

# FOUR MANUSCRIPTS OF GIANNOZZO MANETTI'S PSALTER TRANSLATION



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*In the 1450s, the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) made a new Latin translation of the Psalter. Four manuscripts of this translation were kept in the Manetti family library after Giannozzo's death: Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 40, 41, 42, and 43. This paper explores what these manuscripts can tell us about Manetti's scholarly interests and about the genesis of the translation. The four manuscripts correspond to two redactions: one comprises Manetti's translation only; the other consists of Manetti's translation alongside two other Latin versions of the Psalter and Manetti's treatise Apologeticus.*

## Introduction

In the 1450s, the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) made a new Latin translation of the Psalter; the first since late Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one of the less well-known humanists today, Manetti had begun his scholarly career in Florence, but after difficulties with the Medici family, he left his native city for Rome in 1453. There, he was offered a position as apostolic secretary by Nicolas V (r. 1447-1455), and he took up the idea of producing a new Latin translation of the Bible. After Nicholas's death, Manetti moved to the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon (r. 1416-1458) and Naples (r. 1442-1458). He never completed his Bible translation, but he dedicated his translation of the Psalter to Alfonso as a first installment.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper, I focus on four manuscripts of Manetti's Psalter translation, now kept in the *fondo palatino* of the Vatican library: Pal. lat. 40, 41, 42 and 43. These manuscripts were all part of the Manetti family collection. I investigate what these copies can tell us about the genesis of Manetti's Psalter translation and his dedication to King Alfonso of Aragon. After briefly

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<sup>1</sup> On Manetti's life and works, see Foà 2007b; Marsh 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Garofalo first edited four Psalms in Manetti's translation (Garofalo 1946, 373-75) and later another eleven Psalms (Garofalo 1953, 232-41). Dröge also edited seven Psalms (Dröge 1987, 146-166). Botley edited the preface, with information on the manuscripts (Botley 2004, 178-181). For the dating and the nature of Manetti's translation, see Dröge 1987, 37-64 and Botley 2004, 99-114. For the relative dating of Manetti's translations of the Psalter and the New Testament, see den Haan 2022.

introducing Manetti's Bible translation project, I describe the manuscripts and how they reflect some of Manetti's scholarly interests as regards the Latin Psalter. Then, I argue that these four manuscripts form two pairs, each corresponding to one redaction of the Psalter translation. Finally, I make some observations about what happened with the translation after Manetti's death.

### **Manetti's Bible translation project**

Manetti made his new translation of the Psalter in Rome and Naples in the 1450s. He also translated the New Testament.<sup>3</sup> He was not the only humanist to engage in biblical scholarship in this period.<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo Valla (1406-1457) wrote the later redaction of his *Annotationes Novi Testamenti* in Rome in the 1450s.<sup>5</sup> Manetti used Valla's *Annotationes* for his own new translation of the New Testament.<sup>6</sup> Around this time, Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) authored a treatise on textual problems in the Bible.<sup>7</sup> The dating of Bessarion's treatise is unclear, so we cannot be sure if Manetti knew it, but Bessarion's arguments influenced Valla.<sup>8</sup> Although humanist biblical scholarship was a marginal phenomenon in this period, these connections indicate that there was at least some interest in the Bible.

Manetti's reputation for piety and scriptural learning made him especially suitable as a Bible translator. His contemporaries praised him for his knowledge of the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> The Florentine book-seller Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498) wrote two

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<sup>3</sup> For Manetti's New Testament, see den Haan 2014 and 2016. The chronology of Manetti's Bible translation project is difficult to pin down, but it seems that Manetti translated the New Testament before he translated the Psalter (den Haan 2022).

<sup>4</sup> For humanist biblical scholarship in the fifteenth century, see Garofalo 1946; Trinkaus 1970, vol. II, 563-614; Hamilton 1996; Monfasani 2008.

<sup>5</sup> For the sources and genesis of Valla's *Annotationes*, see Valla 1970, "Introduzione" (IX-LVII); Donegà 2008. On Valla's *Annotationes*, see, e.g., Camporeale 1972, 277-403; Chomarat 1978; Cortesi 1997; Celenza 1994, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Den Haan 2014; den Haan 2016, 48-58.

