

Matthew J. J. Hoskin: *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters. The Transmission and Reception of Papal Documents in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols 2022 (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 83). 516 p., 36 tables. € 110.00. ISBN: 978-2-503-58966-4.

“The Manuscripts of Leo the Great’s Letters,” a reworked version of a PhD dissertation by Matthew J. J. Hoskin in 2015,¹ encompasses an in-depth study of the manuscript transmission of Leo the Great’s letters. These are transmitted by a huge number of manuscripts, of which many comprise canonical collections well-known in broader studies on legal history, be it canonical or secular law. Hoskin’s main focus is to explore each of these canonical collections, to define manuscript relations between the witnesses of each collection, and to surmise overarching relations between collections. In his argumentation Hoskin’s emphasis is on an assessment of textual variants in the consulted witnesses, yet he carefully considers all aspects of late antique and medieval book culture, such as the composition of manuscripts, palaeography, geography and physical circulation, and the production of handwritten books. As Hoskin himself explains in his introduction (pp. 21–26), “Humans copied each manuscript, humans existing as full members of their own societies, with their own concerns, reasons for copying, materials at hand, history, politics, religion, and art. These historical contexts are not unimportant for considering the story that emerges from the technical discussions and the burgeoning lists of manuscripts” (p. 22). From the introduction it becomes clear that Hoskin is a humble and intellectually honest scholar.² By no means, however, should the author’s virtue of humility lead anyone to suspect that this monograph is anything less than a fundamental

1 This book review has been carried out as part of the ERC-funded project AntCoCo (“Understanding Late Antique Top-Down Communication: a Study of Imperial Constitutions”; Grant agreement ID: 101001991) at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg. A word of thanks goes to Peter Riedlberger, for his comments and suggestions on this review.

2 See Hoskin: “It is the custom of some editors to scorn their predecessors, but I am neither inclined, nor have grounds, to do so; whatever advantages I may have, they did well at the task set them. Our need for a better apparatus and, at times, a better text, does not make them failures at what they did. Their work makes mine possible, and I am daily aware of what I owe them” (p. 23).

study, and a scholarly standard for anyone interested in the reception of Leo and in canonical law at large.

The author's task should not be underestimated. Hoskin studied the manuscript transmission of over 170 letters of Leo, and his study incorporates the evidence of almost 400 manuscripts, many of them not yet digitally available.³ Even if Hoskin treats the post-Carolingian collections in less detail than earlier collections (primarily because of their more limited value in the reconstruction of Leo's writings), the extensive documentation on variant readings in pre-Carolingian (pp. 98–241), Chalcedonian (pp. 243–269) and Carolingian (pp. 275–349) collections alone is impressive. Hoskin engages with scholarly predecessors and is willing to challenge existing hypotheses on the transmission of Leo's letters based on his independent study of textual variants. At various points Hoskin connects the more technical parts of his study – the assessment of manuscript relations on the basis of variant readings – to the broader intellectual culture in which his consulted manuscripts functioned. Examples of such instances can be found on pp. 91–101, on the circumstances of pre-Carolingian collections and on the earliest, unknown period of transmission (pp. 92–98), or in the introductions to chapters 5 (“The Carolingian Context”, pp. 275–284) and 6 (“Introduction to High and Late Medieval Contexts”, pp. 353–364). In the former, the author explains how the Carolingian era provided the historical and material circumstances in which Frankish book culture could flourish in a way that had not been possible in Merovingian times. In the introduction to chapter 6, the various new collections which surface in the twelfth century are connected to broader contemporary efforts of renewal and reform in the Latin Christian world. In his systematic overview of Leo's letters (“Conspectus of the Letters of Pope Leo I”, pp. 407–461), Hoskin's summaries of the letters offer an epistolary biography of Leo the Great. This conspectus exemplifies the value of the letters of Leo as sources on his life, his network, and his contemporary influence. Although overall Hoskin's argumentation is on the systematic and technical side, he never loses touch with the reality in which his manuscripts functioned. His study of manuscripts as part of collections, and not only on the Leonine letters they contain, means it is relevant beyond the scope of studies on Leo the Great. As part of canonical collections, the letters of Leo were read throughout history as sources of Christian spiritu-

3 Wherever a digitized manuscript is publicly accessible, Hoskin provides the URL to the digitized manuscript.

ality and canon law. These collections also contained the writings of other church fathers, predominantly other bishops of Rome, the reports of ecclesiastical councils, and late antique and medieval legal writings. Thus, Hoskin's careful study lays the foundation for any future work on these canonical collections at large.

