomine et solius Bernardi titulo impræsum reperies compendiarie relatione edisserit».

In the Copenhagen manuscript, the epitome is part of a section where for each abstract both the epitome number and the RB number, corresponding to the edition from which the epitome was taken, are indicated.⁵³ Although curiously no RB number is specified for epitome 2108 (which could be a further indication of the confusion around this text), taking into account what has been said so far, it is likely to have been written on the basis of RB3369, and probably years after epitome 230, from which this investigation began, was composed.

At this point, the attribution to Saint Bernard was definitively confirmed, so one could think that this was when the final part of the «Adverte» annotation was added. But there is more. The AB also includes entries about the vernacular versions of this text: «Bernardi Clarevalensis rei familiaris gubernatio in versu gallico cum 7 versibus eiusdem RB6719 s., *quarto*» and added later «et etiam in prosa in gallico RB9315, *octavo*». Further below, under the same author: «Epistola ad Raymundum avunculum de rei familiaris gubernatione a Nicolao da Lucha e latino in italicum versa RB7267 V. 1510, *octavo*» (col. 217). Both the RB numbers associated with the French translations appear again, in the AB, under the incipit «Se tu veulx estre submis et subiecta (*sic*) a fortune RB6719 RB9315» (col. 1608).

The first of the two French translations, which the AB describes as in verse, does not survive at the BCC. Colón's copy was listed in the catalogue of the auction of the library of Jérôme Pichon – which took place in Paris in 1897 – but its present location remains, to my knowledge, unknown; no other copies of the edition, currently attributed to Antoine Caillaut, are known to survive today.⁵⁴ The second one (RB9315) refers to the edition attributed to Toulouse: Jean de Guerlins, around 1520, printed with the title

⁵² I quote the text of the epitome from AM 377 fol., f. 838r/v. The text does not seem to survive in the *borrador* redaction.

⁵³ See M. MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations*, forthcoming.

⁵⁴ See MAURICE DELESTRE, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron Jérôme Pichon*, Paris, Techener, 1897, I:233 n° 790. Dozens of books listed in Pichon's catalogue come from Colón's collection and many of them can be located today. I am grateful to Guy Lazure for having shared with me his preliminary notes on this matter. See also PAUL NEEDHAM, *Two Unrecorded French-language Incunabula from the Press of Antoine Caillaut, with Additional Notes on his Printing before 1492*, in *Hellinga Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges. Forty-three Studies in Bibliography presented to Prof. Dr Wytze Hellinga on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the End of the Year 1978*, edited by Anthony R.A. Croiset van Uchelen, Amsterdam, Israel, 1980, pp. 339–356, especially p. 345. The edition is recorded, albeit without reference to a copy, as ISTC ib00382350; GW 3991. Although the identification seems plausible, doubt remains around the fact that the AB describes the edition as «in versu gallico», while Pichon's catalogue records it as «in prose».

Regime comment on se doit gouuerner en mesnage, selon la doctrine saint Bernard, which is still in the BCC.⁵⁵

The Italian translation owned by Colón, on the other hand, was the *Epistola di Sancto Bernardo alo auunculo suo Raimundo Cauallieri del modo de gouernare la sua famiglia*, printed in Venice by Simone de Luere in 1510.⁵⁶ Although it is likely that these last three editions—all with RB numbers over 6000—entered the library later than the Latin ones mentioned above, and possibly after both epitome 230 and 2108 had been written, they no doubt served to reinforce the attribution of the *Epistola* to Bernard of Clairvaux.

4) *Raimundus*

On f. 45r, two successive annotations written in the left margin refer to lines 26–36. The first one reads: «Adverte quod iste liber in alia impressione tribuitur Raymundo», later, in a different ink, the same hand added: «quam quidem impressionem emi et expuli hunc quia nonnihil erat defectuosus ergo adde nomen auctoris in epitomate adiungendo qualiter habetur etiam sine auctoris nomine ut est in epitomata expressum» (Fig. 4).

Both annotations refer to epitome 303, dedicated to Raymund Lull's *Apostrophe seu De articulis fidei*.⁵⁷ Interestingly, epitome 303 presents the text as by an unknown author.⁵⁸

The epitome is referenced in the AB, col. 1522: «Raymundi Lullii probatio articulorum fidei RB783 M303 E303». RB783 reads:

Tractatus Raymundi Lullii de probatione articulorum fidei. [...] epigramma eiusdem ad Bonifacium papam incipit: "Suscipiat sublimis". Item argumentum totius operis incipit: "Deus in virtute tua". Item prefatio eiusdem incipit: "Ad probationem". Opus incipit: "Si summum bonum", desinit: "et etiam fortiora". Continet 14 tractatus per rationes disiuntos (*sic*). Est in 4°. Costó en Londres 1 penin por junio de 1522.

The content of this edition, which appears to have been *sine notis* from the RB description, seems to match that of the edition attributed to Venice, Franciscus Lapidica, and dated around 1494.⁵⁹ Although it is hard to establish an exact correspondence, one could argue that Colón probably had either a copy of this specific edition or of a very closely related one. In

⁵⁵ HPB FR-751131015.CG.FRBNF300899400000008. Colón bought his copy in Turin for 1 quarto on 19th January 1531; the volume still survives as Sevilla, BCC, 14-2-1(12).

⁵⁶ Colón's copy is still extant as Sevilla, BCC 14-1-8(14).

⁵⁷ On this work, I have consulted the *Ramon Llull Database (Llull DB)* of the Centre de documentació Ramon Llull, University of Barcelona. The most recent bibliography to use as a starting point appears to be the one compiled by ANTHONY BONNER, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull. A User's Guide*, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2007.