<sup>7</sup> Bessarion wrote a Greek and a Latin version of his treatise. For the Greek text, see Mohler 1967, vol. III, 70-87. The Latin text is edited in *Patrologia Graeca*, 161, 623-640. Bessarion's treatise was a reaction to George of Trebizond. For their debate, see Monfasani 1976, 90-102.

<sup>8</sup> For a close comparison of Manetti's New Testament translation and Bessarion's treatise, see den Haan 2016, 74-78.

<sup>9</sup> For a series of epitaphs in which Manetti is praised for his learning in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, see page 112.

biographies about Manetti.<sup>10</sup> In these, he described Manetti's scholarly activities, including his mastery of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>11</sup>

That Manetti seriously studied Greek and Hebrew is confirmed by his book collection. His manuscripts remained in the family until the early sixteenth century, when they were bought by the Fugger family. From there, they passed to Heidelberg in 1567, and eventually back to the Vatican in 1623.<sup>12</sup> Manetti's Greek and Latin manuscripts are now part of the *fondo palatino* of the Vatican Library; his Hebrew books are kept among the *vaticani*.<sup>13</sup> His collection included a complete Hebrew Bible, and he also owned one Psalter in Hebrew and one in Greek.<sup>14</sup> Several of his Hebrew manuscripts are annotated in his own handwriting.<sup>15</sup> According to one of these marginal notes, he began his Hebrew studies in 1442.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Manetti owned a copy of the Latin Vulgate, which he annotated in Latin and Greek.<sup>17</sup> This manuscript also has notes in Hebrew in the margin of the Psalter.<sup>18</sup>

While Manetti began studying Greek and Hebrew already in the 1440s, he took up his biblical project only after moving to the papal court in 1453, as he informs us himself in his biography of Pope Nicholas V.<sup>19</sup> Initially, he had meant to translate the entire Old and New Testament anew into Latin. He wrote in the Pope's biography that he planned to elaborate on his reasons for

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<sup>10</sup> The *Vita di Meser Giannozzo Manetti, Fiorentino* (da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. I, 485-538) and the *Comentario della vita di messer Giannozzo Manetti* (vol. II, 519-622).

<sup>11</sup> Da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. I, 486; vol. II, 524-25.

<sup>12</sup> Lehmann 1956-1960. For inventory lists of Fugger's library, which indicate the provenance of the manuscripts, see Lehmann 1956-1960, vol. II, 79-129.

<sup>13</sup> Manetti's Latin manuscripts were identified and described by Cagni (Cagni 1960). On Manetti's Greek library, see den Haan 2019. For the Hebrew manuscripts, see Cassuto 1935, 44-48; 79-80; and Pasternak 2018, 103-108.

<sup>14</sup> Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. ebr. 8; Vat. ebr. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Pasternak 2018.

<sup>16</sup> "1442, die d[omi]nica xi nove[m]bris cum Emanuele heb[re]o incepti hebraice." Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat.ebr.8, f. 467r. Manetti's teacher, Immanuel ben Abraham, also translated the Hebrew Psalter into Latin. His work may have inspired Manetti's Psalter translation, but he did not use it as *Vorlage* (Dröge 1987, 38-40).

<sup>17</sup> Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 18. For this manuscript and Manetti's notes, see Cagni 1960, 23, n. 3; Manfredi 2005, 492-495; den Haan 2016, 31-33.

<sup>18</sup> Cagni identified the Hebrew handwriting as Manetti's (Cagni 1960, 23, 25). Pasternak also examined the marginal notes and observed that the handwriting is that of a non-Jew, but different from Giannozzo's annotations in Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. ebr. 28. She suggested that the notes were possibly made by Manetti's son Agnolo (Pasternak 2018, 108-109). On Agnolo Manetti, see below, footnote 40. Vespasiano commented on the excellence of Agnolo's Hebrew handwriting in his biography of Agnolo (da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. II, 353).

<sup>19</sup> Manetti, *De uita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, II, 25 (Manetti 2005, 66).

making such a translation when he published the finished work.<sup>20</sup> However, this never happened. The project was interrupted by the Pope's death in 1455.

