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“Impresse et Diligenter Correcte”:
Johann Koelhoff the Elder’s Transmission of
Francesco Griffolini’s Latin Translation of
Chrysostom’s Homilies on John

CHRIS L. NIGHMAN

In 1459, a humanist scholar named Francesco Griffolini completed his Latin translation of John Chrysostom’s eighty-eight Greek homilies on the Gospel of John, working at Rome under the patronage of Cardinal Jean Jouffroy; three years later he completed a significantly different second recension of that translation, which he dedicated to Cosimo de’ Medici.¹ This important work of patristic biblical exegesis was first translated into Latin in the twelfth century by Burgundio of Pisa, whose preface explains his rationale for employing a literal, word-for-word (*de verbo ad verbum*) approach to translation.² Nearly three centuries later, Griffolini rendered a relatively free translation, in accordance with the principles of humanist philologists such as Leonardo Bruni,³ that emphasizes the elegance and rhetorical power of Chrysostom (an epithet that literally means “golden-mouth” in recognition of his famed eloquence). A third Latin translation would later be published in the early eighteenth century by Bernard de Montfaucon, OP, whose approach to translation generally seems to occupy a middle position between Burgundio’s literal and Griffolini’s free rendering. Because these translations represent three distinct eras of Greco-Latin translation theory and practice—from the High Middle Ages to the Renaissance to the Enlightenment—a comparative presentation of these successive Latin versions and the Greek original offers a unique

opportunity for teaching and research that has defined the *Chrysostomus Latinus in Iohannem* Online (CLIO) Project, an open-access resource I launched in 2015.⁴

This article presents research results from this digital humanities project in addressing the transmission of Griffolini's 1462 second recension in manuscripts and early printed editions. The evidence presented below strongly indicates that the second edition, published in Cologne in 1486 by Johann Koelhoff the Elder, was the product of scholarly emendation in transmitting Griffolini's translation, and that an unknown scholar in Koelhoff's employ, perhaps a Carthusian monk at St. Barbara's Charterhouse in Cologne, used both a corrected copy of the *editio princeps*, published at Rome in 1470 by Georgius Lauer, and also an early manuscript copy in ameliorating the text. This is an important discovery because Koelhoff's prolific printing operation has been recognized as an efficient business but not as a scholarly press, and this is a quite early date to see such editorial agency at work outside Italy in emending a humanist text originally printed in Italy. Moreover, the likely connection between Koelhoff's press and the Carthusians in Cologne has not been previously recognized.⁵

The print tradition of Griffolini's translation is quite extensive. Following the two incunables,⁶ Griffolini's translation was incorporated into the *editio princeps* of Chrysostom's *Opera omnia*, printed at Venice in 1503, and was subsequently included in all reprints of the Venice collection that followed, including four editions published at Basel (1504, 1517, 1522, 1525) and one at Paris (1522). Griffolini's translation next appeared in Erasmus's 1530 edition of Chrysostom's collected works from Froben's press in Basel, which was reprinted several times at Basel and elsewhere.⁷ Following minor revisions made to Erasmus's text by Sigismund Gelenius in the 1547 Basel edition, a thorough emendation was carried out by a prominent French scholar of patristic Greek, Philippe Montanus, who used Gelenius's 1547 edition and closely consulted a Greek manuscript at Fontainebleau in preparing the heavily revised edition published at Paris in 1556 at Soleil d'or,⁸ the scholarly printing house of Charlotte Guillard and Guillaume Desbois.⁹

The CLIO Project has documented Montanus's extensive improvements to Griffolini's translation, which include a long passage of more than two hundred words in Homily 29 (29.2.9–14) and another of forty-eight words in Homily 53 (53.1.26–2.2) that are original translations Montanus produced to fill major lacunae in the received text, the former being absent from Griffolini's original translation and his Greek exemplar,¹⁰ and the latter having been omitted during the printing of the 1470 Rome edition. Moreover, while in many cases Montanus simply changed a word or two in Griffolini's translation, in other places he completely retranslated a clause or sentence.¹¹ Indeed, Montanus's intervention in the print tradition is so

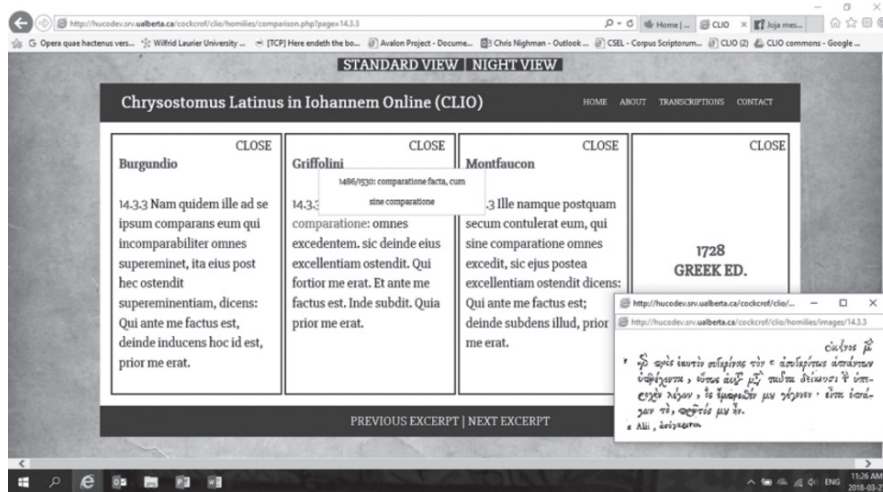
extensive that the 1556 edition and its progeny should now be recognized as the Griffolini-Montanus translation.¹² Further refinements were made to Montanus's version when it was reprinted alongside the original Greek in Jerome Commelin's 1603 Heidelberg edition.¹³ This Greco-Latin edition was reprinted several times at Paris in the early seventeenth century by Fronton du Duc, SJ,¹⁴ and it was subsequently reprinted elsewhere by at least four other publishers,¹⁵ until it was superseded in 1728 by Montfaucon's new Latin translation and critical edition of the Greek original.

In the process of compiling a digital transcription of the 1470 edition for the CLIO Project, it quickly became apparent that the *editio princeps* contains numerous typographical errors, so Erasmus's 1530 edition of Griffolini's translation was consulted to correct those problems.¹⁶ Because this approach revealed many substantive textual variants that were surely intentional corrections, the project's agenda was then expanded to annotate all significant variants in Erasmus's influential 1530 edition for the digital apparatus of the online text.¹⁷ A particularly significant improvement in Erasmus's 1530 edition was found in Homily 14, which contains a string of four words that do not appear in Lauer's 1470 edition:

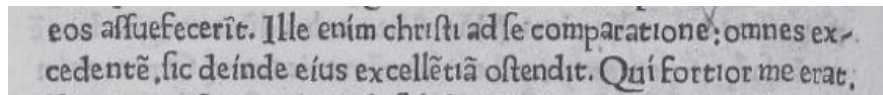
1470 ed. (f.57v): "*Ille enim christi ad se comparatione: omnes excedentem.*"

1530 ed. (p.799): "*Ille enim Christi ad se comparatione facta, eum sine comparatione omnes excedentem.*"¹⁸

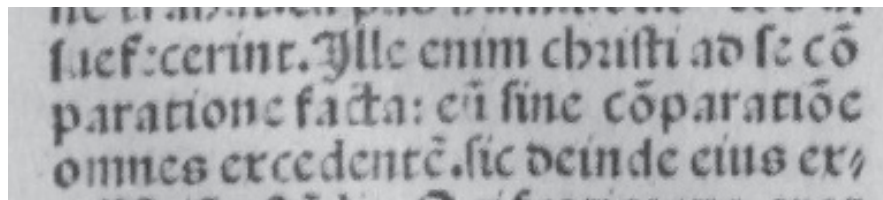
A comparison of several manuscript copies of Griffolini's 1462 recension that are freely provided online confirmed that the printer of the 1470 edition must have committed or perpetuated an eyeskip error caused by the repetition of "*comparatione*" in this sentence.¹⁹ Moreover, as shown in the following screenshot made from the CLIO website in 2018, the Latin versions of Burgundio and Montfaucon, and Montfaucon's edition of the original Greek, all support the conclusion that the typesetter of the 1470 Rome edition must have either erroneously omitted the words "*facta eum sine comparatione*" or unwittingly perpetuated that error from the manuscript exemplar.