⁵⁸ «Liber quidam edificatio salutifere legis nuncupato suppresso (*sic pro* nuncupatus suppresso) auctoris nomine in lucem venit hoc exordio ad probationem articulorum» etc. (see Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 45r).

⁵⁹ ISTC il00382870 GW M1949120; only one copy of the edition is known to me to survive today, in Cambridge University Library, Inc.5.B.74[2274]. I am grateful to Liam Sims for sharing information about the edition.

any case, it is important to highlight the fact that in this edition the work is attributed to Lull, as reflected in the RB record.

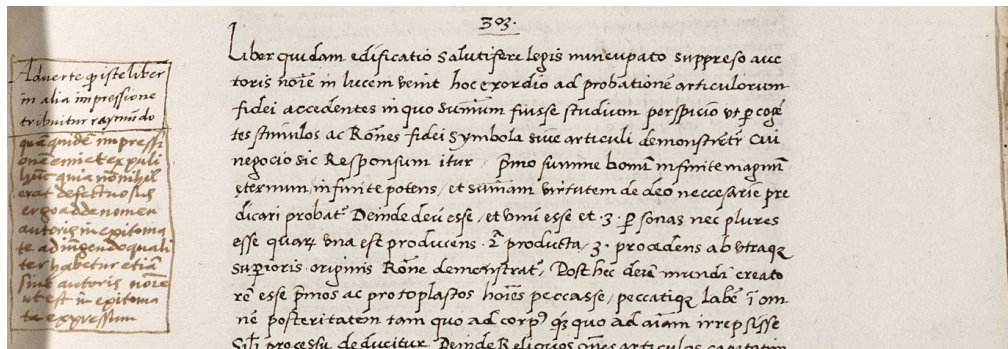


Fig. 4. Copenhagen, Arnemagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 45r (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

Two later annotations were added to the RB record, however, possibly by Hernando Colón himself. The first one is written between the first and the second line of the text and reads: «articulorum fidei <in principio est tabula articulorum; item epigramma quod incipit "Hic demonstratur". [Introducti articuli] christiani» epigramma eiusdem». ⁶⁰ This first annotation appears to have been cancelled subsequently. The second addition to the RB entry is found at the end of the record and reads: «In alia impressione habetur sine nomine auctoris cum carmine quod incipit: "Hic demonstratur veritas". Tamen iste continet plura et expuli alium». The very concise description of this other edition matches the content of an edition of which Colón acquired a copy in Cologne in February 1522 and which still survives at the BCC. ⁶¹ This latter edition has been attributed by Paul Needham to a Jean Belot of Lyon, and considered by him to be an intentional literary plagiary of the more famous printer Jean Belot, of Geneva. ⁶² Comparing, as Colón did, the content of the two editions, we can see that the first, in which the authorship is unambiguously attributed to Lull, also contains his dedicatory verses to Boniface VIII and a colophon with the date and place

⁶⁰ Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-4, 21v; the note seems to have possibly been written on top of a previous annotation, both of them having been later cancelled. It is puzzling that this annotation refers, in conjunction with the poem «Hic demonstratur veritas», found in the anonymous edition, to a table of the articles («tabula articulorum») which I have not found, indicated as such, in neither of the two editions. A list of the articles commented upon is instead found in the edition attributed to Lapidia, on f. a1r/v.

⁶¹ Sevilla, BCC, 15-3-26 (2).

⁶² PAUL NEEDHAM, *Counting Incunables: The IISTC CD-Rom*, «Huntington Library Quarterly» LXI, 3/4, 1998, pp. 459-529, particularly 526-528. ISTC il00382880 and GW 262 lists only two surviving copies; there seem to be others, however, including Colón's, still owned by the BCC, and one more in the Bibliothèque de Genève, fully available online, see <https://www.e-rara.ch/gep_g/ch16/content/titleinfo/1752715> (last accessed in August 2024).

where the work was completed.⁶³ On the other hand, both elements are missing in the edition – in which the work is printed anonymously – where the dedication to Boniface was replaced with thirty-six lines of verse, the initial letters of eight of which form the acrostic IAN BELOT, and the textual explicit is substituted with a somewhat enigmatic publisher's colophon containing the letters I.B.⁶⁴ In light of this, it is understandable that Colón considered the anonymous edition defective in comparison with the other one.

The copy in the BCC has an annotation in Colón's hand reading «In Valladolid 22 maij 1522» at [a1r] and a final acquisition note, which reads: «Este libro costó en Colonia 5 fenins por febrero de 1522 y el ducado de oro vale 206 fenins. Está registrado» on d8v. It is noteworthy that the final annotation was not completed, i.e. the corresponding RB number was never filled in: this would appear to be connected with Colón's preference for the other edition he owned of this work, the one attributed to Lull and as such recorded, and numbered, in the RB.

The situation I have just described is intricate and two significant questions remain. First, the RB and the *Propositiones* – and therefore the now lost *Materias* – records seem to have been written on the basis of one edition (the one which gives the author's name), bought later (June 1522), while the epitome seems to have been written on the basis of the anonymous edition, bought earlier (February 1522), but later discarded in favour of the other, non-anonymous, one.⁶⁵ Second, while Colón reiterates – both in his notes to the epitome and to the RB – that he had at some point rejected the anonymous edition, precisely because of its defectiveness, it is the anonymous edition that survives in the BCC to this day, while the other one does not.