After Nicholas's death, Manetti moved to the court of Alfonso of Naples, where he enjoyed a comfortable position with a generous stipend and few responsibilities. The King expected him to dedicate himself entirely to scholarship, and he did not give him any official duties.<sup>21</sup> Alfonso is likely to have encouraged Manetti's biblical project: we know from Vespasiano's biography of the King that he had a reputation for piety and for biblical learning.<sup>22</sup> Manetti had therefore every reason to expect that he would bring his translation project to completion at the Neapolitan court. When he dedicated the Psalter to King Alfonso, he wrote in the accompanying preface that he was still working on his translation of the entire Bible, and that the other parts would follow.<sup>23</sup> He also touched on his reasons for making such a translation: to defend the Bible against critics who daily attacked the credibility of the Latin Bible. These critics are not named, but Manetti wrote that they are the ones "from whom we have received" ("ab ipsis a quibus ea suscepimus") the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>24</sup> As he had done in his biography of Nicholas V, he promised that he would elaborate on the purpose of his new translation elsewhere, when he would publish the rest of his translation.<sup>25</sup> However, he never completed his translation of the Old Testament. The translation of the New Testament was finished, but not dedicated to Alfonso, nor to any other patron.<sup>26</sup>

The final episode in the history of Manetti's biblical translation took place sometime after the dedication of the Latin Psalter. Manetti wrote a treatise in defense of his Psalter translation, *Apologeticus*, which he also dedicated to Alfonso.<sup>27</sup> In the opening lines, he wrote that his Psalter translation had circulated for a year and that it had been attacked by critics. They accused

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<sup>20</sup> Manetti, *De uita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, II, 25 (Manetti 2005, 66-67).

<sup>21</sup> As we learn from Vespasiano's biographies of Manetti (da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. I, 532; vol. II, 604-606).

<sup>22</sup> *Vita di Re Alfonso di Napoli* (da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. I, 84-85).

<sup>23</sup> Manetti, *Ad Alfonsum ... prefatio in noua totius Psalterii ... traductione* (Botley 2004, 180).

<sup>24</sup> *Ad Alfonsum ... prefatio in noua totius Psalterii ... traductione* (Botley 2004, 179). Manetti made similar comments in *Apologeticus* I, 3 (Manetti 2016, 2). Incidentally, he ascribed the same motivation to Jerome in *Apologeticus* (Book II, 56-57 and 64-65; Manetti 2016, 88, 92).

<sup>25</sup> *Ad Alfonsum ... prefatio in noua totius Psalterii ... traductione* (Botley 2004, 180).

<sup>26</sup> For Manetti's biblical translation in the context of the court of Nicholas V and Alfonso of Aragon, see den Haan 2016, 14-19.

<sup>27</sup> For the Latin text, see Manetti 1981. The same text, with facing English translation, was published in Manetti 2016. For a discussion of *Apologeticus*, see Trinkaus 1970, vol. II, 584-601; Botley 2004, 99-114; den Haan 2016, 123-139.

him of arrogance for challenging the authority of Jerome, who had translated the Psalter before him.<sup>28</sup> *Apologeticus* was meant as a response to this attack.

### The manuscripts

Manetti's Psalter translation is extant in nine manuscripts. Five of these are now in the Vatican library:

1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 40<sup>29</sup>
2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 41<sup>30</sup>
3. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 42<sup>31</sup>
4. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 43<sup>32</sup>
5. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 5<sup>33</sup>

Four other copies are known to me:

1. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 10745<sup>34</sup>
2. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2948, Miscellanea Tioli, v. 17<sup>35</sup>
3. Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, c 336<sup>36</sup>
4. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Geral. 5620<sup>37</sup>