It is important to note that this passage is not part of a biblical quotation that an editor could have corrected without recourse to another source. Further research on the early print transmission of this text revealed that it was not actually Erasmus of Rotterdam, the great humanist philologist of the early sixteenth century, who recognized this error and restored the missing words after consulting a manuscript copy of Griffolini’s text; rather, the correction was originally made in the second edition, published in Cologne in 1486 by Johann Koelhoff the Elder.²⁰

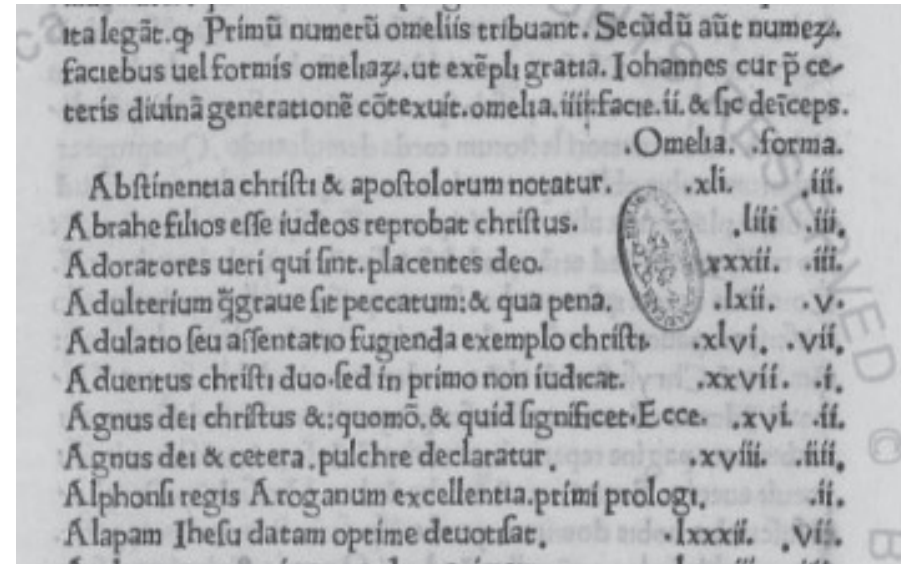


G. Lauer, ed., Rome, 1470, fol. 57v.

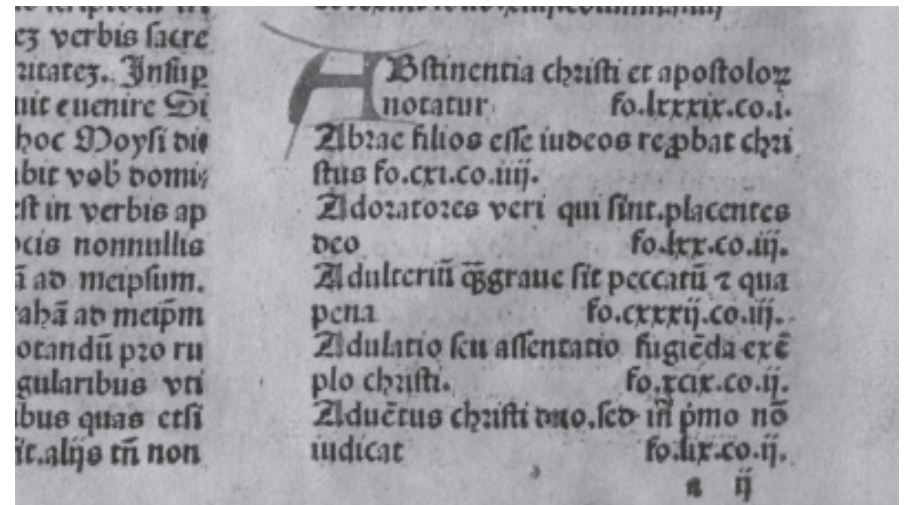


J. Koelhoff, ed., Cologne, 1486, fol. 31ra.

One possible explanation for the absence of this eyeskip error in the 1486 Cologne edition would be if Koelhoff’s version were an independent edition transcribed directly from a manuscript, in other words, a second *editio princeps*. But this possibility is easily dismissed in light of various commonalities between the Rome and Cologne editions. For example, Koelhoff reproduced an index that was apparently compiled by Lauer, as it does not appear in any of the early manuscripts.



G. Lauer, ed., Rome, 1470, fol. 1v.

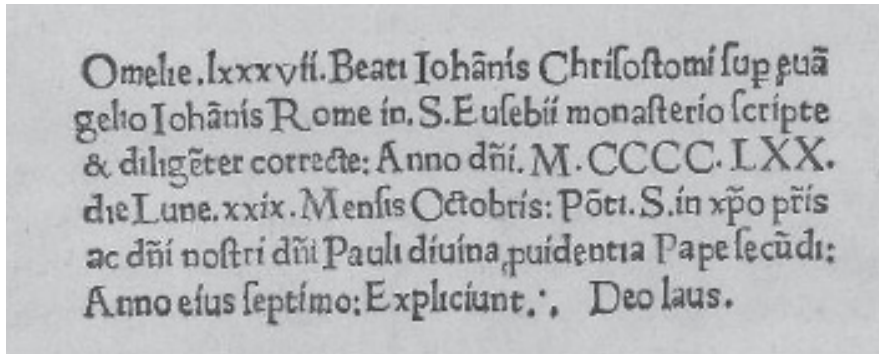


J. Koelhoff, ed., Cologne, 1486, sig. aii (recto).

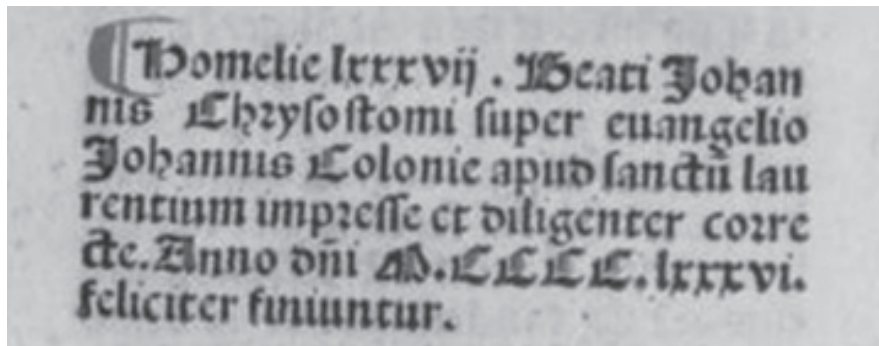
Moreover, in both the 1470 and 1486 editions, the homilies are enumerated as eighty-seven rather than eighty-eight. This is because Lauer identified Chrysostom’s first homily as the preface to the text, the second homily as the first, and so on, in contrast to the enumeration found in all extant manuscripts of Burgundio’s translation and the early manuscripts of Griffolini’s translation, excepting several late copies that were copied from one of the incunable editions (see Appendix below). Thus Homily 14 is

identified as Homily 13 in both incunables, in the late manuscripts copied from one of them, and in all later editions of Griffolini's translation.²¹ Lauer likely altered the homilies' enumeration because homilies 2–88 all begin with a scriptural pericope from the Gospel of John, but that is not the case with the first homily, which does indeed serve as an introduction to the homilies that follow, leading Lauer to identify it as Chrysostom's *prefatio*.

Another piece of metatextual evidence indicating that the 1486 edition is a reprint of the 1470 Rome edition is the similarity in the wording of their colophons, including their mutual claim that the text has been "diligently corrected" (*diligenter correcte*).