As far as the first uncertainty is concerned, my working hypothesis is that this could have arisen as follows: the anonymous edition was bought in Cologne in February 1522, handled and catalogued – perhaps in Valladolid in May of the same year, as suggested by the above mentioned note – so that epitome 303 was written on the basis of the text contained in it, and therefore presented Lull's text as anonymous.⁶⁶ The edition in which the text is attributed to Lull, on the other hand, was bought in London in June 1522.

⁶³ The incipit and explicit of the edition are transcribed in the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* record created by Cambridge University Library for the only known extant copy, available at CERL, <<https://data.cerl.org/mei/00560904>> (last accessed in August 2024). These features are also mentioned by P. NEEDHAM, *Counting Incunables*, cit., pp. 526–528.

⁶⁴ «Veritas est ex Lugduno feliciter nuper data | Ultimate in augusto in istis caracteribus pressa. | Finis I B»; the colophon is transcribed in P. NEEDHAM, *Counting Incunables*, cit., p. 527, and has been checked against the BCC copy.

⁶⁵ According to the online version of the *Catálogo concordado*, the text appears at f. 553r of the *Propositiones*, as: «Deum esse et unicum esse ratione probat diffuse Raymundus Lullius de probatione articulorum fidei qui alias suppresso authoris nomine intitatur edificatio salutifere legis incipiente: Ad probationem articulorum fidei accedentes M303».

⁶⁶ Notes of this kind, particularly with the reference to Valladolid, are found in many of Colón's books.

At the moment of cataloguing it, however, Lull's text was recognized as the same as the work in the anonymous edition, which had already been epitomized, so no summary was made of it on the basis of the newly acquired copy. The presence of this duplicate, however, probably prompted Colón to take a closer look at the two editions, an operation which led to him adding the first part of the manuscript note found next to epitome 303. Eventually, he decided to keep (or rather to keep track of) only of the edition which seemed to him more complete in terms of content: a RB record – 783 – was produced, with a related subject description (*Materias*), and the already existing epitome was attached to them. The corresponding records, assuming that they ever existed, for the anonymous edition were instead discarded, so that no trace of their presence is, for instance, recorded in the fair redaction of the RB.

Apart from some tentative indications on the relative chronology of composition and fair copying of the different catalogues, a topic on which it remains premature, in my view, to draw final conclusions, this example also might lead us to question Colón's use of the verb "expello": if the copy to which this verb referred in Colón's notes is today still found in the library, this can only mean that it was not physically removed from the rest of the collection, but perhaps only cancelled from the cataloguing system, which would explain the absence of a RB number in the copy itself. The other copy, in which the text is said to be by Lull, and which was recorded in the cataloguing system with the number 783, probably left the collection after Colón's death, as so many thousands of his books did.⁶⁷

5) *Pseudo-Phalaris' Epistolae*

On f. 63r, a *manicula* – the only one found in the whole manuscript – and a marginal annotation appear next to lines 1–3. The annotation reads: «Registrare habentur hee epistole sub numero 2622 qua de re oportet eas conferre cum epistolis Phalaridis et videre an sint eedem aut in aliquibus communicent» (Fig. 5). The corresponding epitome is number 370, summarizing the *Epistolae* by the Italian humanist Elisio Calenzio: the text is recorded in the AB, col. 540, as «Elisii Calensii epistole RB1363 M773 E370».⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The topic is variably treated throughout the bibliography on Colón and his library, e.g. JUAN GUILLÉN TORRALBA, *Historia de las bibliotecas Capitulare y Colombina*, Sevilla, Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006, *passim*, and is currently the object of renewed scholarly interest especially in connection with the *Book of Books* project mentioned above.

⁶⁸ On Calenzio see the record by SIMONA FOÀ, Gallucci, Luigi (Elisio Calenzio), in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LI, 1998, online at <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-gallucci_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (last accessed in August 2024).

The edition on the basis of which the epitome was written, referenced by the RB number 1363, was printed by Regnault Chaudière, with the title *Elisii Calentii Amphratisensis et Phalaridis epistolae breves admodum et studiosae iuventuti omnibusque eloquentiae candidatis non minus utiles*.⁶⁹ Colón's copy is still preserved at the BCC.⁷⁰ On the basis of the title found on the title page, RB1363 is listed in the AB also under Phalaris (col. 1319): «Phalaridis epistole RB1363 RB2925 M2906 E3404 et alie in grece (sic) RB5589 V. 1499, quarto». RB1363 refers to the above mentioned edition, while RB2925 refers to a 1505 edition printed in Cremona of the very popular Greek-to-Latin translation, prepared in the mid-15th century by Francesco Griffolini, of a collection of letters that had traditionally been attributed to Phalaris, the 6th-century BC tyrant of Akragas, now Agrigento.⁷¹ Furthermore, Colón also had a copy of the Venetian edition of the *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum et rhetorum*, in Greek, which contained, among other things, also

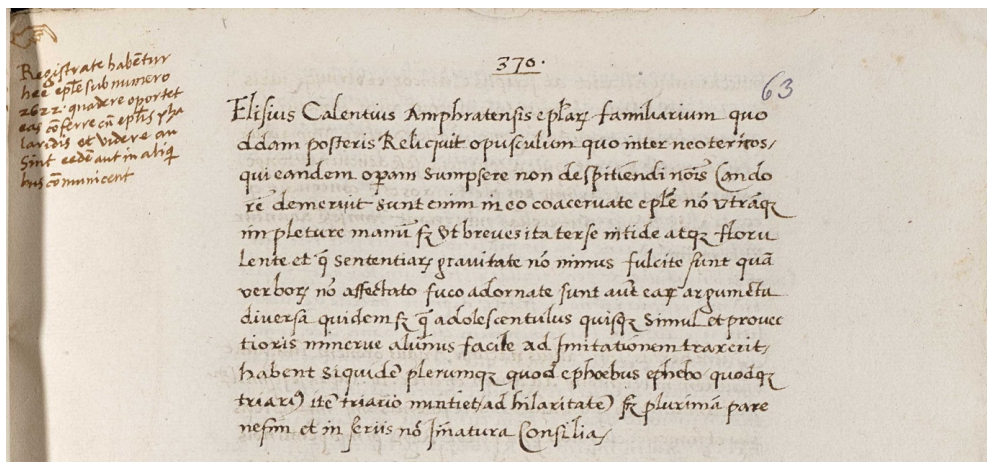


Fig. 5. Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 63r (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