In what follows, I focus on the numbers 1-4 of the list above, the four manuscripts in the *fondo palatino* of the Vatican Library. These all belonged to the manuscript collection of the Manetti family. Pal. lat. 42 and 43 only contain Manetti's translation and the preface to Alfonso. Pal. lat. 40 and 41 present Manetti's translation alongside two other Latin translations ascribed to Jerome, one based on the Greek text of the Septuagint, and the other on the original Hebrew. These manuscripts also have Manetti's preface to Alfonso and his treatise *Apologeticus*. All four *palatini* manuscripts of Manetti's Psalter translation are included in Cagni's list of Manetti's manuscripts.<sup>38</sup> Pal. lat. 40 and 41 were described by De Petris in his edition of *Apologeticus*.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Apologeticus* I, 1 (Manetti 2016, 2-3). It is unclear who Manetti's critics were, and if the criticism to which Manetti referred was real, or merely a rhetorical device (Manetti 2016, xi-xii).

<sup>29</sup> Stevenson jr. 1886, 8; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. II, 389.

<sup>30</sup> Stevenson jr. 1886, 8; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. II, 389.

<sup>31</sup> Stevenson jr. 1886, 8; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. II, 390.

<sup>32</sup> Stevenson jr. 1886, 8; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. II, 396.

<sup>33</sup> Stornajolo 1902, 8-9.

<sup>34</sup> Marchal 1842, 215; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. III, 118.

<sup>35</sup> Cancellieri 1826, 119; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. I, 21.

<sup>36</sup> Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. I, 110.

<sup>37</sup> Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. IV, 467.

<sup>38</sup> Cagni 1960. Cagni records Pal. lat. 40 as nr 117 (Cagni 1960, 35, fn 5); Pal. lat. 41 as nr 148 (38, fn 9); Pal. lat. 42 as nr. 116 (35, fn 4); Pal. lat. 43 as nr 118 (35, fn 6).

<sup>39</sup> Manetti 1981, xliii-lxv. For Pal. lat. 41, see also Mittler and Hall 1986, 134-135.

A key figure in connection with these four manuscripts is Manetti's son Agnolo (1432-1479).<sup>40</sup> Agnolo had learned Hebrew and Greek at an early age, and he followed his father to Rome and to Naples. He was involved in his father's scholarship, writing copies of his works, and correcting them.<sup>41</sup> After Giannozzo's death, Agnolo took responsibility for his father's legacy. He brought his manuscripts back to Florence and added new works to the collection. Agnolo also had a good connection with Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>42</sup> He gave Vespasiano access to the family manuscripts to copy them for the Urbino library.<sup>43</sup>

Many of the manuscripts that once belonged to the Manetti family collection show signs of possession: they have the typical pagination written by Giannozzo or Agnolo; an index in the handwriting of one of the two; and an *ex libris*.<sup>44</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 42, and 43 are even more obviously connected to the Manetti's: they are all written in the handwriting of either Giannozzo or Agnolo.<sup>45</sup>

The provenance of Pal. lat. 41 is less obvious. This manuscript is the dedication copy of Manetti's Psalter and *Apologeticus* for King Alfonso, copied and signed by Petrus Ursuleus da Capua.<sup>46</sup> We only know that this manuscript belonged to the Manetti family library because it was preserved in the same collection: it was marked as *mane* for "Manetti" on the inventory

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<sup>40</sup> On Agnolo Manetti, see Foà 2007a; in relation to the Manetti family library, also Banti 1939 and Cagni 1971.

<sup>41</sup> He made copies of Giannozzo's *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti* (MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 66.23); *De vita Socratis et Senecae* (Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. lat. 6397); and his father's translation of Aristotle's moral works (Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1021). Foà 2007a, 604.

<sup>42</sup> Cagni 1971. Vespasiano wrote a biography of Agnolo: da Bisticci 1970-1976, vol. II, 353-363.

<sup>43</sup> Den Haan 2016, 59-60.

<sup>44</sup> Of the 171 *palatini latini* that Cagni lists as belonging to the Manetti collection, 26 have a table of contents written by Giannozzo or Agnolo; 82 have Giannozzo's *ex libris*.