"The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters" follows a clearly delineated outline and employs a consistent methodology throughout. Each of the four main chapters (chapter 3: "Pre-Carolingian Canonical Collections", pp. 91–241; chapter 4: "Chalcedonian Collections and the Greek Transmission of Leo's Letters", pp. 243–273; chapter 5: "The Carolingian Tradition of Manuscripts", pp. 275–351; chapter 6: "Post-Carolingian Collections", pp. 353–406) follows a similar approach: after a brief introduction on the broader cultural-historical circumstances of the collections addressed in the chapter, Hoskin discusses collection by collection. For each of these, Hoskin summarizes the immediate historical context and broader relevance (i), sums up all manuscripts in the collection, including a codicological description of each witness and succinct references to further studies on the manuscripts (ii), and discusses the relations of all manuscripts of the collections on the basis of extensively documented textual variants (iii). Occasionally the discussion on manuscript relations is postponed in order to discuss the relations between different canonical collections. That is, for example, the case in Hoskin's treatment of the *Collectio Corbeiensis* (**C**) (pp. 181–183) and the *Collectio Pitbouensis* (**P**) (pp. 183–189) on pp. 184–189. As indicated above, Hoskin for good reason does not discuss the manuscript relations of post-Carolingian collections in great detail, if at all.⁴ Most of Hoskin's argumentation relies, in the first place, on textual variants. He documents variant

4 Perhaps examples from different chapters can illustrate the shift in approach from chapters 3–5 to chapter 6. For his discussion of the *Collectio Dionysiana* (**D**) in chapter 3, on pp. 149–161, Hoskin situates it in its historical context on pp. 149–150, describes its two manuscripts on pp. 151–152, and discusses the manuscript relations on pp. 152–161, with a detailed table of variant readings on pp. 153–160 throughout. Rusticus' *Acta Chalcedonensia* (**Ru**) are treated in chapter 4 on pp. 255–260. Hoskin describes date and circumstances on pp. 255–256, sums up its nine manuscripts on pp. 256–257, and describes manuscript relations on pp. 257–260, with a table of variant readings on pp. 258–259. For the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (**S-ga**), in chapter 5 on pp. 311–319, pp. 311–312 situate the collection in its historical circumstances and addresses its relation to the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* (**I**) and the *Collectio Hispana* (**S**), pp. 313–314 extensively describes its two manuscripts, and pp. 314–319 discusses manuscript relations, with a table of readings in pp. 315–319. Among the post-Carolingian collections in chapter 6, only the Ballerini Collection

readings of collections extensively and compares these variants to the most recent or best editions of select letters, be it an edition by Eduard Schwartz in the ACO series (e.g., pp. 117–118) or the Jacques-Paul Migne reprint (*Patrologia Latina*) of the edition by the brothers Girolamo and Pietro Ballerini (e.g., pp. 119–130).⁵ Instead of making authoritative claims, Hoskin invites the reader to evaluate the full range of cited evidence in order to gauge his hypotheses and proposed solutions. This decision does mean that the discussion of manuscript readings can become technical. The discussions can cross-reference variant readings from tables from other sections within the book.⁶ The result of Hoskin's methodology is an almost encyclopaedic overview of the manuscripts of Leo the Great's letters and their relations – both relations between different collections as well as relations between manuscripts of each particular collection. The argumentation is rigorous as well as technical, but always transparent and intellectually honest.

A subject as vast as the manuscript transmission of Leo the Great's letters cannot be fully exhausted in one monograph, and some pragmatic decisions had to be made in the course of such an ambitious project. One of them is of course the focus on the letters of Leo, the sermons of Leo having been studied by Antoine Chavasse in the 1970s, who published an edition in the

24 (24) on pp. 389–396 contains a section on manuscript relations (pp. 395–396), which in fact mostly deals with the relation of this collection to the collections **S**, **S-ga** and **I**. Hoskin also briefly describes the collection on pp. 389–390 and its 23 witnesses on pp. 390–395.

