

PRINTING EVOLUTION AND SOCIETY 1450-1500

Fifty Years that Changed Europe

Edited by
Cristina Dondi



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500

Studi di storia

Serie coordinata da
Laura Cerasi
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Fifty Years that Changed Europe

edited by Cristina Dondi

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Fifty Years that Changed Europe
Cristina Dondi (edited by)

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Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500

Fifty Years that Changed Europe

edited by Cristina Dondi

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Foreword

Kristian Jensen

Head of Collections and Curation, The British Library; Chairman of the Consortium of European Research Libraries

The articles presented in this volume are based on the conference *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500: Fifty Years that Changed Europe* which was organised by Professor Cristina Dondi at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, 19-21 September 2018. The conference coincided with an exhibition of the same name at the Museo Correr and the Biblioteca Marciana. These two high profile, and in their different ways, highly successful events marked publicly the conclusion of a major research project funded by the European Research Council called the *15th Century Booktrade: An Evidence-based Assessment and Visualization of the Distribution, Sale, and Reception of Books in the Renaissance*.

The 15cBOOKTRADE project aimed to address the difficulty many, especially non-specialists, have in questioning the some 500,000 surviving fifteenth-century printed books as evidence of economic, commercial, and intellectual life in the second half of the fifteenth century. The project aimed to record and use material evidence from surviving books, jointly with archival documentary evidence, to address five themes: distribution, use, and reading practices, the contemporary market value of the books, the transmission and dissemination of texts, the circulation and re-use of the illustrations and, finally, data visualization.

Conceived and subsequently coordinated by Professor Dondi, the project has intellectual and practical roots in a major research and cataloguing project which led to the creation of the Bodleian Library Incunable Catalogue, published both in printed and in electronic form, the latter not least due to the continued personal engagement of Cristina Dondi.¹

¹ *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the Bodleian Library*. 6 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, and <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

Work on the Bodleian incunable catalogue began in 1992, and was in preparation a few years earlier. I want to record my thanks to Lady Bullard and Sir Julian Bullard who suggested that they wanted to help with finding funding to support a project at the Bodleian Library for a project with a German angle.² My choice immediately fell on the Bodleian collection of incunabula.

Comparing the information available in good catalogues of fifteenth-century books, there were striking differences between those devoted to printed or to manuscript books, although the books themselves were produced in the same areas and at the same time. Information in catalogues of printed books on the texts and their authors was most often minimal, and with very few exceptions it lacked a scholarly apparatus, which made it difficult to use and to cite the information in an academic context. Authors and texts were often tacitly identified on the basis of decisions made by Ludwig Hain in the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Those that we now know as paratexts were rarely identified, and the coexistence in one edition of many texts by many authors was often not recorded. Because of the overwhelming tradition of a focus on production units, it was even rarer that it was easy or even possible to identify the presence in one physical volume of different texts produced separately but brought together by contemporary owners.

Important contributions with a greater focus on texts and authors had been made for instance by Vera Sack, especially in her catalogue of incunabula in Freiburg im Breisgau,⁴ and in the later fascicles of the catalogue of incunabula in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where the outstanding work of colleagues such as Denise Hillard and Ursula Baurmeister provided us with much valuable information.⁵ The more recent fascicles of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* also increasingly documented textual information. Yet, for scholars used to working on manuscript textual transmission catalogues of incunabula could range from incomprehensible to inadequate or wrong. Scholars and bibliographers who sought to transcend the two formats often found that the bibliographical tools did not help them much.

I aimed to create a catalogue which would make it possible for the printed and the manuscript textual universe to be examined as one corpus, as it surely must have been from the perspective of a fif-

2 Jensen, Kristian. *Incunabula in the Bodleian Library*. Berlin: Kulturstiftung der Länder, 1993. Patrimonia 66.

3 Hain, Ludwig. *Repertorium Bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel accuratius recensentur*. 2 voll. Stuttgart; Paris, 1826-38.

4 Sack, Vera. *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung*. 3 Bde. Wiesbaden, 1985.

5 Bibliothèque nationale de France. *Catalogue des incunables*. Paris, 1981-2014.

teenth-century reader. My two main models were the catalogue of Latin manuscripts at the Vatican Library, created by the IRHT⁶ and the then most recent volumes of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts at the Bavarian State Library.

Completely integral to this was my wish to provide detailed information about each volume as a uniquely surviving physical object full of evidence about its own history, building further on the already then growing interest in the documentation of the provenance of books. We recorded all types of evidence of use, including simple rubrication, full scale illuminations, ownership marks of all kinds, bindings, marginal notes, and doodles. We sought to give equal weight to the earliest history of the book and to its most recent history. The catalogue has a strong focus on trade history and collecting history, including the acquisition of the items by the Bodleian Library. This is reflected in the decision, then controversial, to establish and record the prices paid by the Bodleian for each book, a practice not repeated at scale anywhere else.

The work on the Bodleian catalogue on the other hand contributed relatively little new to the analytical bibliographical description of the volumes. Here we drew on the amazing scholarship of the twentieth century manifested mainly in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*⁷ and in the *British Museum Catalogue* (BMC),⁸ but also in other important catalogues. We were supported by the catalogue slips prepared by L.A. Sheppard (1890-1985), who had collated the Bodleian copies with published bibliographical descriptions, and who had given succinct bibliographical information where it was not found elsewhere. On that background, I felt that we would be unlikely to come up with significant new insights which would warrant the extensive allocation of time expended to analytical bibliography.

I had the great fortune to recruit some excellent colleagues to work on the project. Dr Bettina Wagner, now the Director of the Staatsbibliothek in Bamberg, brought her experience with medieval textual transmission and with codicological skills, as well as her immense personal ability, supplementing my printed books experience and my background as a classicist. Dr Alan Coates also joined the project immediately after the initial planning phase. Dr Wagner was succeeded by Cristina Dondi, without whom the project might well never have been completed, after I left to take up a position at the British Library in 1999, and who importantly went on to ensure that the infor-

⁶ *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*. Catalogue établi par Élisabeth Pellegrin and others. Paris, 1975-.

⁷ *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Leipzig, etc., 1925-.

⁸ *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum* [British Library]. 13 vols. London, etc., 1908-2007.

mation in the catalogue had a second and even a third life in a digital environment.

Professor Dondi's project *15th Century Booktrade: An Evidence-based Assessment and Visualization of the Distribution, Sale, and Reception of Books in the Renaissance* has ensured that this work continues to be built on and to be expanded. The textual information of the Bodleian now forms the backbone of the TEXT-inc database, and the object specific information of the Bodleian Catalogue on which *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI) database was first built, but now organised into a much more structured environment.

While the research of Professor Dondi's project has focused on Venice, the tools which have been created by her project are much more wide-ranging. The MEI database has found a long-term sustainable home with the service provisions of the Consortium of European Research Libraries where it is being used both for cataloguing and for giving access to information beyond the Venetian focus of the research project itself and beyond the life of the project itself.⁹ The tools have real potential for enabling the joint exploration of mechanical multiplication and the evidence provided by individual copies, as data from libraries across Europe and America are added.

Drawing on methodologies developed for the study of manuscripts, but projecting it onto material produced by a different business model, and transferring it to a collaborative, online environment MEI, and in due course TEXT-inc, will make it easier for researchers to engage with the dialectic between mechanical multiplication and the physical evidence provided by each surviving object. Longer-term, the project aims at providing data at such a scale that it can be used to show trends and patterns, well beyond the traditional focus on individual ownership.

The interaction between multiplication and individual copy poses questions which may be unique to this period, and which can be understood neither with a starting point in revolution nor in continuity. It is in examining the dialectic between multiplication and specificity that we can explore the nature of the radical change within its context of pre-existing business models, user expectations formed by existing patterns of production and use both among users and producers.

The diversity of topics covered by the articles in the present volume testifies to the range of research questions which can be formulated and asked within the framework provided by Professor Dondi's research programme and to a lively intellectual environment around books in the fifteenth century which has been sustained and expanded through the stimuli which her Programme has offered.

9 URL https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search.

The ERC: Funding Organisation and European Project

Martin Stokhof

Vice-President ERC; Universiteit van Amsterdam, Nederland

Abstract In this contribution I will review some of the main characteristics that have made the ERC into the successful funding organisation that it is. But I also briefly look at the ERC from a different angle, that of a European project, and argue that some of the added value of the ERC for Europe might also reside in the contribution it makes to the creation of a European identity.

Keywords European Research Council. European Research Area. Bottom-up research. Research excellence. European identity.

Summary 1 The ERC as Funding Organisation. – 2 The ERC as a European Project.

1 The ERC as Funding Organisation

The funding schemes run by the ERC have a number of distinctive features: they are strictly bottom up; focused on ‘excellence only’; centred around (in almost all cases) a single principal investigator; and strictly competitive, not collaborative.

Strictly bottom up means that there are no pre-determined topics, themes or areas: the content of the projects is determined by the researchers. It also means that there are no pre-determined budgets set aside for specific disciplines or areas of research. The ERC’s operations are organised in three domains (Physical Sciences and Engineering, Life Sciences, and Social Sciences and Humanities), but the budgets of these domains, and of the various panels inside the domains, is demand-driven.

The focus on ‘excellence only’ means that it is solely the quality of the application that determines the funding decision: the innovative nature of the



project and the qualifications of the principal investigator are the only factors that the panels take into account when making their funding decisions. It also means that the ERC does not interfere with the work of the experts that sit on the panels: it makes great efforts to select highly qualified researchers, but it trusts them to make the appropriate decisions in line with its mission.

The major funding schemes are all designed for a single principal investigator (PI), with the exception of the Synergy scheme, that targets projects that require the expertise of several PIs. But Synergy, too, is a competitive, not a collaborative funding scheme. Competitiveness implies that there are no restrictions or demands on the countries in which PIs are located, nor on their nationality. In order to enhance fair competition, the single PI schemes are oriented towards early career, mid-career and advanced career stages. Within those boundaries it is only the quality of the application and of the applicant that counts.

In the implementation and execution of its funding schemes the ERC tries, as much as possible, to place the researcher centre-stage. It aims to be a funding organisation 'for scientists, by scientists', and tries to minimise the administrative overhead while, of course, maintaining adequate levels of accountability and transparency.

Judging by the results, the ERC is a successful enterprise. Since its start in 2007, it has funded over 8,500 researchers, including an additional 50,000 researchers as team members. There are several indicators that show that the ERC is successful in executing its core mission, which is to fund world-class, frontier research. Among the grantees six have won Nobel prizes (after their ERC grants), five were awarded a Fields medal, and five were Wolf Prize winners. Over 7% of the ERC-funded publications are among the top 1% cited in their respective fields. Qualitative post-hoc evaluation by independent experts identified some 79% of completed projects as being either a scientific breakthrough or as having resulted in major scientific advances in their fields.

There are several other indicators of the influence the ERC has had so far. For example, some national funders have schemes to finance projects that have gotten an 'A'-qualification from their ERC-panel but could not be funded due to lack of resources. Other organisations finance visits from, usually early career, researchers to ERC-funded projects in order to help them prepare an application. Universities compete with the number of ERC-funded projects they host, and sometimes are actively trying to attract ERC-grantees. To have secured ERC-funding is for mid-career researchers a definite career boost, and for early career researchers it is often the decisive factor that determines whether they can stay in academia.

The ERC is regarded as a big success, it has been referred by Carlos Moedas, the European commissioner for research and innovation,

as “the jewel in the crown”, and it enjoys broad support from the scientific communities that it serves. Yet, it is not entirely obvious that it will be allowed to continue to be a success. There are two main issues on which the ERC, despite its uncontested results, is being challenged. These are impact and so-called *juste retour*.

Let me begin with saying something about the latter. That the different member states would get their money’s worth from the programmes that they financed was a design feature of the early days of European-level research funding programmes. It made these programmes essentially collaborative, with lots of constraints to guarantee *juste retour*. Obviously, that changed when the ERC was set up explicitly as a purely competitive programme, aiming solely for excellence. There is no denying that some countries are more successful than others when it comes to hosting ERC-grantees. Why that is so is a complex issue, involving economic, historical, and cultural factors. To some extent the distribution of ERC-funding reflects the quality and resilience of national academic institutions and research infrastructures. Inequalities exist, and should be addressed, and are addressed. The ERC’s governing body, the Scientific Council, contributes to these efforts by supporting various measures that benefit applicants from countries that perform less well. But it does so only in so far as they align with its core mission. A return to *juste retour* would destroy what makes the ERC special and valuable.

The other contested feature concerns societal and economic impact. The ‘Science Behind the Projects’ exercise that the Executive Agency of the ERC runs provides a detailed picture of how ERC-funded research fits in the overall scientific landscape, in terms of topics, methods, cross-disciplinarity. It also reveals that quite a number of ERC-funded projects do address big societal and economic challenges related to, for example, energy, climate change, migration, health. These projects focus on fundamental scientific aspects of these challenges and aim to push the boundaries of our understanding of them. That means that ERC-funded research has potential impact. What that impact may turn out to be is difficult to predict and it will in general be long-term, rather than short-term. But that has often been the case with major technological and societal changes that have been driven by frontier research. That is not to say that the ERC ignores potential short-term application. Grantees can explore the potential of their projects’ outcomes using the successful ‘Proof of Concept’ scheme. Of equal importance, though not often identified as such, is some of the research done in the humanities and social sciences. Think of the relevance of a deeper understanding of historical developments for informed political debate about such issues as migration or the role of religious identity. Or of the many and complicated factors that determine the acceptance or rejection of technological innovations when dealing with such issues as climate change or obesity.

There are many examples where frontier, bottom up research delivers insights and results that are deeply integrated with societal and economic impact. But there is also research ‘without impact’, for example in pure mathematics, or in philosophy, or in literary studies, or in astrophysics. That type of research, too, stimulates the human desire to explore, to understand, to push its own boundaries, and it thus contributes to human flourishing. To set aside some means to allow people to contribute to that is, I would say, a hallmark of a civilised society, and I am proud that Europe is such a society.

2 The ERC as a European Project

But this is all from the perspective of funding schemes. I want to take this opportunity to also briefly touch upon a different way of looking at the ERC. I want to view the ERC as a European project, as an attempt to create a truly transnational, European entity, and thereby to contribute to the creation of a European identity.

Of course, contemporary science is an international endeavour. And that is true not just of research today. The early modern age saw the creation of the ‘community of letters’, in which intellectuals from across Europe discussed philosophy, religion, politics and the new natural sciences. And in the days of the first universities, during the Middle Ages, students and professors were true vagrants, roaming the European continent, searching and spreading knowledge.

From that perspective modern times have been a regress in certain ways. With the advent of the nation state, and later with the onset of the industrial revolution, science and learning became also informed by national interests, and sometimes by nationalistic motives. The nineteenth and early twentieth century saw fierce competition between various European nations for economic and political-military hegemony. It also witnessed an increased emphasis on national histories, languages, and cultural production as part of the very definition and maintenance of the nation state and its ethnic, religious and politic ideologies and identities.

Science has been both an accomplice and a counteracting force in that development. It has sustained the divisions in Europe, but it also has brought people together across these very same divisions. After the Second World War, a growing sense that there is more that binds us than that separates us has been a driving force behind many political and economic developments. In certain scientific domains, such as high energy physics and astronomy, this was reflected at an early stage in the creation of large infrastructures that are supported by many nations and that serve an international community. CERN is perhaps the most telling, but certainly not the only example. With the creation of the first EU-funded framework programmes other do-

mains became involved in this development as well. Larger, trans-national forms of co-operation in the social sciences and humanities were created, such as the Norface- and Hera-networks, and research infrastructures in these domains that transcend national boundaries were set-up. Initially, the emphasis was on the need for cross-national collaboration and on economic impact. But increasingly the success of these forms of collaboration pointed towards the possibility of something decidedly different: the idea of a European research community, a 'European Research Area'.

As an element of the complex process of creating a European Research Area, the ERC can be viewed as part of an attempt to show that the European Union can be, and should be, more than an economically motivated, collaborative framework, that European research can be a community on its own terms, with its own identity and institutions that are not derivatives of and dependent on national identities and institutions.

Of course, it is not possible to create a community by sheer will, or just by handing out money. It requires a change in mind-set, of researchers, of administrators, of politicians, and of the public at large. That is extremely hard work, and both the past and the present bear witness to the many challenges that such an endeavour has to face.

One would hope that the success of the ERC contributes to the realisation of this endeavour. For the ERC has a distinct contribution to make here. It strengthens and broadens a European community of researchers by increasing mobility, by allowing talented researchers to build research groups that are internationally composed, and by defining the very idea of excellence in a European context.

In that sense, the ERC is truly a European project. It builds a community, a consciousness, a web of relations between institutions and individuals that is not national, obviously, but also more than 'merely' supra-national. It is European from the ground up. And that strengthens the concept of 'being European', as it applies to both individuals, communities and institutions, as a basic identity.

Funding schemes come and go, as do funding organisations. But if the ERC turns out to have contributed to a sense of European identity, then it has made a contribution that goes beyond fostering frontier science, one that is of lasting importance. Whether it will be allowed to do so depends first and foremost on how well it delivers the task that has been set for it. Everyone involved in the ERC is well aware of that. But that is only part of the story, it also depends on the political will of the citizens of Europe to look at themselves in a way that transcends national, ethnic, religious boundaries and that recognises that behind what divides them lies the promise of a united Europe.

It is my hope that the ERC may continue to contribute to fostering that insight and to strengthening that will.

Introduction

The 15cBOOKTRADE Project and the Study of Incunabula as Historical Sources

Cristina Dondi
15cBOOKTRADE, University of Oxford, UK

A Note of Thanks to All Involved

I am delighted to share and celebrate the results of many years of research in this volume, which brings together the contributions to a conference held on 19-21 September 2018, in the very special premises of the Musei Civici Veneziani, where almost 20 years ago I started my investigations on early Venetian printing.

In those years I was working on the catalogue of incunabula at the Bodleian Library. It was there, opening up and examining thousands of 15th-century books, that I realised how the books themselves bear witness to their movement in their manuscript annotations, decoration and binding styles, and that capturing that movement within spatial and temporal coordinates could unveil to us the central factor that was crucial to the success of the new technology and business, and yet so elusive to document: distribution.

We were sitting on the largest amount of historical evidence for understanding the impact of the new technology and trade on European society at large, yet we did not have the tools to capture it.

This is why Material Evidence in Incunabula was conceived in 2009, and I am very grateful to the vision of the British Academy and of CERL for supporting the idea and the innovative tool we created to turn it into a reality.



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But the brilliant new digital resource would not have made a dent in historical research had I not sought, and amply received, the collaboration and support of the hundreds of libraries and people who over these last ten years have been investing their expertise, time, and money to contribute thousands of data. Thank you.

In 2014, the ERC gave us the extraordinary opportunity not only of vastly increasing the scale and range of our enterprise, but also to show the scholarly world the relevance of historical investigations conducted on early printed books as primary sources.¹ The 15cBOOKTRADE Project allowed us to strengthen the structural framework to expand and expedite research with incunabula: we turned MEI into a tool capable of handling the half a million records it should eventually contain; we created TEXT-inc to support studies in the transmission of texts in print, 15cILLUSTRATION to facilitate a systematic approach to the identification, re-use, copy, and circulation of illustration; we created 15cVISUALIZATION to map the circulation of books over time and space.

By assigning a subject, keywords, and time period to every edition which still survives today and is recorded in ISTC, we have opened up the use of incunabula for non-specialists.

All these tools are there for everybody to use, supported and maintained by CERL and some of its core members, ready to welcome the continuous collaboration of an expanding library and scholarly community.

A second research strand that the ERC was keen to support is the investigation into the economic dimension of early printed book production, so essential and again, so elusive until recently. Data from the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, which Neil Harris (University of Udine) and I have started to share with scholarship, and will soon make publicly available in their entirety, is quickly and fundamentally changing our understanding of the early steps of the 'knowledge economy'. They are becoming a benchmark, against which it is now very important to compare other sources: a good start is provided by the essays in the third part of this volume, covering book consumption and the cost of living in Venice, Florence, Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, Memmingen, Lyon and Catalonia.

The many avenues of research opened up or facilitated by the 15cBOOKTRADE are represented in this volume, with essays by the project's team and by many of its advisors and collaborators, as well

1 15cBOOKTRADE: An Evidence-based Assessment and Visualization of the Distribution, Sale, and Reception of Books in the Renaissance, ERC Consolidator Grant nr. 614727 (2014-19); <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>. A grant from the Rothschild Foundation Hanadiv Europe funded the inclusion into MEI of Hebrew incunabula from collections in the UK, Italy, and Israel. A grant from the Helen Hamlyn Foundation funded the completion of cataloguing incunabula from Venetian libraries in MEI.

as some of the engineers who worked with us: Alexander Jahnke and the Data Conversion Group of the University of Göttingen, the IT of the Bodleian Library, the Visual Geometry Group, and the e-Research Centre of the University of Oxford.

Geri Della Rocca de Candal, Matilde Malaspina, Birgit Mikus, Sabrina Minuzzi, Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni stayed with me from the beginning to the end of the ERC project, and went to many corners of the western world to promote, train, and gather valuable data.

As we approached the end of the ERC project, and ten years of MEI, we organised an exhibition, a conference, and now publish its proceedings to take stock of where we are: a strong structure and network in place, 10% of the data gathering done. The results are surprising. We are poised to re-write the history of the European printing revolution based squarely on evidence which a bottom-up, international, long-term enterprise is pulling together. And we do it as we live through the challenges that the new communication revolution has set on our society.

Historical research is not insensitive to the quality of the tools available to practise it: it is expected that the simplification which integrated research is bringing to the study of incunabula will open up the use of this material for scholars who until recently would not have considered incunabula as source material for their investigations into the economic, social, and cultural history of the late medieval to early modern period.

1 The Printing Revolution: The Data We Work with

Books printed before 1501, a conventional cut-off date in scholarship, are known as incunabula. Some 28,500 editions survive today in around half a million copies, held in around 4,000 public libraries in the world, with a heavy concentration in Europe and the United States of America.²

The editions are fully censused by the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) and typographically described in the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW).³ However, only a fraction of private collections are included in these databases, and there are a certain num-

² ISTC was accessed on 7 August 2019. The statistics reported 447,058 copies of 30,535 editions. This number includes some early sixteenth-century editions in the past taken to be incunabula. A search in ISTC for data: < 1501 results in 28,478 editions; data: > 1501 in 1477 editions; there are 85 editions undated and therefore not captured in either query.

³ URL <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>; <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>.

ber of books circulating in the trade at any given time; therefore, the number of surviving incunabula is even larger. It is clear that public collections are a priority for the curators of the international databases, both in terms of overall numbers and because they are in public ownership, yet collaboration with private owners and the trade is very much sought and fostered, for the overall benefit of ever more precise evidence-based scholarship. A photograph of the state of the matter in 2018 can be found in [ill. 1] “Where incunabula are today”. It is based on data extracted from ISTC and visualized on a GIS map by the Atlas of Early Printing, designed and curated by Greg Prickman and the University of Iowa.⁴

From the evidence we have, printing was essayed, with varying degrees of success, in 261 places in Europe. A complete listing arranged chronologically is provided in [ill. 2].

If the first two decades can be seen as the most experimental, when printing spread from Mainz to other areas of Germany, and, in Italy, to Subiaco, Rome and Venice, it is in the 1470s that the largest expansion took place, an expansion that continued in the 1480s, and, at a reduced pace, in the 1490s.

Behind these deceptively simple numbers lies a varied production history, ranging from the two editions printed by Meshullam Cuzi in Piove di Sacco to the minimum of 3,788 editions produced by around 250 printing shops operating in Venice during the last thirty years of the 15th century.

If we are able to gauge what we have with a precision unmatched for the book production, and survival, of any other period before or after these fifty years (1450-1500), it is instead very difficult to establish the size and range of the production which actually took place in those years. Not only we are aware of the fact that a number of editions, especially of more popular and utilitarian nature, have been lost completely, but the overall extent of the production escapes us. This has to do with the number of copies printed for each edition, the print run. There was no fixed number and it depended on many variables. From archival documentation and sometimes from evidence written in the book itself, we know the print run of a few hundred editions. This information has been and continues to be gathered by Eric White in a spread sheet published on the CERL website.⁵ From a few hundred copies in the early 1470s print runs quickly reached one thousand copies per edition by the late 1470s, ranging from several hundreds to even a thousand or two, towards the end of the century.

⁴ These data can be obtained by searching https://data.cerl.org/istc/_stats.

⁵ URL https://www.cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/bibliographical_data#researching_print_runs. A search for Eric White's name in the “search this website” window will bring it up.

Numbers matter, because it is in these staggering numbers that we are confronted with the reality of a printing revolution. Just relying on the data we have, if we multiply 28,500 editions by a very conservative 500 copies, we come to over 14 million copies circulating by 1500. Understanding how they penetrated and changed society is the main goal of our research.

A fundamental component in the understanding of the impact of the printing revolution is how these millions of printed books circulated throughout Europe: their distribution through trade. It is to address this component, until recently so elusive, but so fundamental, that the 15cBOOKTRADE project was set up.

2 Language, Periods, Contents

Before focusing on the trade, and how to capture the evidence for it, however, there are other matter-of-fact data that are essential to describe the material we are working on. A break down of editions according to the language they were printed in, a simple query in ISTC, is provided in [ill. 3].⁶

A break down of editions according to the period in which the (main) work they include was composed is provided in [ill. 4].

This analysis brought to light very surprising results: if medieval works were put to print in the largest number (12,518 editions), contemporary works, that is post-1450, were a close second, with 11,865 editions, while classical works are represented by 3,901 editions. The extensiveness of the contemporary production, and its variety, opened up a world where printing had penetrated all aspects of social life, not just scholarship or religion.

The allocation of a subject and multiple keywords to every edition by the 15cBOOKTRADE further defined the landscape:⁷ yes, theology was the main subject of 4,928 editions, but law was perhaps surprisingly a close second with 4,480 editions and grammar fourth with 2,516 editions, despite the fact that these kinds of books have notoriously low survival rates.⁸ Numbers, periods, languages, and subjects tell us of a time of both continuity and progress, of great variety and diversity, well worth investigating properly. Traditional scholarship

⁶ language:bre (=Breton 1) /cat (=Catalan 140) / chu (= Church Slavonic 15) / cze (= Czech 33) / dan (= Danish 1) / dut (= Dutch 571) / eng (= English 240) / fre (= French 3) / fri (= Frisian 1) / frm (= French 1780) / ger (= German 3307) / grc (= Greek 68) / heb (= Hebrew 154) / ita (= Italian 2432) / lat (= Latin 21329) / por (= Portuguese 12) / spa (= Spanish 437) / swe (= Swedish 2) / und 1 (= another edition in French).

⁷ The list of keywords can be found on the 15cBOOKTRADE website (<http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/distribution-use/mei-searching-guidelines/>).

⁸ Books for primary education tend to be thrown away or destroyed by use.

on the printing revolution had never paid any attention to this massive production of legal texts, while we acknowledge here its fundamental contribution to the consolidation not only of modern state formation but also of the regulation of human activities, which should be seen, together with the spread of literacy and of knowledge, as the foundation of democratic Europe.

In the first part of this volume, data pertaining to editions of the law are analysed by Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, the medical production by Sabrina Minuzzi, the survival of Donatus' grammar by Eric White, editions in Greek to 1488, that is before the production of Aldus Manutius, by Geri Della Rocca de Candal, and Hebraica, with an emphasis on their use, by Marco Bertagna and Alexander Gordin.

Scholarship in law and medicine, and probably in other areas, has until recently practically skipped the first fifty years of printing, concentrating either on the manuscript period or on the modern, post-1500, production in print. Difficulties to do with locating the sources, and their scattered nature, as well as a misplaced assumption that all editions are the same, are probably at the origin of this gap. But the transmission of a discipline during the transitional years of a medium change cannot be ignored. Results of systematic work on the entire production as well as a focus on certain works are surprising.