G. Lauer, ed., Rome, 1470, fol. 277r.



J. Koelhoff, ed., Cologne, 1486, fol. 183vb.

Surely the most conclusive evidence for Koelhoff's reprinting of Lauer's edition is found not in the apparatus of these editions but within the text itself. Both the 1470 and 1486 editions contain an erroneous reordering of a portion of Homily 14, in fact, the very section that contains the eyeskip error discussed above (underscored below). The following table compares this passage to the two other Latin translations of the text:

Burgundio da Pisa, trans., <i>Explanatio in sanctum Iohannem</i> (Paris, BnF MS lat. 15284, fol. 25rb)	Francesco Griffolini, trans., <i>Omelie super Iohannis euangelio</i> (Rome, 1470 ed., fols. 57r–v)	Bernard de Montfaucon, trans., <i>Commentarius in Ioannem</i> (Paris, 1728 ed., p. 78)
<p>14.3.1 Misericordie igitur equidem et miserationum et gratie legem suscipere. Propterea cum dixisset gratiam pro gratia, adhuc feruentius decertans magnitudini eorum que data sunt inducit, dicens: Lex per Moysen data est; gratia et ueritas per Ihesum Christum facta est.</p>	<p>14.3.1 Misericordie igitur: et miserationum: et gratie: legem accepimus. Idcirco cum gratiam pro gratia dixisset: etiam pro beneficiorum dei in nos magnitudine uehementius certans addidit. Lex per Moysen data est. gratia et ueritas per Ihesum christum facta est.</p> <p>14.3.5 Et animaduerte euangeliste sapientiam. non personarum sed tenuium rerum facit disquisitionem. quibus confessis longe christum Iohanne maiorem necesse est: etiam pertinaces: consentiant.</p> <p>14.3.6 Siquidem cum res que nullam habent: neque ad alicuius gratiam neque ad odium causam hoc testantur. certam etiam impudentibus ostendunt sententiam.</p> <p>14.3.7 Nam quales eas autores fecerunt: tales existimantur. Quare eorum maxime uerum est testimonium sine ulla suspitione.</p>	<p>14.3.1 Misericordiae igitur et miserationum et gratiae opus illud est, legem accipere. Ideo cum dixisset, gratiam pro gratia, uehementius magnitudini donorum insistens subiungit: Lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Ihesum Christum facta est.</p>
<p>14.3.2 Vidistis qualiter quiescibiliter et paulatim uno uerbo, et baptista Iohannes et discipulus ad altissimam auditores inducunt cognitionem. Prius humilioribus exercitantes.</p>	<p>14.3.2 Videte quam placide et paulatim et baptista Iohannes et discipulus: ad supremam auditores cognitionem trahant. cum prius humilioribus eos assuefecerint</p>	<p>14.3.2 Videte quam placide ac paulatim uno uerbo et Joannes Baptista et discipulus ad supremam auditores cognitionem euehant, postquam eos in humilioribus exercitarunt</p>

<p>14.3.3 Nam quidem ille ad se ipsum comparans eum qui incomparabiliter omnes supereminet, ita eius post hec ostendit supereminentiam, dicens: Qui ante me factus est, deinde inducens hoc id est, prior me erat.</p>	<p>14.3.3 Ille enim christi ad se comparatione: omnes excedentem. sic deinde eius excellentiam ostendit. Qui fortior me erat. Et ante me factus est. Inde subdit. Quia prior me erat.</p>	<p>14.3.3 Ille namque postquam secum contulerat eum, qui sine comparatione omnes excedit, sic ejus postea excellentiam ostendit dicens: Qui ante me factus est; deinde subdens illud, prior me erat.</p>
<p>14.3.4 Hic autem illo quidem multo maius fecit. Dignitate uero unigeniti minus. Non enim ad Iohannem sed ad eum qui illa magis in admiratione apud Iudeos facit comparationem Moysen. Dico: Lex enim per Moysen data est; gratia et ueritas per Ihesum Christum facta est.</p>	<p>14.3.4 Hic autem maius locutus est. minus tamen quam unigeniti dignitas postularet. Non enim ad Iohannem. sed ad eum qui longe maiori erat apud Iudeos admirationi: facit comparationem. hoc est ad Moysen. Quia lex inquit per Moysen data est: gratia et ueritas per Ihesum christum facta est.</p>	<p>14.3.4 Hic uero multo majus praestitit, minus tamen quam Unigeniti dignitas postularet. Non enim Joanni, sed ei, qui majori quam Joannes, apud Iudaeos erat admirationi, Moysi nempe, ipsum comparat dicens, Lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Jesum Christum facta est.</p>
<p>14.3.5 Et considera prudentiam. Non persone facit scrutinyem. sed rerum. Hiis enim demonstratis multam maioribus ex necessitate et indeuotos conueniens est accipere sententiam, et suspicionem de Christo quod potior Moyses.</p>		<p>14.3.5 Et uide prudentiam. Non personarum, sed rerum disquisitionem facit. Nam cum res ipsae longe majores demonstrarentur, necessario ingrati illi sententiam et opinionem de Christo excipere debebant.</p>
<p>14.3.6 Cum enim introrumque testantur que nullam habent suspicionem quasi ad gratiam alicuius uel odium hoc faciant inalterabilem et indeuotis indicationem hanc representant.</p>		<p>14.3.6 Cum enim opera ipsa, quae nullam habeant uel gratiae uel odii suspicionem, testificantur; certum etiam impudentibus praebent indicium.</p>
<p>14.3.7 Qualescumque enim eas disposuerint qui fecerunt, tales manent apparentes. Ideo maxime omnium insuspicabile est id quod ab hiis testimonium.</p>		<p>14.3.7 Nam qualia illa auctores ediderunt, talia manent et conspicua sunt: quomobrem omni suspitione et exceptione majus est illorum testimonium.</p>

<p>14.3.8 Et uide qualiter non honerosam facit collationem et apud imbecilliores. Non enim construit sermone eminentiam sed a nominibus nudis, differentiam ostendit, gratiam et ueritatem opponens legi, et hoc id est facta est, huic id est data est.</p>	<p>14.3.8 Animaduerte preterea quamhonestam facit comparationem: etiam apud imbecilliores. Non enim ratione excellentiam confirmat. sed nudis nominibus differentiam ostendit. gratiam et ueritatem legi. et hanc particulam. Facta est. huic. Data est: opponens</p>	<p>14.3.8 Animadverte autem quam modestam facit comparationem etiam apud infirmiores. Non enim excellentiam illam uerbis extollit, sed nudis nominibus differentiam ostendit, dum gratiam et ueritatem, legi; et hanc uocem, facta est, huic, data est, opponit.</p>
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None of the early manuscript witnesses for Griffolini's translation contains this erroneous rearrangement of the text.²² Moreover, the 1470 edition itself clearly shows that it was the result of a typesetting error that was made during the printing process rather than a perpetuated scribal error from Lauer's manuscript exemplar. This anomaly in the 1470 edition begins near the bottom of folio 57r:

et rectus dñs: ppter hoc legē ponet peccātibus i uia. Misericor-
die igit: & miseratonum: & gratie: legem accepimus. Idcirco cum
gratiā pro grā dixisset: etiā p beneficioꝝ dei in nos magnitudine
uehemētius certās addidit. Lex p Moysen data est. gratia &
ueritas p Ihesum christum facta ē. Et animaduerte euangeliste
sapientia. nō psonarum sed tenuium rez: facit disquisitionē. quibus
confessis longe christum Iohāne maiorē necesse ē: etiā p tinaces:
consentiāt. Siquidem cum res que nullam habent: neq; ad alicuius
gratiā neq; ad odium causā hoc testatur. certam etiā ipudētibus
ostēdūt sententiā. Nā q̄les eas auctores fecerūt: tales existimant.
Quare eorum maxime uerum est testimonium sine ulla suspitione.

and continues at the top of folio 57v:

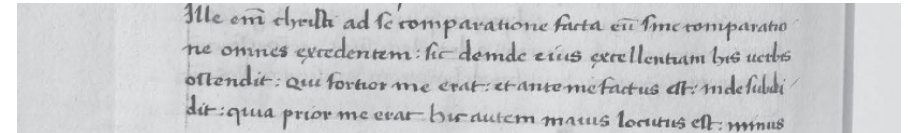
Videte q̄placide & paulatim & baptista Iohānes & discipulus:
ad sup̄mam auditores cognitionem trahāt. cū p̄us humilioribus
eos assuefecerit. Ille enim christi ad se comparatione: omnes ex-
cedentē. sic deinde eius excellētā ostendit. Qui fortior me erat.
Et ante me factus est. Inde subdit. Quia prior me erat. Hic autē
maius locutus est. minus tamē q̄ unigeniti dignitas postularet.
Non enim ad Iohannem. sed ad eum qui longe maiori erat apud
Iudeos admirationi: facit cōparationē. hoc est ad Moysen. Quia
lex inquit per Moysen data est: gratia et ueritas per Ihesum xpm
facta est. Animaduerte preterea q̄honestam facit comparationē:
etiam apud imbecilliores. Non enim rōne excellentiam cōfirmat.
sed nudis nominibus differentiam ostendit. gratiam et ueritatem
legi. & hāc p̄iculā. Facta est. huic. Data est: opponēs. Maxima
autē utrorunq; differētia: dari enim ministri est. Nam cui datur:

It is not difficult to reconstruct the erroneous typographical process that produced this result. At the end of the passage that corresponds to 14.3.1 (*Misericordie . . . facta est.*), Lauer's typesetter skipped over a number of lines in the manuscript exemplar and continued with the text corresponding to 14.3.5–7 (*Et animadverte . . . suspitione.*). This omission of ninety-three words on the recto of the sheet was then noticed before the verso was printed, but instead of resetting the type for the recto side, the typesetter inserted the intervening lines corresponding to 14.3.2–4 (*Videte . . . facta est.*) at the top of the following page (fol. 57v) before resuming with the next passage (14.3.8), an approach that was abetted by the fact that the final line on folio 57r ends with the conclusion of a sentence. Presumably, this mistake was not recognized after a sample proof was printed and checked but rather after a full print run of the recto had been completed; otherwise, the type would have been reset for the last seven lines on that page. Thus, when the verso of that sheet was typeset, the omitted lines were inserted at the top of folio 57v. This anomaly in the 1470 edition would be perpetuated in Koelhoff's 1486 Cologne edition (fol. 31r) and all subsequent editions until it was finally corrected in Philippe Montanus's 1556 Paris edition.²³

Therefore, it is certain that Koelhoff reprinted Griffolini's text from a copy of the 1470 Rome edition rather than publishing an alternate, independent first edition from a manuscript exemplar. Thus, it would seem that the second edition's correction of the eyeskip error in Homily 14, and hundreds of other emendations made in Koelhoff's 1486 edition that are documented in the CLIO Project's online edition of this text, can be explained in two ways: either Koelhoff's exemplar copy of the 1470 edition had been corrected on this point, or Koelhoff's editor corrected the error by consulting a manuscript exemplar. However, it is also possible that both a corrected copy of the 1470 edition and a manuscript exemplar were used in Cologne in extensively emending the received text from Lauer's press. The following evidence, drawn mostly from Homily 14, strongly indicates that this third scenario was precisely how the text of Koelhoff's 1486 edition was "*diligenter correcte.*"

Because Griffolini's translation was printed only a few years after he completed it, the corpus of manuscripts containing his 1462 second recension is very small, comprising only eight early manuscripts; this count excludes three late manuscripts that were copied from one of the incunables and three late copies from the manuscript tradition (see Appendix, below). All eight early copies were made either at Rome or Florence, and six of them remained in Italy, with only two crossing the Alps: one is at Paris and the other—currently Bryn Mawr College Library MS 12—was formerly at the Carthusian monastery of St. Barbara in Cologne. According to its

colophon, the Bryn Mawr manuscript was copied at Rome by an otherwise unknown scribe named Lambert Lynen in 1462,²⁴ the same year Griffolini completed his second recension.²⁵ Like all other early manuscripts, the Bryn Mawr copy does not contain the eyeskip error in Homily 14 that appears in Lauer's 1470 edition, but the important thing to note is that there is no mark or notation that would have attracted the attention of Koelhoff's editor to that line.



Bryn Mawr College Library MS 12, fol. 51v, ll. 34–37.

Thus, it is possible that this manuscript, the only surviving copy of Griffolini's translation that can be placed in Cologne in the late fifteenth century, was used by Koelhoff's editor to correct the eyeskip error in Homily 14, but only if that editor recognized that the sentence in the 1470 edition does not make sense, or if it was corrected during a systematic collation of the manuscript against the *editio princeps*. However, it is very unlikely that such a line-by-line comparison of the Bryn Mawr manuscript was done by Koelhoff's editor, because the reordering of the text in Homily 14 (14.3.2–7) was not corrected. Likewise, the large lacuna in Homily 53 which Montanus later filled in the 1556 edition was also not corrected in the 1486 edition. Therefore, it would seem that Koelhoff's editor consulted the Bryn Mawr manuscript only to confirm corrections made in the 1470 exemplar or to check passages that did not make sense; either scenario would explain the correction of the eyeskip error in Homily 14.

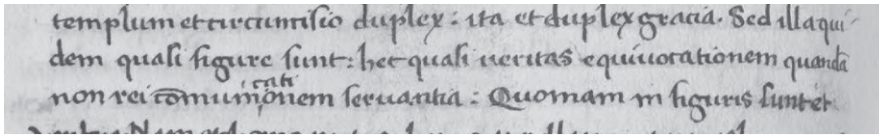
However, there is evidence within Homily 14 indicating that Koelhoff's editor did sometimes make further use of the Bryn Mawr manuscript, and this example also proves beyond any reasonable doubt that this manuscript was used in emending the received text for the publication of the 1486 edition. This evidence is found in a passage (14.1.16) that contains a variant that was first introduced in the 1486 edition and perpetuated in all subsequent editions:

1470 ed. (fol. 56r): "*equiuocationem quandam: non rei communi-
cationem seruantia.*"

1486 ed. (fol. 30rb): "*equiuocationem quandam: non rei commu-
nionem seruantia.*"²⁶

Among the eight early manuscripts of Griffolini's second recension, the *communione* variant is found only in the one formerly in Cologne and now

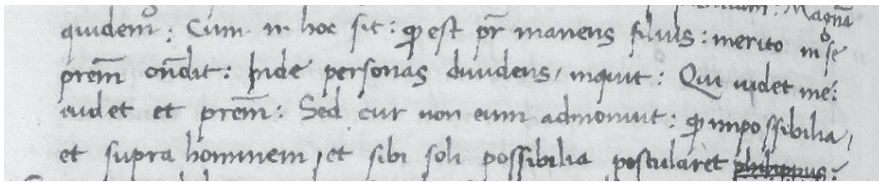
at Bryn Mawr.²⁷ Thus, this variant in the print tradition almost certainly originated when Koelhoff's editor consulted that manuscript, where it was corrected from *communione* to *communicationem*:



Bryn Mawr College Library MS 12, fol. 50v, ll. 11–13.

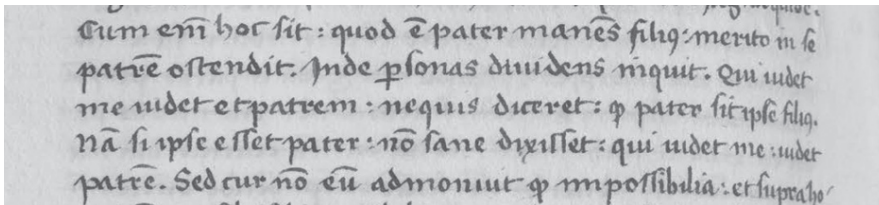
Because Koelhoff's editor apparently did not conduct a systematic, line-by-line collation of the Bryn Mawr manuscript, it is reasonable to suppose that this variant was noticed by that editor because it had already been corrected prior to 1486.

The Bryn Mawr manuscript, in addition to being a crucial resource for Koelhoff's second edition, is a very important witness to Griffolini's second recension within the manuscript tradition. The dedication copy of the 1462 second recension which Griffolini sent to Cosimo de Medici, who subsequently donated it to the Dominican library of San Marco in Florence, contains a significant eyeskip error in Homily 74:



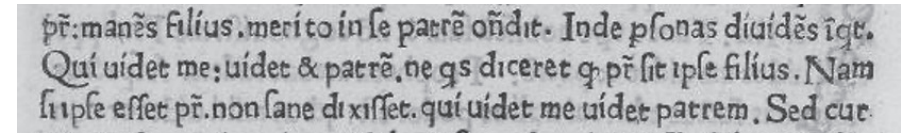
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, conv. soppr. J VI 7, fol. 217v, l. 5.

This scribal error omits twenty words from 74.1.17–18, a lacuna that is repeated in nearly all of the early manuscripts of Griffolini's second recension,²⁸ the sole exception being the Bryn Mawr manuscript, which includes those twenty words (*nequis diceret . . . uidet patrem*):



Bryn Mawr College Library MS 12, fol. 215v, ll. 4–8.