<sup>45</sup> The handwriting of Pal. lat. 40 was identified by Alfonso De Petris as Giannozzo's, with corrections by Agnolo, and headings by Pietro Ursuleo da Capua (Manetti 1981, xliii). Garofalo and Trinkaus identified the handwriting as Agnolo's (Garofalo 1946, 359; Trinkaus 1970, vol. II, 818). Botley also mentioned Agnolo as the copyist of all three (Botley 2004, 178). Pal. lat. 43 also has an *ex libris* (2av), but this was added by a librarian at a later point. Pal. lat. 40 and 42 do not have an *ex libris*. This is perhaps not surprising, if Giannozzo or Agnolo added an *ex libris* to books when they entered the library; these three manuscripts had always been a part of it.

<sup>46</sup> Alfonso De Petris dated it to 1458, the year of Alfonso's death (Manetti 1981, xlv). On Petrus Ursuleus da Capua, see Banti 1939, 384-393. Petrus Ursuleus would later make a copy of Boethius in 1467 in Naples, which Agnolo bought (Banti 1939, 384).

list that Cagni edited.<sup>47</sup> Pal. lat. 41 has no *ex libris*, and the table of contents is not written by Manetti or Agnolo, but by Petrus Ursuleus as well – an indication that it was considered an integral part of the work itself.<sup>48</sup>

This is not surprising, since the organization of the Psalms interested Manetti particularly. In the first book of *Apologeticus*, Manetti engaged with several philological questions that are reflected in the Psalter manuscripts.<sup>49</sup> One of these is if the Psalms are divided into five books or one. While the Hebrews all believe that the Psalms were divided into five books, Manetti wrote, Jerome believed that there was only one book of Psalms. He gave some of Jerome's arguments, quoting directly from the Church Father's preface to Sophronius.<sup>50</sup> We know that Manetti was particularly interested in this passage: he also copied it on the flyleaf of his copy of the Vulgate, Pal.lat.18.<sup>51</sup> However, Manetti did not share Jerome's position. He himself believed that the Psalms were divided into five books, following the Jewish tradition.<sup>52</sup> Next to the division of the Psalms into books, Manetti discussed the number of Psalms in *Apologeticus*. He wrote that this number differs in the Greek and Hebrew tradition, but that in his opinion, there are exactly 150 Psalms.<sup>53</sup>

We see both questions reflected in the *palatini* manuscripts. In all four of them, the beginning of each new book of the Psalms is indicated in the headings. They also have a table of contents presenting all the Psalms, numbered, with the division into books indicated.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Pal. lat. 43 has a table with the total number of Psalms added up per book: 41 in the first book; 31 in the second book; 17 in the third book; 17 in the fourth book; and 44 (corrected) in the fifth book.<sup>55</sup> We find the same information in Pal. lat. 40, in a note in the table of contents.<sup>56</sup>

### The chronology of the manuscripts

The four *palatini* manuscripts not only reflect Manetti's scholarly interests; they also hold several clues as to the order in which they were written. The

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<sup>47</sup> Nr. 148 (Cagni 1960, 38, fn 9). The Latin manuscripts are listed in Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal.lat.1916, ff. 554-565v, by the Heidelberg librarian Martin Gerstmann; an updated list in various hand is on ff. 570-586.

<sup>48</sup> Pal. lat. 41, 1r-1v.

<sup>49</sup> *Apologeticus* I, 43-51 (Manetti 2016, 34-40).

<sup>50</sup> *Apologeticus* I, 43-47 (Manetti 2016, 34-38).

<sup>51</sup> Pal. lat. 18, 392v.

<sup>52</sup> *Apologeticus* I, 47 (Manetti 2016, 36-38).

<sup>53</sup> *Apologeticus* I, 49-50 (Manetti 2016, 38-40). Manetti updated the numbering of the Psalms in his Hebrew Psalter, Vat.ebr.28 (Pasternak 2018, 106-107).

<sup>54</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 1ar-1av; Pal. lat. 41, 1r-1v; Pal. lat. 42, 1r-2r; Pal. lat. 43, 1r-2r.

<sup>55</sup> Pal. lat. 43, 2v.