⁶⁹ HPB GB-UkOxU.01.013065104; a full reproduction of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France copy is found at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5475612q.texteImage>> (last accessed in August 2024).

⁷⁰ Sevilla, BCC, 8-2-36(1).

⁷¹ HPB IT-ICCU.RMLE038102; on Griffolini see the entry by STEFANO BENEDETTI, Griffolini, Francesco, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LIX, 2002, online at <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-griffolini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (last accessed in August 2024). On the collection of letters attributed to Phalaris see at least SERENA BIANCHETTI, *Falaride e Pseudofalaride: storia e leggenda*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987; DAVIDE MURATORE, *Le Epistole di Falaride: catalogo dei manoscritti*, La Spezia, Agorà, 2001 and the chapter by CHRISTOPHER P. JONES, *Greek Letter Collections before Late Antiquity*, in *Late Antique Letter Collections. A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*, edited by Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin and Edward J. Watts, Oakland, University of California Press, 2017, pp. 38–53. Colón's copy of Griffolini's Latin translation of Pseudo-Phalaris' *Epistolae* was bought in Rome in June 1515 for fourteen quatrines and is now Sevilla, BCC 2-3-19(1); unfortunately, epitome 3404 has not survived either in the *borrador* version or in the Copenhagen manuscript.

some letters attributed to Phalaris: the edition was printed by Aldus Manutius in two parts, most likely in the first six months of 1499.⁷²

However, in spite of the reference to them in the title page, Phalaris' *Epistolae* do not actually seem to be included in Colón's copy of Chaudière's edition: the RB description only refers to the section of the volume dedicated to Calenzio, and in fact no mention of Phalaris' letters is to be found in the few lines of epitome 370, nor do the previous or following epitomes refer to them.⁷³ The copy must have been incomplete when it came into Colón's hands, as also suggested by the location of the purchase note, usually found on the last *verso* of the volume, and in this case found at the end of Calenzio's letters.⁷⁴

In this context, Colón's note, suggesting a comparison of Calenzio's letters with those by Phalaris to see if they were the same or at least shared some similarities, must have been written on the basis of either the 1521 French title page, which informs readers of the inclusion of Phalaris' letters in the edition, or on the basis of the AB record for Phalaris' letters, which included both RB1363 (an edition claiming to contain them but which in fact did not, in Colón's copy), RB2925 (which contained them in Griffolini's translation) and RB5589 (which contained some of them in Greek).

It is also interesting to note that on the verso of the last leaf of Colón's copy of Calenzio's letters (Sevilla, BCC, 8-2-36(1)), above the purchase note, Colón himself wrote two lines briefly summarising what he must have thought—possibly on the basis of the title page—was the content of the book: «Elisii Calentii epistole | Phalaridis epistole».⁷⁵ The notes are accompanied by what should probably be considered one of Colón's characteristic attention marks: a vertical line added in the margin next to the relevant text, with a small reversed 3 at either end. As above, Colón refers to the volume with its RA number, i.e. 2622, which is also the one recorded in the AbA, under Elisius Calensius: «Amphratensis et Phalaridis epistole 2622», with the entry number added in a different ink.⁷⁶

⁷² ISTC ie00064000; GW 9367; the first part is dated 29th March 1499; the second one is dated in ISTC to after 17th April of the same year. Colón's copy is now Sevilla, BCC, 6-3-43, with the two parts bound in reverse order. There appears to be no trace of purchase information left in the copy; however, entry numbers related to Colón's ownership of the volume are clearly visible on the top-left corner of the first page («13748») and on the bottom left corner of the last verso («5589»).

⁷³ I have not conducted a systematic census of all surviving copies, the exact number and locations of which are in themselves uncertain. However, the above-mentioned copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Z-3171) seems not to include the Phalaris section either. The second section is, instead, included in the copy in Oxford, Christ Church College, OX.3.22a; I am grateful to David Stumpp for sharing this information.

⁷⁴ «Este libro costó en Nerumberga (*sic*) 6 *craices* por diziembre de 1521 y el ducado de oro vale 86 *craices*. Está registrado 1363» and «2622» added later.

⁷⁵ See Sevilla, BCC, 8-2-36(1), f. K4v.

⁷⁶ See Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-8, f. 143v.

6) Two Hughs

On f. 100v one further marginal note of bibliographic content is found next to the beginning of epitome 480: «Debeo addere quintum librum quem offendi ex alia impressione qui est apud me» (Fig. 6).

Epitome 480 summarizes the treatise *De clauastro anime*, which consists of four books, probably written at different times and united in a single structure only at a later stage.⁷⁷ In particular, scholars have proposed that book II, *De clauastro materiali*, was the first to be published, followed by book III, book I, and eventually book IV, *De clauastro celesti*.