3 A Change in the Discipline

The printing revolution has always attracted the interest and imagination of scholars, historians, the media and the public; all this attention resulted in books rich in opinions, but poor in data to support those opinions.

From Marshall McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy* published in 1962 to the notorious *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, published by Elizabeth Eisenstein in 1979, to all the scholarly debate which followed: much thinking and theorising went on, based on very little, very circumstantial, mostly second-hand, evidence.

Not because the evidence was not there. On the contrary, 15th-century printed books survive in the hundreds of thousands. Each of these copies has a different history which can be reconstructed with the help of the material evidence it contains and of documentary and bibliographical evidence, that is auction ledgers, correspondence, historic library catalogues, booksellers and auctions catalogues, etc.: this is known as copy-specific information, or provenance, or material evidence. Five hundred years of existence can hardly pass unnoticed!

A different book, first published in 1958 in France and translated into English in 1976, and into Italian in 1977, *L'Apparition du livre* by the two social historians Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, was

not taken into consideration by Eisenstein. This book led the way to new branches of studies in the history of the book throughout Europe, and, with its reliance on primary sources and physical evidence, inspired and motivated the cataloguing of the material evidence of early printed books in libraries for the following sixty years. To date at least two hundred and fifty catalogues of incunabula with provenance information have been published, including some very large collections such as those at the British Library, Harvard, the Bavarian State Library in Munich, the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. A growing number of libraries have in recent years provided provenance information about their incunabula within their general electronic library catalogues. This choice is understandable in terms of collection management, but does not facilitate research across collections in different libraries.

This wealth of new evidence, however, has not informed the content of new, better, more up-to-date books on the introduction of printing with movable types in Europe as one of the agents of progress which accompanied the transition into the early modern period. Why not? I can list three major obstacles.

First, certainly not a lack of evidence, but, quite the opposite, too much of it.

Second, the lack of effective ways to cope with the quantity, and quality, of provenance data, to inform an evidence-based history of the printing revolution; simply put: we needed a new method.

Third, the mental framework of the average historian, who did not perceive the inability to deal with the quantity of evidence as an issue. As a consequence, structural solutions were not sought for, corners were cut, and new books continued to be produced based on the very little evidence already digested by others. Book after book continues to be written on the topic, even now. *Tibetan Printing* was published in 2016. The second chapter, by Johan Elverskog, is cavalierly entitled “The Gutenberg fallacy” and without ever producing any evidence postulates that “printing became part of the technological narrative of modernity that Europeans had come to tell about themselves”. The fact that in one generation millions of books, of any kind, circulated anywhere, affordable to large sections of society, many of whom newly literate thanks to it, was not even mentioned. After all, in other parts of the world where printing was practiced even before than in Europe “it did not in fact usher in a new age as so often imagined in the West”. The concept that the same technology may have had a different impact on different societies is not contemplated.⁹ I was once met with the objection, «but early libraries are full of books nobody read»: really? Did anybody check? Of course not, but opin-

9 Elverskog, “The Gutenberg Fallacy”, 21-37.

ions can be freely dispensed. Incidentally, I have handled thousands of early printed books, and the case when nothing can be understood of the users of the past is the exception, not the rule.

A modern historian breezily claimed that the early book trade period was a failure compared to later commercial standards: but why should we compare a new phenomenon with what came afterwards instead of what was there before? Is chronology in history really irrelevant?¹⁰

The elephant in the room is of course Venice, the largest printing place in Europe with its 250 or so printing shops, and the largest distribution and exporting network. No serious assessment of the printing revolution can be put forward without the data pertaining to the production, distribution, and use of the thousands of editions generated there. Would a narrative of the digital revolution make any sense without a focus on Silicon Valley?

The fragmented state of existing evidence has allowed book or generalist historians to say whatever they wished about the printing revolution, often one thesis and its precise opposite. But the lack of a manageable large body of data has larger implications, which extend far more widely than the History of the Book.

These days economic historians and global historians are paying more attention to the printing revolution in order to compare it with the present information revolution. Not only that, some economic historians are trying to quantify the relevance of the so-called human capital for the growth of Europe in the pre-industrial period, and are finally starting to pay attention to books as an essential component of human development.

Unfortunately the data they use are not good, and what they build, they build on sand.¹¹ But we book historians do in the end want books to be taken into consideration: therefore, it is up to us to produce good-quality, extensive, measurable, sets of data which they can crunch in the way they are accustomed. Data which cannot, and should not, be ignored any longer.

10 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 53-5 'the crisis of print'. A tenet re-proposed recently in Pettegree, Graheli, "How to Lose Money", 1-20, at 2 "in view of what we now know about the actual early history of the press, a story of repeated failure and reinvention" for which evidence pertaining to the 16th century is put forward. This line of thinking follows in the steps of a couple of misleading articles published in the eighties and nineties: Noakes, "The Development of the Book Market", 23-55 and Tedeschi, "Publish and Perish", 41-67. In both cases very specific study cases have been taken to exemplify wider trends.

11 Buringh, van Zanden, "Charting the 'Rise of the West'", 409-45; Baten, van Zanden, *Book Production*; Dittmar, *Information Technology*; Dittmar, *New Media*. The main short-coming of these works consists in the quality and quantity of the data. Until this fundamental aspect is properly addressed, as it is expected in any serious scientific analysis, conclusions will continue to be matters of opinion.

In any discipline, and certainly in scientific ones, the quality of results is only as good as the data used to research them. Economic historians necessarily rely on the data provided by book historians; such data have therefore to be gathered and crunched. Assertions such as “surprisingly we have no statistics for the number of books printed by content [i.e. subject] so we are reduced to a few snapshots” from a renowned book historian of our time are scarcely acceptable in the 21st century: the work just needs to be done.¹²

A good idea is not enough if the data are not there to support it or if the implementation of its argument is wanting. Results can be devastating and there is no better example than the book written by Eisenstein. I know I may sound harsh in my judgement, but it is precisely because I know how hard it is to re-establish not only the topic (the Printing Revolution) but also the discipline (incunabula studies and early book history) at university level. Eisenstein’s book became popular because people were rightly interested in the subject, but nobody followed up on the research, perhaps because it was never presented as such. A book which relies on statements uttered by other scholars, not on first-hand investigation, will seldom stimulate further research. Is it not surprising that with the myriad variety of humanities undergraduate and postgraduate courses in hundreds of universities in Europe and the United States, not one is dedicated to an event so vastly transformative for human society? The detractors of the book did not find it difficult to demolish ideas not rooted in solid evidence. But the most fundamental flaw lay in the methodology: “Can the historical effects of printing be assessed accurately by someone ignorant of the history of printing? And it proves the answer to be: no”.¹³

There could have been no clearer, stronger, call for a new approach, one which took the evidence which survives in large quantities as the starting point of a bottom-up assessment. Instead, the concept itself of the printing revolution evaporated from scholarship, the sources still sitting, literally, on the shelves of thousands of libraries, untapped.

All the while the best scholars in the field continue to be specialist librarians. This is understandable, as they make good use of their vicinity to the essential primary sources, and take their role of curators very seriously. But the short-term teaching classes the lucky ones are allowed to offer to students, as well as individual scholarship, excellent as it may be, are not sufficient to re-establish a research school, the next generation of historians of the printing revolution.

Luckily my concerns and my vision for an innovative solution to this impasse had been understood by the British Academy, who first

¹² Dondi, review of *Gutenberg’s Europe*, 668-70.

¹³ Needham, review of *The Printing Press*, 23-5, 32-5, at 35.

funded the creation of the database *Material Evidence in Incunabula*, then by CERL, who embraced it by designing, hosting and maintaining it. Finally, by the European Research Council, who has given me the opportunity to make the database truly global within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project.

4 The 15cBOOKTRADE Project

The idea that underpinned the 15cBOOKTRADE Project was to use the material evidence from thousands of surviving books, as well as unique documentary evidence - the unpublished ledger of a Venetian bookseller in the 1480s which records the sale of 25,000 printed books with their prices - to address five fundamental questions relating to the introduction of printing in the West which had so far eluded scholarship, partly because of lack of evidence, partly because of the lack of effective tools to deal with existing evidence.

For the last five years, we have been working with a bottom-up approach on the distribution of books, the circulation of texts, the cost of early printed books, the copying and re-use of illustration, and the visualization of these data.

5 Distribution, Use, and Reading Practices

Mobility is part of the very nature of printed books. For the new business enterprise to be successful, the hundreds of copies of a printed edition needed to find a market beyond the place of production, which could not absorb the entirety of a print run by itself: the issue of distribution was, and continued to be, vital. We could not understand the printing revolution without studying the trade in books.

The book trade differs from other trades operating in the medieval and early modern periods in that the goods traded survive in considerable numbers. We can therefore rely not only on scattered documents,¹⁴ but also on hundred of thousands of surviving books. Not only do they survive, but many of them bear stratified evidence of their history in the form of marks of ownership, prices, manuscript annotations, bindings and decoration styles. They are material evidence of the expansion of the trade, signalling the response of different publics to the introduction of printing, documenting book buying as well as reading habits.

¹⁴ Cortesi, "Incunaboli veneziani", 197-219. Scattered literature on the sources available has been gathered in Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, and *The Book Trade*. Cortesi's article is repeatedly quoted as evidence of the difficulties of the early trade, so much so that some scholars are beginning to theorise that the trade itself was small and not very successful.

Whenever a book printed in Venice presents a contemporary German binding, or French or English manuscript decoration and annotations, it is evidence of the fact that that book, once printed, was quickly shipped or taken from Venice to Germany, France, or England; it is evidence of its circulation, that is of the new trade in printed books.

Until recently, the book trade barely made an appearance among publications devoted to the Renaissance commerce in goods and its impact on the socio-economic development of Europe. Just to focus on Venice, the largest place of book production and distribution of 15th-century Europe, monographic studies on the Venetian trade in salt, raisins, grain, olive oil, sausages, wool, silk, second-hand clothes, glass, hosiery, ceramics, arms, majolica, paintings, marbles, antiquities, and slaves have been published in the last fifty years. However, there has been no such study on the Venetian book trade.¹⁵ In a case where books have been taken into consideration, in a multi-volume publication on the Italian Renaissance in Europe centred on commerce and trade culture, it offers a rather inadequate and distorted picture, lacking engagement with the evidence that exists for books as commodities.¹⁶ Indeed the author specifies that: “it would be appropriate to try and penetrate the world of printing by its economic coordinates: costs, prices, profit; but this world repeatedly probed has so far opened up only unsatisfactory bits and pieces and monographic studies of limited coverage”.¹⁷ This will not do. No mention is made of a single surviving book. Clearly the writer was not familiar with the priced books listed in the *Zornale* of the Venetian bookseller Francesco de Madiis, or with books in the Colombina and Chapter Library of Seville, the most impressive collection of priced incunabula.¹⁸

In 2008 an Italian economic historian published a book which utilised the manuscript and printed book trade in Bologna and Florence to study the emergence of market systems.¹⁹ Apart from the repeated complaint about the lack of prices, the author, who is not a book his-

15 A quick survey includes Aymard, *Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé*; Ciriaco, *Olio ed ebrei*; Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*; Trivellato, “Women at Work. Venetian Glass Beads”; Bovolato, *L’arte dei luganegheri*; Allerston, “Reconstructing the Second-hand Clothes Trade”; Molà, Mueller, Zanier, *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento*; Trivellato, *Fondamenta dei vetrai*; Lanaro, *At the Centre of the Old World*; Sella, *Trade and Industry in Early Modern Italy*.

16 Perini, “I libri e la stampa”, 191-225.

17 Original text: “Sembrirebbe opportuno, in relazione al tema trattato, cercare di penetrare nel mondo della tipografia e della stampa attraverso le sue coordinate economiche - costi, prezzi, profitti -, ma questo mondo ripetutamente scandagliato ha lasciato finora affiorare solo deludenti avanzi e studi monografici di portata molto limitata” (Perini, “I libri e la stampa”, 200-1).

18 On the *Zornale* cf. below. Wagner, “Hernando Colón”, 475-92; Dondi, “The Venetian Booktrade”, 221-9.

19 Bonifati, *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato*.

torian himself and relies on published secondary literature, has been led completely astray by partial sources so much as to state that the success of the Venetian book trade was Aldus Manutius' achievement. In fact, this was due to the entrepreneurial skills and trade links of the more than 250 printing shops active in the city in the thirty years following the establishment of presses in the city, and the 15cBOOKTRADE is finally gathering the evidence to prove it.²⁰

Probably because the physical objects generally do not survive to this day, material evidence had not been used until now as a systematic historical tool to advance our knowledge of the trade network and social history of the 15th century. In a way there was the need to bring into the discipline a quantitative and archaeological approach, to achieve the best results from the sheer quantity of surviving books and the evidence they contain.

The only well-known exceptions were the works of Lotte Hellinga and Margaret Lane Ford on the importation of foreign books into England and Scotland in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Hellinga's work was based on 1,000 incunables with British ownership up to about 1520 and was published in 1991.²¹ This pioneering research was expanded in 1999 by Margaret Lane Ford who compiled *Early British Owners in Britain* (EBOB), in spreadsheet form, to write her contribution to the third volume of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*.²² EBOB includes data from some 4,474 books which were used in England and Scotland up to the 1550s and still survive today in libraries in the UK, corresponding to 3,495 editions. Since it was the largest and most comprehensive such sample, Ford's survey allowed a preliminary analysis of where books were coming from and when, as well as what books were circulating. It offered a picture of the intellectual climate as much as of the book trade. Needless to say, Venetian imprints figured high in the list of imports.

The work of Hellinga and Ford showed what could be achieved by approaching the evidence systematically.

What ten years of work on the incunabula in the Bodleian library taught me is that the evidence is plentiful, but, crucially, needs to be not only carefully gathered but intelligently retrieved.

A first pilot investigation, which subsequently led to the British Academy and ERC projects, was researched and published in 2008.²³

²⁰ Needham, "Venetian Printers and Publishers", 157-74. The last count, of 254 printing shops, was done by Dondi in 2019 using ISTC data.

²¹ Hellinga, "Importation of Books Printed on the Continent", 205-24. Cf. also Needham, "The Customs Rolls as Documents", 148-63.

²² Ford, "Importation of Printed Books", 179-201. The data has been converted by CERL into a database using the same data model as MEI: https://data.cerl.org/ebob/_search.

²³ Dondi, "La circolazione europea degli incunaboli veneziani", 179-90.

It was based on the 1,123 Venetian editions (a third of the total) in 1,387 copies of the Bodleian Library, and their descriptions, provided by the Bodleian Catalogue of incunabula (Bod-inc). In the pilot, and now in the MEI database, evidence for the distribution and use of the books was collected not only from ownership inscriptions, but also from the decoration, bindings, manuscript notes, and later provenance history of the books.

The distribution of Venetian editions in the 15th and 16th centuries, based on the Bodleian sample, could be summarised as following: 183 copies (13%) were acquired in England, Scotland, and Wales; 263 (19%) were used in Germany; 481 volumes (34%) were distributed, purchased, and kept in Italy, which is a very substantial percentage. When assessing the Venetian book trade, it is very important to note that the internal and local distribution – to other parts of Italy and within Venice itself – is as substantial as the international trade, because it is a matter of fact that the international book trade of the city has completely overshadowed the internal market in the perception of scholarship. Surprisingly, the systematic way in which material evidence was recorded in Bod-inc made possible the localisation of the early use, hence of the distribution, of some 572 volumes for which there was no ownership note as such, the equivalent of 41% of the total number of copies printed in Venice now in the Bodleian Library. I was able to gather and use provenance data for 86% of the examples, that is, 1,205 copies out of 1,387. Only 194 copies (14%) did not provide any form of localisation.

While the Bodleian incunabula are not exceptional in the preservation of historical evidence relating to their use, the Bodleian catalogue was exceptional in taking notice of that evidence systematically and in great detail. This investigation alerted me to the necessity of a system to process efficiently the information available, a system which would be able to record and process these ‘anonymous indicators’ of invaluable historical relevance.

6 Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI)

The creation of MEI was necessary first to offer a central repository for the copy-specific data on incunabula either not yet described – the majority – or described in scattered printed or electronic catalogues. Secondly, to produce sophisticated integrated searches on any aspect of the material evidence of incunabula, therefore significantly improving the use of these resources as historical evidence.

I conceived and planned the Material Evidence in Incunabula database (MEI) in 2010, and it was developed by Alex Jahnke, Head of the Data Conversion Group of the University of Göttingen, with funding from a British Academy Research Development Award (BARDA) grant-

ed to Prof. Nigel Palmer (then Principal Investigator) and to myself (then Project manager). The database is linked to the *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* (ISTC) of the British Library, from which it derives the bibliographical records; it is hosted by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), and is freely available on its website.

Not only former owners, but also every other piece of evidence, such as a certain style of decoration or binding, the period of a manuscript note, etc., is treated as a valuable clue for provenance, enabling it to be geographically located and chronologically dated. This allows us to track the movement of books across Europe and through the centuries. From its start, MEI was developed to provide a physical representation of the circulation of books throughout the centuries, from place of production to their present locations.

The development of the database started from its beginning as a collaboration with libraries: the National Central Library of Rome and the British Library in London were its very first partners and contributors, followed by the network of libraries of Regione Lombardia, under the supervision of Edoardo Barbieri of the Catholic University of Milan. For a book historian the close, continuous relationship with libraries, the custodians of books, is a must, not an option. The international success of MEI is a witness to this simple statement. The number of libraries which are contributing to the database has been steadily growing: the CERL pages dedicated to libraries in MEI and to MEI editors are kept up to date.²⁴ The ERC grant allowed me to place two researchers for four years, full time, to work on two key collections of incunabula, the British Library and the Marciana Library of Venice. Their efforts to capture the vital historical memory of the institutions' acquisition policies was greatly facilitated by the close collaboration with the curators of those institutions. Indeed, the presence of the scholarly support provided by the project stimulated the investigation of the institution's archive. In the second part of this volume, essays by Giachery and Sciarra share the successful results of those investigations. Essays by Barbieri, Vaitkevičiūtė-Zemkajūtė, and Lancaster present their experience as MEI editors in different parts of the globe. The digital tools we have created are increasingly part of other research projects, including digitization and preservation projects. The essay on the Polonsky project at Subiaco, a collaboration of CERL and the National Central Library of Rome, is one of these.

Before the start of the ERC grant in April 2014, the database counted around 3,600 editions in around 6,500 copies, and 7,000 former owners; the data were derived from 36 library collections in Europe and US, created by 40 MEI editors.

²⁴ URL <https://www.cerl.org/resources/mei/about/libraries>; <https://www.cerl.org/resources/mei/about/editors>.

By the end of the ERC grant in March 2019, MEI included over 14,000 editions in over 46,000 copies and 18,000 owners, from 433 libraries and 193 editors.

It is undeniable that the systematic and intense research work of the 15cBOOKTRADE team, fostered by the ERC grant, has made a significant difference in quantity (of records produced) but, most importantly, in the quality of the records and of the research based on them. The success of MEI is not only the result of a good idea, of the right solution at the right time, but of its painstaking implementation.

Being the Secretary of CERL meant that I was in constant dialogue with European and American research libraries. Having a team meant that we could multiply our presence many times over. Lectures, seminars and training workshops have been given in Europe and the US. A de-centralised approach meant that active members of the community could take the initiative to further promote the database. This was shown by the team headed by Prof. Edoardo Barbieri of Centro di ricerca europeo libro editoria biblioteca (CRELEB), Università Cattolica of Milan, who has been overseeing the cataloguing of incunabula in Regione Lombardia. Various research grants, from Regione Lombardia, Fondazione Cariplo, and two Italian Government Research Funding grant (PRIN) were obtained by the CRELEB team to catalogue incunabula in MEI.

Internships for cataloguing incunabula in MEI have been offered by CERL in collaboration with member libraries since 2014. Others have taken place at the British Library and at the National Central Library of Rome. Progress reports and presentations of the database applications for historical research are offered regularly to all CERL members attending the Consortium's meetings, and PowerPoint presentations are available on the CERL website; written papers and announcements in circulation lists ensure a wide awareness of MEI work among the scholarly and library community.

During the ERC grant we also introduced uploads into MEI of electronic library catalogue records with provenance information of major collections: data from the Bodleian, Cambridge UL, the Royal Library of The Hague and the National Library in Vienna.²⁵

25 Uploaded records still need to be manually edited to conform with the MEI model, especially with the provision of chronological and spatial tagging.

7 A New Methodological Approach: Converting Physical Evidence into Historical Evidence

An innovative approach was devised to address the need to make the best use not only of conventional provenance evidence in tracing the history of books, such as former owners' inscriptions and various marks, but also of physical evidence which is strictly speaking anonymous: a German binding of the 16th century, French illumination, or Italian manuscript annotations of the 15th century, an English purchase note recording price in the 19th century. They may not tell us who used the book, but can certainly direct us to where and when it was used, that is, to certain areas and certain periods of time.

In MEI we have dozens of fields pertaining to provenance. We can single out distinctive copy features: complete, incomplete, made up copy,²⁶ composite volume,²⁷ variant, *cancellans/cancellandum*, parts of text in facsimile, parts of text in manuscript, manuscript signatures, no evidence of use, no rubrication, reuse of manuscript leaves, chain-hole, fallen type, bound with manuscript, binding waste, later decoration. The type of provenance evidence is classified according to inscriptions, coat of arms, genealogical tables, supralibros, ex-libris, mottos, emblems, stamps, fire stamps, binding, decoration, manuscript notes, bibliographical evidence, shelf mark, accession mark, deaccession mark, seller's mark/note, and documentary evidence.

The method of acquisition can be distinguished among purchase, donation, bequest, exchange, institutional transfer, dedication copy, consignment, requisition, theft, restitution, deposit.

Each former owner is further defined by his/her gender, status (lay, religious), and profession. Decoration can be searched according to illustration coloured by hand, illumination, ornamental letters, coat of arms, rubrication, partial rubrication, pen trials, and illustration stamped in. Manuscript annotations can be studied according to their typology and frequency.²⁸

Because our goal is to describe the life of the book, from the time it was printed to the time it entered its current holding institution, every piece of provenance evidence is recorded in a separate block of provenance, which is tagged geographically and chronologically. The movement of a book over its 500 years is therefore visually represented in MEI records as a sequence of blocks of provenance, whereby the last provenance block is always the same as the holding institution field.

²⁶ A volume made up of parts taken from different editions.

²⁷ A volume made up of more editions, or even manuscripts, bound together.

²⁸ This is further discussed in the paragraph below on "The Use of Books".

For example, a copy of Cicero's orations printed in Venice in 1471 was sold by an anonymous bookseller in Milan already in 1472, purchased there by Renobertus de Campo of Dole for over three ducats and taken to France. After the sack of Dole by Charles d'Amboise in 1479, the book was purchased by the Carmelite of Chalon-sur-Saône Jacobus Benedictus, professor of theology, in that same year, and in 1483 gifted by him to the Carmelite Laurentius Burellus, confessor to the kings of France Charles VIII and Louis XII. After Burellus' death, the book stayed probably with the Carmelites of Dijon until it was acquired by the Duc de la Vallière; at the sale of his collection in 1783, it was purchased by Pietro Antonio Bolongaro-Crevenna, a snuff merchant based in Amsterdam, and finally, at his sale in 1789, purchased by the Bodleian and brought to the UK. The MEI record is therefore made of seven blocks of provenance: Milan, Dole, Chalon-sur-Saône, Dijon, Paris, Amsterdam, Oxford.²⁹

By clicking instead on any single former owner of this record, for example Bolongaro-Crevenna, we can immediately access information on his book collection, now dispersed: MEI at present holds descriptions of his books not only in Oxford (116), but also in The Hague (135), Cambridge University Library (6), London British Library (4), Princeton (3), Athens Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation (1), Milan Biblioteca Trivulziana (1), Venice Fondazione Cini (1).

The more libraries that contribute to MEI, the better we can virtually reconstruct dispersed collections. It is that simple.

Whilst it is understandable that a library or library system wants to keep together all sorts of data pertaining to the collections in their custody, whether in manuscript, print or digital format, and that there is an attempt at offering more and more analytical ways to access that data, it has to be accepted that specialist databases which integrate data from many different libraries, when designed properly and intelligently, can address historical queries that a library catalogue alone is not in a position to support. Databases should be seen as complementing and supplementing the information that a library catalogue can hold.

Each of the MEI fields has been devised with clear historical questions in mind, questions which we were unable to answer, but can now begin to address. Just to offer one example: scholars of books and libraries are aware of the tremendous impact that the secularisation of religious institutions had on the dispersal of old, and formation of new, libraries. Historical collections in France, Great Britain and the United States would not be what they are today without the vast mobility of books triggered by national policies towards religious insti-

²⁹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Orationes*. Ed: Ludovicus Carbo. Venice: Christophorus Valdarfer, [not after 9 Nov.] 1471. Folio. GW 6765; ISTC ic00542000; MEI 00203715.

tutions and their libraries. In MEI we are finally capturing the extent of the phenomenon: to date, some 4,975 copies in MEI have been recorded with the descriptor “institutional transfer”.³⁰

8 A New Methodological Approach: Tracking and Visualizing the Movement of Books

Why is it important to know the movement of books? Because until the age of the internet, ideas and knowledge spread via the medium of books. So by tracking the movement of the books, we follow the diffusion of ideas and knowledge.

Where a book was printed and where the book is today tell us very little about where the book has been during the 500 years of its existence, because books moved extensively over the centuries, entering and leaving private or institutional collections.

Provenance data is our key to discover where books have been, at any given time.

If we want to learn about the provenance history of a book the first port of call is generally the library catalogue, one entry at a time.

But where do we look if we want to learn about a collection of books, a former private or institutional owner, whose books are today scattered across several libraries around the world? Before MEI existed, only Paul Needham had gathered extensive provenance of incunabula into a Word file which he would generously share with colleagues, while Margaret Lane Ford had brought together early British incunabula users in EBOB.³¹

The traditional perspective of provenance indexes or tools provided us with a snapshot of what was in a library or collection, at any given period of history.

The researcher could either follow the story of one book at a time, then, or have a snapshot of a collection, at a fixed moment in time. For example, the Provenance Index of the Bodleian Catalogue of Incunabula tells us that 23 incunabula from Weissenau are now in Bodley. But to know where each book was before and after its presence in Weissenau we have to read each catalogue entry. And of course we have to look elsewhere to discover where other Weissenau books are today, beyond the small group which ended up in Oxford.

³⁰ Searching “data.provenance.acquisitionMethod:e” of 27 Aug. 2019. Advanced queries to the database can be found in MEI Searching Guidelines on the 15cBOOKTRADE website <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/distribution-use/mei-searching-guidelines/> or by clicking the Help button in MEI.

³¹ IPI was made available to the public by CERL in 2010. Both IPI and EBOB are today in the same data model as MEI and freely available: https://data.cerl.org/ipi_search/; https://data.cerl.org/ebob_search/.

We needed a change of perspective: libraries are static entities, while books are dynamic entities which move in and out of libraries. Therefore we needed a dynamic concept of provenance, from the book's point of view, as well as from a collection's point of view, as the study of provenance has been approached until now.

The innovative solution was the use of geographical (GeoNames) and chronological indicators applied to every element of provenance. Now we are in the position to track and visualise the movement of thousands of books over space and time, and the formation and dispersal of libraries, to understand patterns and trends in the use and survival of early printed books and to grasp trends in book acquisitions and collection formation.

9 Visualization of the Movement of Books

The objective behind MEI has always been the visualization of the circulation of books and of the texts they contain, throughout Europe, and beyond.