- 5 Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Tomus II: Concilium Universale Chalcedonense. Vol. IV: Leonis Papae I Epistularum Collectiones. Editio E. Schwartz. Berlin/Leipzig 1932; Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia. 3 Vol. Ed. J.–P. Migne. Paris 1846–1865 (*Patrologia Latina* 54–56). Hoskin's identification of the Ballerini brothers as Giacomo and Pietro (e.g., p. 75) instead of Girolamo (Latin: Hieronymus) and Pietro may be a repeated slip of the pen.
- 6 An example of both the sometimes-condensed reasoning in the main text and the cross-referencing to enumerations of variant readings from another section can be found on pp. 105–106: “Out of the 58 **Q** variants for *Epp.* 14 and 159 in the table at 3.2.c.iii below [p. 121–126], **F** shares all but 8 of them. These eight are Variants 48, 50, 53, 62, 67, 74, 77, and 88. 48 and 62 are universal **Q** variants, both of which could have easily been emended to the **F** text or easily made in the **Q** text. 50 is only in two **Q** manuscripts (*p* and *b*), likewise 53 (*a* and *e*). **F**'s reading of ‘recessit’ against majority **Q** in 67 it shares with *v* and *w* – and its agreement with Variant 68 is also in alignment with *v* and *w*. Variant 74 is only a marginally majority reading of **Q** (MSS *a'*, *e*, *v*, *w*). 77, on the other hand, is a significant minority reading in *a*, *p*, and *b'*”.

Series Latina of Corpus Christianorum (CCSL).⁷ Frequent recourse is made to secondary literature. Very often Hoskin critically weighs the value of previous arguments, disagreeing, agreeing, or giving a balanced summary of previous scholarship.⁸ At times, however, Hoskin is too indebted to previous scholarship, and does not always critically examine the literature he cites. Examples can be found in his description of the manuscripts of the *Collectio Quesnelliana*. Concerning the two Paris Latin manuscripts 1454 (*b*) and 3842A (*p*), Hoskin follows the invaluable overview “Canonical Collections” by Lotte Kéry in assigning the provenance of the first of these two, but not the second, to the cathedral chapter of Beauvais, hence his use of *siglum b* for the first (pp. 114–115).⁹ The catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, claims that Paris lat. 3842A once belonged to Beauvais, as its f. 1 contains traces of its former shelfmark.¹⁰ In his partial edition of the *Quesnelliana*, Jean Hardouin SJ (Harduinus) refers to a particular reading of his *Quesnelliana* witness from Beauvais, and this reading is uniquely attested in Paris

- 7 A. Chavasse (ed.): Leo Magnus, Tractatus. Turnhout 1973 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 138–138A). Note a slip of pen in the bibliography (p. 474), where “CCSL 148” referring to this edition should be CCSL 138–138A instead.
- 8 An example of a novel hypothesis Hoskin develops, in critical dialogue with scholarship, is his assessment of the relation between the *Collectio Pitbouensis* (**P**) and the *Collectio Corbeiensis* (**C**) on pp. 184–189. Cf. G. D. Dunn: *Collectio Corbeiensis, Collectio Pitbouensis* and the Earliest Collections of Papal Letters. In: B. Neil/P. Allen (eds.): *Collecting Early Christian Letters. From the Apostle Paul to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge 2015, pp. 175–205. On p. 312, Hoskin explicitly compares the findings of Annette Grabowsky and Dominik Lorenz with his own collations of *a*: “**S-ga** has been edited online through Monumenta Germaniae Historica by A. Grabowsky and D. Lorenz; I have checked this edition against *a* and found it to be sound”. Cf. the online edition on: <http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/> (consulted 23 August 2022). On pp. 111–112, Hoskin expertly summarizes extant scholarship on the dating and context of the *Collectio Quesnelliana*.
- 9 Cf. L. Kéry: *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*. Washington, D.C. 1999 (*History of Medieval Canon Law* 1), p. 27.
- 10 Bibliothèque nationale de France. Archives et manuscrits, “Latin 3842 A”, s.d. <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61810g> (consulted 23 August 2022): “Provient de la bibliothèque de l’Eglise cathédrale de Beauvais dont il porte au f. 1 l’ancienne cote : ‘bc’, avec la notice : ‘Apostolorum canones. Diversi canones et sinodi et concilia et epistole Leonis et aliorum contra diversos hereticos’ (XV e s.)”. Cf. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Archives et manuscrits, “Latin 1454”, s.d. <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc59423q> (consulted 23 August 2022).