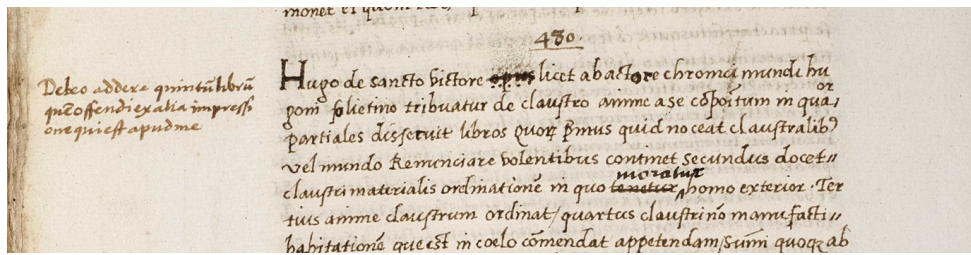


Fig. 6. Copenhagen, Arnemagnæan Institute, AM 377 fol., f. 100v (detail); photo by Suzanne Reitz.

For the sake of our discourse here, it should be noted that book II also includes the chapter *De duodecim abusibus clauatri*, which often circulated independently. It was probably only after the four books were already completed and circulating as one single work, however, that another text by the same author, i.e. the treatise *De hypocrita*, or *De simulatione*, was added as a fifth book.

Although in the prologue to the first book the author declares that he did not want his name to be known, and the text did indeed often circulate anonymously, already in the earliest manuscript witnesses the treatise is attributed to the Augustinian canon Hugh of Fouilloy (fl. 1150).⁷⁸ Nonetheless, perhaps also as a result of its frequently anonymous circulation, the text soon started also to be attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096-1141), both in manuscripts and in printed editions. In particular, out of the four surviving editions of the *De clauastro anime* that were printed before 1600, two, printed respectively in Paris in 1507 and in Venice in 1588, indicate Hugh of Saint Victor as the author, as do all the other four editions

⁷⁷ On this text, see the several recent studies by Franco Negri, the latest being FRANCO NEGRI, *Una lettera di Ugo di Fouilloy e il suo 'De clauastro animae'*, «Aevum», LXXXV, 2011, pp. 353–367, with bibliography; most of the following information is based on FRANCO NEGRI, *Il 'De Clauastro Animae' di Ugo di Fouilloy: Vicende testuali*, «Aevum», LXXX, 2006, pp. 389–422.

⁷⁸ Jean Mabillon thought that he was educated in the Benedictine monastery of Corbie; Fouilloy later became a prior himself, first of Saint-Nicholas-de-Regny, in 1132, and then of Saint-Laurent-au-Bois, in 1153; see JEAN MABILLON, EDMOND MARTÈNE, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti Occidentalium Monachorum Patriarchæ*, VI, Paris, Robustel, 1739, pp. 457–461 and the substantial bibliography collected by F. NEGRI, *Il "De Clauastro Animae"*, cit., pp. 390–391.

printed before the end of the 19th century.⁷⁹ In the *editio princeps*, which was printed in Cologne in 1504, however, the text is presented as: «Tractatus de Claustro Anime domini Hugonis Folietini [...]» and followed by the abovementioned *De hypocrita* (ff. U5v-Z3r), added as a fifth book.⁸⁰

In the AB epitome 480 appears under «Ugo de Sancto Victore de claustro anime et de duodecim abusionibus claustrum RB568 M209 E480» (col. 1799). RB568 corresponds to the edition printed in Paris in 1507, in which the work is attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor and preceded by the *De claustro animae* by Guillaume d'Auvergne (c. 1180-1249).⁸¹ In chronological order, this is the second known printed edition of the text, in which, differently from the first one (1504), it is attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. Colón's copy still survives in the BCC and, although it does not contain the usual purchase note, is recorded by the RB as having been bought in Leuven at the end of February 1522.⁸² The person who wrote epitome 480, on the basis of the Paris 1507 edition, must have been aware of the dubious attribution of the work, as the first three lines read: «Hugo de Sancto Victore opus licet ab actore chronici mundi Hugoni Folietino tribuatur de claustro anime a se compositum in quattuor partiales disseruit libros, quorum primus [...]».⁸³ It seems plausible to identify the author and work referenced in the epitome with Guillaume of Nangis, *custos cartarum* at Saint-Denis in the final years of the 13th century, and his *Chronicon mundi*, in which Fouilloy is mentioned as author of a *De claustro animae et corporis* under the year 1140.⁸⁴ Since this

⁷⁹ See F. NEGRI, *Il "De Claustro Animae"*, cit., pp. 294-296 for an analytical list of all early printed editions.

⁸⁰ HPB DE-601.GVK.14646690X. On f. U5v: «Liber quintus eiusdem de eodem licet ab auctore in prologo nulla eiusdem premissione sit adiectus». It appears that the 1504 editor already found it strange that no mention of the fifth book was found in the proem nor in the other texts introducing the *De claustro animae*.

⁸¹ RB568 reads: «Guillelmi Parrisiensis de claustro anime minori liber, cuius prohemium incipit: Moyses in deserto. Liber incipit: Hortus conclusus, et desinit: cogitationes inutiles. Et habet 20 capitula, quorum tabula est in principio. In principio est epistola Iudoci Clithovei, incipit: Urbanus secundus. Item sequuntur Hugonis de Sancto Victore de claustro anime libri 4. In principio est tabula capitulorum 2 foliorum. Epistola authoris incipit: Rogasti nos. Primus liber incipit: Incipientibus edificare, ultimus desinit: benedictus Deus amen. Est in 4^o. <In quo habentur 12 abusiones claustrum>. Impressum Parrisiis, anno 1507, 10 septembris. Costó en Lobayna 52 negmits al fin de hebrero de 1522. Est in 4^o» (the transcription is based on *Catálogo concordado*, cit., II, p. 204). The note before the imprint information was inserted by a different hand (possibly Colón's) and seems to refer to the second text contained in the edition. On the other hand, in accordance with the usual epitomizing practice seen above, epitome 479, i.e. the one immediately preceding the epitome which is the focus of this paragraph, refers to the first text contained in the edition, i.e. Guillaume d'Auvergne's *De claustro animae*. The edition in HPB is IT-ICCU.BVEE009019.