Professor Min Chen and Doctor Simon Walton, of the Oxford e-Research department, applied scientific visualisation techniques to MEI and TEXT-inc data, to represent, geographically and chronologically, the movement of 15th-century printed books and of the texts they contain.

The result is 15cVISUALIZATION, a visualization suite where data are seen on a cartesian diagram, in which place, of printing and later of ownership, is represented in the vertical axes, and time, from 1450 to the present, on the horizontal axis. The movement of each book is represented as a line which originates in a place of printing, a triangle, various places of provenance over the 500 year period, circles, and a final place of holding institution, a square.³²

10 Historical and Trade Copies, and Private Collections

We should never forget that what survives today is but a small part of what was originally produced in the 15th century. Understanding how the half a million copies came to us, surviving obsolescence, theft,

³² The backend of the software is a Python application using Tornado as a web server to host the API. It interfaces directly with the APIs provided by the project, as well as using a local redis cache for improved speed and reverse lookup calculations. This redis database is less than 2GB in size. The frontend is a standard node web application written in modern ES6 Javascript, compiled and bundled using Parcel. The actual rendering of the visualization in the web browser is done with D3.js.

A video of the visualization and an explanation of the way it works can be watched at <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/visualization/>.

requisition, institutional policies towards cultural heritage in general, and ecclesiastical heritage in particular, is an essential way to fathom what ended up being destroyed. However, archival evidence of various kind does record the existence of books and entire libraries, even after their destruction.

In MEI we also devised a simple and effective way to capture ‘historical copies’, that is copies which we know, from library catalogues or inventories, existed until a certain time in a certain place, but are now lost, either destroyed, or more likely in some library where they have not yet been identified as belonging to that former ownership. In the lucky event of a match between a ‘historical copy’ and a physical copy, all we have to do is to replace ‘historical copy’ in the ‘library holding’ field, with the name of the library now holding that copy, and its shelfmark. At present ‘historical copies’ from the libraries of Prospero Podiani of Perugia, of the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, and of Francesco Maria della Rovere, 2nd Duke of Urbino, are being gathered in MEI.³³ The same approach is applied to copies in the trade, though the priority of the work-load of the 15cBOOKTRADE project has been collections in public libraries.³⁴ Equally, MEI can accommodate copies in private collections, whenever their owners are happy to join in our research efforts; it is pleas-

33 An example of an historical copy is Conradus de Alemania, *Concordantiae bibliorum*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 27 June 1485. Folio. GW 7420; ISTD ic00851000; MEI 02006694; the evidence of its former ownership by the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice sits in two archival documents: a list of 78 incunables owned by the monastery prepared by Giovanni Rossi in Venice between Aug. 1806 and Mar. 1807 (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Direzione dipartimentale del demanio e diritti uniti, Atti, b. 380, 2/15, fasc. II: S. Giorgio Maggiore. Libri a stampa del secolo XV della Biblioteca di S. Giorgio Maggiore, “C22, ‘Concordantiae Bibliae Nuremberg. 1485 p. Koberger F.o.’”) and ‘Catalogo generale, ossia riunione di tutti gli elenchi di libri scelti dalle biblioteche delle Corporazioni Regolari concentrate nel già convento di S. Anna di Padova’, compiled by Giuseppe Dainese (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, maggio 1811, ms. 2250, p. 144 nr. 22: ‘Concordantiae Bibliae, fol. Nurembergae 1485’). It is most unlikely that this copy was destroyed in the 19th century. Most probably it is one of the 126 still surviving copies. An essay on the reconstruction of the library of the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore will appear in Dondi, Prosdocimi, Raines, “Tracing the Dispersed Incunable Collection”.

An example of a historical copy later matched with an existing copy is Platea, Franciscus de, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. [Venice]: Bartholomaeus Cremonensis, 1472. 4°. ISTD ip00752000; GW M00836; MEI 02006676: another San Giorgio book, which, after exiting the same depot in Padua where the previous example was kept, ended up in the hands of the British bookseller Thomas Thorpe who sold it to the Bodleian in 1831.

34 We treat trade copies likes historical copies; an example of trade copy can be found here <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02128929>: it is Aegidius (Columna) Romanus, *De regimine principum*. Ed: Oliverius Servius. Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 9 July 1498. Folio. GW 7219; ISTD ia00089000; MEI 02128929, the copy was formerly in the Donaueschingen collection, then lot 1 of the Sotheby’s sale, held in London in 1994. If the new owners of this book joins MEI, “trade copy” will be substituted by their collection place and name, or indeed “private collection”, and added as new final block of provenance.

ing to notice that this category is also growing, with private collections in the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy.³⁵

11 The Use of Books

Attention to the way books were used and read has been steadily growing. In 2001 the *Marginalia Project* of the Catholic University of Milan reproduced and textually analysed the annotations on some 200 incunabula in the Trivulziana Library of Milan.³⁶ In more recent years a couple of digital projects have been devised for that purpose. The *Reading Experience Database* (RED), 1450-1945, is a collaboration of UK, Australia, Canada, The Netherlands, and New Zealand, with records mostly from the late modern and contemporary period.³⁷ *Annotated books online* (ABO) is a digital archive of early modern annotated books developed by the University of Utrecht.³⁸ The *Archeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe* (AOR) uses digital technologies to enable the systematic exploration of the historical reading practices of Renaissance scholars nearly 450 years ago.³⁹

Most of these databases focus on the content of the marginal annotations in great detail, to unveil the interaction of the owners with the text. Their approach is qualitative.

MEI presents instead a more quantitative approach, as it aims at the identification of the extent of the interaction between readers and books. In doing so it also acts as a first filter for the specialist databases, by flagging extensively annotated copies, or copies annotated by well-known figures.

To understand who were the buyers and users of the first printed books, in MEI explicit ownership notes are further categorised as private or institutional, religious or lay, female or male, and by profession. These categories can be combined with spatial and temporal markers, as well as bibliographical ones (author, work, imprint information, subject, keywords, period), to outline in unprecedented quan-

³⁵ A few private owners read about the project in the national papers and got in touch; one example for all is Mr Günter Elo, from Mackenheim <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02128902>.

³⁶ URL <http://libriantiqui.it/risorse-in-pdf/item/14-marginalia-un-censimento-di-incunaboli-postillati-preso-la-biblioteca-trivulziana-di-milano>.

³⁷ Only 4 records for the period 1450-1499. Cf. <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php>.

³⁸ URL <http://www.annotatedbooksonline.com/>.

³⁹ URL <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>. In 2019, a corpus of thirty-six fully digitized and searchable versions of early printed books filled with tens of thousands of handwritten notes, left by two of the most dedicated readers of the early modern period: John Dee and Gabriel Harvey.

titative and qualitative detail the social impact of the introduction of printing in early Modern Europe, and later elsewhere.

Many of the books described in MEI bear evidence of reading practices. Manuscript notes, vital for understanding the readership of the early editions, are classified, and can be searched, according to their frequency (occasional, a few, several, extensive), position within the book (first few pages, first half, throughout, parts only), and their type: corrections, completions, supplements, extraction of keywords, collation,⁴⁰ translation, structuring the text, comments, censorship, reading marks (underlining and pointing hands), drawings, corrections by the printer, lecture notes, later rubrication, autograph, pen trials, personal notes.

12 The Books' Contemporary Market Value

Groundbreaking new evidence for the history of the book trade in the 15th century has emerged from the in-depth study of the manuscript *Zornale* or day-book of Francesco de Madiis, which I have been editing together with Neil Harris, Professor of Bibliography and Library Studies at the University of Udine.⁴¹ The *Zornale* recorded the daily activity and sales of a Venetian bookshop from May 1484 to January 1488, as well as the inventory of the stock-in-trade for just over one year, to June 1485. In this period 11,100 entries with their prices are registered, involving 6,950 sales, sometimes gifts or barter, and over 25,000 copies. For its scale, for its detail, and for its importance as a fly-on-the-wall documentary of what happened in a Renaissance Venetian bookshop, the *Zornale* is unique.

Other documentary evidence for the period is piecemeal and of varied nature, such as post-mortem inventories of bookshops and lawsuits that contain estimate of value, but not real prices.

Scholars have long shown an interest for the *Zornale* and for its significance as a record of the Renaissance book trade, beginning with the very partial transcription published by Horatio Brown in 1891.⁴² In more recent years, Martin Lowry discussed the material in two publications, but his early death prevented any in-depth analysis.⁴³ Its exploitation has had to overcome two principal challenges, the sheer size of the document, 160 long leaves in agenda format, and the very condensed nature of the entries, which require palaeographical and bibliographical expertise for their interpretation.

⁴⁰ In its philological sense of comparison with other texts.

⁴¹ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Ital. XI, 45 (7439).

⁴² Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, a sample of 234 entries out of 11,100 and the whole stock-in-trade.

⁴³ Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*.

The detailed study of this exceptional document is finally bringing to the attention of scholarship the economic aspects related to the introduction of printing in the West. Scholars working on any area of classical through to early modern texts (from school and devotional books to legal, medical, theological, classical publications, etc.) will find here evidence of the sales records, hence the reception and market value, of works they are studying, which comes from a source both authoritative and representative, a major bookselling outlet in the heart of the most important printing city of the 15th century.

We have now completed the identification of all the entries in the *Zornale* and plan to make these available on the web in 2020.

They will be accompanied and complemented by data coming from a second major source of pricing, the books themselves: prices and currencies, fundamentally important for the economic dimension of the book trade, are individually recorded in MEI to facilitate their retrieval for research. Several hundred pertaining to the 15th century alone are now gathered together in the database. Finally, for a number of years now Dominique Coq has been entering this kind of evidence into a spreadsheet from published catalogues of incunabula, some 650 so far. He has shared it with me. This information too will be made available to the public. These data, pertaining to the sale of books printed not only in Venice but also elsewhere, and purchased anywhere in Europe, will allow a critical mass of evidence to be effectively compared with the documentary evidence recorded in the Venetian ledger. Collectively, all these new data will finally bring to the attention of scholarship the economic aspects related to the introduction of printing in the West.

But to understand what it meant, and what it took, for the people of Europe to acquire the new printed books it was essential to contextualize the economic values emerging from the *Zornale* and the books themselves with the cost of living during the last fifty years of the 15th century.

The essays by Cecchini, Pinelli, Dondi, Harris, Mansutti, Peric, Böninger, Gatti, Tinti, Bolton, Hulvey, and Iglesias in the third part of the volume are intended to begin to offer such contextualization. The collaborative work now established will continue, as the primary sources are not as scarce as we were led to believe. Yet again, it was a matter of paying attention to them and of finding a way to bring them together.

13 The Transmission and Dissemination of Texts Printed in the 15th Century

Incunabula usually contain multiple texts by multiple authors, partly pertaining to the ‘paratext’, that is editorial matter such as dedicatory letters, verses in praise of the author, the editor, the printer, the work etc., partly authorial works properly different from the main

author and title as indicated in modern catalogues; for example, the work *De venenis* by Petrus de Abano, printed in Padua in 1487,⁴⁴ does not only contain his work on poison, but also contains works by three other authors on the Bezoar stone, on knowledge of poison, and on epidemics. Such information has been so far hidden from the scholar because there were, until now, no complete catalogues or databases that included the varied content of 15th-century printed books.

We still cannot answer fundamental questions such as how many times, when and where were Cicero or Petrarch printed in the 15th century, because some of their works were often added as secondary texts in editions which appeared under the heading of other authors and are so catalogued today. Works by Petrarch can be found inside editions of Caesar, Cicero, Juvenius, Ludolphus de Saxonia, Jacopo di Poggio, Poggio Bracciolini, Terence, Lucianus Samosatensis, and Nicolaus de Cusa.⁴⁵

We cannot place in the appropriate socio-historical context the preparation of medical or legal or classical editions, whose publication was the collaborative work of printers and scholars, with the frequent involvement of their students, but whose intervention is only documented in secondary textual material, such as letters and verses, normally not recorded in catalogues. Nor can we fully document the links with the political and ecclesiastical establishment, as this information is again often untapped in dedications and letters.

Most early editions are textually composite, the result of decisions taken by printers and very often by editors who collaborated with them, anonymously in the early period, more visible later on.

44 Petrus de Abano, *De venenis*. Add: Matthaeus Silvaticus, *De lapide Bezoar*; Arnoldus de Villanova, *De arte cognoscendi venena*; Valascus de Tarenta, *De epidemia et peste*. [Padua]: Matthaeus Cerdonis, 18 Dec. 1487. 4°. GW M31877; ISTC: ip00442000.

45 Caesar, Gaius Julius, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*. [Strasbourg: Printer of the 1472 Aquinas 'Summa'], 1473. Folio. GW 5874; ISTC ic00027000. Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, ad Atticum*. Add: Francesco Petrarca: *Epistola ad Ciceronem*; Cornelius Nepos: *Vita Attici*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470. Folio. GW 6859; ISTC ic00500000. Juvenius Presbyter, *Historia evangelica heroicis versibus conscripta*. [Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, between 23 June 1491 and 25 Jan. 1492]. 4°. GW M15923; ISTC ij00672000. Poggio, Jacopo di, *Sopra il Trionfo della fama di messer Francesco Petrarca*. Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Alessandro Varrochi, 24 Jan. 1485/86. 4°. GW M34528; ISTC ip00852000. Poggius Florentinus, *Facetiae*. Add: Aesopus: *Fabulae* (Tr: Laurentius Valla); Francesco Petrarca: *De salibus virorum illustrium*. Paris: [Au Soufflet Vert (Louis Symonel et Socii), about 1475]. 4°. GW M34576; ISTC ip00857000. Terentius Afer, Publius, *Comoediae*. Ed: Raphael Zovenzonius. Add: *Vita Terentii*. [Venice: Vindelinius de Spira] for Johannes de Colonia, [not before 23 Nov.] 1471. 4°. GW M45573; ISTC ISTC it00065000. Lucianus Samosatensis, *Dialogus de funerali pompa* [Latin] (Tr: Rinucius Aretinus). Add: *De praecedentia Alexandri, Hannibalis et Scipionis* [Latin] (Tr: Johannes Arispa [i.e. Aurispa]). Francesco Petrarca: *Recommendatio heremi*. Isidorus Hispalensis: *Synonyma de praesentis vitae regimine*. [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1492-93]. 4°. GW M19022; ISTC il00325000. Nicolaus de Cusa, *De vera sapientia (Ydiodia)*. [Cologne: Cornelis de Zierikzee, about 1499]. 4°. GW M31551; ISTC in00100000.

Moreover, the complete analysis of the contents of editions is essential to the study of the transmission of texts in print (*stemma editionum*) and of their dissemination, as shown by the masterly publication of the works of Thomas Aquinas by the Leonine commission or by the transmission in print of the *Facetiae* of Poggio Bracciolini established by Lotte Hellinga.⁴⁶ However, the descent of texts in print is still too seldom studied, mostly because of the lack of adequate resources.

The 15cBOOKTRADE Project offered a solution by acting on two fronts: a systematic description of the contents of 15th-century editions, and a manner to improve their quantitative analysis.

In 2005 were published the six volumes of the Bodleian catalogue of incunabula (Bod-inc) which provided ground-breaking textual descriptions and identifications for over 5,500 editions.⁴⁷

The catalogue was transferred into electronic form by the Bodleian Library. The 15cBOOKTRADE Project has converted Bod-inc into a database which can accommodate the content of editions not in the Bodleian and therefore not yet described to the same high standard. This new database, TEXT-inc, offers a corpus of texts printed in the 15th century and provides one platform for the storage and access of this highly valuable data, linked to ISTC, GW, and MEI.

In TEXT-inc we approach the content of printed editions in terms of textual units.

The 15cBOOKTRADE Project team augmented the Bodleian core with editions outside Oxford, that is in the British Library, Venice libraries, Greek and Aesop editions and others available in digital form.

For each text, *tituli*, *incipit*, and *explicit* are provided, and where they occur within the edition (leaf signature). The colophon is fully transcribed, the *secundo folio* is provided.⁴⁸

I will provide just one example of the importance of transcribing *tituli*.⁴⁹ During the process of identification of the editions sold by the Venetian bookseller Francesco de Madiis in his *Zornale*, Neil Harris

⁴⁶ *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici Opera omnia*; Hellinga, "Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print", 168-200.

⁴⁷ *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library* in six volumes.

⁴⁸ A full description of the database fields and the *Guidelines to TEXT-inc*, in its English or Italian version, can be found in the TEXTS section of the 15cBOOKTRADE website; <http://wordpress-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/booktrade/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/09/Editing-TEXT-inc-English.pdf>; <http://wordpress-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/booktrade/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/09/Editing-TEXT-inc-Italian.pdf>. On *secundo folio*, cf. Willoughby, "The Secundo Folio and its Uses, Medieval and Modern".

⁴⁹ "Tituli 'inscriptions' placed at the beginning of texts, colophons at the end, were used throughout the middle ages to provide the reader with orientation [...] may include information on the author [...] the title [...] the meaning of *titulus* is closer to the modern 'title-page'" (Sharpe, *Titulus*, 30). This custom continued in 15th-century printed books.

and myself were challenged by a very popular item on sale. A “De contemptu mundi” sold in 135 copies, but a first look at ISTC for such title produced 115 potential entries associated with this title, from authors ranging from Baptista de Finario, Pseudo Bernardus Claravallensis, S. Augustinus, Bartholomaeus Pisanus, Bernardinus Senensis, the anonymous author of a dialogue with that title, Eucherus bishop of Lyon, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Innocentius III, Zacharias Lilius, Bartholomaeus Moronus, Otto von Sonnenberg bishop of Constance, and Petrarca. The correct identification turned out to be not even listed in ISTC as such: a work of Thomas à Kempis circulating then under the name of the more famous Chancellor of the University of Paris, Johannes Gerson (1363-1429) and recorded everywhere with the title *Imitatio Christi*.⁵⁰ The opening (*titulus*) of the 1483 Venice edition states: “Incipit liber primus Johannis Gerson cancellarij parisiensis. De imitatione Christi et de contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi”, and the colophon: “Johannis Gerson cancellarij parisiensis de contemptu mundi devotum et vtile opusculum finit M.cccc.lxxxij [...]”.

The Index of authors is conceived so as to provide not only biographical information, but also statistical, such as the role played within an edition (besides authorship: dedicatee, editor, translator etc.), gender, status, profession, area and period of activity. These are the same descriptors that the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database applies to former owners of books.

Any record in TEXT-inc starts with a short-title description taken from ISTC. It is followed by a systematic description of its content, and by other information pertaining to the edition: bibliographical elements (collation, illustration, the *secundo folio*), and reference to the source of the data (the library on whose copy the record has been created).

During the first phase of TEXT-inc we concentrated on the description of the texts contained in 15th-century printed editions, not on their identification and collation with reference to modern critical editions. This analytical phase, which was systematically pursued in Bod-inc, but which requires specific skills and considerable extra time, is planned for a further phase, beyond the scope of the 15cBOOKTRADE Project.

By the end of the project, 8,339 editions have been included, some three thousand more than the initial Bodleian core. The reason for the slower than planned progress lies in the precision with which the team has approached its task.⁵¹ There are ways to speed up the pro-

⁵⁰ Gerson, Johannes [pseudo-; Thomas à Kempis], *Imitatio Christi*. Venice: Peter Loeslein, 1483. 4°, 52 leaves. GW M46816 [“Thomas a Kempis, Imitatio Christi”] ISTC ii00005000 [“Imitatio Christi”]. Cf. also Dondi, “From *Corpus iuris*”, in this volume.

⁵¹ We were able to upload the description of the content of editions in Cambridge University Library and not in Oxford; however, the various textual components (author, dedicatee, texts, etc.) still need to be arranged according to the database fields.

cess. As ever, collaboration is essential and welcome; priorities will include working on digital copies and targeting unica as a matter of urgency, now that it is easy to identify them in ISTC.

In the present volume, the essays of Panzanelli Fratoni and Della Rocca de Candal are specifically based on data from TEXT-inc.

Understanding what early modern European society deemed worth committing to print with the new technology, either transferring to the new medium works from their classical and medieval past, or publishing for the first time 15th-century works relating to contemporary life, tells us a great deal about that period of our history. TEXT-inc is the tool which is allowing us to achieve that understanding.

14 Tracking the Dissemination and Reception of Printed Works

Because all the texts described in TEXT-inc are linked to ISTC, that is, to the edition of which they are part, and ISTC is linked to MEI, which describes the ownership and use of the copies of editions, it has now become possible to track the dissemination and reception of printed works using MEI, by examining by whom, where, when, and how the copies of the edition were used. The MEI database allows any scholar to produce a much appreciated type of research which until recently was attainable by very few scholars: assessing the reception of works in print, an intellectual exercise which requires the method of copy census.

The most famous example is perhaps former Harvard professor of Astronomy Owen Gingerich, whose detailed survey of the extant 601 copies of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*, to disprove the claim of some colleagues that the work had little impact, took some 30 years to complete.⁵² There is also Anthony West on Shakespeare's First Folio,⁵³ or the survey of editions of the medieval longseller *Imitatio Christi* in Parisian libraries.⁵⁴ Specifically for the incunabula period there is Paul Needham's census of the Gutenberg Bible, now continued by Eric White;⁵⁵ Lilian Armstrong on the copies of Nicholas Jenson's Roman Breviary;⁵⁶ my own survey of all extant copies of books of hours printed in Italy in the 15th century, some 74 editions in 196 copies.⁵⁷

Until recently not much else, the reason being that it is at present very difficult and tremendously time-consuming to chase the histo-

⁵² Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' "De revolutionibus"*.

⁵³ West, *The Shakespeare First Folio*; "Ownership of Shakespeare First Folios", 405-8.

⁵⁴ Delaveau, Sordet, *Édition et diffusion de l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*.

⁵⁵ Needham, "The Paper Supply of the Gutenberg Bible"; White, *Editio Princeps*.

⁵⁶ Armstrong, "Nicolaus Jenson's Breviarium Romanum", 421-67.

⁵⁷ Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century Italy*.

ry of these 15th-century survivals across two continents. By gathering provenance information pertaining to the surviving copies of any 15th-century edition MEI offers a practical and intelligent solution to the barriers imposed by the dispersion of the material and of its cataloguing records.

This type of research is now multiplying. Team members are working on the extant copies of editions in Greek, on Aesop; recent DPhil students are working on the Bible in Italian, and Giancarlo Petrella surveyed all copies of all editions produced by the Brescia printer Battista Farfengo.⁵⁸

We all know how the pursuit of scholarly topics, indeed the existence of disciplines at university level, is influenced by the availability and accessibility of the material to work on. Until very recently research on 15th-century printed material was the preserve of a very few scholars, because the primary sources were scattered and the tools to work on them were either not in place or difficult to use. We hope that the 15cBOOKTRADE has brought a positive change and its digital tools, created with the collaboration of many hands, will continue to grow to support fundamental research on the transmission of our European written heritage.

15 The Circulation and Re-use of Illustrations

The Project created the 15cILLUSTRATION database to detect the re-use and copying of 15th-century illustrations, in collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group of the Department of Engineering Science at Oxford.

In the fourth part of this volume, the collective essay of Dondi, Dutta, Malaspina and Zisserman outlines the reasons which brought us to the creation of the database and how it works. The scholarly context which led to the database is set by the broad overview of the transition from manuscript illumination to book illustration of Armstrong and by the Venetian focus of Marcon, and of Andreoli and Maschietto.

Digital resources such as those described in this section do not substitute for research but are designed to support it, by enhancing its range, comprehensiveness, and speed.

58 Petrella, *L'impresa tipografica di Battista Farfengo*.

16 Technical Collaboration for an Integrated Approach to the Study of Incunabula

We owe our advancement in the study of incunabula to the historical and still strong collaboration among the main actors involved in the creation and management of digital tools which are comprehensive and systematic in their approach.

Essays by Goldfinch and Limper-Herz, and by Prickman take a long view on ISTC, while the final essay, by van Delft, presents the latest tool offered to the research community by CERL, a database of images of provenance.

17 The Work Continues

The work necessary to reach our objectives is vast. It requires the specialist skills of book cataloguers with the palaeographical knowledge to be able to read ownership inscriptions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and any European vernacular language, who can date and locate a binding or a decoration style to 15th-century Italy, or 16th-century Germany or 17th-century England, who can identify a coat of arms, who can distinguish different types of marginal annotations, from corrections, comments, to censorship, who know how to trace back the history of a book using booksellers' and auctioneers' catalogues and library acquisition registers.

Further, it required the development of appropriate database systems not only to record but to enable intelligent retrieval of data of value.

Finally, it necessarily relies on extensive collaboration. The 15cBOOKTRADE Project coordinates the work of very many people, in different countries, over several years. It is the largest project to date totally centred on incunabula and it builds on and brings together decades of specialist cataloguing and research on incunabula, as well as making available completely new data and an innovative way to use these data for historical research. My role as Secretary of CERL has been essential. Just as important, we work very closely with the other developers of digital tools for the incunabula period, ISTC, GW, and the Atlas of Early Printing, and we make extensive use of freely available digitizations provided by libraries.

But this is the only sensible way. If we want to understand, and communicate, how newly printed books impacted the lives of different segments of 15th-century population, spreading knowledge, information, increasing literacy levels, supporting the growth of universities, creating a new business, contributing to the international trade, we better have a good look at the books themselves and find effective ways to communicate our findings.

What was the impact of the printing revolution on European society? I have been wanting to answer this question for twenty years. I believe we now have the correct methodology in place, the tools, and the network to answer it. The papers in this volume are an outline of things to come.

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I would like to thank the reviewers of these papers most warmly for their careful reading and valuable suggestions, and Edizioni Ca' Foscari for bringing this large and slightly challenging volume to a successful publication.