lat. 3842A.¹¹ Perhaps in this instance Kéry confused the two closely related Paris witnesses, and Hoskin did not re-examine Kéry's attribution. Another instance where Hoskin is too greatly indebted to Kéry is in her verdict on the Oxford manuscript (Oriel College, 42) of the *Quesnelliana* as that collection's "most reliable manuscript" (p. 369).¹² This manuscript is indeed influential, as it was Pasquier Quesnel's manuscript of choice. Quesnel, who prepared the first edition of the collection that would henceforth be named after him, consulted this manuscript and the Paris lat. 3842A,¹³ and often preferred his Oxford exemplar.¹⁴ Despite the influence of the Oxford manuscript, however, many scholars¹⁵ consider it to be the least reliable of the *Quesnelliana* witnesses, containing many innovative readings, possibly due to

- 11 Harduinus (ed.): *Conciliorum Collectio Regia Maxima. Tomus Primus: Ab anno Christi XXXIV. ad annum CCCCL. Ad P. P. Labbei & P. G. Cossartii e Societate Iesu labores.* Paris 1715, c. 1232, *in marg.*: *In cod. Bellou. v. Kal.* Cf. Migne 56 (note 7), c. 496: *Data kal. Augusti, Carthagine, Monacio et Plinta consulibus.* The *Patrologia Latina* volumes 54–56 offer a reprint of the three-volume Ballerini edition, who, citing Harduinus, also mention the reading *v. Kal.* of the Beauvais witness. Cf. P. Ballerini/G. Ballerini (eds.): *Appendix Ad Sancti Leonis Magni Opera, Seu Uetustissimus Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, & Constitutorum Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae.* Tomus Tertius. Venice 1757, cc. 177–178, n. 10.
- 12 Hoskin citing Kéry (note 11), p. 27.
- 13 Hoskin, however, claims tentatively but erroneously that Paris lat. 1454 could have been the second Quesnel witnesses, next to the Oriel College manuscript (p. 115).
- 14 Edition of the *Quesnelliana*. P. Quesnel (ed.): *Ad Sancti Leonis Magni Opera Appendix, Seu Codex Canonum Et Constitutorum Sedis Apostolicae. Dissertationes, Lectiones Uariae, Notae, Observationes, Indices.* Tomus II. Paris 1675.
- 15 For a negative verdict on this manuscript, see M. Brett: *Theodore and the Latin Canon Law.* In: M. Lapidge (ed.): *Archbishop Theodore. Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence.* Cambridge/New York 1995 (*Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 11), pp. 120–140, p. 122, n. 6 [on the *Quesnelliana* collection]: "Edited first by P. Quesnel [...] from the latest and worst surviving copy, Oxford, Oriel College 42 (Malmesbury, s. xii)"; C. Munier (ed.): *Concilia, Conciliae Africae a. 345–525.* Turnhout 1974 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 149), p. 70, n. corresponding to line 40 of his edition: *nolui cod. Q⁷ [the Oriel College manuscript], utpote deteriorem, longius conferre.* See also the commentary by the Ballerini brothers on Quesnel's use of the Oxford manuscript (P. Ballerini/G. Ballerini [eds.]: *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Opera. Tomus Primus: Sincera S. Pontificis Opera continens, idest Sermones & Epistolas cum suis Appendicibus.* Venice 1753, cc. 517–518): *Quesnellus licet in edenda hac collectione usus sit MS. Oxoniensi multo recentiori, & non parum mendoso.*

interventions by the person responsible for its creation, the twelfth-century English scholar William of Malmesbury.