<sup>56</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 1ar-v.

connection between these manuscripts has been addressed to some degree in earlier studies. De Petris described Pal. lat. 40 (A) and 41 (B) in his edition of *Apologeticus*.<sup>57</sup> He believed that B must have been written after A, but he did not establish any direct dependence between the two manuscripts. He also hypothesized a draft manuscript (X).<sup>58</sup> Botley compared the text of the preface in the *palatini* manuscripts and Urb. lat. 5 but wrote that “[t]he relationship between these manuscripts cannot be firmly established on the basis of this sample.”<sup>59</sup> Trinkaus gave a short overview of the four *palatini* manuscripts and Urb.lat.5, but he did not attempt a chronology.<sup>60</sup>

We can group these four manuscripts into two pairs based on their contents. As stated above, Pal. lat. 42 and 43 do not have *Apologeticus*, nor do they have the presentation of the Psalter in three columns, with Manetti's version side by side with the Gallican Psalter and Jerome's Psalter *De hebraeica ueritate*. They only have Manetti's version and the preface to Alfonso. Furthermore, these two manuscripts both have numbered verses, as opposed to Pal. lat. 40 and 41. They also have some significant corrections in common. In Psalm 7, verse 11 was first skipped in both manuscripts, and then added.<sup>61</sup> The same happened in Psalm 63, verse 11.<sup>62</sup> The other two manuscripts, Pal. lat. 40 and 41, also have corrections in common. In Psalm 111, both Pal. lat. 40 and 41 have a marginal note that says that the title of the Psalm in Greek consists of only one word, *alleluja*.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, in both manuscripts, several verses of Psalm 79 were corrected. While in Pal. lat. 40, the whole passage was overwritten *in rasura*, in Pal. lat. 41, the missing verse was added at the bottom of the column.<sup>64</sup>

It is evident that Pal. lat. 40 and 41, which both contain *Apologeticus*, were written after the Psalter had already circulated for some time, because this is what Manetti himself states in the opening lines of the work.<sup>65</sup> What is unclear, however, is where we should position Pal. lat. 42 and 43. Were they written before, or after, Pal. lat. 40 and 41? Both options are possible: they

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<sup>57</sup> Manetti 1981, xliii-lxv.

<sup>58</sup> Manetti 1981, li-lviii.

<sup>59</sup> Botley 2004, 178-179.

<sup>60</sup> Trinkaus 1970, vol. II, 583-584; 818-819.

<sup>61</sup> Pal. lat. 42, 7v; Pal. lat. 43, 2v. I refer to the numbering of the verses in Manetti's manuscripts.

<sup>62</sup> Pal. lat. 42, 30v; Pal. lat. 43, 22v.

<sup>63</sup> “In greco non est nisi alleluia.”, Pal. lat. 40, 81v; Pal. lat. 41, 112v. A similar note appears in Pal. lat. 40 at Psalm 126, where the Greek Psalm title lacks the name of Salomon: “In g. non est Salomonis”, Pal. lat. 40, 94v. Pal. lat. 41 does not have this note, and *Salomonis* is still part of the Greek Psalm title.

<sup>64</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 53v; Pal. lat. 41, 80v.

<sup>65</sup> See above, page 106.



could be connected to the initial dedication to Alfonso before *Apologeticus*, or they could be later copies, where *Apologeticus* was simply left out.

I believe that Pal. lat. 43 and Pal. lat. 42 were written first, in that order; and then Pal. lat. 40 and 41. One reason for this is a correction in Pal. lat. 41. At Psalm 91: 14 (15), Jerome's translation *De hebraeica ueritate* reads "Adhuc multiplicabuntur in senecta uberi, etc."<sup>66</sup> In Pal. lat. 43 and 42, the first word of the verse is not *adhuc*, but *amplius*; Manetti evidently meant to change Jerome's translation here.<sup>67</sup> He also wrote *amplius* in Pal. lat. 40.<sup>68</sup> In Pal. lat. 41, however, *amplius* is corrected back to *adhuc*.<sup>69</sup> This makes it likely that Pal. lat. 40, 42 and 43 were all written before Pal. lat. 41.