Abbreviations / Websites

15cBOOKTRADE = <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>
 15cILLUSTRATION = <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>
 15cVISUALIZATION = <http://15cv.trade/>
 Bod-inc = *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century*; see below
 CERL = <https://www.cerl.org/main>
 EBOB = https://data.cerl.org/ebob/_search.
 GW = <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>
 IPI = https://data.cerl.org/ipi/_search
 ISTC = <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>
 MARGINALIA = <http://libriantiqui.it/risorse-in-pdf/item/14-marginalia-un-censimento-di-incunaboli-postillati-presso-la-biblioteca-trivulziana-di-milano>
 Reading Experience Database = <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php>
 Annotated Books online = <http://www.annotatedbooksonline.com/>
 The Archeology of Reading = <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>
 MEI = https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search
 TEXT-inc = <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
 Eric White on print runs = https://www.cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/bibliographical_data#researching_print_runs

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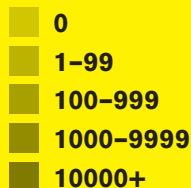
Illustrations from the Exhibition Catalogue
Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500


DOVE SONO OGGI GLI INCUNABOLI

WHERE INCUNABULA ARE TODAY

Numero di libri per nazione

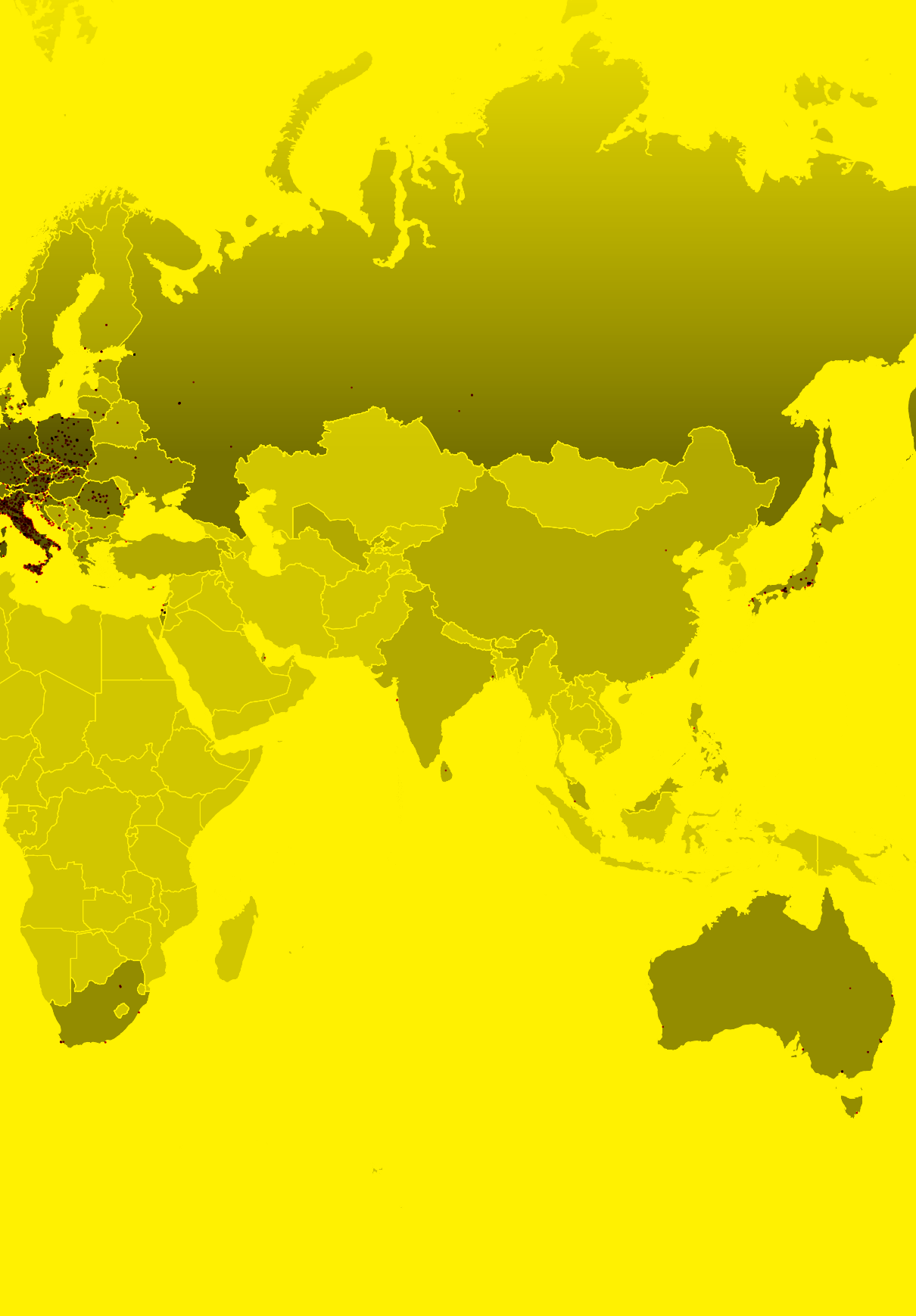
Number of books for each country



 Localizzazione dei libri
Location of books

FONTE / SOURCE

The Atlas of Early Printing, using ISTC data
Greg Prickman, Folger Shakespeare Library
Rob Shepard, The University of Iowa Libraries



**Luoghi di stampa
in Europa fino al
1500**

**Printing places
in Europe to 1500**



1452

Mainz

1460

Bamberg
Strasbourg

1465

Cologne
Subiaco

1467

Eltville
Rome
Utrecht

1468

Augsburg
Basel
Nuremberg

1469

Venice

1470

Beromünster
Foligno
Milan
Paris
Trevi
Milan
Bologna
Naples

1471

Ferrara
Speyer
Mondovi
Florence
Padua
Treviso
Verona

1472

Lauingen
Parma
Cremona
Segovia
Perugia
Mantua
Fivizzano

1473

Constance
Savigliano
Barcelona
Brescia
Cracow
Lyons
Matelica
Pavia
Ulm
Alost
Louvain
Genoa
Bruges
Buda
Erfurt
Esslingen
Iesi
Merseburg
Valencia
Chelmnö

1474

Como
Vicenza
Blaubeuren
Burgdorf
Messina
Marienthal
Sant'Orso
Savona
Lübeck
Modena

1475

Brussels
Caselle
Piacenza
Pieve di Sacco
Reggio Calabria
Zaragoza
Albi
Breslau
Cagli
Trent
Rostock
Toulouse

1476

Faenza
Pilsen
Pojano (nr. Verona)
Reutlingen
Turin
Angers
Westminster

1477

Ascoli Piceno
Delft
Deventer
Gouda
Tortosa
Zwolle
Rheinstein (Fautsberg)
Lucca
Seville
Vienne
Pressburg (Bratislava)

1478

Chablis
Cosenza
Geneva
Oxford
Palermo
Schussenried
St. Maartensdijk
Torre Belvicino
Reggio Emilia
Colle Valdelsa
Viterbo

1479

Lérida
Magdeburg
Toscolano
Würzburg
St. Albans
Nijmegen
Poitiers
Zürich
Memmingen
Urach
Pinerolo

1480

Caen
Cividale
Hasselt
Salamanca
Nonantola
Guadalajara
London (City)
Audenarde
Passau
Cagliari

1481

Antwerp
Casal di San Vaso
Leipzig
Rougemont
Saluzzo
Trier
Valladolid

1482

L'Aquila
Chambéry
Chartres
Heidelberg
Metz
Munich
Odense
Pisa
Promenthoux
Rouen
Vienna
Zamora

1483

Culemborg
Eichstätt
Gerona
Ghent
Haarlem
Leiden
Meissen
Salins
Soncino
Stockholm
Troyes

1484

Bréhan-Loudéac
Huete
Ingolstadt
Murcia
Novi
Rennes
San Germano
s-Hertogenbosch
Siena
Tarragona
Toledo
Udine
Winterberg

1485

Burgos
Hijar
Mallorca
Münster in Westfalen
Pescia
Regensburg
Tréguier
Valdemossa
Vercelli
Abbeville
Brünn (Brno)
Casal Maggiore
Castano Primo
Chivasso
Moutiers
Schleswig
Stuttgart
Voghera

1487

Besançon
Faro
Gaeta
Lantencac
Prague
Freising

1488

Hamburg
Stendal

1489

Capua
Chaves
Copenhagen
Coria
Dillingen
Embrun
Hagenau
Kirchheim
Kuttenberg
Lisbon

1490

Dôle
Grenoble
Orleans
Pamplona
Portese
Lüneburg

1491

Freiburg im Breisgau
Angoulême
Dijon
Goupillières
Narbonne
Nozzano

1492

Zweibrücken
Cluny
Leiria
Marienburg

1493

Lausanne
Mâcon
Nantes
Tours
Urbino
Uzès
Constantinople

1494

Braga
Monterrey
Senj
Cetinje

1495

Cesena
Forlì
Freiberg in Sachsen
Limoges
Pforzheim
Scandiano
Schoonhoven
Vadstena
Orense

1496

Zinna
Barco
Granada
Offenburg
Provins
Valence

1497

Avignon
Oporto
Oppenheim

1498

Gripsholm
Schiedam
Tubingen
Périgueux

1499

Danzig
Montserrat
Montserrat
Olmutz
San Cesario

1500

Perpignan
Sursee
Valenciennes

Lingue Languages

LEGENDA / KEY

10 edizioni

10 editions

FONTE / SOURCE

Edizioni che sopravvivono
oggi, **ISTC**

Editions which survive
today, **ISTC**

12
Slavo ecclesiastico
Church Slavonic

12
Portoghese
Portuguese

33
Ceco
Czech

68
Greco
Greek

140
Catalano
Catalan

154
Ebraico
Hebrew

240
Inglese
English

437
Spagnolo
Spanish

571
Olandese
Dutch

1780
Francese
French

2433
Italiano
Italian

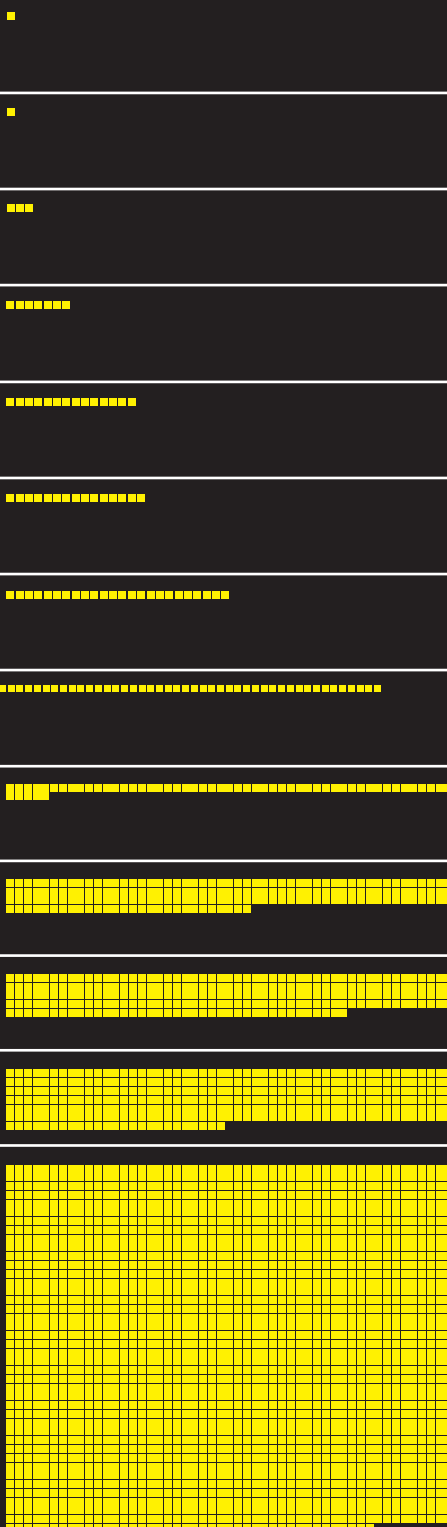
3308
Tedesco
German

21329
Latino Latin

THINK!

**Il latino era la lingua
della comunicazione
in tutta Europa**

Latin was the language
of communication
across Europe

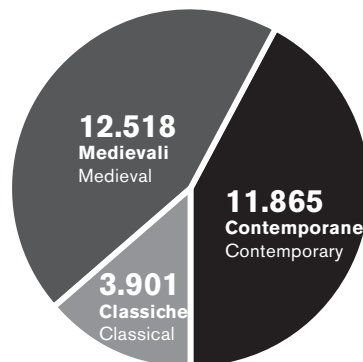


Periodo Timeframe

Molte opere contemporanee andarono a stampa più di quanto si pensasse in passato

Many more contemporary works were put in print than previously thought

FONTE / SOURCE
Edizioni che sopravvivono oggi, **ISTC**
Editions which survive today, **ISTC**;
15cBOOKTRADE ongoing research



Soggetti Subjects

22 **Architettura e Ingegneria**
Architecture and Engineering

55 **Agricoltura, Musica**
Agriculture, Music

88 **Geografia**
Geography

98 **Matematica**
Mathematics

265 **Filosofia naturale**
Natural Philosophy

337 **Bibbia**
Bible

678 **Storia**
History

725 **Storia ecclesiastica**
Ecclesiastical History

940 **Medicina**
Medicine

1041 **Attualità**
Current affairs

LEGENDA / KEY

10 edizioni
10 editions

FONTE / SOURCE

Edizioni che sopravvivono oggi, ISTC; ricerca in corso 15cBOOKTRADE

Editions which survive today, ISTC; 15cBOOKTRADE ongoing research

1262

Retorica


Rhetoric



1322

Astronomia e Astrologia


Astronomy and Astrology



1476

Filosofia

Philosophy



1499

Letteratura morale

Moral Literature



1893

Letteratura devozionale

Devotional Literature



2245

Liturgia


Liturgy



2516

Grammatica

Grammar Books




4313

Letteratura

(incl. Classici)

Literature (incl. Classics)



4480

Legge

Law



4928

Teologia

Theology



Valute a Venezia

Currencies in Venice

FONTE / SOURCE
Alan Stahl, Princeton University
Library
Cristina Crisafulli, Museo Correr

1450-1500



1 soldo



1 lira

=
20 soldi



1 ducato

=
124 soldi

Salari giornalieri a Venezia

Daily wages in Venice

FONTE / SOURCE
Susan Connell, 1988

1450-1500



15 soldi

Manovale / Ordinary labourer



28 soldi

Capomastro / Master builder

Section 1

The Transmission of Texts in Print
and the Distribution and Reception
of Books

Printing the Law in the 15th Century

With a Focus on *Corpus iuris civilis* and the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato

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Abstract The editions of legal texts are a major and important part of 15th-century book output, amounting to about 15% of the surviving extant editions. The category comprehends two types of work: (a) the collections of Roman and Canon law, with their medieval supplements and commentaries; (b) acts and regulations produced by governments and by local authorities as part of their day-to-day activity. After a general overview, this article focuses on the first group of texts, which offers an opportunity to address some key questions related to the impact of printing in a particular cultural context, that of the university. A study of legal texts printed in the 15th century aims to provide a relevant contribution to a better understanding of the impact of printing by comparing elements of continuity and discontinuity with the manuscript and later printed tradition.

Keywords History of the book. Textual transmission. Incunabula. Scholarly book. Law books. Legal texts. *Ius commune*. Legal history. *Corpus iuris civilis*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato. History of Universities.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Legal Texts in the Age of Print: An Overview. – 2.1 The Categories of Law; *Ius Commune* and *Iura Propria*; Scholarly Production and Current Affairs – 2.2 Civil and Canon law: Scholarly Production. – 2.3 Periodisation of the Texts of Civil and Canon law. – 2.4 Commentaries, Treatises and Reference Works: The Most Published Genres of Scholarly Production. – 3 Editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Focus 1). – 3.1 Introduction. – 3.2 The *editiones principes* of the Books of Civil Law. – 3.3 From Occasional Initiatives Towards the *Corpus iuris civilis*: Key-players, Entrepreneurship and Innovation. – 4 Editions of the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (Focus 2). – 4.1 A General Overview. – 4.2 The *Lectura* of the *Tres libri*: Early Editions and New Evidence from a Manuscript. – 4.3 The Editions of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. – 5 Conclusions.



Per sapere che non si può fare storia della cultura, né pertanto della letteratura italiana dal Tre al Cinquecento, senza fare i conti con Bartolo, non occorre che lo studioso si rassegni a riesumare un paio di libri [...] basta che adoperi i ferri propri del suo mestiere, che faccia storia delle università e biblioteche di quei secoli, storia della stampa, storia dei testi.¹
(Dionisotti, *Filologia umanistica e testi giuridici*, 1971)

1 Introduction

The editions of legal texts are a very important part of 15th-century book production; the category is second only to Theology. With about 4,500 editions, it represents 15% of known surviving output.²

Two main groups of texts form the category:

- a. the compilations of Civil and Canon law with their medieval supplements and the exegetical works of the jurists: (1) the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the Justinian compilation (Roman law), the law of the Empire; (2) the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the law of the Church; (3) commentaries, treatises, and works written by the jurists for teaching purposes or in the course of their professional activity, such as *consilia* (the texts of the *ius commune*).³
- b. Collections of local rules, such as statutes, regulations, customs (the texts of the *iura propria*) but also the acts promulgated by the superior authorities as part of their daily activity. The numerous papal bulls issued for the granting of indul-

² Cf. page 63 in this volume. An explanation of the figures is found in paragraph 2.1. General note: editions are quoted with reference to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) and the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC); descriptions are based on the latter. For detailed descriptions of texts, the reader is invited to check the TEXTinc database, which is being implemented with new descriptions every day and where most part of the editions discussed in this paper have already been recorded. In TEXTinc the records are identified with a number made of a 't' followed by the ISTC number. A final note on the format: in this paper the format has been specified only in relation to texts not in folio, which is the usual format for law books. Actually, as Paul Needham has shown, for legal texts a particular format was developed, resulting from the use of a sheet of paper of special size, named by him "super-royal". To determine the category and format of 15th century paper, a very helpful tool has been developed: the Needham Calculator (www.needhamcalculator.net/). It will be used in a future research on legal texts for a systematic recording of this datum which has not been possible to include in the present research. I should also like to add that the 15cBOOKTRADE has produced a special ruler, on which the categories of paper classified by Needham have been marked so as to simplify their recording.

³ The *ius commune* is "the complex of normative authorities and doctrinal interpretations produced by jurists from the 12th to the 15th century": Conte, "Consuetudine, Coutume, Gewohnheit and Ius Commune", 233 ("Abstract"); García y García, "The Faculties of Law", 393: "These legal texts and their commentaries are known as Roman-Canon law (*ius commune*), a name signifying that this code of laws was in principle considered to be valid throughout the whole of medieval Christendom, although co-existing with many statutes and other local regulations forming exceptions from it". Cf. also Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe*; Padoa Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, 71-228.

gences are found in this group, making Canon law the largest group of contemporary texts, as well as among the earliest kind of texts, to appear in print.⁴

This essay focuses on the first group of texts, whose production, distribution and transmission were characterised by a direct and strong link with the social, intellectual and cultural environment of the universities.⁵ The rediscovery and arrangement of the texts of the law were at the very origin of the university as an institution: “We all know that the teaching of the law was not only the earliest one; it was also the first one to be raised to the level of a university school, during the phase of renewal of the texts and practice”.⁶ As is well known, within the universities an efficient book-production system was put in place: the famous *pecia* system. The production and distribution of the texts necessary to students and scholars of the law (as well as of medicine, philosophy and theology) was granted by the *stationarii*, officials in charge of the distribution to scribes of the ‘exemplars’, that is texts previously checked and officially approved. Since the system was first described,⁷ an extensive bibliography has been pro-

4 Two bulls and two indulgences were printed in Mainz by 1460, all related to the war against the Turks: Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia), *Bulla Turcorum*. [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, about 1456]. 4°. GW 0591610N; ISTC ic00060000; Calixtus III, Pont. Max. (formerly Alonso de Borgia), *Bulla Turcorum* [German] *Die Bulla widder die Turcken*. (Tr: Heinrich Kalteisen), [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, after 29 June 1456]. 4°. GW 5916; ISTC ic00060100; Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, *Indulgentia*, 1454. For contributions to the war against the Turks, [Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg), 1454-55]. Bdsde. GW 6555; ISTC ic00422400; Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, *Indulgentia*, 1454-55. For contributions to the war against the Turks, [Mainz: Printer of the 31-line indulgence and of the 36-line Bible, 1454-55]. Bdsde folio. GW 6556; ISTC ic00422600.

5 Cf. Dauchy et al., *The Formation and Transmission of Western Legal Culture*, 1-19.

6 Dolcini, “Le prime università”, 12 (orig.: “Tutti sappiamo che l’insegnamento giuridico fu non solo il più antico ma altresì quello che nella fase del suo rinnovamento testuale e pratico fu per la prima volta sollevato al rango di scuola universitaria”); García y García, “The Faculty of Law”, 388: “The University of Bologna is first heard of at the end of the eleventh century [...]. Its Faculty of law, the first in Europe, was to be the prototype and model of all others until the end of the old regime”; Padoa Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, 71: “between the eleventh and twelfth centuries [...] an astounding series of innovations were to take place [...] the emergence of a legal science, through the founding of an institution, the university, devoted specifically to the training of lawyers”, just to provide a few bibliographical references on the early universities in relation to the teaching of the law, on which theme Manlio Bellomo deserves a particular mention: Bellomo, *Saggio sull’Università nell’età del diritto comune*; Bellomo, *Scholae, Universitates, Studia*. Cf. also Brizzi, Verger, *La nascita delle università*; De Ridder-Symoens, *Universities in the Middle Ages*. A preliminary overview of the connections which exist between the themes explored by the 15cBOOKTRADE project and the history of universities as a discipline was provided in: Panzanelli Fratoni, “Il 15cBOOKTRADE e la storia delle università”.

7 The first complete study of the system was published in 1935: Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. However, much earlier, Savigny, in

duced on the theme, and relatively recently (2005) a general overview of the works disseminated through the *pecia* system has been published in Italian.⁸ The distribution of legal texts through manuscripts has also been the subject of a long list of works written mainly by legal historians, in line with a tradition of studies dating back to the 19th century when the modern critical editions of the texts of the Law were published.

One could actually observe that a philological approach to the study of legal texts was already implemented towards the end of the 15th century, when an in-depth study of *Codex Florentinus* was undertaken by humanists such as Philippus Beroaldus and Angelus Politianus with the purpose of preparing the edition of the text as transmitted by the oldest and most authoritative testimony.⁹ During the course of the 16th century, the first critical editions of various parts of the *corpora iuris*, and of a number of works of medieval authors, were prepared, which strengthened the search for the best manuscripts, such as the oldest ones or the autographs; less attention was paid to the early printed editions, often just presented as the first attempts at the preparation of critical editions which were still far from being accomplished.¹⁰ Yet the editions printed in the 15th century appear to have escaped also the attention of later scholars, who often seem to have taken into consideration only the *editiones principes*, almost as if early editions were all the same and, altogether, no more than a bridge over the gulf separating the manuscript tradition from the first early modern editions.¹¹ “Traditional scholarship in legal his-

his monumental history of Roman law (1st ed. 1825), had already noticed the presence of *peciae* in manuscripts of parts of the *Corpus iuris*, as Giulio Battelli highlighted in the introduction to a study where he, interestingly, noticed how for a long time the *pecia* had not been taken into account for the study of the transmission of texts: “Dopo che il Savigny segnalò per primo la presenza di pecie in un codice del *Digestum Vetus* e in due dell’*Infortiatum*, per lungo tempo non si tenne conto della loro funzione rispetto alla tradizione del testo, e in particolare dei testi universitari”: Battelli, “Le pecie della glossa ordinaria”, 69.

8 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*.

9 Politianus’ initiative was followed by scholars such as Antonio Agustín, and Lelio Torelli, who eventually published the celebrated *Pandectae florentinae* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1553). Cf. *Le Pandette di Giustiniano. Storia e fortuna di un codice illustre*; Murano, Baldi, “Ludovico Bolognini (1446-1508)”; Rossi, “Lecture umanistiche del Digesto”; Osler, “Humanist Philology and the Text of Justinian’s Digest”; Baldi, “Il Codex Florentinus del Digesto”.

10 Famously, the philological and historical approach to the study of the texts of the law gave rise to the new School of Legal Studies (legal humanism) and a teaching method also known as *Mos Gallicus (iura docendi)*, in opposition to the traditional school of law (*Mos italicus*) as it was developed mainly in France in the course of the 16th century; however, a number of critical editions were published also in Italy and Germany. Cf. Plessis, Cairns, *Reassessing of Legal Humanism and Its Claims: Petere Fontes?*

11 There are a few exceptions, particularly with reference to individual studies, such as Colli, “Incunabula operum Baldi de Ubaldis”.

tory is based in principle and practice on the conviction that early printed editions are effectively interchangeable”, has written Douglas Osler,¹² to stress the need for a complete bibliography of all early editions of legal texts (1450-1800), so as to extend to later centuries the knowledge we have of the production of the first fifty years.¹³ Any such work would be a starting point for scholars to undertake any further analysis, as has taken place now within the 15cBOOK-TRADE project, which has promoted an in-depth analysis of all aspects of the book – texts, illustration, copies – to show why and how the invention of printing became ‘r-evolutionary’.

This article focuses on texts and editions and offers the results of a systematic approach pursued with the aim to understand the evolution of legal texts during the second half of the 15th century.¹⁴ A first section provides a general overview of all kind of texts included in the category of law which were printed in the 15th century; the two following chapters focus on the analysis of the editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and on the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato.

12 “Printed Sources and the Philological Method” (<https://www.rg.mpg.de/research/legal-humanism?page=3>).

13 “Yet our information on the vast book production of European publishing houses remains rudimentary. Only the incunabular period up to the year 1500 is well documented, with a majority of editions and even copies being identified, this information currently being assembled in a single data bank in the ISTC project at the British Library. Thereafter, however, our knowledge falls off dramatically”. Quoted from the presentation of the research project *A Bibliography of European Legal Literature, 1450-1800*: <https://www.rg.mpg.de/research/bibliography-of-european-legal-literature>.

14 From a methodological point of view there is a continuous line between the present research and the pioneering studies based on data collection conducted in the seventies and eighties by scholars like Carla Bozzolo, Dominique Coq and Ezio Ornato; for a good overview see: Ornato et al., *La face cachée du livre médiéval*. An essay published by Coq and Ornato is of particular interest in this context, as it pertains precisely to law books: “La production et le marché des incunables. Le cas des livres juridiques”; this research was necessarily based on incomplete data, taken from a partial census provided by GW; so, it can now be used as a benchmark to measure the enhancement of knowledge produced in this matter in the meantime. Much attention has been dedicated to the secondary literature published on the subject of early editions of legal texts especially by legal historians, including entries in reference works (e.g. CALMA, DBGI). One has to recall here works providing general overview of the theme by offering a number of relevant articles: Dauchy et al., *The Formation and Transmission of Western Legal Culture* (especially Wijffels, “Accursius, Standard Gloss”; Treggiari, “Bartolus, Commentaria”); Colli, *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter* (especially Neddermeyer, “Juristische Werke auf dem spätmittelalterlichen Buchmarkt”; Quaglioni, “Dal manoscritto alla stampa”); Ascheri, Colli, *Manoscritti, editoria e biblioteche* (especially Mattone, Olivari, “Dal manoscritto alla stampa”). It is also worth mentioning a fairly recent article which highlighted the advantages of applying the tools and knowledge of Analytical bibliography to Legal history (Hespanha, “Form and Content in Early Modern Legal Books”) and the on-going research on the *Corpus iuris civilis* by Rodolfo Savelli, who has already published: “Maestria tipografica e mercato accademico”; “Sulla stampa del *Corpus iuris civilis* nel Cinquecento”.

2 Legal Texts in the Age of Print: An Overview

2.1 The Categories of Law; *Ius Commune* and *Iura Propria*; Scholarly Production and Current Affairs

The 15cBOOKTRADE assigned a subject to each edition surviving for the 15th century, for a total of 45 descriptors.¹⁵ Within the Law, the following categories have been applied: Civil law, Canon law, Civil & canon law, Practical law, Procedural law, National law, Statutes and Customs. The first three categories are directly taken from the vocabulary used at the time for naming the disciplines within the university system: *ius civile*, *ius canonicum*, *utrumque ius*; they include the texts of the Roman law (the law of the Empire), the law of the Church, along with the exegetical works of the jurists - on civil law, on Canon law, or on both. Classifying the works printed in 15th-century editions was challenging also in relation to the often miscellaneous nature of early editions. More important, it soon became clear that not all the works nor their authors are well-known enough to be classified with certainty, and in a number of cases the proposal of periodisation had to be assigned with a question mark. Indeed, the very process of classifying turned out to be a powerful tool of research in itself, by highlighting the existence of texts and authors that are either unknown or known only to a group of very few specialists and not placed in a wider context.

A number of categories were added as the project progressed, starting with 'Civil & Canon law'. 'Procedural law' was introduced for works dedicated to the process of trial (such as the *Ordo* or *Processus iudiciarius*), too relevant and distinctive to be classified within the class of 'Practical law'. The latter, on the other hand, has been dedicated to texts written in support of the application of the law in a professional or administrative context; the category includes handbooks for notaries, instructions for chanceries and the like. Altogether, the categories described so far cover more than 90% of legal texts. What remains is formed by the texts of the laws emitted by authorities other than the two main ones, the Emperor and the Pope: the *Ordonnances royales* in France, or the Yearbook in England are includ-

15 This work has been based on a preparatory scheme done by Ezio Ornato, member of the advisory board of the Project: a number of changes, such as incorporation, additions and adaptations have been made to the list initially provided by Ornato. Moreover, the Project also decided to assign multiple keywords with the aim to enhance the research and the retrieval of the texts by highlighting aspects not included in the main categories, but also elements considered as of particular interest, like those revealing the cultural or economic context of production, its purpose and potential audience, and, finally, to signal collections of texts or anthologies. On this cf. the Introduction in this volume.

ed in this group, and have been classified as ‘National law’. Finally, two more classes were introduced for the statutes and for the texts of Customary law (*consuetudines*) [charts 1-2; tab. 1].