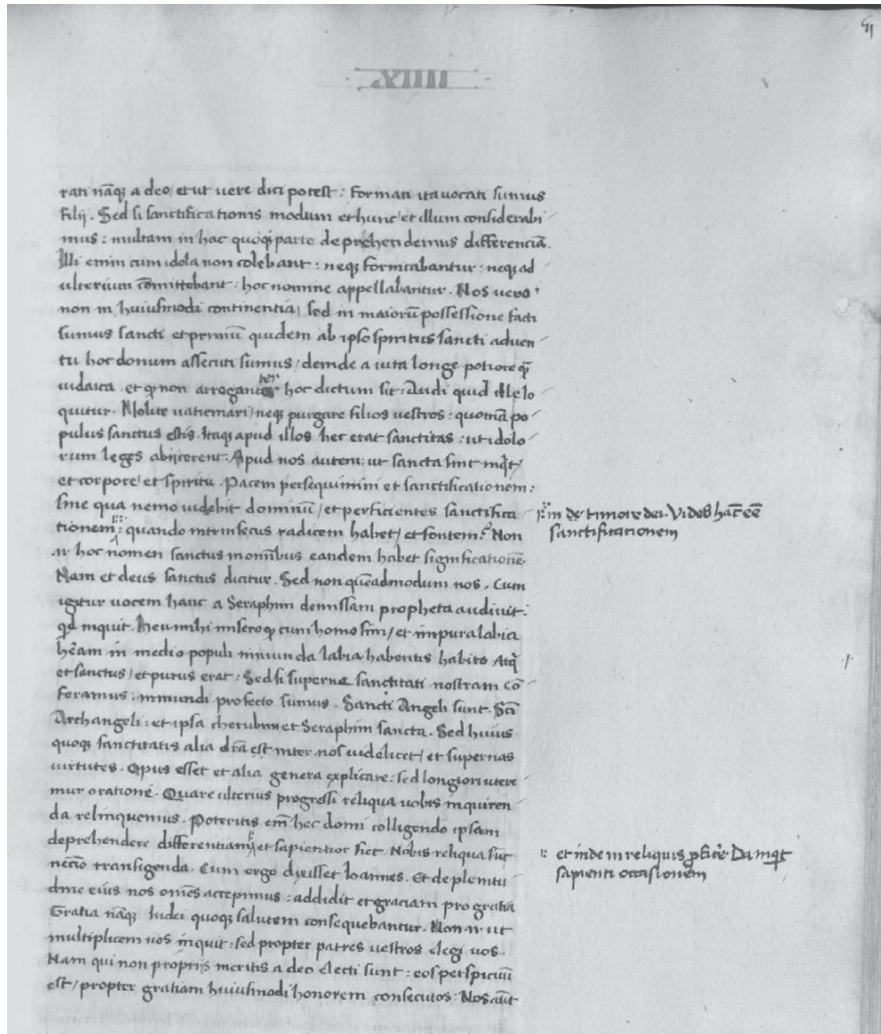
The parallel passage, including the twenty words that do not appear in the Florence manuscript and its progeny, appears thus in the *editio princeps*:



G. Lauer, ed., Rome, 1470, fol. 229v.

It would therefore appear that the Bryn Mawr manuscript served not only as a major resource for the editorial work done in preparing the 1486 second edition, but also as the exemplar of the 1470 first edition. However, that conclusion is precluded by a number of variants between Bryn Mawr MS 12 and the 1470 edition that are documented in the online edition, including omissions in the Bryn Mawr manuscript that appear in both the Florence manuscript and Lauer's edition. Since this lacuna in 74.1.17–18 does not occur in the translations by Burgundio or Montfaucon nor the Greek original, we can be certain that those twenty words were not an erroneous interpolation in the Bryn Mawr manuscript and Lauer's lost exemplar, which means that Florence MS conv. soppr. J VI 7 is not Griffolini's original autograph,²⁹ and these two manuscripts and Lauer's edition must be independent witnesses of Griffolini's lost autograph.³⁰

The correction of the Bryn Mawr manuscript prior to its use by Koelhoff's editor is evidenced throughout the manuscript, where not only inter-linear corrections were made, but also erroneous omissions were supplied in the margins in a hand that was almost certainly that of Lambert Lynen, the scribe who completed this manuscript in 1462, as exemplified by a heavily corrected page containing a portion of homily 14:

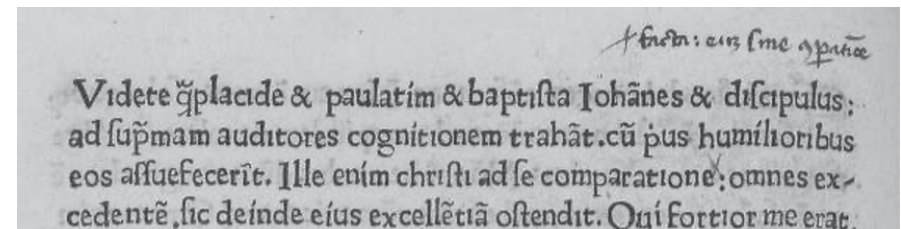


Bryn Mawr College Library MS 12, fol. 51r.

We can therefore conclude that Koelhoff's editor checked the Bryn Mawr manuscript for the *communicationem/communione* variant on folio 50v, even though the corrected copy of the 1470 edition was presumably not altered on this point, because the interlinear correction of that word attracted the editor's attention. But unlike Lauer's typesetter, Koelhoff's editor ignored that correction and thus introduced an erroneous variant into the Cologne edition in attempting to emend the text. This was surely

no mistake but rather an intentional choice that is justifiable on scholarly grounds, because the word *communione* actually works very well for this sentence. In fact, it is arguably a better representation of Chrysostom's intended meaning than is Griffolini's rendering,³¹ and thus *communione* was retained not only in Montanus's heavily revised 1556 Paris edition (col. 57, l. 38), which was emended by closely collating a Greek manuscript of Chrysostom's Joannine homilies, but also in Commelin's 1603 Heidelberg edition (p. 71, l. 57), which provides the Latin and Greek texts in parallel columns. Therefore, it is clear that Koelhoff's editor did not simply check the Bryn Mawr copy to confirm corrections in the 1470 exemplar or when a passage did not seem to make sense. Corrections previously made to the manuscript were also checked in order to improve the text further, though in this case the correction was rejected on scholarly grounds and an erroneous (but superior) variant was thus introduced into the print tradition.

Unfortunately, none of the sixty-four known extant copies of Lauer's edition listed in the British Library's Incunable Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) is currently in Cologne, and it would not be practical to check every surviving copy in the hope of finding Koelhoff's exemplar, which was probably destroyed in the process of printing the second edition. As Lotte Hellenga explains, "manuscripts which were expressly prepared for the printing house survived against all the odds. Copies of printed books used for re-printing would be even more expendable, and they are rare indeed."³² In the absence of Koelhoff's exemplar of the 1470 edition, there is no irrefutable proof that the eyeskip error in 14.3.3 was corrected in it, but given the circumstances, we can be certain that either Koelhoff's editor recognized that the line did not make sense and corrected it by consulting the Bryn Mawr manuscript, or the correction was made in that lost exemplar and the Bryn Mawr manuscript was checked to confirm that correction. In fact, this eyeskip was corrected in the Vatican copy of Lauer's 1470 edition that has been digitized and provided online, though there is no indication that this copy was ever in Cologne, and the correction in the Vatican copy may have been made after 1486 by consulting Koelhoff's edition or a later reprint:



G. Lauer, ed., Rome, 1470, fol. 57v.

Given the rarity of the manuscript copies of Griffolini's second recension north of the Alps (once again discounting the late manuscripts that were copied from one of the incunables), it would have been a remarkable coincidence if the Bryn Mawr manuscript had not been employed in correcting the received text from the 1470 first edition when Koelhoff's editor was preparing the second edition. In fact, it is likely that Koelhoff sent to Rome for this manuscript for this very purpose and later donated it to St. Barbara's, perhaps in compensation for the editorial work carried out for Koelhoff by one of the monks there. This conclusion is strongly suggested by the fact that the manuscript now at Bryn Mawr was an anomaly among the former holdings of the St. Barbara's Charterhouse in Cologne in terms of its Roman provenance. As Richard Marks shows, nearly every other manuscript in the Carthusians' monastic library at that time had been produced in that monastery's very prolific scriptorium, which was especially active from the 1460s to the 1480s following a devastating fire that had destroyed the library in 1451.³³