At times, Hoskin too quickly dismisses a manuscript witness as irrelevant for his study. I will discuss here two examples, which illustrate that a consultation could have been beneficial. A first example is from the already-mentioned collection, the *Collectio Quesnelliana*. Hoskin mentions there is an additional manuscript of this collection, Paris lat. 3848A, which “is incomplete and lacks Leo” (p. 113, n. 103). In fact, it contains Leo like any other of the *Quesnelliana* manuscripts (namely on f. 161r–234v). If we compare the readings of this manuscript (*t*, after its provenance in Troyes) with the table of variants Hoskin offers on pp. 117–118 for Leo’s epist. 28, we see that *t* agrees with the typical readings of **Q** for readings 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13,¹⁶ agrees with the **Q** manuscripts *a e v w* for readings 3, 5, 6, and 11, and with the **Q** manuscripts *p b* for reading 12. Furthermore, the manuscript Vat. lat. 1353 of the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D–a**) is not considered. On this witness Hoskin cites the opinion of René Massigli: “le texte ne présente pas d’autre particularité notable que de donner un grand nombre de mauvaises lectures et aucun détail extérieur ne nous renseigne sur la patrie de l’archétype” and thus excludes the manuscript from his analysis (pp. 302–303).¹⁷ Although Massigli’s verdict is certainly warranted, the consultation of Vat. lat. 1353 (*siglum b*, after its origin as a copy of a manuscript from Bergamo) could have assisted the assessment of the manuscript relations of **D–a**. I will compare the readings of *b* to those reported by Hoskin in his two tables on pp. 303–307 and pp. 308–309. It seems in these cases that Hoskin made the occasional error, which led him to a hypothesis on manuscript relations I find untenable. The question of manuscript relations of the *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D–a**) is a difficult one, as one of its manuscripts (*c*) contains this collection together with regular *Dionysiana* (**D**) material. All other manuscripts have the combination of **D–a** with the *Dionysiana-Hadriana* (**D–h**),

16 For variant 4, Hoskin misattributes a variant reading of *v*’ (first hand of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2141) to *w*’ (first hand of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2147). Manuscript *v* clearly reads *generandorum* on f. 130v (sixth line), with *re* written by a second hand *supra lineam*. Manuscript *w*, conversely, reads at the same juncture (f. 165r, lines 16–17) *regenerando|rum*, wholly in the first hand.

17 Hoskin citing R. Massigli: Sur l’origine de la collection canonique dite Hadriana augmentée. In: *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 32, 1912, pp. 363–383, pp. 368–369.

which in turn is a distinct collection based on the *Dionysiana*. Hoskin's stemma on p. 310 illustrates two strata of manuscript relations simultaneously for the *Dionysiana adaucta*: first, it illustrates the relations between the three collections **D–a**, **D–h**, and **D**, and between the **D–a** and two 'Proto-collections' (earlier, not-extant collections which influenced preserved collections¹⁸) **Proto-5** and **Proto-4**. Second, Hoskin uses the stemma to illustrate the relations between the manuscripts of **D–a**. On the basis of the collations I discuss here, I will primarily assess the second aspect of Hoskin's stemma, which I believe needs revision. Looking specifically at Hoskin's neglected manuscript *b*, collations of that witness would have demonstrated it often shares errors with *g* (Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5), in particular with that manuscript *post correctionem* (*g*²), and with *v* (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXVI). Manuscript *b* shares an error with *g* and *v* for the noted variants (first series, on pp. 303–307) 6, 11, 20, and 24, and with *g*² and *v* for variants (first series) 7, possibly 15, 17, 21, and 25. It disagrees, however, with *g* and *v* for the readings (first series) 13 and 14, and with variant 3 in the second series (pp. 308–309). In these latter instances, it may be that *b* fortuitously corrected these errors of *g* and *v* (*christianissimorum* for *christianorum*, *spiritalium remedium* for *spiritalium remedium*,¹⁹ and *pullaret* for *pullularet*). Additionally, *b* has errors in common with *v* for readings 12 and 18 (first series), and readings 1 and 5 (second series). It should be seriously reconsidered whether *v* and *b* may not both depend on *g*, in particular *g post correctionem*, through a common ancestor. Individual errors of *v* are 1 (ambiguous), 15, and 21, from the first series; an individual error of *b* is its reading for variant 15. These individual errors indicate neither could have been the model for the other. Against the hypothesis of *v* depending on *g*, Hoskin mentions reading 22 from the first series (p. 305; p. 307),²⁰ and readings 11 and 12 from the second series. However, in all these instances Hoskin gives an incorrect collation of *g*: in reality, *g* agrees with the other manuscripts of **D–a** (*instantia*, *seu iore*, and *nostra auctoritate quorum* respectively). There is, then, no proof that Hoskin's assumed common model R for *g* and *v* exists; instead, it is