The categories have been identified and named so as to adhere as much as possible to the vocabulary adopted by legal historians, with the aim of presenting the results of the research in a way that specialists in this field could appreciate and use. Other categorisations, such as the concepts of *ius commune* and *ius proprium*, have not been transferred into descriptors, but have been taken into consideration in analysing the data and are in the background to provide the conceptual framework necessary to interpret them correctly. So, within the given classification, the final three categories (‘National law’, ‘Statutes’ and ‘Customs’) reflect the laws of local/national authorities and fall under the *iura propria*, which cover less than 10% of the whole; all other texts seem to be expression of the system of the *ius commune*, in its extended meaning of the well-coordinated system of laws and principles established by the two superior authorities (Empire and Church) and by the interpretative works of the jurists.¹⁶ ‘Procedural Law’ is therefore part of this main category, and so are the texts that fall under ‘Practical law’, but of course this is still open to the interpretation of the specialists. This very work of classification has been made with the aim to provide the specialists with a tool of research that is essential to explore and understand the bibliographical universe while it was being revolutionised by printing.¹⁷

With respect to legal texts, among the keywords, the following terms are the most relevant: education; commentary; current affairs; administration (civil or Church); notary. Indeed, these terms allow us to distinguish the texts of jurisprudence (the law as a discipline, the ‘learned law’) from the texts of individual laws produced by the authorities in their day-to-day activity and for administrative purposes. This distinction is particularly important for a better understanding of the distribution of texts between Civil and Canon law. A very important portion of the editions of contemporary texts in Can-

¹⁶ Cf. above note 3; also, the concept of *ius commune* is a complex one, the result of a long research and debate; the main conceptualisations are due to Francesco Calasso and Giuseppe Ermini: Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune*; Calasso, *Medio Evo del diritto*; Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune* (especially “Ius commune e utrumque ius”, 3-40; “Diritto comune”, 117-26; “Tradizione di Roma e unità giuridica europea”, 59-126); Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune*, vol. 2. Cf. also Segoloni, *Il diritto comune e la tradizione giuridica europea* (especially essays by Guido Astuti, Manlio Bellomo, Giovanni Casandro, Antonio Padoa Schioppa, and Bruno Paradisi).

¹⁷ This work has been done by the 15cBOOKTRADE Project for the first time and it is offered as a starting point, in the choice of descriptors as well as in their application, to the specialists of all disciplines from whom suggestions on how to improve the classification, by making changes and corrections, by modifying terms or adding nuances, may be offered.

on law are bulls or decrees of the pontiffs, bishops and papal commissaries, something which shows very well the substantial use of the technology of printing done by the Church from the beginning of the same. This output consists of documents in print, which differ, also from a bibliological point of view, from the large folio volumes hosting the very long compilations of laws and commentaries that were read and taught in the universities. Within the class of Law, these texts have been marked with the keywords 'current affairs', 'administration'. The format is also a distinctive element, as they are usually printed in single sheets (the format being expressed as 'Broadside'), but most important, in my opinion, is the author, since in these texts the author is the person in charge of an office, rather than a scholar, and the text is usually the result of a bureaucratic procedure, with many different contributors.¹⁸ A general overview and main features of this group of texts, and of the texts of the laws issued by the sovereigns, which are not the focus of this article, is provided in the next few lines.

More than 960 editions of legal texts are printed on single sheets; of these, 700 are indulgences (bulls or letters), 252 are letters related to other matters. The vast majority of these documents were issued in Germany (629),¹⁹ followed by the Iberian Peninsula (102) and the Low Countries (70); Italy follows with only 51 editions [tab. 2]. The official paternity of the text also produces some interesting numbers: the commonest name is that of Raimundus Peraudi (Raymond Pérault, 1435-1505), apostolic commissary and papal legate, who undertook numerous diplomatic missions in Germany and France. The names of the various popes come after, together with those of a number of other legates and bishops, mostly acting in Central Europe [tab. 3]. A synthesis of all the legal texts promulgated by the pontiffs [tab. 4], and not included in the *Corpus iuris canonici* provides a complementary view on this production and further evidence of the intense use of the printing press made by the head of the Catholic Church. This note leads us to the categories of the laws issued by the heads of states (kingdoms, duchy, etc.), as well as collections of the laws of nations, such as the laws of the German people (e.g. the *Sachsenspiegel*) or the Jews. Altogether, more than 200 editions fall into this category, half of which are medieval texts, the other half are contemporary. There are laws issued by the kings of England and France, but also the statutes of the Duchy of Savoy, the *Constitutiones Regni*

18 One might observe that this is true also for the two *corpora iuris*, as the text of the *Digestum* was not written by the Emperor Justinian nor the texts of the *Constitutiones clementinae* were written by pope Clement V, but I think it is obvious that both Justinian and Clement V, as well as Gregory IX and John XXII, played the role that is close to the author in relation to the arrangement of the texts of laws into a *corpus*.

19 Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke*.

Siciliae, and the compilation of Jewish laws [tab. 5]. *Statuta* of lower level organisations, such as city statutes, have been gathered in a dedicated group of 60 editions, while 41 editions are in the category of Customs, *consuetudines*. All these texts are of great interest and relevance in relation to the study of the birth and development of the State and public administration in the early modern period, as well as to the study of the system of common law, or national (Jewish) tradition. Evidently, this topic should form the core of a dedicated study.

2.2 Civil and Canon law: Scholarly Production

The systematisation and analysis of the texts of Roman and Canon law, later to be gathered respectively into the *Corpus iuris civilis* and *Corpus iuris canonici*, formed the basis of the very creation of the university, as the highest degree of the educational system.²⁰ These texts are at the core of the category of scholarly production, together with the works written by the jurists in relation with their academic activity. The category therefore includes commentaries, *reportationes*, *quaestiones disputatae*, but also abridgments (*summae*), introductory texts to the study of the discipline and texts conceived as reference works (*vocabularia*, *repertoria* and the like). The category includes works that might not have a close and direct relation with the teaching activity, but were the result of the jurist's investigation, such as treatises exploring a particular subject, but also the *consilia*, reflecting the author's deep knowledge of and expertise in a topic.²¹ The keyword 'education' has been used to mark most part of these texts,

20 Cf. above notes 5-6. On the birth of the jurisprudence as a discipline, cf. also Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence. Pavia and Bologna 850-1150*, particularly the final chapter "The Invention of a Discipline". In this work Radding shows how the birth of Jurisprudence as a new discipline was the result of a process started in the context of the Lombard court at Pavia, where judges were already using parts of the Justinian's texts (*Codex* and *Novellae*) to solve cases under attention. The rediscovery, after five centuries, of the Digest (the longest and most complex compilation of the texts of the ancient jurists) was to come later, when society, stimulated by a powerful process of renewal, was in need of a sophisticated legal framework that could only be found in the thought of the ancient jurists. Radding's analysis of how the knowledge of the *corpus* of Roman Law was developed in the early Middle Ages was followed by an in-depth study of the earliest texts of the *Corpus iuris* done together with a new codicological and palaeographical analysis made for the purpose by Antonio Ciaralli, and ended up with a new dating of almost all the manuscripts; cf. Radding, Ciaralli, "The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages".

21 The category of scholarly production is only aimed to distinguish the texts resulting from the speculative works of the jurists from texts of practical or administrative use within the group of texts which form the focus of this article. In this analysis, therefore, the category does not include here texts classified as National law or Customs. Of course this does not imply that the latter are not considered as the result of the work of learned jurists.

yet so far applied only to those which have an obvious relation with the teaching activity; ‘commentary’, ‘index’, ‘abridgments’, to mark respectively exegetical works, texts consisting of or including *tabulae*, *summae*; ‘notary’ for texts like the *summa artis notariae*, which is also part of this group.

About 2,500 editions belong to this group [charts 3-4]; the majority of them are medieval works, which is obvious as the group includes the texts of both the *corpus iuris civilis* and the *corpus iuris canonici*. Yet, it is worth noting the prevalence of medieval authors, as well as that of the texts of civil law over Canon law, plus a relevant number of editions of texts in both laws (*utroque iure*). Such a synthesis acquires significance when at least the authors are known; a complete list includes more than 250 authors, or titles of anonymous texts. Those printed in 20 or more editions have been highlighted in a ‘top ranking’ list [tab. 8]; a much longer list is formed by all the others [tab. 9], and one can see here how the majority is formed by those authors whose texts were printed only once, such as Johannes Franciscus de Poliascha, Henricus Greve de Göttingen or Jean Bagnyon. A long list of names, usually hiding in the shadow of those who received more attention from the printers, was brought to the surface by such classification and it is hoped that new research, so facilitated, will pursue this type of production. These lists only aim to provide an overview and to allow comparisons between general data and some warnings should be heeded. First of all, only the names of those who in the ISTC appear as main authors (in each edition) are listed and only editions are counted, not the single works that might be found collected together in one edition.²²

Multiple works within an edition are an important and common feature of 15th-century book production, in this respect continuing a long-standing medieval tradition. It is indeed the main reason why the 15cBOOKTRADE is carrying on the analytical recording of the texts in the database TEXT-inc. In this paragraph a synthetic bird’s-eye view is needed to serve as an introduction to the focuses. For this purpose, uniform headings have been used for those texts that in the ISTC appear either anonymous, or are scattered throughout the database under individual headings. This issue is particularly important for the texts of Civil law, which in the ISTC are found under the name of the Emperor Justinian, including those parts that contain, or only consist of, the texts of feudal law, such as the *Libri feudorum* or Constitutions of medieval emperors. By contrast, in the ISTC, as

²² This fact explains why counting the works attributed to an author in 15th-century editions can result in very different final totals, as has been observed, for example, by Vincenzo Colli in relation to the incunabula editions of the works of Baldus de Ubaldi: Colli, “Incunabula operum Baldi de Ubaldis”.

well as in GW, the texts of Canon law appear under the name of the author of each part, Gratian and the popes Gregory IX, Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII; it should be remembered that it was only in the course of the 16th century that they were finally gathered under the common title of *Corpus iuris canonici*. In this table they are kept together for the purpose of comparing different groups of texts, showing, for example, that in the 15th century only the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius, which appeared in all editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato were as popular as the two main collections.

It is worth noting that in the 15th century the texts of Civil law were printed in parts as separate editions, reflecting their traditional arrangement in the manuscript tradition.²³ Previous to printing, the four parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (*Digestum*, *Codex*, *Novellae*, *Institutiones*) were arranged in five volumes: the 50 books of the Digest (or *Pandectae*, the collection of texts of ancient jurists) were divided in: (1) *Digestum Vetus* (1.1-24.2), (2) *Digestum Infortiatum* (24.3-38.17) and (3) *Digestum Novum* (39.1-50.17). The 12 books of the Codex were also divided in two: the medieval *Codex Iustinianus* only included the first nine books, the last three (*Tres ultimi libri*) being gathered together with the *Novellae* (or *Authenticum*, the laws issued by the Emperor Justinian himself) and the four books of the *Institutiones* (introduction and textbook for the study of the law) to form what is also known as the *Volumen*. In the printed editions of the fifteenth century this arrangement is reproduced with a variant concerning the *Volumen* and the *Institutiones*: the internal combination of the *Volumen* varied, especially in relation to the medieval additions, such as the *Libri feudorum*, which are not always present but can also be found alone; the *Institutiones*, on the other hands, were always printed separately [tab. 7].

2.3 Periodisation of the Texts of Civil and Canon Law

Legal texts were among the earliest ones to appear in print; and, again, it was the texts of Canon law that were printed first [tab. 8]. The *princeps* of the *Constitutiones Clementinae* – i.e. the constitutions of pope Clement V (1305-14) issued by his successor John XXII (1316-

23 The texts of Roman law circulating in the Middle Ages were not identical with the texts written at the court of the Emperor Justinian at Byzantium in the 6th century. They were the result of the exegetical work of early jurists, the Glossators: a collection of texts rearranged and increased with later supplements. A text of reference for the Digest also prevailed, which formed the basis for the work of the Medieval jurists: the *Littera Bononiensis* in opposition to the *Littera Pisana-Florentina*, as testified in a celebrated very early witness of the Digest, the only one containing the texts in Greek.

34) – were printed in Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer in June 1460.²⁴ Five years later, Fust and Schoeffer also published the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII,²⁵ and both works were printed again by Schoeffer alone in 1467 and 1470.²⁶ In the meantime, Schoeffer printed the earliest editions of the *Institutiones*, in 1468.²⁷ By 1470 no editions had appeared outside Germany, but even there only certain parts of the *corpora* were printed; some of them more than once, which marked a kind of original trend partially confirmed by later production. The most printed books were the *Liber Sextus* by Boniface VIII, with 58 editions, for Canon law and, for Civil law, the *Institutiones*, which were also the most printed legal text of all with 77 editions. In both cases, the majority of editions were printed in Italy; just after 1470, indeed, Italy was the place where the majority of editions appeared and where all the parts of both *corpora* were printed. More details on the editions of the texts of Civil law are provided in the following paragraphs; in the next few lines, instead, some brief considerations are furnished about the general features of editions of Canon law.

The *princeps* of the *Decretum Gratiani* (the core collection of the *corpus*) was not printed by Schoeffer, but appeared in Strasbourg in 1471 in the printing shop of Heinrich Eggestein, who repeated it again the following year, when Schoeffer also added the *Decretum* to his catalogue.²⁸ Soon it was printed in Italy: in Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1474,²⁹ in Rome by Lauer in 1476,³⁰ with further editions in these same cities during the 1470s. In the following years yet more editions appeared in Venice, by various printers/publishers; in the

24 Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000.

25 Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000

26 Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)*. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ISTC ic00711000; Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 17 Apr. 1470. GW 4850; ISTC ib00978000.

27 Justinianus, *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24 May 1468. GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000.

28 Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis. Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1471. GW 11351; ISTC ig00360000; Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca). Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472. GW 11352; ISTC ig00361000; Gratianus, *Decretum*. Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 13 Aug. 1472. GW 11353; ISTC ig00362000.

29 Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Ed: Alexander de Nevo and Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Add: Johannes Diaconus: *Summarium, seu Flos decreti*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000.

30 Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar. 1476. GW 11355; ISTC ig00364000.

1490s, however, it was the Tortis brothers who took over the market. Interestingly, no more editions were printed in Rome and only one was printed in Milan, by Honate.³¹ Outside Italy, other editions were printed in Strasbourg, Basel, Nuremberg and Lyon. A similar pattern applied to the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, with the addition of two places of publication, Paris and Speyer, where four editions appeared: in Paris in 1476 and 1499-1500;³² in Speyer, by Peter Drach, in 1482 and 1492.³³ Similarly, the *Clementinae* were printed in the same localities, but a fewer number of times, and with the addition of a couple of university towns, Ferrara and Pavia, in 1473, 1479, and 1483.³⁴ In all these places, Mainz, Strasbourg, Rome, Venice, Basel, Paris, Speyer, Pavia and Ferrara, were printed the 58 editions of the *Liber Sextus* of Boniface VIII. Only two editions of the *Extravagantes* of John XXII were printed in the 15th century, one supposedly in Lyon around 1488,³⁵ and the other one in Venice in 1497.³⁶

31 Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 20 Aug. 1483. GW 11367; ISTC ig00374500.

32 Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales*, cum glossa. Paris: Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, 1 May 1476. GW 11455; ISTC ig00449300; Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa Bernardi Parmensis*. Ed: Sebastian Brant, Jean Chappuis. Paris: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 16 Mar. 1499/1500. GW 11496; ISTC ig00478000.

33 Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa*. Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 16 Aug. 1486. GW 11473; ISTC ig00461000; Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni), *Decretales cum glossa*. Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 28 May 1492. GW 11486; ISTC ig00468000.

34 Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, [12 Apr.] 1473. GW 7084; ISTC ic00715500; Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae with XX Extravagantes). With additions by L. Marius Parutus. Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1479. GW 7099; ISTC ic00729000; Clemens V, Pont. Max. (formerly Raimundus Bertrandi del Goth), *Constitutiones*. Comm: Johannes Andreae. Pavia: Gasparinus de Fianbertis, 31 May 1482. GW 0709510N; ISTC ic00725400.

35 Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze), *Decretales extravagantes*. Comm: Jesselinus de Cassanis. Add: Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis: *Preludium ad extravagantes*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488]. GW M12748; ij00247300.

36 Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze), *Constitutiones Johannis Papae XXII cum apparatu Jesselini de Cassanis necnon cum additionibus Johannis Francisci de Pavinis. Decretales extravagantes communes selectae Johannis XXII, Benedicti XI et Clementis V*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Sept. 1497. GW M1275210; ij00247100.

2.4 Commentaries, Treatises and Reference Works: The Most Published Genres of Scholarly Production

The application of a number of categories or keywords to the 2,250 editions or so of scholarly texts, not including the *corpora iuris*, allowed us to understand what typology was mostly printed and whether the typologies evolved over the years. The following terms have been used: 'Commentum/Lectura'; 'Quaestiones/Disputationes'; 'Reportationes'; 'Summa'; 'Tractatus'; 'Consilia'; 'Casus'; 'Singularia & Brocarda'. To these terms, taken from the tradition and found in the titles,³⁷ the expression 'Handbook & Reference' has been added, to gather together all texts conceived as tools for the study of the discipline. Such categories have been applied to all texts included in each edition; in a number of cases, therefore, it was necessary to use multiple descriptors (such as 'Quaestiones - Reportationes - Consilia'), as a further manifestation of the variety of combinations in which legal texts (as well as texts of any other disciplines) were published in early editions. The result (chart 4) shows that the vast majority is formed of commentaries on the texts of Civil and Canon law (744 eds, about 35% of the whole); they are also defined *Lecturae* (as the title often reads) as they were written by the jurists in their activity of teaching the law and indeed they are usually commentaries on a specific part of the *corpus* (e.g. *Lectura super prima parte Digesti Veteris*) with relation to the part of the text that was read during a course. The practice of writing comments to the texts was an evolution from the traditional interpretation of the texts, consisting of notes added to the margins (*glosae*, as developed within the earliest school of jurists, the Glossators), and culminated in the compilation of the *Magna glossa* by Accursius (1184-1263). Famously Accursius' work became almost a natural apparatus to the text of the *Corpus* and indeed all the editions printed in the 15th century included it, sometimes with additional notes by later jurists. Among these later jurists Bartolus de Saxoferrato excelled; to him is mostly owed a renewed approach to the study of the text and a development of a new school of jurists, the School of Commentators, also manifested in the number of editions of their works printed in the 15th century.³⁸

'Handbooks and reference' works form the second most printed kind of texts (486 eds) mirroring a very important series of works which includes: *repertoria* (indexes, finding aids) in 57 dedicated editions plus 27 editions in which a *repertorium* was combined with oth-

³⁷ On this Dondorp, Schrage, *The Sources of Medieval Learned Law*, [section] C. Teaching and Writing; García y García, *The Law Faculties*, 394-400 (*Literary Genres in Legal Writing and Questions of Nomenclatures*).

³⁸ Cf. Treggiari, "Bartolus, Commentaries".

er texts. Some *repertoria* were dedicated to the work of a particular author (30 editions), such as the *Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli* written by Antonius de Prato Veteri, printed in six editions;³⁹ there were also *repertoria* written by celebrated authors, such as Baldus de Ubaldis, for his *Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi*⁴⁰ or the *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*, in four editions.⁴¹ A number of editions of the *modus studendi in utroque* are also in this group, by various authors (Johannes Jacobus Canis, Johannes Camers, or Johannes Baptista de Caccialupis who added a celebrated early biography of jurists, *De modo studendi in utroque et vita doctorum*),⁴² as well as the numerous editions printed of the *Modus legendi abbreviaturas* (35 editions, ten of which in collection with other texts),⁴³ which was especially conceived as a

39 Antonius de Prato Veteri, *Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli*. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate], for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 23 Mar. 1481. GW 2249; ISTC ia00915000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, [about 1485]. GW 2254; ISTC ia00915050; Milan: [Johannes Antonius de Honate], 13 Jan. 1486. GW 2251; ISTC ia00915100; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, before 20 Aug. 1498]. GW 2251; ISTC ia00915200; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 2252; ISTC ia00915300; [Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, not after 1495]. GW 2253; ISTC ia00915400.

40 Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi. Signata in leg. 'Ingenium', Dig. De statu hominum. Signata in leg. 'Quaedam mulier', Dig. Familiae eriscundae*. Guillelmus Duranti: *Singularia ad causas cotidianas. Signata super leg. 'Dotis causa', Dig. De iure dotium*. Innocentius IV: *Notabilia dicta*. [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 1475]. GW M48700; ISTC iu00012500.

41 Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*. Milan: Ulderich Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 13 Aug. 1489. GW M48654; ISTC iu00031000; [Milan: Ulderich Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 30 Sept. 1491. GW M48655; ISTC iu00032000; Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499. GW M48659; ISTC iu00032500; Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)*. Add: *Singularia, seu Repertorium*. Angelus de Ubaldis: *Singularia*. Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, 8 Nov. 1499. GW M48660; ISTC iu00032600.

42 Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de, *De modo studendi in utroque iure et vita doctorum*. Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *Contrarietates*. Matthaeus Mattaselanus: *De electione opinionum*. Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3-4 July 1493. GW 5841; ISTC ic00006000.

43 *Modus legendi abbreviaturas*. [Cologne: Nicolaus Götz, about 1475]. GW M24955; ISTC im00741000; [The Netherlands (Utrecht?): Printer of Alexander Magnus (GW 875) (Gerardus de Leempt?), between 1475 and 1479]. GW M24944; ISTC im00742000; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 Sept. 1476. GW M24970; ISTC im00743000; [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, about Oct. 1476]. Not in GW; ISTC im00743100; Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [about 1483]. GW M24968; ISTC im00743200; Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [1477-83]. GW M24967; ISTC im00743300; [Cologne: Petrus in Altis (Bergmann?), de Olpe, about 1478]. GW M24958; ISTC im00743500; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 July 1482. GW M24971; ISTC im00744000; Basel: [Printer of the '[same title]'], 7 Apr. 1484. GW M24947; ISTC im00745000; Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, [about 1485]. GW M24956; ISTC im00746000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 31 Oct. 1486. GW M24983; ISTC im00746500; Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1487. GW M24961; ISTC im00747000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 24 Jan. 1488. GW M24984; ISTC im00747500; Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 5 Feb. 1488. GW M24966; ISTC im00748000; Paris: Pierre Levet, 11 May 1490. GW M24985; ISTC im00748600; Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 10 Mar.

guide to abbreviations in legal texts, including information on the titles of the books and their arrangement.⁴⁴ Similar information was also provided in the *Vocabularius juris utriusque* (attributed to Jodocus Erfordiensis), which was printed in 33 editions, starting in Basel in 1473;⁴⁵ five editions of a *Methodus utriusque juris* appeared

1492. GW M24972; ISTC im00749000; [Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1493. GW M24957; ISTC im00749500; Paris: Felix Baligault, 25 Oct. 1493. GW M24976; ISTC im00750000; Paris: [Etienne Jehannot], 24 Sept. 1494. GW M24978; ISTC im00750400; [Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, about 1494-97]. GW M47355; ISTC im00750420; Delft: [Christiaan Snellaert], 28 Sept. 1495. GW M24964; ISTC im00750450; Paris: Pierre Le Dru, 27 Nov. 1495. GW M24982; ISTC im00750500; Leipzig: [Gregorius Böttiger (Werman)], 1497. GW M24965; ISTC im00750700; Paris: Etienne Jehannot, for Durand Gerlier, 5 June 1497. GW M24979; ISTC im00751000; Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 25 June 1498. GW M24986; ISTC im00751100; Paris: [Johannes Higman?, for] Jean Petit, 11 Nov. 1498. GW M24974; ISTC im00751200; Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne], 1500. GW M24969; ISTC im00751500; Paris: [Georg Mittelhus], for Jean Petit and Durand Gerlier, 30 Mar. 1500. GW M24988; ISTC im00751700.

In collection with other texts: *Modus legendi abbreviaturas*. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*; Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*; Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*; Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*; Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*; Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. [Basel: Johannes Solidi (Schilling), not after 1476]. GW M47366; ISTC im00753000. [same collection]. [Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1477]. GW M47359; ISTC im00753500; [same collection]. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, after 1479]. GW M47324; ISTC im00754300.

Modus legendi abbreviaturas. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*. Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*. Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*. Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*. Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*. Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus*. [same collection]. Speyer: Peter Drach, [about 1478]. GW M47339; ISTC im00754000; [same collection]. [Speyer]: Peter Drach, [not after 1484]. f° & 4°. GW M47341; ISTC im00755000; [same collection]. Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1487; 26 Feb. 1488. GW M47346; ISTC im00756000; [same collection]. Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 9 Aug. 1490. GW M47350; ISTC im00757000; [same collection]. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 23 June 1494. 4°. GW M47335; ISTC im00758000; Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 21 July 1494. GW M47352; ISTC im00759000; Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 20 and 30 Aug. 1499. GW M47364; ISTC im00760000.

44 “Ius enim civile vel imperatorium quod leges appellatur. Traditur est nobis in multis et generaliter in iij voluminibus que dicuntur libri legales, ut sunt: Digestum, Codex, Instituta, et Autenticum”, from the first printed edition (Cologne 1475. GW 24955; ISTC im00741000, f. a5v).

45 *Vocabularius juris utriusque*. [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1473]. GW M12628; ISTC iv00334000; [Basel: Michael Wenssler, about 1473]. GW M12625; ISTC iv00335000; [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, about 1477-78]. GW M12635; ISTC iv00335500; [Basel: Michael Wenssler, between 1475 and 1478]. GW M12614; ISTC iv00335600; Paris: In vico S. Jacobi (Au Soufflet Vert [Louis Symonel et Socii]), 31 Oct. 1476. GW M12648; ISTC iv00335700; Speyer: Peter Drach, 18 May 1477. GW M12653; ISTC iv00336000; [Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1477]. GW M12655; ISTC iv00337000; [Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1477]. GW

slightly later, the first one in 1481.⁴⁶ Close to this kind of works are the lists of titles of the rubrics, such as the three editions of the rubrics of the books of civil law⁴⁷ or the rubrics of both collections of laws, published in 12 editions;⁴⁸ the *Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, 16 editions.⁴⁹ Finally, in this group are also found

M12663; ISTC iv00337200; Speyer: Peter Drach, Sept. 1478. GW M12654; ISTC iv00338000; Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 4 Sept. 1481. GW M12646; ISTC iv00340000; Ed: Daniel ab Aqua. Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea and Jacobus de Dusa, 1482. GW M12677; ISTC iv00341000; Basel: [Michael Wenssler], 20 Aug. 1483. GW M12632; ISTC iv00342000; [Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen], 29 Sept. 1483. GW M12634; ISTC iv00343000; Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 25 Dec. 1483. GW M12674; ISTC iv00344000; Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca) and Bernardino di Pino, 18 June 1485. GW M12668; ISTC iv00345000; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Sept. 1486. GW M12661; ISTC iv00346000; Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 19 Dec. 1487. GW M12675; ISTC iv00346500; Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 17 Aug. 1488. GW M12624; ISTC iv00347000; Lyon: Mathias Huss, 21 May 1490. GW M12638; ISTC iv00347500; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 28 Sept. 1490. GW M12666; ISTC iv00348000; Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 30 May 1491. GW M12669; ISTC iv00350000; Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 6 July 1492. GW M12641; ISTC iv00351000; Venice: Philippus Pincius, 31 Oct. 1493. GW M12672; ISTC iv00352000; [Lyon: Mathias Huss, not after 25 Jan. 1494]. Not in GW; ISTC iv00352300; Rome: Stephan Planck, 6 Feb. 1494. GW M12652; ISTC iv00353000; Strasbourg: [Printer of the 'Casus Breves Decretalium' (Georg Husner?)], 13 Aug. 1494. GW M12662; ISTC iv00354000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber], 12 Dec. 1494. GW M12618; ISTC iv00354500; Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1 July 1496. GW M12647; ISTC iv00355000; [Lyon: n.pr.], 8 June 1497. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00355500; Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1498. GW M12676; ISTC iv00356000; Lyon: Jean de Vingle, 24 Dec. 1499. GW M12640; ISTC iv00357000; Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 27 May 1500. GW M12667; ISTC iv00358000; [Spain?: n.pr., after 1500?]. GW M1261710; ISTC iv00358100.