⁸² Sevilla, BCC, 2-3-15(1).

⁸³ See AM 377 fol., ff. 100v-101r.

⁸⁴ «Claruit praeterea his temporibus Hugo de Folieto sancti Petri Corbiensis monachus, qui librum de claustro animae et corporis composuit. Alii dicunt istum Hugonem in pago Ambiacensi fuisse canonicum regularem»; see *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de*

reference does not appear to be mentioned either in the text or in the paratext of the 1507 edition, on which the epitome is based, one is left wondering which source the author of the epitome had for it.⁸⁵ It is certainly not impossible that the reference was an independent addition of the *sumista*, based on his own knowledge of the source: given the widespread diffusion of Nangy's chronicle in French and Belgian territories, this might even add further substance to the suggestion that the author came from that part of Europe.⁸⁶ However, another element to take into consideration for the interpretation of this passage in the text of epitome 480 might be provided by a note left at the end of col. 1799 of the AB, right below the entries grouped under «Ugo de Sancto Victore», mentioned above. The note reads: «De Hugonibus pro discretionem scriptorum a singulis vide Antoninum in 3^a parte Historiali fo. p^o». I believe that the latter note might be attributed to the same hand who can be recognized as responsible for most of what remains of the *borrador* version of the epitomes, although the latter does not include, unfortunately, epitome 480, which is the focus of the present argument.⁸⁷ The reference in the AB points to the first leaf of the third part of Antonino Pierozzi's *Opus cronicarum*, which Colón owned in the edition printed in Lyon in 1512 by Nicolas Wolf—the copy still survives in the BCC.⁸⁸ At the beginning of the third part, a whole chapter is dedicated to Hugh of Saint Victor and particular attention is paid to distinguishing him from another six well-known figures also named Hugh.⁸⁹ After clarifying the matter, Pierozzi cites some of Hugh of Saint Victor's works, referring to book XXVII of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* as a source and not mentioning the *De claustro animae*. On the other hand, slightly later in his work Pierozzi writes an extended summary of the *De claustro animae* and attributes it to Fouilloi, also on the basis of Vincent of Beauvais' work.⁹⁰ To sum up, both Pierozzi and Vincent of Beauvais agreed in attributing the paternity of the *De claustro animae* to Fouilloi rather than to Hugh of St Victor; furthermore, Pierozzi is specifically mentioned as a

1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368, I, edited by Hercule Géraud, Paris, Renouard, 1843, pp. 31–32.

⁸⁵ In the AB there appears to be no mention either of Nangy – whose *Chronicon*, however, is not recorded as having circulated in printed form before the 17th century – or of the work, or of other chronicles or works that might be directly relevant to the topic.

⁸⁶ See J. M. RUIZ ASENSIO, *La biblioteca*, cit., p. 70. On Nangy's work see LÉOPOLD DELISLE, *Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis*, «Mémoires de l'Institut de France», XXVII/2, 1873, pp. 287–372 and the more recent DANIEL WILLIMAN, KAREN CORSANO, *The World Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis. A Manuscript's Journey from Saint-Denis to St. Pancras*, Berlin–Boston, Medieval Institute Publications, 2020.

⁸⁷ See M. MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations*, forthcoming.

⁸⁸ The edition has HPB DE-601.GVK.551121521; Sevilla, BCC 1-4-8, 1-4-9 and 1-4-10. Neither signs of reading nor annotations are found in the Colombina copy corresponding to the passage about the different Hughs.

⁸⁹ Part 3, tit. 18, cap. I.

⁹⁰ Part 3, tit. 18, cap. II, § 1-12. Pierozzi largely draws his content from Lib. 27, cap. 18-57 of the *Speculum historiale* (Vincentii Bellovacensis *Speculum Maius*, IV, Duaci 1624, 1102B–1116A); see also F. NEGRI, *Il "De Claustro Animae"*, cit., pp. 415–417.

source to distinguish different “Hughs” in the AB, in a note written by a hand which could well be that responsible for what remains of the rough version of the epitomes (in which, however, epitome 480 is not included).

As a chronological reference, it should be emphasized that, while epitome 480 was probably written, on the basis of the 1507 edition, around 1523, and it seems likely that Colón’s note was added not much later (possibly while revising or cataloguing the 1504 edition), the note on the AB by the *sumista* might have been added in correspondence to the writing of the epitomes of Pierozzi’s work, recorded with RB number 2653 and which, according to the AB, is associated both with epitomes 1347 and 3246 (AB col. 114).⁹¹ If, in spite of the close similarity of the title with Nangy’s work, the author of epitome 480 was instead referring to the authority of Pierozzi, or Vincent of Beauvais, when he mentioned that the *De claustro animae* was attributed to Fouilloi by the author of a *chronicon mundi*, the note on the AB and the remark in the text of the epitome would have the same source. The hypothesis remains to be explored further and is perhaps supported by the use of the term “actor”, which is how Pierozzi, as well as Vincent of Beauvais, indicated their own opinions in their texts.⁹²