Another clue lies in the summation of the total number of verses in the Psalms that we find in the table of contents of all four manuscripts. In Pal. lat. 43, this number is 2456;<sup>70</sup> in Pal. lat. 42, it is 2457, corrected *in rasura*.<sup>71</sup> In Pal. lat. 40 and Pal. lat. 41, we find 2457.<sup>72</sup> I conclude from this that Pal. lat. 43 was written first, with the wrong number; the number was then corrected in Pal. lat. 42; and it was written correctly from the start in Pal. lat. 40 and 41.

If my chronology is correct, the implication is that the side-by-side presentation of the Psalter versions was only thought of later, when the Psalter was dedicated to Alfonso for the second time. In *Apologeticus*, Manetti provided a long list of variant readings based on a comparison between the Greek and Hebrew textual traditions. It is likely that this list inspired Manetti to produce a new redaction of his Psalter text, one in which the reader could compare his translation with two other versions. If this is true, the preface to Alfonso, which is also present in the earlier manuscripts, Pal. lat. 43 and 42, must have been written to accompany only Manetti's translation, not the trio we find in the later manuscripts. This is relevant to Manetti's motivation to retranslate the Bible, as he stated it in the preface.<sup>73</sup> His argument that he meant to convince critics of the reliability of the Latin translation only applies to his own version. The comparative element of the tripartite Psalter was not

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<sup>66</sup> The translation in Jerome's Gallican Psalter is slightly different, but it also begins with *adhuc*.

<sup>67</sup> Pal. lat. 43, 35v; Pal. lat. 42, 44v.

<sup>68</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 63r.

<sup>69</sup> Pal. lat. 41, 93r.

<sup>70</sup> Pal. lat. 43, 2r.

<sup>71</sup> Pal. lat. 42, 2r.

<sup>72</sup> Pal. lat. 40, 1av; Pal. lat. 41, 2r.

<sup>73</sup> See above, page 106.

a part of the original plan, and its importance for the nature of Manetti's scholarship should therefore not be overstated.<sup>74</sup>

### After Manetti's death

When Giannozzo died in 1459, it was through Agnolo's involvement that his manuscripts were kept in the family. Agnolo was evidently interested in preserving his father's legacy: the collection contains more manuscripts of Manetti's own works, including some that were copied or annotated by Agnolo.<sup>75</sup> While Pal. lat. 40, 42, and 43 probably always remained in Agnolo's possession, Pal. lat. 41 was for several years part of the library of the King of Naples. In 1460, the Aragonese court pawned it, and Agnolo bought it back.<sup>76</sup> In the 1460s, a series of epitaphs was written for Giannozzo by humanists who had known him during his life.<sup>77</sup> We find these epitaphs in three manuscripts in the Manetti collection, including Pal. lat. 43.<sup>78</sup> In each case, they were copied in Agnolo's handwriting. The ones that are copied in Pal. lat. 43 all refer to Manetti's mastery of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and are therefore fitting for a copy of his Psalter translation.<sup>79</sup>

Next to the four *palatini* copies, Urb. lat. 5 is also connected to Agnolo. This manuscript does not have the tripartite presentation of the Psalter translations, but only Manetti's version, with the preface and *Apologeticus*. It also contains other works by Manetti, including *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* and *De terremotu*, two other works that Manetti dedicated to King Alfonso.<sup>80</sup> We know that Agnolo facilitated the transcription of his father's works for the Urbino library, through his connection with Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>81</sup> This set included unfinished works that had never circulated, such as the New Testament and Manetti's encyclopaedic work on the Christian faith, *Adversus Iudaeos et Gentes*.<sup>82</sup>

Finally, there are four manuscripts of Manetti's Psalter translation outside the Vatican library. I have not seen these, but I can make some observations

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<sup>74</sup> Cf. Hamilton, who wrote that Manetti "marks an important phase in the process which led to severe criticism of the Vulgate. One of his objectives was to enable the reader to compare different versions of the text." (Hamilton 1996, 103).

<sup>75</sup> Of the 171 *palatini latini* that Cagni lists as belonging to the Manetti collection, eighteen are copies of Manetti's own works.

<sup>76</sup> Garofalo 1946, 360.

<sup>77</sup> Walz 2005. Walz's study includes an edition of the epitaphs. Six of them were also edited in Wittschier 1968, 48-49.