46 *Methodus utriusque juris*. [Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 24 Dec. 1481. GW M23075; ISTC im00526500; [Louvain: Rodolphus Loeffs de Driel, 1483-84]. GW M23074; ISTC im00526600; [Louvain]: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 23 Feb. 1488. GW M23076; ISTC im00526700; [Paris: Jean Du Pré (printer of Paris), about 1488]. GW M23973; ISTC im00526750; [Paris]: Michel Le Noir, 31 Jan. 1493/94. GW M47133; ISTC im00526900.

47 *Rubricae iuris civilis*. [Padua: Johannes de Reno, about 1473]. GW M3904110; ISTC ir00340250; Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 6 Feb. 1478. GW M39042; ISTC ir00340500; Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 18 Jan. 1483. GW M39043; ISTC ir00340600.

48 *Rubricae iuris civilis et canonici*. [Rome: Stephan Planck, before 1485]. GW M39044; ISTC ir00341000; [Rome: Stephan Planck], 20 July 1485. GW M39045; ISTC ir00342000; Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 9 Jan. 1486. GW M39036; ISTC ir00342150; [Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, about 1488]. GW M3904810; ISTC ir00342250; [Rome: Eucharius Silber, ab. 1490; ISTC: Planck undated] GW M39046; ISTC ir00343300; Rome: Eucharius Silber, 5 Oct. 1493. GW M39047; ISTC ir00342300; [Lyon: Antonius Lambillon, about 1494]. GW M39033; ISTC ir00342350; [Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 1494-1500]. GW M39032; ISTC ir00342400; [Paris]: Georg Mittelhus, [about 1494-1500]. GW M39034; ISTC ir00342420; Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayser, 1497. GW M39037; ISTC ir00342500; [Paris: Pierre Le Dru for] Jean Petit, [about 1500]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342600.

49 *Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti*. [Paris: Pierre Le Rouge, 1487-93]. GW 10065; ISTC if00210000; [Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, Postilla super Psalterium (H 10383), about 1493]. GW 10051; ISTC if00210300; Bologna: Danesius Hectoris, 12

works of practical use, such as the collections of formulas, *formularia* of various kind.⁵⁰

Treatises (*tractatus*) are the third most printed genre of work, with more than 350 editions (about 300 plus a number of editions where a treatise appears together with other works). Like the *commentum*, the *tractatus* was developed by the late school of jurists, from the late 13th century onwards, and to it Bartolus, again, gave an important impulse.⁵¹ Collections of *Repetitiones* follow, with about 120 editions, the *repetitio* being “a lecture outside the normal curriculum”.⁵² It consisted, indeed, in the repetition of a lecture in order to provide the students with a more in-depth analysis of the content of a *lectura* and to clarify their doubts. About 100 editions are collections of *Casus*, that is “an introduction to each law, canon or chapter, and paragraph, summarizing its text”,⁵³ with an exemplification of practical application of the law.⁵⁴ More than 70 editions are collections of *Consilia*, that is the expert opinion of the jurist given under request of a judge or of a private citizen. Altogether *consilia* appear in about 130 editions, in half of which together with other texts (often *quaestiones*, *tractatus*, *repertoria*). A little over 50 editions contain the *Ars notaria*, the famous text for notaries, which was taught in various universities, and indeed texts of *Ars notaria* appear in the lists of books distributed by the *stationarii*;⁵⁵ the bulk is formed by 33 editions of an anonymous *Ars notariatus*, a brief text of a few leaves summarising the subject. The celebrated *Summa artis notariae* by Rolandinus

June 1494. GW 10053; ISTC if00210500; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for Denis Roce, [about 1494-95]. GW 10054; ISTC if00210700; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot?], for Denis Roce, [about 1495-1500]. GW 10064; ISTC if00211000; Paris: Guy Marchant, 30 Dec. 1496. GW 10056; ISTC if00212000; Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 1496. GW 10055; ISTC if00213000; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [about 1497]. GW 10057; ISTC if00214000; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, [about 1496-98]. GW 10052; ISTC if00215000; Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayrrer, 1497. GW 10058; ISTC if00215800; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, for Lazarus de Soardis, de Saviliano, [about 1497]. GW 10059; ISTC if00215900; [Paris]: Jean Treperel, [about 1497]. GW 10062; ISTC if00216000; [Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [after 1497]. Not in GW; ISTC if00216100; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for E., J. and G. de Marnef, [about 1498]. GW 10060; ISTC if00216200; [Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [about 1499]. GW 10063; ISTC if00216600; [Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for Jean Petit, [about 1500]. GW 10066; ISTC if00216700.

50 E.g. *Formularium diversorum contractuum*, first edition: Florence: Francesco di Dino, [about 1487]. GW 10190; ISTC if00249000, followed by six editions all printed in Italy.

51 Rossi, “Bartolo da Sassoferrato alle origini della moderna trattatistica giuridica”.

52 Dondorp-Schrage, “The Sources of Medieval Learned Law”, 27.

53 García y García, “The Faculties of Law”, 395.

54 Ermini, *Scritti di diritto comune*, 2: 201-32 (“Le fonti dottrinali”).

55 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 728-32.

de' Passageriis was printed in 13 editions⁵⁶ and a *Doctrinale florum artis notariae*, by Stephanus Marcilletus (Étienne Marcillet, a French notary) appeared in five editions.⁵⁷ About 50 editions are *Summae*, concise commentaries aiming to provide a comprehensive, yet brief, introduction to the subject of parts of the legal text, such as the *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis sive summa super IV Decretalium* by Johannes Andreae, which was printed in 16 editions.⁵⁸ Two groups of works follow with 27 editions: *Singularia & Brocardica*, variants of a genre consisting in a discussion of a general principle of law by quoting the passages found in the texts; *Quaestiones/Disputationes*: a typical expression of Scholasticism, the *quaestio* consisted in analysing the texts and the authoritative authors in order to provide the response by examining pros and cons, while, for didactic purposes, the question was to be debated by two students, defending opposing views (*quaestio disputata*). The list of genres closes with 25 editions

56 Rolandinus de Passageriis, *Summa artis notariae*. Modena: Balthasar de Strucius, Oct. 1476. GW M38634; ISTD ir00244500; Turin: Johannes Fabri Lingonensis, 6 May 1478. GW M38637; ISTD ir00245000; Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, 1 Feb. 1480. GW M38635; ISTD ir00246000; Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 30 Apr. 1483. GW M38646; ISTD ir00246500; Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 30 Nov. 1485. GW M38642; ISTD ir00247000; Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Johannes de Legnano, 25 Oct. 1486. GW M38633; ISTD ir00247500; Venice: [Baptista de Tortis], 12 Dec. 1489. GW M38654; ISTD ir00248000; Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 9 Sept. 1492. GW M38645; ISTD ir00249000; Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 16 Mar. 1496. GW M38655; ISTD ir00250000; Venice: Petrus de Quarengiis, Bergomensis, 22 Oct. 1498. GW M38644; ISTD ir00251000; [Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, between 1499 and 1506]. GW M38650; ISTD ir00251400; Rolandinus de Passageriis, *Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 31 Oct. 1500. GW M38648; ISTD ir00251500.

57 Marcilletus, Stephanus, *Doctrinale florum artis notariae*. [Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, about 1487-88]. GW M20840; ISTD im00254700; [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, about 1487-88]. GW M2083710; ISTD im00254800; Turin: Nicolaus de Benedictis and Jacobinus Suigus, 16 Oct. 1492. GW M20846; ISTD im00255000; [Lyon: Johannes Fabri, about 1494]. GW M20848; ISTD im00255300; [Lyon: n.pr., about 1495?]. GW M20842; ISTD im00255500.

58 Andreae, Johannes, *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis, sive Summa super IV Decretalium*. [Rome: Adam Rot, about 1473]. GW 1742; ISTD ia00638900; [Rome: Johannes Gensberg, about 1473-74]. GW 1743; ISTD ia00639000; [Basel: Martin Flach (printer of Basel), about 1472-74]. GW 1751; ISTD ia00640000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1475]. GW 1744; ISTD ia00641000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1475]. GW 174410N; ISTD ia00641500; [Padua: Bernardinus Celerius, about 1478]. GW 1745; ISTD ia00642000; [Paris: Au Soufflet Vert (Louis Symonel et Socii), about 1480]. GW 1752; ISTD ia00642300; Enlarged edition. Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 5 May 1489. GW 1753; ISTD ia00642500; [Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1490]. GW 1746; ISTD ia00643000; [Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1490]. GW 1747; ISTD ia00644000; Enlarged edition. [Leipzig: Gregorius Böttiger (Werman), about 1492-95]. GW 1754; ISTD ia00645000; [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1482-88]. GW 1748; ISTD ia00646000; [Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, about 1495-1500]. GW 1749; ISTD ia00647000; Enlarged edition. Antwerp: [Govaert Bac, not before 21 Sept. 1500]. GW 1756; ISTD ia00647400; Enlarged edition. Leipzig: Jacobus Thanner, 1498. GW 1755; ISTD ia00648000; [Rome: Johann Besicken, about 1499]. GW 1750; ISTD ia00648200; Andreae, Johannes, *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis cum repertorio decreti*. [Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, 1479]. GW 1757; ISTD ia00649000.

of commentaries on the work of an author, *Commentum (auctoris)*, which has been kept apart from the generic *Commentum* as it identifies those authors whose work clearly had become as authoritative as the text of the laws (or the canons): along with an edition of *Apostillae* to the work of the canonist Nicolaus de' Tudeschis, and additions to the *Speculum Gulielmi Durantis* (by Baldus de' Ubaldis). Otherwise this group mainly consists of the *Apostillae* by Alexander Tartagnus (1424-77) to the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313/14-1357/58).⁵⁹

Bartolus gave his name to a major School of Jurisprudence (the 'School of Commentators'); indeed, expertise in the law was associated with his name: the saying 'nemo jurista nisi Bartolista' was still in use in the late 15th century. In the course of that century, both in Spain and Portugal it was established that the opinion of Bartolus would prevail in case of doubt: 1427 in Leon, 1433 in Castiglia and 1446 in Portugal, later extended to Brazil.⁶⁰ The fame of Bartolus, which spread through a vast number of manuscripts, was confirmed by the number of early printed editions, which made him the jurist most commonly found in print in the 15th century, far more than any of his rivals. Bartolus specialised in civil law (not in Canon law, nor was he a *doctor utriusque iuris*): his fame is linked to his comments on the texts of the Roman law and a number of treatises mostly based on his interpretation of the Roman law, such as the *Tractatus super constitutione «ad reprimendum crimen lese maiestatis»* and the constitution *Qui sint rebelles*, promulgated by the Emperor Henry VII, which became part of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (the *Constitutiones Extravagantes*). The analysis of the editions of these two groups of texts, the *Corpus iuris civilis* and Bartolus' works, forms the core of this paper.

3 Editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Focus 1)

3.1 Introduction

A synthetic overview of the editions of all the parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* [tab. 7] shows how the *Institutiones* (the textbook of jurisprudence, *Institutes* in English) was the earliest and the most frequently printed book (also in comparison with the *Corpus iuris canonici*): 77 editions as opposed to an average of 23-25. The collection of Imperial Constitutions (the *Codex Iustinianus*, books I-IX) follows, with 30 editions. All the other parts were printed more or less the same number of times, with between 22 to 25 editions. So too are the three parts of the Digest (*Vetus*, *Infortiatum* and *Novum*), but also the combination

⁵⁹ These editions are commented in section 4.

⁶⁰ Calasso, "Bartolo da Sassoferrato".

known as the *Volumen*, where we always find the *Novellae constitutiones* (i.e. the Constitutions promulgated by Justinian), the last three books of the *Codex* (books X-XII) and the *Libri Feudorum*. Some editions include the *Constitutiones Extravagantes* (promulgated by medieval emperors) and the *Acta de Pace Constantiae* (1183) [tabs. 6-7].

The earliest editions appeared in Germany, Mainz, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg, here included in the German area for historical reasons, followed by a number of editions printed mainly in Italy and Switzerland. During the 1480s, further editions were printed in several more Italian cities and in France, Lyon and Paris. No editions appeared in Spain, nor in the South of Italy, which is worth noticing. The bulk of the editions was produced in Italy, and particularly in Venice, in increasing numbers over three decades: 12, 37 and 44 editions. Lyon follows, with 16 and 33 editions, but they seem to be based on Venetian editions, as will be shown in the next paragraphs [tabs. 9-14].

3.2 The *editiones principes* of the Books of Civil law

By 1476 all parts of the *Corpus* were in print, almost all in different places and from different printers. In 1468 Peter Schoeffer printed in Mainz the *princeps* of the *Institutiones*. The text has a celebrated *incipit*, poetically praising the Law:

Imperial majesty should not be only adorned with arms but also armed with by laws, so that both in time of war and in those of peace it can be rightly regulated.⁶¹

This is the *incipit* of the imperial constitution conferring authority to the *Institutiones* (the constitution “*Imperatoriam maiestatem*” indeed) and is preceded by the invocation of God, the name of the author, that is the emperor Justinian, together with all his attributes, the mention of the addressees, that is the students, with the addition of the announcement of the book of the *Institutiones*:

In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Cristi. Imperator Cesar Flavius Iustinianus Alamanicus Francus Germanicus Acticus Guandalicus Africus pius felix inclitus victor ac triumphator semper augustus cupide legum iuventuti. Incipit liber primus domini Iustiniani imperatoris Institutionum seu elementorum.

61 “*Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus et bellorum et pacis recte possit gubernari*”, cf. TEXT-inc tij00506000.

In the vocabulary of diplomatic these are the three elements of the protocol (namely *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, and *inscriptio*), which take the appearance here of a *titulus*.⁶² In this edition, and in almost all the following ones, this *titulus* was printed in red, as it would be rubricated in manuscripts. Indeed, it is certainly for the purpose of having the job completed by a rubricator that in the editions printed in Rome in 1473,⁶³ as well as in the one printed in Mantua in 1476,⁶⁴ the space remained blank and the text opens directly with the *incipit* “Imperatoriam maiestatem”.⁶⁵ Mirroring the first lines, in the *explicit* the author again addresses the students to express the wish that they will carry on their study by reading the books of the Digest: “We have made these remarks on public prosecutions only to enable you to have the merest acquaintance with them, and as a kind of guide to a fuller study of the subject, which, with the assistance of Heaven, you may make by reference to the larger volume of the Digest or Pandects”.⁶⁶

In the many editions of the *Institutiones*, small variants can be observed in the *tituli*, both in the sequence of the attributes of the Emperor and in their spelling; for example ‘Guandalicus’ in the *prin-*

62 “Hoc quod in capite librorum scribitur, diversis nominibus a doctoribus appellatur. Dicitur enim capitulus, dicitur titulus, dicitur elenchus, dicitur prologus, dicitur prefacio, dicitur argumentum, dicitur prooemium, dicitur clavis. Capitulus dicitur eo quod in capite ponitur; Titulus a Titane, id est a sole, quia sicut sol oriens sua presentia inluminat, ita et titulus sequentia librorum manifestat”; to Richard Sharpe we owe the rediscovery and evaluation of this text, found in a manuscript written in the 10th century (*Titulus. Identifying Medieval Latin Texts*, 5).

63 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer and Leonhardus Pflugel, 26 Jan. 1473. GW 7588; ISTC ij00509000.

64 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: [Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), not after 15 July] 1476. GW 7588; ISTC ij00515000.

65 As this case clearly shows, *tituli* and *incipit* do not coincide (although the word ‘incipit’ is often found in the *tituli*); similarly *explicit* and *colophon* are different portions of the text. *Tituli* and *colophon*, in fact, do not belong to the main text, they are rather elements of the paratext and, as such, they can vary sensibly, or even be present or not. Notoriously, in printed editions all paratextual elements were increased and enriched, to provide information on the context and on those who were responsible for the edition. Such notes are usually provided by the *colophon*, or in dedicatory letters and prefaces. Yet information is found also in-between the lines of shorter texts, such as the *tituli*, or other opening and closing formulas that the editors used to add to the main text. A detailed description of these texts has therefore been provided in TEXTinc, and *incipit* and *explicit* have been always transcribed apart from *tituli*, *colophon* and the like, so as to allow a comparison of the texts between different editions, as well as to establish the relations between the various editions. Among the principal goals of this research is the construction of a proper *stemma editionum* and an accurate delineation of the links with the manuscript tradition, so that a systematic recording of the paratextual features is very useful in this context.

66 “Sed de publicis iudiciis hoc exposuimus ut nobis possibile sit summo digito et quasi per indicem diligentior eorum sciencia vobis ex latioribus Digestorum seu Pandectarum libris Deo propicio adventura est”.

ceps becomes more often Vandalicus, Flavius alternates with Flavus, etc.⁶⁷ The last lines of the main text may also present some variants, yet most of them are found in *colophons* and closing formulas, in the glossa and in further additional texts. In the *colophon* of the *principes* of the *Institutiones* (and in other publications) Schoeffer highlighted the importance of his enterprise, showing great pride at the task done, which he emphasised by printing the *colophon* in red and incapsulated in the glossa:

The present famous work of the Institutes appears in the beloved city of Mainz of the famous German people by the grace of God, who has bestowed on it genius of the first order and this great gift before all the other peoples of the earth, where it was achieved not with mere ink nor with a feather or metal pen, but by the invention of the mechanical art of printing, or making letter-shapes as shown here before you, and it is completed in praise of God's work by Peter Schoeffer from Gernsheim.⁶⁸

At the very end of the book six couplets were printed, again exalting the enterprise. A few years later Schoeffer printed the *principes* of the *Codex Justinianus* (26 Jan. 1475).⁶⁹ A few months after that, another edition of the *Codex* was printed in Nuremberg,⁷⁰ by Sensenschmidt and Frisner who asked the jurist (*utriusque iuris doctor*) Andreas Rommel to work on the text, as testified by the prefatory letter that he addressed to Sensenschmidt.⁷¹ The letter is preceded

⁶⁷ Full transcriptions can be found in TEXT-inc records.

⁶⁸ "Presens Institutionum preclarum opus alma in urbe Maguntina inclite nacionis Germanice quam Dei clemencia tam alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito ceteris terrarum nationibus preferre illustrareque dignatus est, non atramento communi, non plumali canna neque erea, sed artificiosa quadam adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi sic effigiatum et ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatum per Petrum Schoyffer de Gernsheim. Anno dominice incarnationis Millesimo cccc.lxviii, vicesimaquarta die mensis Maii" (translation of the Author) (from the BL copy, IC.128, printed on vellum; BMC I 25; a digital copy of the Munich copy of this edition is available through BSB: urn:nbn:de:hbz:12-bsb00036837-3). On Schoeffer's entrepreneurship and his awareness of the role he was playing cf. Hellinga, "Peter Schoeffer: Publisher and Bookseller".

⁶⁹ *Codex Justinianus*. Comm: Franciscus Accursius. (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 26 Jan. 1475. GW 7722; ISTC ij00574000.

⁷⁰ *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Andreas Rommel. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, 24 June 1475. GW 7723; ISTC ij00575000.

⁷¹ "Andreas Rumel Nurembergensis utriusque iuris doctor magistro Joanni Senseschmid impressori salutem. Rogas me mi Joannes quam instantissime velim tibi epistolam ad caput Codicis imprimendam componere sicut plerosque correctores fecisse mihi sepe numero narras existimans emulos tuos tanto posse facilius codices tuos nota male correctionis suppressimere quanto magis muti simus" (a4v).

by a sophisticated analytical index at the opening of the book, and is full of notes on the accuracy of the text, including a reference to the city of Pavia, where – Rommel says – there were both expert jurists and good exemplars: “eos precipue quos iam Papię ubi et exemplarium et doctissimorum virorum magna copia est”. Apparently the first and second round of corrections on the texts had been done in Pavia, and the third and fourth ones in Nuremberg: “prima ac secunda Codicis correctione, deinde Nurembergę tercia ac quarta quibus et egoipse desudavi” (ll. 7-9). Along with the index, further innovations were introduced: woodcut initials were printed at the beginning of the books, whereas in Schoeffer’s edition, as well as in others, spaces were left blank for initials to be added by hand, sometimes splendid miniatures such as those seen in the British Library copy (IC.128), but of course not found in every copy. Sensenschmidt and Frisner were very proud of their job, as manifested in the advertisement they printed to announce the publication of the edition, a unique copy of which is preserved today at the British Library:⁷²

In order to avoid that the sacred laws, which allocate to each and every one according to what they deserve, disappear due to textual corruption or the lack of copies, for the benefit of all citizens, the skillful master of the art of printing, Joannes Sensenschmidt with Andreas Frisner de Bunsidel, companions here in Nuremberg, have published the Codex of the most sacred prince Justinian, the navel or centre in which all laws come together, accompanying it with the glossa ordinaria by Accursius Florentinus, and the type is not just for today, but they have printed it in such a way that for a long time it will be easier to admire it than to imitate it.⁷³

Almost at the same time, but far away, the three parts of the Digest went into print. The *principes* were printed in Italy, in Rome and Perugia. In 1475 the *Infortiatum* was printed in Rome, introduced by an elegant preface mentioning the history of the Digest, the need of a printed edition, the great opportunity provided by the new tech-

⁷² Sensenschmidt, Johann and Andreas Frisner, *Bücheranzeige* [Advertisement for the Codex of Justinianus with the commentary of Accursius (GW 7723)]. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, [1475]. ISTC is00443200 GW M41555; British Library, IC.7845.

⁷³ “Ne igitur sacratissimę leges que unicuique quod suum est tribuunt, tali librorum et corruptione et penuria diutius supprimantur, pro communi reipublicę utilitate ille ingeniosus impressorię artis magister Joannes Sensenschmidt et Andreas Frisner de Bunsidel socii Nürmbergę commorantes Justiniani sacratissimi principis Codicem in quo tanquam in umbilico et centro fere omnes leges concurrunt una cum apparatu ordinario Accursii Florentini his nunc characteribus non solum dico imprimunt sed ita imprimunt ut admirandi sint longe facilius quem imitandi” (British Library, IC. 7845, ll. 9-16).

nology and the cooperation between the scholar who edited the text and the German master who printed it:

[...] and of Justinian who brought back to light the corpus of laws, previously dispersed and confused; a restoration to which many distinguished jurists gave their contribution and, by doing so, provided the republic with the most important offices [...] Considering this, a number of people interested in Civil law have finally decided that the corpus was worth printing and for this purpose joined forces with certain Germans, most expert in the art of printing.⁷⁴

Interestingly, Roman types were used for printing the preface, the glossa, the versified *colophon* and the table of contents.⁷⁵ Less than one year later, the *princeps* of the *Digestum novum* was printed, in the same printshop “apud sanctum Marcum”; the preface written by Johannes Guarinus, professor of Law at the University of Rome, was now explicitly addressed to the printer Vitus Puecher.⁷⁶

These two editions, resulting from the cooperation between Italian scholars and German printers, were most likely known to three people in Perugia who very soon (1476) took the initiative of printing the *Digestum Vetus*.⁷⁷ They adopted a similar layout and arrangement of the texts, with a preface and a versified colophon written by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus. The preface was shorter than the Roman ones, but full of interesting notes: the three men involved in the enterprise were all from Germany, they came from Saxony, the Valley of the Rhine and Swabia. They were part of the academic community, they called themselves ‘scolastici’, affiliated with the celebrated college of the ‘Old Sapientia’, that is *Domus Sapientiae Veteris*:

74 “[...] atque de Iustiniano qui confusum iuris corpus in lucem reduxit. Cuius reductione et lucerna complures prestantissimi iurisconsulti vite perpetuitatem consecuti fuere [...] qui [...] maximis reipublice muneribus fungebatur [...] Revolventes igitur hoc in animo nonnulli iuris civilis curiosi remque satis dignam putantes si aliquis Digestorum liber per huiusmodi impressores expediretur iniunxerunt hoc onus quibusdam Germanis viris in hac imprimendi facultate expertissimis”. *Digestum Infortiatum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: [Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher)], 13 Apr. 1475. GW 7678; ISTC ij00555000, a1v (translation of the Author).

75 Leaves a2v, T3v, T4r, cf. also TEXT-inc tij00555000. I read the text from the BL copy (IC.17945), which was shown at the conference; online is available the digitised version of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek copy (urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00076887-9).

76 On the role of Vitus Puecher within the printing-shop “apud Sanctum Marcum” including information on the production of legal texts: Modigliani, “La tipografia ‘apud sanctum Marcum’ e Vito Puecher”.

77 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius, and a poem by Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus). Perugia: Heinrich Klein (Clayn), for Johannes Vydenast and Jakob Langenbeke, 29 Apr. 1476. GW 7656; ISTC ij00546500.

The knowledge of the Civil law, without which even the greatest kingdoms quickly disintegrate, will be hopefully restored very shortly to its original observance and merit, with honour of the men of our time. And if many were put off the study of this science because of the huge sums of money these books were sold for, or because they were in short supply, or because they were full of mistakes, now all will be able to aspire to this divine science, compared to which nothing is better nor more useful. In the same was found all the eloquence of the Romans that was almost as important as their other achievements, and to which the efforts of all the other cities in Italy tend. Among these the biggest effort has been made by the ancient city of Perugia, which above others obtained glory with arms as well as laws, and has gained ever greater fame due to the services of the following: the Saxon Jacob Languenbeke, student in the House of the Old Sapientia of Perugia, and Johann Vydenast, from the Valley of the Rhine, and made possible thanks to the skill in punchcutting and making type of Heinrich Clayn from Swabia. At the expense of the first two and with the genius of the third, this *Digestum vetus* (compared to which nothing in our time could get closer to those *Pandectas Pisanas*), has been diligently printed in Perugia.⁷⁸

The mention of the college of the 'Old Sapientia' is worth noticing; it was founded around 1360 by cardinal Niccolò Capocci, a friend of the cardinal and papal legate Gil de Albornoz, who soon after founded a similar institute in Bologna, the celebrated Collegium Hispanicum. The college in Perugia was meant for students of Theology, Canon and Civil law coming from places where the cardinal had had

78 "Turis Civilis scientia sine qua maxima quaeque regna parvo tempore dilabuntur perbreui ut spero cum magna nostrorum hominum gloria ad illam pristinam observationem dignitatemque restituetur. Et si vel magnae pecuniarum summae quibus ii libri vendebantur vel parva librorum copia et eorum quidem qui mendosi fuerant multos admodum ab hoc studio deterrunt nunc merito omnes ad divinam hanc scientiam aspirabunt qua nulla utilior nullaque melior reperiri potest. In qua una omnis Romanorum eloquentia quae preclaris rebus gestis haud minor fuit recondita est cui cum Italie omnes urbes operam impendunt. Tum vel maximam **Augusta Perusia** praeter ceteris ut armis sic legibus gloriam assecuta est maioremque indies unius **Almae domus Sapientiae Veteris Perusinae scolastici Iacobi Languenbeke Saxonis et Ioannis Widenast Sicambri singulari beneficio et coelandi sculpendique Henrici Clayn Sueui arte consequetur** illorum enim impensis et huius ingenio **ffm.** [i.e. *Digestum hoc vetus quo nullum nostra secula quod ad antiquas illas Pisanorum Pandectas propius accederet habuere diligenter Perusii impressum est*" (ISTC ij00546500 a1v; emphases added). The reference to the *Littera Pisana*, the text of the Digest as preserved in the *Codex Florentinus*, as the manuscript was called since it was brought to Florence, is worth noting; it was possibly suggested to the three who organised the publishing ventures in Perugia by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus who wrote the four final verses that precede the *colophon*.

his ecclesiastical benefices, mainly in central Europe.⁷⁹ From then onwards, groups of students from ‘beyond the Alps’, ‘Ultramontani’, were regularly present in Perugia in order to attend university classes, together with their servants or other professionals whose presence is testified in a number of documents. Indeed, different styles of handwriting reflecting the various origins of the guests can still be seen in the registers preserved in the college archive, where names of students can be read along with the name of servants and scribes, *scriptores*.⁸⁰ Also, evidence of relationships between German students and professionals in Perugia and in Rome have been found in other documents and it is possible that the whole initiative of printing the three parts of the *Digestum*, as well as other early editions of legal texts, was conceived within a network of people who were in touch with each other, for example, to Georg Lauer, whose name is found in 1479 in the register of a notary from Perugia.⁸¹ It is therefore particularly interesting what Paolo Veneziani wrote about the type used in the Perugia edition of the Digest, which was very close,

79 The entry for Capocci in the Italian Biographical Dictionary (Guillemain, “Capocci, Niccolò”), does not pay much attention to the foundation of this college (considered as one of the various charitable activities undertaken by the cardinal, and even named with the wrong name of ‘santa Sofia’); on the contrary, it was the choice of a refined politician, aiming to create a centre for the education of the leading class under the control of the Church. Cf. Nicolini, “La ‘Domus sancti Gregorii’ o ‘Sapienza Vecchia’ di Perugia”; Angeletti, Bertini, *La Sapienza Vecchia*.