However, in the manuscript note which is my main focus here, Colón did not mention the question of the authorship of the epitomized text directly, although in February 1522 he had also bought, in Cologne, for sixteen pfennigs, a copy of the 1504 *princeps*, in which, as seen above, the *De claustro animae* is correctly attributed to Hugh of Fouilloi, and his other treatise *De hypocrita* is added as a fifth book.⁹³ While I have not found, so far, any trace of Hugh of Fouilloi in the AB, the 1504 Cologne edition is also mentioned in column 1799 of the AB, also under Hugh of Saint Victor, just above the entry that, as we have just seen, refers to the 1507 Paris edition, on the basis of which epitome 480 was written. This latter AB entry reads: «Ugo de

⁹¹ Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum*, on the other hand, is only associated with RA1479 (AB col. 1808) and numbers therefore among the shipwrecked books (Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-15, f. 116r). See the conclusions of this article for further considerations on the chronology of the epitomes; the relationship between epitome 480, the AB note, the presence of Pierozzi’s work in Colón’s library and its multiple epitomes will require additional investigation.

⁹² On Vincent of Beauvais, among many things, see GREGORY G. GUZMAN, *The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin*, «Speculum», XLIX/2, 1974, pp. 287–307 and p. 292 in particular.

⁹³ RB2573 reads: «Tractatus de claustro anime Hugonis Folietini in 5 libros divisus et libri in capitula epitomatica et numeralia, quorum tabula est in principio, 2 foliorum cum dimidio. Item ante tabulam est exastichon Gaudensis, incipit: “Mititur (sic) ethereas”. Prologus primi libri incipit: “Rogasti nos”; 1 incipit: “Incipientibus edificare”, 5us desinit: “murmurationis laudat”. In fine est tractatus eiusdem authoris de constructione tabernaculi ad litteram, incipit: “Tabernaculum Moysi”, et desinit: “de tabernaculi compositione” <in quo habentur 12 abusiones>. Impressum anno 1504, die 3 ianuarii. In fine est unum (sic) nota incipit: “Notandum quod triplex”. Est in 8°. Costó en Colonia 16 fenins por hebrero de 1522. Itaque habetur in hoc codice quintus liber cum in aliis non habetur, qui incipit: “Quia ergo vidimus”, et ab aliquibus inscribitur tractatus de hypocritis». In this case, the copy still survives in the BCC (15-2-23). HPB for the edition is FR-751131015.CG.FRBNF306262810000003.

Sancto Victore de claustro anime et de constitutione tabernaculi cum tractatu de hypocritis RB2573 M3045», with no reference to an epitome number, and with an attribution which contradicts what is written on the title page itself, and which is not disputed in the RB.

What the RB entry for the Cologne 1504 edition does highlight instead, is the presence of the twelve *abusiones claustrum*, with an addition very similar to the one already seen in RB568, and the inclusion of a fifth book, not found in other imprints: «Itaque habetur in hoc codice quintus liber cum in aliis non habeatur, qui incipit “Quia ergo vidimus” et ab aliquibus inscribitur tractatus de hypocritis».⁹⁴ On the topic of the *abusiones*, it should be noted that this indication refers to one of the sections of the second book of the treatise – *De claustro materiali* – which is known to be one of the portions of the text that also had an independent circulation with different titles in manuscript form.⁹⁵ And in fact Colón owned such a manuscript of this text, which still survives in the BCC and was included in the RA with the number 3565 and in the RB with number 303.⁹⁶

A few final considerations can be added: it is possible that the two editions were bought and kept owing to the different attributions in the first place, as we know that editions that duplicated the same work were normally avoided within the library: this was probably not, at least initially, perceived as a case of duplication.

In fact, the two books are attributed to different authors in the AbA, the earliest alphabetical list of Colón's library, containing references to the numbering of the earliest version of the bibliographical catalogue (RA). In the AbA the 1507 edition is mentioned as «Ugo de Sancto Victore, De claustro anime libri 4, RA2706» (f. 491r), while the 1504 one appears as «Ugo Folietinus, De claustro anime, RA3839, et de constructione tabernaculi» (f. 491v).⁹⁷ As mentioned above, the *De claustro anime* does not appear attributed to Fouilloy in any of the other library catalogues. As reported in the online version of the *Catálogo concordado*, the *Libro de las Propositiones* instead contains a record about the second work included in the 1504 edition, the *De constructione tabernaculi*, and ascribes it to Fouilloy: «Tabernaculum Moſe quale et ex quibus ornamentis fuerit constructum atque ornatum et quid sint tabernaculum eternale et spirituale ac per quas partes tabernaculi naturalis significantur per totum docet Hugo Foiletinus

⁹⁴ This information on the title of the fifth book was probably taken from a note printed in the edition itself, after the end of the *De claustro anime* and before the beginning of the *De constructione tabernaculi* (f. Z3r).

⁹⁵ F. NEGRI, *Il “De Claustro Animae”*, cit., p. 402.

⁹⁶ Sevilla, BCC, 5-2-7, 143r-155v; in the-contemporary-manuscript index (263r), the text is attributed generically to a certain Hugh («Incipit liber XII abusioſum Hugonis»), and it is listed in the AB in the same column as «Ugo de Sancto Victore», but a few lines above, simply under «Ugo» («Ugo de duodecim abusioſibus de mano RB303, octavo, 2 col., res.» see MARÍA DEL CARMEN ÁLVAREZ MÁRQUEZ, *El itinerario de adquisiciones de libros de mano de Hernando Colón*, «Historia. Instituciones. Documentos», XXX, 2003, pp. 55-102, especially p. 73.