This theory that the Bryn Mawr manuscript came to Cologne through Koelhoff's agency is bolstered by additional evidence for a scholarly relationship between Koelhoff's press and the Carthusians at St. Barbara's. According to the ISTC, Johann Koelhoff the Elder published an impressive total of 168 titles in Cologne over a career spanning about twenty years, before his son, Johann Koelhoff the Younger, took over the press around 1491. It is noteworthy that Koelhoff published four volumes containing Latin translations of texts attributed to Chrysostom, and they were all published over the span of only a few years, though not as tomes in a series. Griffolini's *Homelie Chrysostomi super Johannem* of 1486 was probably the first of these; Koelhoff also published a volume dated to "about 1487" containing the pseudo-Chrysostom *Epistola ad Cyriacum* together with Chrysostom's *Sermones XXV morales* and *Epistola ad Theodorum*;³⁴ another volume dated to 1487 containing the pseudo-Chrysostom *Sermones de patientia in Job* (L. Tifernas trans.), as well as Chrysostom's *De poenitentia in David* and *De virginitate*;³⁵ and also in 1487 the pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*.³⁶ Koelhoff published the *editio princeps* of two of these texts: *Opus imperfectum* and *Epistola ad Cyriacum*. In the latter case, he probably reprinted Christophorus Persona's translation of Chrysostom's twenty-five moral sermons and the letter to Theodorus either from Lauer's first edition (Rome ca. 1470),³⁷ or from Balthasar Azoguidus's second edition (Bologna 1475),³⁸ and added the previously unpublished pseudo-Chrysostom letter to Cyriacus, which had been translated from Greek in 1459 by the Milanese humanist Leodrisio Crivelli. I have been able to identify only fourteen manuscript copies of Crivelli's translation of this text;³⁹ the one now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 706/707, folios 103v–105r,

was formerly at the library of St. Barbara's Charterhouse in Cologne.⁴⁰ It is therefore highly probable that this manuscript was the exemplar for Koelhoff's first edition, and likely that the editor of Koelhoff's 1486 edition of Chrysostom's Joannine homilies was also involved in the publication of this volume about a year later.

However, Koelhoff's first edition of the pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* cannot be associated at this time with St. Barbara's Charterhouse, as Marks found no trace of that text in the medieval library catalogue. In his exhaustive survey of the manuscript corpus for the *Opus imperfectum*, Josef Van Banning identifies Koelhoff's probable exemplar as Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, B.58, folios 4r–204v, a manuscript copied in 1480 for the Crutched Friars at Marienfrede bei Wesel,⁴¹ about 80 kilometers north of Cologne on the Rhine, though he also concedes that Koelhoff may have used another unknown manuscript that was very closely related to the Düsseldorf manuscript.⁴²

Finally, there is a manuscript record that may bear further witness to Koelhoff's professional relationship with the Carthusians in Cologne. Marks reports that Codex O.34 at the former library of St. Barbara (the Bryn Mawr manuscript having been its proximate neighbor with the shelfmark O.35) was a collection of six of Chrysostom's works, including two titles published by Koelhoff: "Sermones de penitencia" (i.e., *De poenitentia in David*) and "Exhortatio ad Theodorum"; unfortunately, Marks was not able to identify this codex among extant manuscripts.⁴³ Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to conclude that if Koelhoff's editor of the 1486 edition of Griffolini's translation of Chrysostom's Joannine homilies was associated with the library of the Cologne Carthusians, that person was probably also involved in Koelhoff's publication of these other works attributed to Chrysostom, which would explain why their publication dates occurred over just a few years.

While more research certainly needs to be done to determine the connection between Koelhoff's press and the Cologne Carthusians, there is ample evidence indicating that Koelhoff's publication of the second edition of Griffolini's translation of Chrysostom's homilies on John was done with a high degree of scholarly care and, if the Bryn Mawr manuscript was indeed obtained by Koelhoff for this purpose, at considerable expense. It is doubtful we will ever know with certainty whether Koelhoff believed that the Bryn Mawr manuscript had been Lauer's exemplar, but it is certain that he was not satisfied with simply replicating Lauer's first edition. Rather, he ensured that his edition would indeed, as his colophon claims, be "*diligenter correcte*" by having his editor consult an early manuscript witness from Rome as a check against extensive corrections in his exemplar of Lauer's 1470 *editio princeps*. Moreover, his editor went even further by checking corrections made in that manuscript to improve the text further.

It seems appropriate to conclude this article by considering the similar but distinctive colophons of the two incunable editions (see above). First, it may be significant that Koelhoff's colophon stipulates that his 1486 edition has been "*impreſſe et diligenter correcte*." While this paper demonstrates that Koelhoff's editor went to great lengths to emend the received text by employing both a corrected exemplar of the 1470 edition and the Bryn Mawr manuscript, the wording of the colophon in the 1486 edition seems to assert something else. I suspect that Johann Koelhoff the Elder, a consummate businessman according to Wolfgang Schmitz,⁴⁴ was advertising the superior quality of his product by emphasizing the great care he has taken in the typographical process, in which proof sheets were printed ("*impreſſe*") and then carefully scrutinized and corrected ("*diligenter correcte*") before the print runs commenced. In contrast, the colophon of Lauer's edition claims that the text has been "*ſcripte et diligenter correcte*," which surely refers to the copying of Lauer's manuscript exemplar.

Thus, while Koelhoff was boasting of the quality of his typographical process, Lauer had emphasized the excellence of his edition's exemplar. But the substitution of "*ſcripte*" in the first edition's colophon with "*impreſſe*" in the second might have a deeper meaning that would explain why Koelhoff's colophon is so similar to Lauer's and so different from the colophons in his subsequent editions of works attributed to Chrysostom.⁴⁵ Given the many typographical errors in the 1470 edition, Koelhoff was probably scornful of Lauer's sloppy typography, and thus he may have decided to mimic but alter the wording in Lauer's colophon as a form of professional mockery against the printer of the first edition, whose methods were clearly faulty even if his manuscript exemplar was of high quality. If so, then this scenario would suggest that Koelhoff probably believed that the manuscript now at Bryn Mawr College Library had been Lauer's exemplar and deliberately sought it out and brought it from Rome to Cologne to produce a much superior printed version of the text.

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the permission of the following libraries: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Bryn Mawr College Library, and Universität- und Stadtbibliothek Köln.

Appendix

Manuscripts of Griffolini's Translation of Chrysostom's Eighty-Eight Homilies on John

A) Copies of Griffolini's first recension (1459)⁴⁶ and early drafts of portions of it (*):⁴⁷

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 554, fols. 1r–209r (ca. 1460)⁴⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College, MS 54, fols. 1r–227 (ca. 1460)⁴⁹

*Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Aug., D 61, fols. 108r–147v (ca. 1457) [Homilies 1–12]

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 390, fols. 1r–240v (1459)⁵⁰

*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4247, fols. 1r–109v (ca. 1458) [Homilies 1–12]⁵¹

*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4248, fols. 1r–31v (ca. 1457) [Homilies 1–3]⁵²

B) Early copies of Griffolini's second recension (1462) from the manuscript tradition:

Bryn Mawr, College Library, MS 12, fols. 13r–260r (1462)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 6 (ca. 1463)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 14 dex. 2, fols. 1r–312v (ca. 1463)⁵³

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, conv. soppr. J VI 7, fols. 2r–261v (1462)

Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, MS 329 (C III 9), fols. 1r–238r (ca. 1463)⁵⁴

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1783, fols. 1r–173r (ca. 1463)⁵⁵

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 34, fols. 1r–305r (ca. 1463)⁵⁶

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 391, fols. 1r–140v (ca. 1462)⁵⁷

C) Late copies of Griffolini's second recension from the manuscript tradition:⁵⁸

Lonato, Fondazione Ugo da Como, 260 (late 15th cent.) [Homilies 45–88]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Can. Pat. Lat. 114, fols. 2r–133v (1493) [Homs. 1–44]⁵⁹

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 1103, fols. 1r–148v (ca. 1485) [Homilies 1–44]⁶⁰

D) Late manuscripts copied from one of the incunable editions:⁶¹

Brugges, Grootseminarie, cod. 15/76, fols. 20v–388v (1487)⁶²

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS IV 1173, fols. 2r–230v (1496)⁶³

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.3.21, fols. 16r–182v (after 1470) [Homilies 1–42]⁶⁴