18 See the overview of proto-collections in Hoskin, p. 469.

19 Of this variant, Hoskin admits: "easily emended by *m* and *v*" (p. 304).

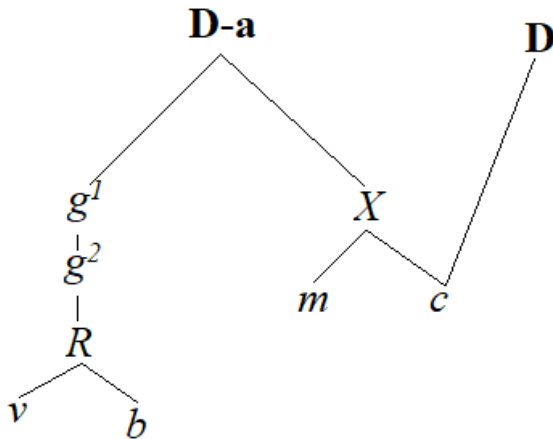
20 On p. 305, there is a glitch. Hoskin notes *g* reads *substantia* here, against the majority reading *instantia* of the other witnesses, while on p. 307, he writes the opposite: "However, *g* gives the reading *instantia* where *v* and the majority tradition give *substantia*". In reality, all manuscripts of **D–a** read *instantia*, and none has *substantia*.

rather the case that there would have been a common model for *b* and *v*, which depended in turn on *g*. Another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is the relation between *g* on the one hand and *m* and *c* on the other. In many cases, *g*¹ agrees with *m c*, but *g*² contains the reading attested in *v* and *b*. These instances are (first series) errors 7, 8, 15, 17, 21, 25.²¹ These readings imply *g*¹ still represents the (hyp)archetype reading of **D–a**, and *g*² introduces an error, which found its way into *v* and *b*.

There is another matter to discuss regarding the stemma on p. 310. It is unclear why *m* and *c*, which have common errors (variants 12 and 15 of the first series), do not derive from a common ancestor of one branch of **D–a**; Hoskin indicates this is the case on p. 307: “Manuscripts *m* and *c*, on the other hand, demonstrate themselves as a pair in contrast to *g* and *v* [...] Thus, from our point of origin, we have two known branches of the tree, *g–v* or *gv* and *mc*”. The stemma of Hoskin on p. 310 does not reflect this: in it, **D–a** branches off in two directions, one branch incorporating material from **D**; that is, hyparchetype *I*, the model for *c*. The other branch incorporated material from **D–h**; that is, hyparchetype *X*, which splits in two branches as well: one represented by *m*, and the other by *R*, Hoskin’s putative ancestor of *g* and *v* (on *R*, see above). That stemma implies that all common errors of *m* and *c* are archetype errors of **D–a**, which Hoskin’s *R* fortuitously corrected. Yet this hypothesis does not appear in Hoskin’s argumentation. If we depart indeed from the hypothesis that the errors of *m c* point to their belonging to a separate branch, the following stemma would present itself (with some tentative adjustments, based on the discussions above):²²

21 Cf. Hoskin’s remark on p. 307: “Variants 6, 8, 11, 14, 20, 21, and 25 where *v* includes an addition by *g*² (of approximate date to *g*¹) that *m* lacks”. He does not note that the reading common to *g* and *v* is from *g*² in particular, for variants 7, 15, 21. For variant 8, Hoskin only indicates that *g*¹ lacks *sub xpi*, but not that it lacks both *ab* and *sub xpi*, which *g*² adds; the reading of *g*¹ is identical to *m c* (he erroneously indicates *m c* only lack *ab* and *sub*, but not the second *xpi*), that of *g*² identical to *v b*.

22 I have preserved the use of *sigla* as much as possible from Hoskin. Do note, however, that both *X* and *R* differ drastically in their function in this proposed stemma compared to the stemma in Hoskin (p. 310).