⁹⁷ Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-8.

(sic) in libello de constructione tabernaculi M3045».⁹⁸ Nonetheless, in the later AB indexation already reported above, the latter work is also attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor: «Ugo de Sancto Victore, De claustro anime et de constitutione tabernaculi cum tractatu de hyppocritis, RB2573, M3045» (col. 1799). Although the two editions were bought more or less at the same time, the Paris 1507 one was probably catalogued earlier than the other, as the wide gap in the numbering in the RA and then in the RB would appear to show. In spite of the different attributions, which are merely referred to but not discussed in the bibliographical catalogues (RA and RB), by the time the subjects were analyzed in order to write their epitomes, the *De claustro anime* had been recognized as the same text in two editions, and the attribution to Hugh of Saint Victor was preferred to that to Fouillo. This resulted in no epitomes of the *De claustro anime* being written on the basis of the 1504 edition and in the second text contained in that edition – *De constructione tabernaculi* – being somewhat overlooked: its subject was extracted, but no epitome of it was written and it eventually ended up in the AB under the name of Hugh of Saint Victor too.

Still, no mention of the presence of another edition of the *De claustro anime* in the library appears in any of the two RB entries, as happens in other similar cases, such as the Lull example looked at above. Nor is the authorship of the *De claustro anime* questioned at all in the RB entry for the 1504 edition, which would at least provide some ground for the decisive attribution to Hugh of Saint Victor in the AB. Neither is the matter of the attribution, strictly speaking, raised by Colón in his note to epitome 480, in which he appears to be concerned exclusively about the completeness of the epitomized text while choosing to ignore the ambiguity on the identity of its author, of which by this point he must have been aware.

Conclusions

The notes examined above refer to a small selection of texts and authors. Iohannes Versor's *Elucidatio doctinalis in quattuor libros logice nove Aristotelis*; Rodericus Zamorensis' *Speculum humanae vitae* and his *Compendiosa historia Hispanica*; the *De modo et regula rei familiaris facilius gubernande*, dubiously attributed by Colón to a generic «Bernardus», later to Bernardus Silvestris and eventually to Saint Bernard; Raymund Lull's *Apostrophe*; the collection of letters attributed to the Sicilian tyrant Phalaris; and the monastic spiritual treatise *De claustro animae*.

In five out of six cases (all but the last one), the notes openly concern issues of attribution. Also, in most cases, the notes seem to have been motivated by the presence of multiple instances for the same text in the library, and from Colón's comparison of the editions, of their contents, or of the related catalogue records. In the case of Phalaris, this comparison with a different version of the same work is suggested, but seems to have not

⁹⁸ Sevilla, BCC, 10-1-2, 312r.

been possible, which probably led to a subsequent correction of the main text of the epitome.

The apparent absence of a deeper philological interest for the transmission of the texts considered should not lead us to overlook the significance of these annotations, which illustrate well Colón's preoccupation for a meticulous knowledge of the texts and editions in his collection. This same meticulous knowledge allowed him not only to know the contents of his library, but to shape them, on the basis of choices that point towards early forms of comparative bibliography.

The «Adverte» notes should not be confined to bibliographic *minutiae*, as they represent, instead, examples of the very practical forms taken by Colón's broader ambition to create a cataloguing system capable of managing a vast and diverse collection, and as such provide a window into the nitty-gritty of his practices for systematizing knowledge and of his practical approach to cataloguing: one that relied on describing and cross-referencing different kinds of data about his books, identifying conflicting information, and keeping track of them in the cataloguing tools. In this sense, Colón's annotations, are not just administrative marks, in the same way that his attention to these bibliographical details goes beyond the simple accumulation of data.

Furthermore, the notes numbered above as three and five, i.e. those on the *Formula rei familiaris facilius gubernande* and on the *Epistolae* by the Pseudo-Phalaris, contain remarks that would merit further investigation for the light they could shed on how the management of the collection was organized over time: since they both refer to the numbers that the respective volumes had in the RA, we must conclude that this was the progressive numbering system still in use not only after the epitomes were written, but also after they were fair-copied in the Copenhagen manuscript.⁹⁹ Although it is unclear when the shift from the RA to the RB numbering system happened, Marín seems to place it towards the mid-1520s, between the second and the third phases of the library's development, which he calls 'the first apogee' («el primer apogeo») and 'the full apogee' («el apogeo pleno») respectively.¹⁰⁰

Finally, note six in particular seems to indicate Colón's willingness to accept the position taken by the *sumista* on the author of the epitomized work (the treatise *De claustro animae*), the attribution of which to Hugh of Saint Victor, attested in the 1507 edition, on which the epitome was based, and supported through the mention in the same epitome, of a *Chronicon mundi*, is not discussed, notwithstanding the fact that the note was probably

⁹⁹ The chronology of the composition of the epitomes and of the production of their fair copy, i.e. the Copenhagen manuscript, is currently being revised in M. MALASPINA, *Preliminary observations*, forthcoming.

¹⁰⁰ See for instance T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, *Obras y libros*, cit., pp. 553, 800; in this period, the rate at which books were entering the library was at its highest and later led to the restructuring of the indexes and numbering system (see *Catálogo concordado*, cit., I, p. 324).

written on the basis of a different edition, in which the work is attributed to Hugh of Fouilloy.

While none of the annotations displays a particularly sophisticated philological interest in the transmission of the texts concerned, they do testify to Colón's thorough knowledge and meticulous organization of his collection, and his active and constant participation in the highly articulated system that he had devised in order to manage it.