80 The college was suppressed towards the end of the 18th century and its archive is now preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Perugia. The oldest documents went lost, but the earliest preserved ones are the registers of the head of the college (the Rector), dating back to 1472, one year after the art of printing was introduced in Perugia. In 1472 six students from Germany were recorded, starting with “magister Georgius Teoticus” and including a “dominus Jhovannes de Mens[is?]” who is said to be from Mainz: “Teoticus ab Maguntia”: Perugia State Archive, Sapienza Vecchia, *Registri dei Rettori*, 1 (1472-73), ll. 2rv, 6v. The year after D[ominus] Joannes de Maguntia is recorded together with fifteen other students, including a Jacobus de Franconia de Alamania Alta, apparently arrived in 1474. Could he be identified with Langenbeke? Also, a list of scribes (*scriptores*) is found in the same register, opening with a “Petrus de Alamania bassa” and including a “Ioannes Almanus”, who paid for their room in the college (1 florin a month) (Perugia State Archive, Sapienza Vecchia, *Registri dei Rettori*, 2 (1473-74), ll. 4, 6, 34). Other names of individuals who were members of printing companies can be found in the registers of later years (registers nos. 3-11, 1479-1491).

81 Together with three other individuals, he was overseer of a student from Würzburg (from where Lauer came as well): “die primo Iulii [1479], actum in audientia notariorum [...] D. Georgius Georgii Osterberger, clericus Ervipoensis diocesis, scolarus Sapientie Nove Perusine, omni meliori modo fecit eius procuratorem M[agistrum] Georgium Lauer impressorem librorum, M. Iohannem Brotreich [...], D. Iohannes Cluppel, D. Federicum Tietz de Alamania” (Perugia State Archive, Notarile, *Bastardelli*, 358, ll. 34v-35r; emphases added). The *Sapientia Nova* mentioned in this document was a college for students founded around 1430 and so called as it came after the other college, hence called *Sapientia Veteris*. The use of the term ‘Sapientia’, in relation to the university context, that would become common with time, seems to have made its early appearance in Perugia (Denley, “The Vocabulary of Italian Colleges to 1500”).

if not the same, to the type used in Rome precisely by Lauer.⁸² The latter, on the other hand, had already given his contribution to the printing of the *Corpus*. In 1473, together with Leonhard Pfluegel, he printed the first Italian edition of the *Institutiones*⁸³ and in 1478 the first Italian edition of the *Codex*.⁸⁴ In the meantime (1476), Vitus Puecher published another *princeps*, the edition of the *Volumen* (including *Novellae, Tres libri* and *Extravagantes* with the commentary of Bartolus).⁸⁵ So, in a few years, all parts of the *Corpus* were made available in print thanks to the initiative of groups of Germans, who were moving between Perugia and Rome, trying to make the most of the relationships developed within the university environment and the curia, as is witnessed indirectly by the names of those who wrote the prefaces, the professor of Law Ludovicus de Passeris, Andreas de Murris, Coronatus de Planca; the *advocatus concistorialis* Johannes Aloysius Toscanus, etc. A further example is offered by the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in Rome by Ulrich Han in 1475, where the text was fully revised and corrected by a jurist from Perugia, Carolus de Alexandris,⁸⁶ before being printed with the same combination of type, Gothic for the text and Roman for the apparatus.

82 “It is a rather eccentric production, typographically speaking, for the text was printed in a gothic of 17 mm (type 1A), while the commentary was printed in a roman of 103 mm (type 2A). Both are practically indistinguishable from types of the same measurement used by Georg Lauer in Rome in the years immediately preceding, and were no doubt cast from the same matrices”, cf. Veneziani, “Johann Vydenast and a New Incunable from Perugia”, 177; Veneziani, s.v. “Lauer, Georg”.

83 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer and Leonhardus Pflugel, 26 Jan. 1473. GW 7583; ISTD ij00509000.

84 *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Georgius Lauer, 13 Mar. 1478. GW 7724; ISTD ij00575500.

85 *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato); (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), 15 July 1476. GW 7753; ISTD ij00591000.

86 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Corr: Carolus de Alexandris. Rome: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), 14 July 1475 (GW 7586; ISTD ij00510000). Carolus de Alexandris was a member of the College of Jurists of Perugia, and often sent to the Curia as an ambassador. Along with his corrections to the *Corpus*, he printed with Han a *Sermo de Passione Christi*; GW 1225; ISTD ia00457500. On him Vermiglioli, *Biografia degli scrittori perugini*, 1: 5-6; Perugia, University Archive, *Statuto e matricola dei Giuristi (1407-1570 ca.)*, f. 32v (1478).

3.3 From Occasional Initiatives Towards the *Corpus iuris civilis*: Key-players, Entrepreneurship and Innovation

3.3.1 From Mainz and Rome to Venice

By 1475-76 a first phase in the printing of the texts of Civil law had been concluded, with a number of occasional initiatives (including the *principes*) undertaken in different places. In the area of Mainz-Strasbourg and Rome-Perugia attempts were made to produce a complete edition of the *corpus*; in all other places (Nuremberg, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Louvain) only isolated editions of the *Institutiones* were printed [tab. 11], something which kept happening until the final years of the century. The *Institutiones*, indeed, were printed over twice more often than all the rest of the *Corpus*, including places where the other parts were not printed at all. This fact is noteworthy and suggests that these editions were planned as a response to the request for the basic textbooks of the law (such as the *Institutiones* were), which was shared possibly by a wider readership than the university students and the professionals who were interested in the *corpus* in its entirety.⁸⁷ In 1475-76 a second phase began, when Venice made its first appearance in this particular publishing field and duly revolutionised it. In only five years, all the parts of the *Corpus* were printed in twelve different editions, something which happened repeatedly until the end of the century, with a climax marked by the 27 editions printed between 1491 and 1495. The list of printers and publishers who undertook the printing of the whole *Corpus iuris civilis* is also very interesting; in Venice, where most of the editions were realised by a wide range of printers/publishers, it is noticeable that only a few of them completed a full edition comprising all the parts, while others seem to have followed the temporary demand of the market and printed only one or two books, though it is impossible to say to what extent this happened as part of an agreement with their seeming rivals [tabs. 12-14]. Also very interesting are some temporary joint-ventures that occurred especially in Venice, showing once more how market and working environment were particularly lively in the city.⁸⁸

At the beginning (1476-80), the scene in Venice was occupied by Jacobus Rubeus and Nicolaus Jenson, neither of whom printed the whole collection on their own. Rubeus printed all the parts except

⁸⁷ This is leading us to think that they were printed in connection with the provision of basic education in the law outside university and in preparation for it.

⁸⁸ It is also useful to recall the cost of producing a complete set of law books, as this affects the final cost, as is clearly shown in the *Zornale* of Francesco de' Madiis, where a complete copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis* was the most expensive item of all. Cf. Don-di, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*, 86-7.

the *Digestum Novum*, while Jenson printed everything with exception of the *Infortiatum*; however, while Jenson only realised one edition for each book, beautifully printed with his celebrated gothic type,⁸⁹ Rubeus printed the *Institutiones* more than once and, possibly, the *Volumen*, in a combination formed of only *Novellae*, *Tres libri* and *Libri feudorum*, therefore not including the *Extravagantes*.⁹⁰ During the 1480s, both Rubeus and Jenson disappeared from the scene (the latter actually died in 1480) and many other printers produced partial editions of single elements of the *corpus*: there was a sort of outpouring between 1481 and 1485, with 16 editions produced with 14 different imprints. Among the others there was also Baptista de Tortis (Battista de' Torti), who soon became the dominant figure in the market for editions of legal texts, and not just in Venice. By the end of the century, Tortis had printed more than 110 editions of legal texts. As far as the *Corpus iuris civilis* is concerned, one can see how, from 1485 onwards, he steadily increased his production, by printing 9, 11 and 16 editions of all parts of the *corpus*, altogether 8 editions of the *Institutiones*, 6 of the *Digestum Vetus*, 6 of the *Infortiatum*, 5 editions of the *Novum*, 8 of the *Codex* and 6 of the *Volumen*.⁹¹ These were not always totally new editions, but they were not always a proposal of the same text either.

An improvement of the texts with an addition of paratextual materials can easily be observed between Tortis' second and third editions (around 1490) when the addition of summaries at the beginning of the chapters were printed, always written by "Hieronymus Clarius Brixianus iuris utriusque doctor prothonotarius et comes apostolicus",⁹² whose name is otherwise very little known.⁹³ A collation of samples of the text reveals the presence of variations introduced in the successive editions, in the progress from the first edition to the second and from the second to the third, after which the text seems to remain stable and unaltered, except for minor variants, for the next five editions. In structural terms all these editions con-

⁸⁹ Respectively: *Digestum Novum* 1477 (TEXT-inc tij00566000); *Institutiones* [1478-80] (TEXT-inc tij00519000); *Digestum Vetus* [1478-80] (TEXT-inc tij00548000); *Codex* 1479-80 (TEXT-inc tij00577000).

⁹⁰ *Institutiones* 1476, 1478 (ISTC ij00514000, ij00517000); *Institutiones* Pinerolo 1480? (ISTC ij00520300); *Digestum Vetus* 1477 (ISTC ij00547000); *Digestum Infortiatum* 1477 (ISTC ij00555500); *Codex* 1478 (ISTC ij00576000); *Volumen* 1477 and 1478, the latter only testified by an imperfect copy at the Vatican Library (ISTC ij00592000, ij00592500).

⁹¹ Cf. below footnote 101.

⁹² Hieronymus Clarius, doctor of Canon and Civil law, apostolic protonotary and count Palatine; the quotation is taken from the first lines of the letter to the reader appearing at the opening of the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in 1490 (TEXT-inc tij00534700).

⁹³ His name, indeed, is not included in the Italian biographical dictionary, nor does he appear in the biographical dictionary of the jurists (DBGI).

sist in eight gatherings of eight leaves and two gatherings of six; 76 leaves in total, which Tortis had numbered also in Arabic numerals, a feature that made the text much more accessible.

Among other things, it made it possible to include a table of contents with direct reference to the leaves, instead of to a section of the text. Similar innovations are observable in other editions printed during the final decade of the century. Tortis seems, however, to have pursued his goal with special care and pride, clearly manifested in the printing of a title page, often in red, where he wished to add his family name: “Instituta de Tortis”,⁹⁴ “Volumen de Tortis”, etc. The printer followed a similar pattern in the other parts of the *Corpus*, but additions appeared in the second edition: *summaria* again written by Hieronymus Clarius were printed in the *Codex*, in the *Digestum Vetus* and the *Infortiatum*,⁹⁵ *summaria* were also added to the *Digestum Novum*, based on the reading of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro.⁹⁶ More changes and additions were made to the “Volumen de Tortis”, of which four new editions can be identified. A first one (1489) only contained the ‘basic’ component of the *Volumen (Novellae; Tres libri; Libri feudorum and Extravagantes)*.⁹⁷ Anonymous summaries were printed in the second edition (shared, with a differentiation of the colophons, between Georgius Arrivabene and Torti),⁹⁸ again on the basis of the lectures of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Angelus de Ubaldis. A third edition offered new *summaria*, this time written by another jurist from Brescia, Hieronymus Confortus, who graduated in Civil law in Padua and then worked as a judge in his home-town.⁹⁹ Although numerous printers/publishers in Venice

94 The *Institutiones* from 1495 onwards (TEXT-inc tij00539000-tij00545000); the *Volumen* from 1492 (TEXT-inc tij00598000).

95 They first appeared in the editions printed in 1490 (*Codex*, ISTC ij00582000; *Digestum Vetus*, ISTC ij00550500) and 1491 (*Infortiatum*, ISTC ij00558500).

96 A first edition with such *summaria* was printed in 1491 and is attributed to Tortis and Andreas Calabrensis (ISTC ij00571000); it was soon followed by another expanded edition printed in 1494 by Tortis alone (ISTC ij00571600).

97 TEXT-inc tij00596000; 182 leaves.

98 Cf. GW 7763 and TEXT-inc tij0059700 (184 leaves), based on the three copies preserved at the Bodleian Library, which have examples of both the colophons.

99 I am most grateful to Angelo Brumana who provided me with information on Confortus, mainly based on documents from the Brescia archives, dating from 1503 to 1522, when Confortus died. They are mostly notary documents written in the house of Confortus, who is always defined as *legum doctor* (doctor in civil law). We also know that he received his degree in Padua, and it was there that he worked on the editions of the *Corpus iuris*. Along with the summaries he very likely wrote the prefaces. Although the first one is anonymous, it is addressed to the students and opens by analysing the reason for the name of the book: “Et primo quero: quare iste liber nuncupatur volumen? [...] quia diversi tractatus et varie materie in hoc libro complicantur et simul voluuntur”. Another letter, explicitly written by Confortus, works as a preface to the *Constitutiones Extravagantes*, and is addressed in a way to his companions, the young

engaged with the printing of *libri legales*, Tortis seems to have been the only one in Venice who realised the whole *corpus*, by printing all parts about five times each. Once established a good combination of texts and paratexts, around 1490-91, he kept printing new editions, from 2 to 6, until the end of the century and later. It should be said that a number of new editions seem to be entirely based on previous ones, without a real new investment in updating the work apart from the work of the compositors and the pressmen, as well as the costs for the paper and the ink. For example, seven editions of the *Instituta* were printed by Torti between 1490 and 1499, all of which have the same structure: collation (a-h⁸ i-k⁶), number of leaves (76), all *incipits* and *explicitis* of the texts; moreover, two of them even have the same date in the colophon, 1 March 1497.¹⁰⁰ As for this case (which is not unique within Torti's production) I can only think of the following possible explanation: the second edition was set up and printed as a line-by-line copy of the other, to respond to the fact that the print run was sold out, but without wishing to publish a new edition. Similar relationships are visible in the other editions of the other parts of the *Corpus*,¹⁰¹ which clearly demonstrates the kind of production

students of Law in Padua: "Hieronymi Conforti Brixiensis ad studiosam iuristarum Patavinam universitatem in Voluminis emendationem epistola. Divinum illud Tullianum Institutum ..." (TEXT-inc tij00598000).

100 ISTC ij00541000 and ij00541500 (cf. below). Interestingly, both Georgius Arrivabenus and Bernardino Stagnino seem to have based their own editions of the *Institutiones* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius and *Summaria* of Hieronymus Clarius; respectively Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 17 May 1494 GW 7634; ISTC ij00535600, and Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 5 Dec. 1494 GW 7636; ISTC ij00537000) on Torti's one (8 May 1490 GW 7626; ISTC ij00534700).

101 **Digestum vetus** (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius and the *Summaria* of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Dec. 1490 (GW 7669; ISTC ij00550500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 July 1492 (GW 7670; ISTC ij00550600); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 31 Oct. 1494 (GW 7671; ISTC ij00551000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, '31 Oct. 1494' [about 1495-96] (GW 7672; ISTC ij00552000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 5 Oct. 1498 (GW 7673; ISTC ij00553000). All have the same collation (a-z⁸ [et con rum]⁸ A-R⁸ ST⁶) and 356 numbered leaves. Quite likely belonging to this same group is the unsigned edition alternatively attributed to Milan [no printer] or Venice: Torti (GW supporting the latter attribution) and printed on 31 Oct. 1498 (GW 767310N; ISTC ij00553300).

Digestum Infortiatum (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius and *Summaria* of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Apr. 1491 (GW 7690; ISTC ij00558500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Nov. 1495 (GW 7692; ISTC ij00559500); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Feb. 1497/98 (GW 7694; ISTC ij00561000); Venice: Baptista de Tortis, [probably after] 16 Feb. 1497/98 (GW 7695; ISTC ij00562000). Also the following edition seems to belong to this group: Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 4 Mar. 1495 [1496?] (GW 7693; ISTC ij00560000). All are made of 270 numbered leaves and the same collation (a-z et con rum A-C⁸ H⁸; Stagnino with double letter, which is also interesting).

Digestum novum (with the *glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 9 Jan. 1487/88. GW 7711; ISTC ij00569600; collation: a-z [et con rum]⁸ A-K⁸ L-N⁶, 306 leaves. From the second edition onwards, the structure never changed (a-z [et con rum]⁸ A-M⁸ N⁶, 310 leaves). *Digestum novum* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accur-

which Baptista de Tortis and his brother Silvester, who does not appear in the books, but whose existence is known through archive documents, had put in place. One which is meticulously organised in order to make the most of any investment. It is not a surprise, therefore, that in 1507 they ended up promoting the foundation of a publishing company in association with Giorgio Arrivabene, Lucantonio Giunta, Antonio Moretto and Amedeo Scoto with the purpose of managing and rationalising the production of legal texts and their distribution all over Europe.¹⁰²

sus and Summaria according to Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro). Second, expanded edition (Ed: Hieronymus Clarius?). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 23 Dec. 1494. GW 7719; ISTC ij00571600; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 12 Feb. 1498/99. GW 7720; ISTC ij00572000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 July 1499. GW 7721; ISTC ij00573000.

Codex *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Dec. 1488. GW 7736; ISTC ij00581500; collation: a-z [et con rum] A-I⁸ KL⁶; 292 numbered leaves. All the following collate a-z [et con rum] A-N⁸ O⁶, 317 numbered leaves: *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 22 Mar. 1490. GW 7739; ISTC ij00582000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 10 Jan. 1493/94. GW 7741; ISTC ij00583000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 31 July 1495. GW 7742; ISTC ij00584000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 July 1496. GW 7744; ISTC ij00586000; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, [after] 29 July 1496. GW 7743; ISTC ij00586500; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 19 Feb. 1498. GW 7745; ISTC ij00587400; Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 14 Jan. 1500. GW 7746; ISTC ij00588000.

Volumen *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 May 1489. GW 7762; ISTC ij00596000; collation a-x⁸ y⁶ a⁸; 182 leaves; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 28 Oct. 1492. GW 7764; ISTC ij00598000; collation: a-n⁸ o¹⁰ pz-a⁸; 194 leaves. All the following have the same collation (a-z [et]⁸ [con]⁶ a⁸; 206 leaves): *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum* (with the glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: Hieronymus Confortus: *Summaria in Novellas*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis: *Summaria in Codicem; Libri Feudorum; Acta de pace Constantie*. Comm: Angelus and Baldus de Ubaldis; *Extravagantes*. Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 3 Nov. 1497. GW 7767; ISTC ij00599000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XI; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Jan. 1498/99. GW 7768; ISTC ij00600000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Confortus). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 Oct. 1500. GW 7769; ISTC ij00600500.

102 Venice State Archive, Miscellanea di documenti non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32, 25 June 1507. Cf. Fulin, *Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana*, 401-5; cf. also Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, 56; Sattin, "Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziane del Cinquecento", 134. Cf. also, in this volume, the article of Ester Camilla Peric.

3.3.2 Milan

The question of whether the printing of each part was conceived autonomously or within a more extended project of publishing all parts of the *Corpus* has been addressed. It allows us therefore to notice that important initiatives were taken in Milan: indeed, while several printers produced many editions of various parts, only three of them printed the entire *Corpus*. Along with Baptista de Tortis and Johannes Siber in Lyon, who printed all the parts several times over, there was Johannes Antonius de Honate (Giovanni Antonio Onate), who worked in Milan between 1477 and 1491 [tab. 14]. In less than two years (1482-83), Honate printed all the parts of the *Corpus*, starting with an impressive sequence of publications: 1482, March 26 (*Digestum Vetus*); July 25 (*Digestum Novum*); October 10 (*Digestum Infortiatum*) and 14 (*Institutiones*); November 28 (*Volumen*).¹⁰³ The *Codex* was printed on February 27, 1483.¹⁰⁴ This rapid progress reveals a well-conceived project of publishing the *Corpus* as a whole, something more than the sum of the single volumes, and it was most likely the result of a plan put in place by the company formed by the jurist Petrus Antonius de Castelliono (Pier Antonio Castiglione) and the merchant Ambrosius de Caymis (Ambrogio Caimi), whose names are also found in those five volumes.

Petrus Antonius de Castelliono was a main figure in the publishing activity of legal texts in Milan, where about 250 editions of law books were published by 1500, including an important selection of works of various authors, which is a distinctive feature of the Milanese production.¹⁰⁵ Castelliono was among the founders of the earliest

103 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 26 Mar. 1482. GW 7660; ISTC ij00548300; *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 25 July 1482. GW 7706; ISTC ij00568700; *Digestum Infortiatum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 10 Oct. 1482. GW 7682; ISTC ij00557000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 14 Oct. 1482. GW 7607; ISTC ij00523000; *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: *Acta de pace Constantiae* (Comm: Baldus de Ubaldis); *Glossa Constitutionum Friderici III*. Ed: Matthaues Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 28 Nov. 1482. GW 7757; ISTC ij00594000.

104 *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 27 Feb. 1483. GW 7729; ISTC ij00579000.

105 Indeed, instead of various editions of the same texts which can be found in Venice, where about 680 editions of law books were printed in the 15th century, in Milan one finds a choice of the works of almost all major authors, such as Dinus de Mugello, Johannes Petrus de Ferrariis, Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, Angelus de Gambilionibus,

printing company and from the early 1470s he launched a project to publish mainly legal texts, which he realised in collaboration with a number of printers, including Christophorus Valdarfer, Ulrich Pachel, Leonhard Scinzenzeler, and the brothers Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate.¹⁰⁶ The name of Petrus Antonius de Castelliono is found in 60 editions, of which 37 were printed by Johannes Antonius de Honate, alone or together with his brother, between 1478 and 1484; the name of the merchant Ambrosius de Caymis is found in 19 editions of the same period, during which commercial relationships are known between them and the famous Company of Johannes de Colonia and Nicolaus Jenson.¹⁰⁷ On the selling of legal texts printed in Milan and shipped to Venice the research conducted by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris on the ledger of Francesco de Madiis is now adding further information and evidence. Indeed, the five volumes of the *Corpus iuris* printed by Honate for Castelliono and Caymis in 1482-83 have been identified as those which were sold in Venice by De Madiis, soon after printing, together with several other legal works printed in Milan. The evidence from de Madiis seems to suggest a gap in the Venetian market eventually filled by de Tortis.¹⁰⁸ It is also worth noting that the *Volumen* was enhanced with the addition of the text of the *Acta de Pace Constantiae*, with the commentary of Baldus de Ubaldis, added in the Milanese edition for the first time. The volume ended with a poem addressed to the publisher by Matthaeus Barlasina, a jurist from Milan, who also worked on the editions of the *Digestum Vetus* and the *Novum* printed by Honate, as he made clear in a letter printed at the end of the *Novum*, and whose figure is otherwise almost unknown.¹⁰⁹ Of the *Digestum Vetus* Honate printed shortly afterward a second edition,¹¹⁰ which he signed alone, presumably as a response to the success of the first edition.

Johannes de Imola, Paulus de Castro, Nicolaus de Tudeschis, Ludovicus Pontanus, Felinus Sandeus, Alexander Tartagnus, Baldus de Ubaldis.

106 Cf. Ferro, "Castiglione (de Castelliono), Pier Antonio". Information is also found in the entry for the printer: Ganda, "Onate, Giovanni Antonio".

107 On the company Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, 21-33.

108 Dondi, Harris, "Exporting Books from Milan to Venice in the 15th Century", 13-14; Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*, 86-7, and personal communication (Sept. 2019).

109 Barlasina is also the author of a *Repertorium* where he called himself *legum doctor*: Barlasina, Matthaeus. *Repertorium in Singularia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaei Mattaselani* [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, not before 28 June 1477]. GW M34966; ISTC ib00128500; nonetheless he is almost ignored, even by Filippo Argelati (*Philippi Argelati Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium ... Historia literario-typographica Mediolanensis ab anno 1465 ad annum 1500*. Mediolani: in Aedibus Palatini, 1745), probably because only five copies survive, of which only one in Italy, in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.

110 *Digestum vetus* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, 1 Oct. 1484. GW 7663; ISTC ij00549400.

3.3.3 Lyon

After Venice, the largest number of 15th-century editions of the *Corpus iuris* was printed in Lyon, or have been attributed to this city [tab. 13]. Indeed, while most of the editions printed in Venice are explicitly placed there (90), only 13 editions, out of 35, state to have been printed in Lyon. Similarly, most of them (28) are attributed to one printer, Johannes Siber, whose name, however, only appears on five. There is no reason to doubt the attribution, but of course the fact that it is not explicit has to be taken into consideration. The reason why Siber did not sign most of his editions has not been clarified, and one can only make hypotheses. In a fairly recent biographical dictionary of the printers of Lyon, published in 2003, Johannes Siber is identified with certainty with a student from Nördlingen, who matriculated at Freiburg im Breisgau in 1462;¹¹¹ BMC, however, argued at an earlier date that “the printer is more likely to have been a member of the family of Siber of Zurich”.¹¹² No doubt, in any case, that he started his career in Basel, where he eventually found himself in financial difficulties (1475) and, what is important, part of his material went to Ruppel and Wenssler, so that he was “no doubt responsible for the Basel type and the Northern style in which the partners’ books were executed”.¹¹³

In 1477 Siber is found in Lyon, where in 1481 he started his own production made of almost only law books (114 editions out of 143). He had also completely changed his type-material, as is announced in 1481 in the colophon of the compilation of the Decretals of Gregory IX, which was “*impressa littera Venetiana per Johannem Syber Almanum*”.¹¹⁴ As noted by Scholderer, Siber might have spent some time, between 1477 and 1481, in Venice, where he learnt how to produce the best types to print the kind of texts he was interested in,

¹¹¹ Nieto, “Dictionnaire des imprimeurs et libraires lyonnais du quinzième siècle”, 253-4.