The one element from this stemma I am least confident about is the relation between the **D-a** and **D**. The stemma as I propose it would imply that the *Dionysiana adancta* is, in its origins, an augmented version of the *Dionysiana Hadriana*, and that the inclusion of the pure *Dionysiana* in *c* points to a novel composition of that manuscript.²³ For now, however, the limited evidence of the discussion here urges us to exercise caution as to this final hypothesis.

Another drawback of the ambitious scope of “The Manuscripts of Leo the Great’s Letters” is that inevitably its author cannot be the expert on the textual transmission of all cited letters of Leo. Because he does not propose a new edition of the letters of Leo the Great (yet?), Hoskin rarely discusses variant readings from the perspective of an archetype reading of one specific letter or from a (hyp)archetype reading of a collection. As indicated above, Hoskin refers to the best available editions, and invites his readers to compare his collations to these editions.²⁴ In his overview of readings Hoskin distinguishes between ‘errors’ and ‘variants’. With ‘variant’, Hoskin wants to indicate readings which “are not immediately wrong and whose assessment may require more effort” (p. 24). This distinction exemplifies that Hoskin does not speak from authority, and prefers not to do so. However, it also means that Hoskin often includes variant readings insignificant for the assessment of manuscript relations, although he is aware of the existence of

23 See also the discussion in Hoskin (p. 299).

24 See Hoskin (p. 24): “Far too often textual criticism reads like conclusions already made. I wish the reader to be able to follow my arguments and disagree where possible”.

such irrelevant readings.²⁵ What he rarely addresses in his overviews of readings is the possible existence of archetype errors. In his discussion of the *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D–a**), Hoskin’s errors 8 and 17 (pp. 304–305) may point to archetype errors of **D–a**, attested in *m c g¹* (see also the discussion above). These archetype errors were corrected in *g²*, possibly based on a source from another collection (contamination). The corrected readings of *g²* were then retained in *v b*, giving the impression that *m c g¹* are incorrect against *g² v b*, whereas they may have simply retained the (hyp)archetype errors of **D–a**.

A consideration of archetype errors and the degree to which manuscripts or branches could restore the ‘correct’ reading fortuitously is mostly missing in Hoskin’s discussion of the manuscript relations of the *Collectio Quesnelliana* (**Q**) on pp. 130–131. Hoskin argues for the near-independence of manuscript *p* (Paris lat. 3842A) because it sometimes agrees with the Ballerini edition against all other witnesses. He then argues that its closest relative is *b* (Paris lat. 1454), which has some errors in common with *p*, but also has errors descendent of readings attested in the other **Q** witnesses. He thus argues that *p* and *b* are probably not twins, though they are closer to each other than to the other four witnesses of **Q**, *a e v w*. The evidence for such an independent position of *p* is, however, very slight. Of Hoskin’s noted variants, these are (of the second series, pp. 119–130) readings 44, 51, 76, 86, 87, 88, 89, and 104. Of these eight readings, Hoskin admits **Q**’s errors 44, 51, and 87 could have been easily corrected by *p*.²⁶ Arguably, the other five instances where *p* appears to be correct against the other witnesses of **Q** may likewise point to fortuitous corrections of archetype errors by *p*.²⁷ The limited instances in which *p* agrees with the Ballerini reading of choice do not convince

25 See, for example: “Given the frequency with which *e* and *i* are interchanged in the mss, this shared variant alone is almost meaningless” (p. 118, n. 113); “These variants are not stemmatically significant” (p. 228); “Common error *g, v*, easily emended by *m* and *l*” (p. 304). An example of the inclusion of insignificant variants is the comparison of *INCP EPISTOLA* and *INCIPIIT EPLA* on p. 308 (variant 6).

26 See Hoskin’s remarks on p. 122, n. 44; p. 123, n. 51; and p. 125, n. 87.

27 Variant 76: *p* may have simply omitted *est* here, the inclusion of *est* (*restituendum est quod*) being a reading of **Q**; 86: in this instance, *p* adjusted the word order of **Q**, from *sola spiritus sancti inuocatione* to *sola inuocatione spiritus sancti*. Perhaps two reasons can explain how this adjustment could be made fortuitously: the scribe of *p* may have wanted to keep the two word groups (*sola inuocatione* and *spiritus sancti*) separated, and/or he imitated the word order of the following similar phrase *sola sanctificatio spiritus sancti* (= variant 88); 88: it appears the archetype reading of **Q** was the gram-

me that *p* and *b* could not be sibling manuscripts. Perhaps a large number of readings common to *p* and *b* can also be reinterpreted as fortuitous corrections of archetype errors of **Q** by the common ancestor of *p* and *b*.²⁸ As a whole, Hoskin convincingly demonstrates that in many instances, *p* and *b* are correct against *a e v w*. A more thorough study, however (perhaps a new critical edition of these letters, or of the *Quesnelliana* itself), may further identify where *p b* would have incidentally restored correct readings from an erroneous archetype of **Q**, or where *a e v w* (and the neglected witness *t*) introduced a new error.