NOTES

1. Sam Kennerley, “The Reception of John Chrysostom and the Study of Ancient Christianity in Early Modern Europe, c.1440–1600” (doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 2017), 41–47. The book based on this dissertation is Sam Kennerley, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe: Translating and Reading a Greek Church Father in the Latin West, Byzantium, and the Ottoman Empire, 1417–1613* (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming in 2022).
2. For Burgundio’s preface, see the critical edition, Peter Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer* (Heidelberg, Germany: C. Winter, 1974), 79–102; and the translation by Edward Capps, “The Risk of Altering so Great an Original,” in *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche*, ed. D. Robinson (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Pub., 1997), 40–43. This is the only portion of Burgundio’s Latin translation that has been published in print; a critical edition of Burgundio’s version of the eighty-eight homilies is planned as the final phase of the CLIO Project; see note 4.
3. Robert Black, “Leonardo Bruni,” *Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. P. Hainsworth & D. Robey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 86–87.
4. *Chrysostomus Latinus in Iohannem* Online (CLIO) Project, <https://clioproject.net>. The CLIO Project has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) through an Insight Development Grant (2016) and an Insight Grant (2019), as well as an Equipment Grant (2017) provided by the Office of Research Services at Wilfrid Laurier University, matched by funds from the University Library to purchase a planetary scanner. I must thank the associate editor of the CLIO Project, Joel Kalvesmaki, and the project’s webmaster, Daniel Cockcroft, for their invaluable technical contributions to this work.
5. Wolfgang Schmitz, “Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte in Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts” (PhD Diss., Universität zu Köln, 1990), 320–329. Schmitz characterizes the elder Koelhoff as “*vor allem auch Kaufmann*” [above all a businessman]. He also notes that Koelhoff and his wife donated 120 guilders to the Cologne Carmelites at Waidmarkt, and that he was present at a ceremony for the introduction of a reformed monastic rule for the Franciscans of Cologne. There is no mention of his connection to the Carthusians. Schmitz did find such a connection, however, between a later Cologne printer, Johann von Landen, and the Cologne Carthusians; *ibid.*, 341.
6. See the British Library’s Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) for Lauer’s 1470 Rome edition at <http://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00286000>; and Koelhoff’s 1486 Cologne edition at <http://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00287000>.
7. Jean-Paul Bouhot, “Les Traductions Latines de Jean Chrysostome du Ve au XVIe siècle,” in *Traduction et Traducteurs au Moyen Âge: Actes du Colloque International du CNRS Organisé à Paris, Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes les 26–28 mai 1986*, ed. G. Contamine (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989), 31–39, at 35–38.
8. Jean-François Maillard and Jean-Marie Flamand with Marie-Elisabeth Boutroue and Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, eds., *La France des Humanistes: Hellénistes I*, Europa Humanistica: Collection publiée par l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes (Turnout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 333–339, at 337–338.
9. Rémi Jimenes, *Charlotte Guillard: une femme imprimeur à la Renaissance* (Tours, France: Presses Universitaires de François-Rabelais; Rennes, France: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 183–184. The Montanus edition would be reprinted multiple times at Paris before 1600, including two stand-alone volumes (1557 and 1558) and within four *Opera omnia Chrysostomi* (1570, 1580, 1581, and 1588); see Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, *French Books III & IV: Books Published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages Other Than French* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2011), 1014–1015.
10. My thanks to Sam Kennerley for checking his copy of this Greek manuscript from the Vatican Library: Vat. Gr. 541, fol. 169r.
11. See, e.g., Homily 10 (10.1.1), where Griffolini’s text reads: “*Suadet autem ut recte faciamus quicumque ipsi assentiuntur et allicit et trahit.*” Montanus retranslated the line as follows: “*Suadendo autem et benefacendo voluntarios quoscumque et vltro sequentes allicit et ad se trahit*”; *Commentariorum Chrysostomi in euangelium Ioannis Homiliae LXXXVII*, 9 in *Operum Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*, tom. 3 (Paris: Soleil d’or, 1556), col. 41.
12. The CLIO Project provides a full transcription of the Latin text of the 1556 Paris edition, with annotated variants from Commelin’s 1603

- Heidelberg edition, as a distinct fourth Latin version of Chrysostom's homilies on John. This work was carried out in 2019 by Sebastian Ledbetter and in 2020–2021 by Naomi Damasco, student research assistants at Wilfrid Laurier University.
13. Paul W. Harkins, "The Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John," *Theological Studies* 19 (1958): 404–412, at 404. Harkins, who does not mention the 1556 Paris edition, identifies two of the Greek manuscript exemplars used by Commelin (407–409) and suggests that he probably used at least one other manuscript. On Commelin, see Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker-Verlegers* (Leipzig, Germany: O. Harrassowitz, 1938).
 14. Harkins, "Text Tradition," 405–406.
 15. Subsequent reprints not mentioned by Harkins were published at Paris and Lyon (R. Pipié, 1687), Amsterdam (M. Huguétan, 1687), Frankfurt (B. Wust, 1697–1698), and Mainz (J. Zunner, 1701–1702).
 16. I am grateful to Googlebooks for its online provision of Erasmus's 1530 Basel edition, Montanus's 1556 Paris edition, and Commelin's 1603 Heidelberg edition. I must also thank the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich for its open access provision of Gellius's 1547 Basel edition.
 17. As explained below, note 30, this original presentation of Griffolini's translation has been superseded by a more comprehensive online edition that documents the early textual traditions of Griffolini's second recension.
 18. "He [John the Baptist] compared himself to Christ, who is incomparably superior to all."
 19. See the Appendix.
 20. All images from the 1470 edition are from the copy provided online by the Vatican Library's DigiVatLib, <http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.I.3>. All images from Koelhoff's 1486 Cologne edition are from the Universitätsbibliothek Köln, Die Digitale Sammlung Inkunabeln und Blockbücher, <http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm/compoundobject/collection/inkunabeln/id/58576/rec/1>. Note that Lauer's edition lacks foliation, but the Vatican Library has assigned foliation to the online digitized copy that has been adopted for both this article and the CLIO Project.
 21. Commelin's 1603 Heidelberg edition notes that the enumeration of the Latin versions of the homilies is off by one from their enumeration in the Greek manuscripts he consulted; for example, "Homilia I. ex cap. I. in Graec. Codd. est II," p. 7. This variation in the enumeration of the homilies is also noted in the page headers of Montfaucon's 1728 edition: "Hom. II. al. I," p. 7, reproduced in Migne's 1862 PG edition (col. 29/30).
 22. Bryn Mawr, MS 12, fol. 51v; Florence, conv. sopp. J VI 7, fol. 43r; Mantua, MS 329, fol. 37v; Paris, MS lat. 1783, fol. 30r; Vatican, Urb. lat. 34, fol. 53v; Vatican, Vat. lat. 391, fol. 23va–vb. For full citations of these manuscripts, see the Appendix. The other two early manuscripts at Florence were not checked because both were copied from conv. sopp. J VI 7; see Sebastiano Gentile, *Umanesimo e padri della Chiesa: Manoscritti e incunaboli di testi patristici da Francesco Petrarca al primo Cinquecento*, Rome: Rose for Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1997), 296.
 23. *Commentariorum Chrysostomi in euangelium Ioannis Homiliae*, Paris, 1556, col. 59.
 24. Bryn Mawr College Library Special Collections, Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, <http://www.brynmaur.edu/library/speccoll/guides/ms12.shtml>.
 25. I am grateful to Marianne Hansen, Curator of the Rare Books and Manuscripts collection at Bryn Mawr College Library, for her kind assistance in digitizing this manuscript at my request and providing a copy.
 26. For the English meaning of this passage, see note 31.
 27. All of the following copies of Griffolini's second recension agree on "*communicationem*": Florence, conv. sopp. J VI 7, fol. 42r, l. 30; Mantua, MS 329, fol. 36v, l. 2; Paris, MS lat. 1783, fol. 29r, l. 40; Vatican, Urb. lat. 34, fol. 53r, l. 27; the following manuscript omits the words "*quandam non rei communicationem*": Vatican, Vat. lat. 391, fol. 23ra, ll. 36–37. Griffolini's 1459 first recension also has "*communicationem*," e.g., in Vatican, Vat. lat. 390, fol. 38r, l. 35. Once again, the other two early manuscripts in Florence were not checked because both were copied from conv. sopp. J VI 7; see note 22.
 28. Mantua, MS 329, fol. 191v, ll. 6–7; Paris, MS lat. 1783, fol. 140r, l. 34; Vatican, Urb. lat. 34, fol. 252r, l. 23; Vatican, Vat. lat. 391, fol. 115va, l. 50. Once again, the other two early manuscripts in Florence were not checked because they were copied from conv. sopp. J VI 7; see note 22.
 29. I stipulate that the Florence manuscript is not Griffolini's original autograph because it has been shown that he made extensive corrections to that manuscript; see Gentile, *Umanesimo e padri della Chiesa*, 295. I believe that he was also the scribe for the first half of the manuscript.
 30. For this reason, the CLIO Project provides a critical edition of Griffolini's text based on Florence conv. sopp. J VI 7 and Bryn Mawr MS 12, with variants between them annotated in the digital apparatus along with variants in the 1470, 1486, and 1530 editions. Four student research assistants at Wilfrid Laurier University contributed to the development of this resource: Taylor Tryburski (2016–2017), Heather Smith (2017–2018), Sebastian Lidbetter (2019), and Brittney Payer (2020–2021).
 31. The Greek word is *συνωνυμίαν* (synonym). Montfaucon later translated this line, in which Chrysostom draws an important distinction between