<sup>78</sup> Pal. lat. 43, 60r-v. The other two manuscripts are Pal. lat. 1594 and 1652 (Walz 2005, 157-158).

<sup>79</sup> These are, in Walz's edition, nrs XIV, XXVI, XIX, XI, XXVII (written in that order).

<sup>80</sup> Stornajolo 1902, 8-9. See also Manetti 1979, 20-22; 1983, lv-lvi.

<sup>81</sup> Den Haan 2016, 59-61.

<sup>82</sup> Urb. lat. 6; Urb. lat. 154.

based on catalogue descriptions. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 10745, has Manetti's Psalter and the preface to Alfonso.<sup>83</sup> The catalogues do not offer much information concerning Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2948, Miscellanea Tioli, v. 17. This manuscript would contain Manetti's translation of four (!) books of the Psalter, dedicated to Alfonso; it is unclear if the manuscript also includes the preface.<sup>84</sup>

Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, c 336 has only Psalms 1-36.<sup>85</sup> This manuscript is interesting because it has only Manetti's version and Jerome's version based on the Hebrew. It does not have the preface to Alfonso, or *Apologeticus*, nor a table of contents as we find it in the *palatini* manuscripts. Thus, its relationship with the *palatini* is entirely unclear. It would be interesting to see if it is written by Giannozzo or Agnolo, and if it has any of the corrections that we find in the *palatini* as described above.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Geral. 5620, was probably copied from Pal. lat. 43. It has only Manetti's translation and the preface to Alfonso; not *Apologeticus* and the other two Latin translations. It also has a table with the number of Psalms per book, and the total number of verses in all Psalms together: 2456.<sup>86</sup> As we have seen, this number was written in Pal. lat. 43, and afterwards corrected to 2457 in the other manuscripts.<sup>87</sup> If this manuscript should prove to depend (indirectly) on Pal. lat. 43, this would throw new light on the circulation of Manetti's Psalter.<sup>88</sup> More research is needed to settle this question.

## Conclusion

In this article, I have focused on four manuscripts of Manetti's translation of the Psalter, Pal. lat. 40, 41, 42 and 43, which were all part of the Manetti family library. We have seen that the four *palatini* manuscripts of the Psalter form two pairs, each corresponding to one stage in the publication process. Pal. lat. 43 and 42 were written first, and they present the text as it was first dedicated to King Alfonso. Pal. lat. 40 and 41 were both written at least a year later, but before 1458, the year of Alfonso's death. This chronology throws new light on Manetti's motivation to retranslate the Psalter, which was to refute the critics of the Latin version, as he stated in his preface and in

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<sup>83</sup> Marchal 1842, 215; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. III, 118.

<sup>84</sup> "Includes: Jannoti Manetti libri IV (*sic!*) novae totius Psalterii de haebraica veritate in latinum traductionis ad Alphonsum regem." Cancellieri 1826, 119; Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. I, 21.

<sup>85</sup> Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. I, 110.

<sup>86</sup> Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. IV, 467.

<sup>87</sup> See above, page 110.

<sup>88</sup> This manuscript is dated to the seventeenth century. Kristeller 1967-1996, vol. IV, 467.

*Apologeticus*. Initially, his aim was not to present the three translations side by side but to refute these critics through his own translation alone.

The Psalter translation was evidently a prestige project for Giannozzo and his son. Not only was the work dedicated to Alfonso twice; the *palatini* copies are also carefully put together, each with a table of contents that illustrates Giannozzo's interest in the number of Psalms and the division into five books. After Giannozzo's death, Agnolo bought manuscripts of the Psalter back for the family library, copied epitaphs for his father in one of them, and had a copy made for the Urbino library. On the other hand, we can tentatively conclude that the circulation of the Psalter translation, and especially *Apologeticus*, was limited. Four of the nine surviving manuscripts were directly connected with Agnolo Manetti – or even five, if we include Urb.lat.5. The Psalter may have had more impact if Manetti had not died in 1459, shortly after dedicating his work to Alfonso. In the future, research on the other Psalter manuscripts will hopefully throw more light on the *fortuna* of one of Manetti's most ambitious works.

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