The remarks above may give the false impression that Hoskin's work is anything but excellent. Quite on the contrary. It is because of the high quality of Hoskin's work and its immediate worth to my current research that I have the privilege to analyse his findings with the utmost scrutiny.²⁹ If anything, the length of this review illustrates that for any study on the many collections addressed by Hoskin his monograph demands thorough engagement, as it paves the way for any future study on this broad topic. In his first major chapter (Chapter 2: "Editing Leo's Letters", pp. 71–90), Hoskin offers an overview of earlier editions of the letters of Leo the Great. He makes a compelling case that a new edition of the letters is long overdue, with the most recent editions of the majority of the letters dating back to the work of the

matically erroneously *sanctificationem* (attested in *a¹, e, w*), corrected somewhat to *sanctificatione* in several witnesses (*a², b, v*), and to the nominative *sanctificatio* in *p* (*sola sanctificatio spiritus sancti*); 89: perhaps the scribe of *p* added *et* here on his own accord (*ad omnes fratres et comprouinciales*); 104: here **Q** would have had *deum* (abbreviation *dm*), and *p* adjusted it to *dominum* (*dnm*), coinciding with the Ballerini reading. It must be admitted that, in all these cases, variants are compared to the readings of the Ballerini edition, which, although excellent, is inconsistent in the face of modern scholarly standards. Hence why Hoskin's book is so valuable.

- 28 See Hoskin's variants (first series, pp. 117–118) 3, 11, and (second series) 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 36, 43, 58, 69, 73, 78, 139. For these instances, it could be argued that *a e v w* preserved the archetype readings of **Q** more conservatively, whereas the ancestor of *p* and *b* could have innovated and corrected these errors.
- 29 For full disclosure: as a member of the research team of the ERC-funded project AntCoCo (see acknowledgements, note 1), I have examined the manuscript transmission of following collections: *Collectio Frisingensis Prima* (**F**), *Collectio Diessensis* (**Di**), *Collectio Quesnelliana* (**Q**), *Collectio Vaticana* (**V**), manuscript *r* (Paris, lat. 1455) of the *Collectio Sanblasiana* (**Sa**), known as the *Collectio Colbertina*, *Collectio Teatina* (**Te**), *Collectio Corbeiensis* (**C**), *Collectio Pithouensis* (**P**), *Codex encyclius*, *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D–a**), *Collectio Bobbiensis* (**B**), the Collection of William of Malmesbury, and the Ballerini collection 24 (**24**).

Ballerini brothers from 1753–1757. Hoskin’s monograph will be a very good point of departure for anyone who would dare to embark on this journey. Although perhaps not all of Hoskin’s hypotheses may stand the test of time, any serious scholar must engage in a critical dialogue with Hoskin and will probably begin their research by first examining this thorough book. The instrumental value of Chapter 7, the “Conspectus of the Letters of Pope Leo I” (pp. 407–464), should not be understated in this regard. As canonical collections all presented and structured their diverse material in different fashions, they often resist efforts of modern scholars, who want to systematize in a ‘one size fits all’ approach. Hoskin does justice to the individuality of each collection. At the same time, the conspectus of Leo’s letters allows a modern scholar, based on modern numbering schemes and a consistent mention of date, recipient, and *incipit*, to navigate better the various collections and their Leonine content. For each letter, Hoskin gives the most recent edition and an overview of the collections which contain the letter. With his painstaking work, Hoskin has succeeded in delivering the much-needed “prolegomena” to a new critical edition of the letters of Leo the Great.³⁰

30 Cf. the title of Hoskin’s 2015 doctoral dissertation: “Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Letters of Pope Leo the Great”.

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