- the authority of the Old and New Testaments, in a more literal way: "quae homonyma quidem, sed non synonyma sunt" [which sound alike, but are not the same thing.] Thus, by saying that the Old Covenant and the New Covenant are not synonyms, Chrysostom is emphasizing the differing nature of their being (*communione*) rather than the lack of a connection between them (*communicationem*). Once again, I am indebted to Sam Kennerley's expertise on this point.
32. Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 40. Hellinga's point about the rarity of manuscript exemplars used by printers indicates not only the remarkable survival of the Bryn Mawr manuscript after 1470 but also perhaps the presumed loss of Koelhoff's manuscript exemplar for his 1487 edition of the pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*, as discussed below.
 33. Richard Bruce Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 22 (Salzburg, Austria: J. Hogg, 1974); for the Bryn Mawr manuscript, see *ibid.*, 224–225. Marks notes that following a fire in 1451, the collection at St. Barbara's was "consciously rebuilt" over the next thirty to forty years; *ibid.*, vi. His research on this dispersed library, based on a seventeenth-century shelflist and an eighteenth-century subject index, identified 255 manuscripts in various libraries in Europe and North America, accounting for more than half of the late-medieval collection of St. Barbara's.
 34. ISTC ij00284000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00284000>.
 35. ISTC ij00307000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00307000>. Koelhoff likely reprinted the *Sermo de patientia in Iob* and *Sermo de penitencia in David* from the edition of these two texts printed at Nuremberg in 1471 by Johann Sensenschmidt, ISTC ij00305000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00305000>.
 36. ISTC ij00289000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00289000>.
 37. ISTC ij00284000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00300000>.
 38. ISTC ij00301000, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ij00301000>.
 39. A search of the Mirabile Digital Archives for Medieval Culture, <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/epistola-125-ad-cyriacum-episcopum-iohannes-chryso-title/122765>, found four manuscripts, one each at the Vatican, Krakow, Subiaco in Rome, and Trier; and nine more, including three at Florence and one each at Gloucester, Milan, Olomouc, Venice, Verona, and Vienna, are cited in Kristeller's *Iter italicum, Iter Italicum: Accedunt Alia Itinera*. On CD-ROM. A Database of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries. Compiled by Paul Oskar Kristeller. Consultant Editor Luciano Floridi. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995.
 40. Marks, *Medieval Manuscript Library*, 206–207. Marks tentatively dates the manuscript to 1473.
 41. Josef van Banning, ed., *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem, Praefatio*, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 87B (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1988), ccxcv–ccxcvi.
 42. *Ibid.*, cccxxxi. I must thank Fr. van Banning for kindly replying to personal communications in January 2021 and confirming that there have been no additional findings regarding the manuscript tradition since 1988 that would alter his conclusions about Koelhoff's likely exemplar.
 43. Marks, *Medieval Manuscript Library*, 404. Curiously, Marks cites the manuscript as extant but not located; *ibid.*, 446.
 44. See note 5.
 45. One reads: "Sermones Iohannis Chrysostomi in Job de paciencia etc. per me iohannem koelhoff de lubeck ciuem Coloniensem impressi finiunt Anno gratie M.cccc.lxxxvij. in die sancti Seruacij." The other reads: "Explicit opus imperfectum beati Iohannis Chrysostomi episcopi constantinopolitani Ad honorem dei et gloriose virginis etc. Impressum per me Iohannem koelhoff de lubeck Ciuem colonie. Anno gratie M.cccc.lxxxvij. Finit feliciter." For links to these editions, see the ISTC entries cited in notes 35 and 36. The volume containing Koelhoff's first edition of the pseudo-Chrysostom *Epistola ad Cyriacum* and reprints of Chrysostom's *Sermones XXV morales* and *Epistola ad Theodorum* lacks a colophon, hence its dating to "about 1487." See note 34.
 46. While the first sixty words in Homily 1 of the 1459 and 1462 recensions are virtually identical, at that point the first significant divergence between these versions occurs, where Griffolini replaced the phrase "theatri gradus certatim ascendant" with the words "non minori studio aduolant."
 47. On Griffolini's early drafts in Vat. lat. 4247 and Vat. lat. 4248, see Kennerley, "Reception," 42–45.
 48. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Manuscripts, <http://mdc.csuc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/manuscritBC/id/277020>.
 49. I am grateful to Eva Oledzka at the Bodleian Library for providing an image of the first page of this manuscript to me in June 2017, with which I determined that it is a copy of Griffolini's first recension.
 50. Vatican Library, DigiVatLib, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.390
 51. *Ibid.*, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4247.
 52. *Ibid.*, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4248.
 53. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Digital Repository, <http://mss.bm-lonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMrbs711A4r7GxMYU3&c=Io>.
 54. Biblioteca Digitale Teresiana, Collezioni, http://digilib.bibliotecateresiana.it/sfoglia_manoscritti2.php?g=Manoscritti%20serie%20generale%2002&sg=MS_329&ididentifier=MN0035-POLI-ms329_0.

55. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Archives et Manuscrits, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100323637/f1.item>; misdated to 1454, lacks the dedicatory letter to Cosimo.
56. Vatican Library, DigiVatLib, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.34.
57. *Ibid.*, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.391.
58. I have been able to examine select images from the Parma and Oxford manuscripts to confirm that they are copies of the 1462 second recension and that they lack the variants in Homily 14 that are unique to the incunable editions. The Lonato manuscript, which reportedly contains Homilies 45–88, has not been seen, but it is very likely the second volume of a set with either the Parma or the Oxford manuscript, which both contain Homilies 1–44.
59. I am grateful to Oliver House and Hannah Carson of the Bodleian Library for kindly assisting my research by providing images of several folios from this manuscript.
60. I must thank Dr. Maria Elisa Agostino of the Biblioteca Palatina Parma for providing several images from this manuscript which enabled me to determine its place within the textual traditions. Like the Paris manuscript, this copy also lacks the dedication to Cosimo, but its text is surely the 1462 second recension.
61. The Brugges, Bruxelles, and Cambridge manuscripts were all surely copied from one of the two incunables, because all three contain the erroneous rearrangement of the text in 14.3.2–7, which, as this article demonstrates, originated with Lauer's *editio princeps*. Likewise, they all follow the 1470 and 1486 editions in identifying Homily 14 as 13, etc.
62. The Brugges manuscript was surely copied from Koelhoff's 1486 edition because it contains the *communio* variant in 14.1.16 (fol. 74rb, l. 7) that originated with that edition; it originally did have the eyeskip error in 14.3.3, but it was surely a coincidence and it was corrected by a contemporary hand (fol. 76ra, l. 2).
63. The Bruxelles manuscript was surely copied from Koelhoff's 1486 edition because it contains the *communio* variant in 14.1.16 (fol. 38r, l. 20) and does not have the eyeskip error in 14.3.3 (fol. 39r, l. 25).
64. The Cambridge manuscript was surely copied from Lauer's 1470 edition, as it does not have the *communio* variant in 14.1.16 that originated in the 1486 edition. However, it also does not have the eyeskip error in 14.3.3 (fol. 74va, ll. 13–16), which means that it must have been copied from a corrected copy of the 1470 edition.