¹¹² BMC, VIII, xlvi, footnote 3, where further hypothetical identifications are discussed. One must also consider that Johannes Siber was a fairly common name and several students are found in the German area called in this fashion (source: RAG).

¹¹³ BMC, VIII, xlvi. Of the *Corpus iuris civilis* Wenssler printed in Basel five editions of the *Institutiones* (GW 7591, ISTC ij00513000; GW 7594, ISTC ij00516000; GW 7597, ISTC ij00518000; GW 7599, ISTC ij00520000; GW 7612, ISTC ij00528000), one of the *Codex* (GW 7734, ISTC ij00580800) and one of the *Volumen* (GW 7762, ISTC ij00590000); later on (1496/97) he printed in Lyon another edition of the *Institutiones* (GW 7642, ISTC ij00540700). Wenssler printed many more editions of the texts of Canon law (18 editions altogether), as well as texts of reference, such as four editions of a *Vocabularius iuris* (GW M12628, ISTC iv00334000; GW M12625, ISTC iv00335000; GW M12614, ISTC iv00335600; GW M12632, ISTC iv00342000; cf. above note 45) and a number of indulgences and other official announcements.

¹¹⁴ Gregorius IX, *Decretales cum glossa*. Lyon: Johannes Siber, 4 Nov. 1481. GW 11461; ISTC ig00453500.

i.e. legal ones. He is thought to have been in touch also with Erhard Ratdolt and Nicolaus Jenson, whose editions he might have taken as example to imitate. Indeed, the earliest edition of a part of the *Corpus* explicitly printed by Siber is the *Digestum Vetus* published in Lyon in 1482,¹¹⁵ which GW considers likely to be based on the edition printed by Jenson in 1479.¹¹⁶ The same applies to the *Codex*, printed by Siber the first time in November 1482 and was likely modelled on Jenson's edition of 1479.¹¹⁷ Still in 1482 Siber printed the *Digestum novum*,¹¹⁸ this time on the basis of the edition printed in Padua in 1479 by Petrus Maufer for Zacharias de Zacharotis (Zaccaria Zaccaroti),¹¹⁹ which was the model also for the edition printed in Milan by Honate-Castelliono-Caymis.¹²⁰

The mentioned editions, plus a later one of the *Codex*, are the only ones that Siber printed with his name. None of the six editions of the *Institutiones* which are attributed to Siber bears his name; nor have they an imprint date, so their sequence is uncertain. Anyway, they can be divided in four groups, on the basis of the structure of the books and the dependence of some editions on previous ones.¹²¹ The earliest editions, dated to about 1480-83, have been recognised

115 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7659; ISTC ij00548200.

116 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, [about 1478-80]; ISTC ij00548000 GW 7658. Both are made of 404 leaves, with a similar, yet not identical, collation.

117 *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, [about 1479]. GW 7726; ISTC ij00577000; [Lyon]: Johannes Siber, 23 Nov. 1482 GW 7728; ISTC ij00578000.

118 *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Lyon: Johannes Siber, 1482. GW 7705; ISTC ij00568500.

119 *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Padua: Petrus Maufer de Maliferis, for Zacharias de Zacharotis, 1479 GW 7704; ISTC ij00568000. Zaccaria Zaccaroti was a jurist and a main figure in the publication of legal texts in Padua, where he set up a temporary company with the De Gregoris brothers of Venice and others with the purpose of printing all commentaries of Bartolus de Saxoferrato to the *Corpus iuris civilis*. Cf. Pesenti, "De Gregori, Giovanni e Gregorio".

120 *Digestum novum* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Ed: Matthaeus Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 25 July 1482 GW 7706; ISTC ij00568700.

121 (1) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1481-83]. Collation: **ab**¹⁹ **c-g**⁸ **h-k**¹⁰; GW 7602; ISTC ij00521500; [same title and imprint date; **same collation**] GW 7603; ISTC ij00522000. (2) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: **a-n**⁸; GW 7616; ISTC ij00530300; [same title and imprint date; **same collation**] GW 7617; ISTC ij00530500. (3) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. Collation: **a**⁸ **b**⁶ **cd**⁸ **ef**⁶ **g**⁸ **h-k**⁶ **l-n**⁸; GW 7618; ISTC ij00530700. (4) *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria by Angelus de Gambilionibus). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1500]. Collation: **a-k**⁸; GW 7625; ISTC ij00534600.

as modelled on the edition printed, supposedly, by Jacobus Rubeus in about 1480.¹²² The following two editions, dated to about 1488-90, have a different structure and collation, 104 leaves (a-n8), which made them practically identical to the edition of the *Institutiones* printed in Basel by Michael Wenssler in 1486 and by Kesler soon after.¹²³ Almost at the same time Siber printed another edition of the *Institutiones* different from the other two; he used a smaller type for the glossa and so reduced the number of leaves to 92.¹²⁴ Finally, towards the end of the century Siber printed a sixth edition, where he once again reduced the size of the type and therefore the leaves, but added a textual element, the summaries, based on the exegetical work of Angelus de Gambilionibus.¹²⁵ Such *Summaria* had already appeared in one edition printed in Venice by Reynaldus de Novimagio in 1490 and by Georgius Arrivabene in 1491. Four editions of the *Volumen* are also assigned to Siber, one dated [about 1488-90] the other three [about 1498-1500]. The text of the earliest one is made of the four main sections (*Novellae*, *Tres ultimi libri*, *Libri feudorum* and *Extravagantes*), with the glossa of Accursius and the commentary of Bartolus to the *Extravagantes*. In the latest edition “a collection of summaria” (as pointed out in ISTC) is also included. Summaries to the parts of the *Corpus* included in the *Volumen* had already appeared in about eight editions, starting with those published by Arrivabene and Torti in 1491.¹²⁶ Compared to all the others, howev-

122 “Ist Nachdruck der vorhergehenden Nr.,” one can read in GW 7602, referred to an undated edition assigned to Rubeus, printing place Venice (in GW) or Pinerolo (in ISTC, based on the fact that Rubeus moved to Piedmont around 1479) about 1480. GW 7601; ISTC ij00520300. It is worth noticing that the structure of this edition is not regular (the collation reads: a¹⁰ b-g gg h¹² ik⁶, for a total of 90 leaves) although two other editions had already been printed by Rubeus in Venice in 1476 and 1478, both with the same amount of 90 leaves but a regular collation (ab¹⁰ c⁸ d⁶ ef¹⁰ g¹² i⁶ k⁸): *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 4 July 1476. GW 7591; ISTC ij00514000; [same title] Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 20 July 1478. GW 7596; ISTC ij00517000.

123 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Basel: Michael Wenssler, 1486. GW 7612; ISTC ij00528000. Collation: aa-nn⁸; 104 leaves; [Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, about 1487-88]. GW 7615; ISTC ij00530000, same collation. Interestingly the *editio princeps* printed by Schoeffer was formed of 103 leaves GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000, which pattern Schoeffer repeated twice, in 1472 (GW 7582; ISTC ij00508000) and 1476 (GW 7590; ISTC ij00512000). The same structure is found in the edition printed in Mantua by Butzbach in 1476 (GW 7589; ISTC ij00511500).

124 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488-90]. GW 7618; ISTC ij00530700.

125 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria according to Angelus de Gambilionibus). Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 18 Mar. 1490. GW 7623; ISTC ij00534000; Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 25 Sept. 1491. GW 7624; ISTC ij00534400. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1500]. GW 7625; ISTC ij00534600.

126 *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria accord-

er, Siber's editions seem to have been prepared autonomously, as is also evidenced by the fairly irregular collation of the first edition.¹²⁷ At the end of this overview one can see how Siber's production was quite different from both Torti's and Honate's. He was certainly the main figure in the production of law books in Lyon and a major one in France. On the other hand, the fact that most of his books do not carry his name nor a date of printing not only makes it very difficult to reconstruct the sequence of their printing, it also suggests the lack of a specific publishing programme. Siber seems to invest his energy in the typographical work for (re)printing the texts of Civil law in the most recent and better arrangements realised by a number of other printers, from whose work he clearly took inspiration: from Nicolaus Jenson and Jacobus Rubeus to Baptista de Tortis, or Andreas Torresanus.

From Torresano, Siber seems to have taken the model for his two editions of the *Digestum vetus* dated about 1498-1500, which have

ing to Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Angelus de Ubaldis). Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, [in part] for Baptista de Tortis, 20 Mar. 1491. GW 7763; ISTC ij00597000; TEXT-inc ij00597000. Imprint dates of the other editions are: Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 28 Oct. 1492. GW 7764; ISTC ij00598000. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 18 July 1494. GW 7765; ISTC ij00598400. Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 17 Dec. 1494? GW 7766; ISTC ij00598500. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 3 Nov. 1497 GW 7767; ISTC ij00599000. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Jan. 1498/99. GW 7768; ISTC ij00600000. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7770; ISTC ij00600100. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7771; ISTC ij00600200. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500]. GW 7772; ISTC ij00600300. [Lyon]: Nicolaus de Benedictis, 8 Aug. 1500. GW 7773; ISTC ij00600400. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 7 Oct. 1500. GW 7769; ISTC ij00600500. Summaries can be found either inserted within the glossa (in which case it can be difficult to distinguish the two) or in the main text, and in this case they usually come after the *tituli*, and are printed in smaller types. The question of summaries on what pertains the authorship of such summaries in all editions is a complex and not fully clarified one (hence some inconsistency in the titles in the ISTC). From the overview provided in GW the names of Hieronymus Clarius and Hieronymus Confortus emerge in some editions as the persons responsible for the summaries; sometimes also the names of the authors (the authorities) who provided the basis for such summaries were made clear, such as Bartolus and Angelus. The identification of Bartolus is never difficult (he always is Bartolus de Saxoferrato), but Angelus is a more common name among the jurists (he could be either Angelus de Gambilionibus, Angelus de Ubaldis, Angelus de Periglis, Angelus de Ubaldis jr, etc.) and identifications are made according to the different parts they had commented: Angelus de Gambilionibus is behind the summaries of the *Institutiones* whereas Angelus de Ubaldis is mentioned in relation to the summaries of the *Authenticum*.

¹²⁷ ISTC ij00595500, printed about 1488-90 (without summaries). The collation (a¹⁰ b⁸ c⁶ cc⁹ d-f⁸ ff¹⁰ g-i⁸ ij¹⁰ k-m⁸ mm¹² n-p.pp⁸ q-f⁸ s¹⁰ t⁸ v⁶ u⁸ x¹⁰; 235 leaves) is an evidence of some difficulties encountered in the building of the collection of texts, which could have been avoided, had the printer taken a previous edition as a model. About ten years later Siber printed an edition which included the summaries, but he reduced the sizes of the type so as to fit the texts in a lesser number of leaves, 212 (they became 214 in the next two editions, where the index was added, cf. the descriptions in TEXT-inc under tij00600100 and tij00600200).

the same paratexts and structure of Torresano's one printed in 1491.¹²⁸ Torresano did not invest much in the *Corpus iuris*, he only printed three editions altogether, yet in the Digest he included new summaries by an author, Petrus Fossanus, whom we have not previously encountered and who also wrote a postface; Torresano then added an index, and completed the work with *tituli* printed in red, and printed leaf numbers. Initiatives, such as this one, marked a step up in the development of the texts of the *Corpus* over the years. The most relevant innovations are obviously those concerning the editing of the text and the introduction of new paratexts, such as the summaries; yet, they were often accompanied by changes made to the layouts, which were enriched and refined so as to match both the needs and the taste of the readers. In this context the appearance of editions in smaller formats is finally worth a mention; not surprisingly, it concerned almost exclusively the *Institutiones*, the textbook of law. Thirteen editions were printed in 4° or in 8°, starting in 1483; the earliest editions were printed in Italy, Rome, Venice, and Turin; then most of the production moved to France, Lyon and Paris.¹²⁹ New summaries and additions made also their appearance by modern authors,

128 *Digestum vetus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Petrus Fossanus). Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 26 Mar. 1491. GW 7675; ISTC ij00554000; [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1498-1500] GW 7676; ISTC ij00554300. [same texts and imprint dates]. GW 7677; ISTC ij00554500.

129 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 18 Jan. 1483, 4°. GW 7608; ISTC ij00524000; [Rome: Stephan Planck], 23 Oct. 1483, 4°. GW 7609; ISTC ij00525000; Turin: Jacobinus Suigus, 21 Apr. 1488, 4°. GW 7619; ISTC ij00531000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 29 Mar. 1493, 8°. GW 7629; ISTC ij00535000; Venice: Johannes Hamman, for Octavianus Scotus, 7 Aug. 1494, 8°. GW 7635; ISTC ij00536000; Lyon: Jean du Pré (printer of Lyon), 20 June 1495, 8°. GW 7637; ISTC ij00538000; [Lyon: Perrinus Lathomi?], 23 Mar. 1495/96, 8°. GW 7641; ISTC ij00540500; Ed: Johannes de Gradibus; with additions. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 21 Nov. 1497, 8°. GW 7648; ISTC ij00542000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius with annotations of the Summaria by a pupil of Jason de Mayno). Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregorius, de Forlivo, for Gulielmus Pincius, 10 Mar. 1499, 4°. GW 7650; ISTC ij00544000; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Add: Hieronymus Clarius: *Summaria*. Ed: Johannes Chappuis. Paris: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 20 June 1499, 4°. GW 7652; ISTC ij00545300; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius with annotations of the Summaria by a pupil of Jason de Mayno). [Lyon: Jean de Vingle], 9 Dec. 1499, 8°. GW 7651; ISTC ij00545500; *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Paris: André Bocard, for Jean Petit, 25 Feb. 1499/1500, 4°. GW 7647; ISTC ij00545600. *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). Add: Johannes de Gradibus: *Summaria*. Ed: Robertus Bertoul. Paris: Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 28 Mar. 1499/1500, 8°. GW 7649; ISTC ij00545650. The only other text printed in a small format is *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius and the Summaria of Hieronymus Clarius). With additional supplements. Ed: Johannes de Gradibus. Lyon: Petrus Ungarus (Pierre Hongre), 18 Aug. 1496, 4°. GW 7750; ISTC ij00587000.

such as Johannes de Gradibus (Jean Gradi, fl. 1490-1515), Johannes Chappuis (fl. 1500-1503), or an anonymous ‘pupil of Jason de Mayno’.

Jason de Mayno (Giason del Maino, 1435-1519) was a landmark in the study of the law, as he was among the earliest jurists to introduce a critical approach to the texts and the works of the authors of the past. The question of attribution raised by him about the works of the most famous jurist of the late Middle ages became almost a manifesto of the new school traditionally referred to as Legal humanism: “attribuuntur Bartolo et tamen non sunt Bartoli, et ab eius stilo et ordine multum deviant”. Famously Mayno inserted such a consideration in his commentary on the Digest (Second part to the *Digestum novum*), where he wrote a long note on the life and work of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, trying to put some order into the mass of works that circulated under his name.¹³⁰ Indeed, Bartolus became an authority very soon after his death, which occurred in 1357-58, as is witnessed by the huge number of manuscripts, and subsequently of printed editions, which transmitted his works; even more by the recurrence of his name in texts such as the summaries discussed in this paragraph or also by the fact that certain texts never appeared in print without his commentary, such as the *Constitutiones Extravagantes Ad reprimendum*’ and *Qui sint rebelles*, about which Bartolus wrote a famous separate treatise.¹³¹

4 Editions of the Works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (Focus 2)

4.1 A General Overview

It was precisely with reference to the editions of treatises that Thomas Diplovatatus (1468-1541), a pupil of Jason de Mayno and Bartolus’ earliest biographer, wrote a note of particular interest in relation to early printing. Several of Bartolus’ treatises – he wrote – were found

130 “De verborum obligationibus”, first title of the second part of the *Digestum novum* (D. 45,1,132). No edition printed in the 15th century of Mayno’s commentary to this part is known; the earliest ones appeared in Milan in the 1510s, printed by Johannes Angelus Scinzenzeler (cf. EDIT16 CNCE 54579 and CNCE 54727); the text has been checked in a copy of the edition printed by Giunta in 1621: *Iasonis Maini Mediolanensis In secundam Digesti novi partem commentaria*. ... Venetiis: Apud Iuntas, MDCXXI, f. 164v.

131 The earliest edition of the *Extravagantes* with the comment of Bartolus was printed in 1476: *Novellae constitutiones; Codicis libri X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes* (Comm: Bartolus de Saxoferrato; with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Rome: Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), 15 July 1476. GW 7753; ISTC ij00591000. The treatise had already appeared in the collection of Bartolus’ treatises printed by Vindelinius in 1472: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. [with additions of other authors’ treatises]. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000.

in print and because of this he felt the need to clarify that some of them were not by him; their distribution in large numbers of copies, indeed, would reinforce the erroneous attribution. On the other hand, he had to add the treatises that were still found only in manuscript and – we may deduce – therefore ran the risk of being forgotten: “He also wrote several treatises which are now printed; some of them, though, are attributed to Bartolus but are not actually his, and so I have written here, in my additions. Also, here I added some other treatises, which were written by Bartolus but have not been printed”.¹³² In a few lines Diplovatatus perfectly expressed the importance of printing (at that time still a fairly new invention) in relation to the transmission of the texts and their attribution, possibly better than many of the explicit manifestations of enthusiasm expressed at the time.

About 200 editions of the works of Bartolus were printed in the 15th century, both alone or in combination with works of other authors. A number of additional editions include Bartolus as the author of the commentary to the *Corpus* or in relation to ‘secondary’ texts such as the summaries added to the *Corpus*; so, the total number of editions which include Bartolus’ name can be increased to over 250.¹³³ It is also worth mentioning a number of works based on Bartolus’ texts, which were also printed in the 15th century, such as a *Reperitorium super operibus Bartoli* or the commentaries written by Alexander Tartagnus (1424-77) [tab. 15].

132 “Item scripsit plures tractatus qui sunt impressi et quia sunt aliqui qui attribuuntur Bartolo qui vere non sunt ibi scripsi in additionibus meis et addidi nonnullos alios tractatus Bartoli qui non fuerunt impressi”. The sentence is taken from the *Bartoli vita* printed at the opening of the *Opera omnia* edited by Diplovatatus and enriched with additions, by him as well as by the most celebrated editors of Bartolus, such as Alexander Tartagnus and Jason de Mayno: *Bartoli Saxoferrati preclarissimi I.U. interpretis vita per dominum Thomam Diplovatatum I.U. doctorem edita*, in *Expolita commentaria domini Bartoli de Saxo ferrato* [...]. Venice: Battista de Tortis, 1526-29, c. [*]2r-3r (consulted in the facsimile edition printed in 1996 by Istituto giuridico Bartolo da Sassoferrato – Il Cigno Galileo Galilei). A shorter reference to the treatises is found in the other version of Bartolus’ biography written by Diplovatatus: Diplovatazio, *De claris iuriconsultis*, 278; Rossi, “La Bartoli vita di Tommaso Diplovataccio”, 464.

133 In ISTC (last checked 2019-09-08) 199 records are retrieved through a search for Bartolus de Saxoferrato as author, including 5 postincunable editions; 69 records are found if one searches for his name in the title, where he appears as author of additional texts, including 2 postincunables; finally, 273 records are found through a simple search (Bartol* de Saxoferrato in the main search field) which include 7 additional records where Bartolus is mentioned in the notes in relation to one edition of his *Contradictiones* (within a collection of other authors’ texts: ISTC il00057000) and to six editions of the so-called *Processus Satanae*, a case extensively analysed (Pasciuta, *Il diavolo in Paradiso*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento*) and summarised in a dedicated table [tab. 26]. Note that postincunable editions are not included in the analysis provided in this article.

The chronology and the sequence of editions are impressive. After the *princeps* of the *lectura* of the *Infortiatum*, which appeared in 1470,¹³⁴ new editions were published almost every year until the end of the century. It has been observed that the appearance in print of the texts necessary for university teaching, such as Bartolus' *lecturae*, occurred quite late.¹³⁵ It should be remembered, however, that only a limited number of authors and texts appeared in print during the first ten to fifteen years of the new industry, despite the amount of editions, about 423, produced up to and including 1469. Only major authors such as Cicero, saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas or pontiffs, such as Pius II, were published before Bartolus, who preceded his famous contemporary Dante, since the *Comedia* was first printed in 1472. A closer look at the section of legal texts relating to scholarly production shows that only the *Institutiones*, some parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, and a commentary of the canonist Zabarella were published before 1470.¹³⁶ Bartolus did not just appear in print earlier than most other jurists: his works were published in a number of editions comparable only to the *corpora iuris*, and far higher than any other legal author [tab. 8].

The bulk of the editions is formed by the texts of Bartolus' *Lectura*, that is the interpretation of the various parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the result and content of the activity of the jurist as a professor, and the manifestation of the core of his thought.¹³⁷ Each edition followed the same pattern of the division of the texts established for the university courses and consisted in the *lectura* of a subdivision of a section of the *Corpus* (*Lectura super prima Digesti veteri, super secunda Codicis* and so on); they were printed an average of 10-13 times each [tab. 16]. However, Bartolus' fame is linked also to the so-called 'minor works': the *Quaestiones disputatae* (the texts of the university disputations), the *Consilia* (the jurist's opinion on particular

134 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Italy: Printer of Sallustius, 'Opera' (H 14196)], 1470. GW 3611; ISTC ib00230800.

135 Corsten, "Universities and Early Printing"; Mattone, Olivari, "Dal manoscritto alla stampa".

136 *Institutiones* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 24 May 1468. GW 7580; ISTC ij00506000; Clemens V, Pont. Max., *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000; [same authors and texts]. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. GW 7078; ic00711000; Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., *Liber sextus Decretalium* (With gloss of Johannes Andreae). Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000; Zabarellis, Franciscus de, *Lectura super Clementinis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1468-69]. GW M51984; ISTC iz00002000.

137 Cf. Mari, "Letture bartoliane e 'bartolismo'", 28, where it is noticed how the result of Bartolus' teaching activity never took the form of the commentary: "Pur con le doverose cautele, che devono essere praticate allorché si tratta dei 'generi letterari' i cosiddetti commenti bartoliani sono tutte letture universitarie".

cases) and *Tractatus* (treatises), a genre that Bartolus greatly contributed to develop. In the 15th century these three groups of texts were brought together in collections of: 18 *Quaestiones*, 244-5 *Consilia* and about 30 *Tractatus*; they were published in nine editions altogether, with almost the same internal arrangement of texts [tab. 23]. Some treatises were published also in minor collections, often together with works of other authors [tabs. 24-26]. The first two groups of texts - the *Lecturae* and the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus* - were published for a large part in Italy [tab. 18]. A good portion of the minor collections, on the other hand, was printed in Germany and France and, interestingly, it is mostly in this group that texts of uncertain attribution are found.¹³⁸

As has already been noticed, not all the texts promulgated under the name of Bartolus belonged to him with certainty; some are doubtful and the question of attribution began to be raised by the jurists of the 15th century. It seems plausible therefore that the whole issue of attribution and textual paternity was facilitated by the huge efforts made by early editors and printers who worked on the editions produced in the first fifty years of printing. This paragraph is aimed to provide a general overview and is followed by the presentation of case studies which illustrate effectively how already in the 15th century the ground was prepared for a new critical approach to Bartolus' work.¹³⁹

138 A detailed analysis of the editions of minor works could not be done in this article, but it has been summarised through two tables [tabs. 23-24], where a prospect of all treatises printed outside the 'collectio maior' has been provided.

139 By the end of the 15th century, an important part of Bartolus' production was in print, although not all his works, as they appear in the list compiled by Susanne Lepsius in C.A.L.M.A.: 768 works, with 603 *consilia* gathered under no. 73. The *lecturae* were all printed (apart from a *lectura* of the *Institutiones*, which is doubtful, very rare in manuscript and which was printed in 1504); most of the treatises (about 45 out of 65), the *quaestiones* (18 out of 25), a third of the *consilia* (244-5) and about ten *repetitiones* (out of 65). A few articles, during the years of research within the 15cBOOKTRADE project, have been published in Italian on this subject: Panzanelli Fratoni, "Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa"; "Il 15cBOOKTRADE e la storia delle università"; "Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento".

4.1.1 Editiones principes and Other Earliest Editions: Printing Places and Key Players

The bulk of Bartolus' work was made available in print in a very short time: by 1477 all the *principes* had been published, some of the *lecturae* in as many as three editions [tab. 17]. The *principes* appeared in five places, apparently as the result of initiatives independent of each other, a clear manifestation of a great interest for the jurist's work, both from the intellectual and the commercial point of view. The earliest edition was printed in 1470, with only the date, and is attributed either to Rome or Venice.¹⁴⁰ In both cities other important initiatives were undertaken. In Rome Sixtus Riessinger distinguished himself, among other things, for printing the very first legal commentary in Italy (the Zabarella mentioned above), before moving to Naples where he realised two possible other *principes* of Bartolus' *lecturae*, plus some more editions of his works, including the apparently unique edition of a *Repertorium super omnibus operis suis*.¹⁴¹ It is also interesting that Riessinger was the only one working south of Rome. In Venice, Vindelinus de Spira realised an impressive series of editions of almost all Bartolus' works,¹⁴² including the *princi-*

140 "The affinities of the type are with Roman and Venetian models", ISTC quoting BMC VII, 1122. GW shows a preference for Venice.

141 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, 1471. GW 3488; ISTC ib00190400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, 1471. GW 3506; ISTC ib00197800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471]. GW 3523; ISTC ib00204500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Naples: Sixtus Riessinger and Francesco del Tuppo, 19 Nov. 1476. GW 3548; ISTC ib00215500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1475]. GW 3564; ISTC ib00220600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Ed: Paris de Puteo. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471-72]. GW 3581; ISTC ib00223500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1472]. GW 359210N; ISTC ib00225850; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis, lib. I-III*. Ed: Rufinus Gabloneta. Add: *De insigniis et armis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger [and Georgius Herolt?], before 27 Oct. 1483]. GW 3610; ISTC ib00230500; [Followers of] Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Repertorium super omnibus lecturis suis*. Naples: Sixtus Riessinger and Francesco del Tuppo, 6 Mar. 1477. GW 3658; ISTC ib00249500.

142 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 9 Feb. 1471. GW 3613; ISTC ib00231000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3489; ISTC ib00190600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3507; ISTC ib00198000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. GW 3546; ISTC ib00214500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Quaestiones disputatae*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, [1471]. GW 3657; ISTC ib00249000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De successionibus ab intestato*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De testibus*. Jacobus Aegidius: *De reprobatione testium*. Nellus de Sancto Geminiano: *De testibus*. *De publicatione testium*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000. Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1473. GW

pes of the collections of *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*, where the internal arrangement of the texts was first established. It was all done by 1474, but the bulk was completed as early as 1471, when he printed four, possibly five, editions. During the same period, a number of other editions of the same texts appeared in different places, which makes it difficult to identify the *principes*: both the lectures of the Code were printed in 1471, by Vindelinius in Venice and by Riessinger in Naples; the *Lectura super prima Digesti veteris* was printed in Naples between 1471 and 1472, but it was also printed in Perugia by 20 October 1472.¹⁴³

Not surprisingly some of the earliest editions, four to be precise, were printed in Umbria, the land where Bartolus spent most part of his life and teaching activity. The first one was printed in Trevi, a small centre close to Foligno, where in 1472 the *princeps* of Dante's *Comedia* would be printed with much the same type. The Trevi edition came soon after the *princeps*, offering the same text, *Lectura super prima Infortiati*, yet enhanced with a comment of Baldus, the most celebrated pupil of Bartolus:

Explicit lectura Bartholi de Saxoferrato civis Perusini super prima parte Infortiati cum qua reperies lecturam Baldi de Perusio esse insertam a titulo de excus[ationibus] tutorum usque ad titulum de testamentis. Impressa in Trevio per magistrum Iohannem Reynhardi Almanum sub correctione domini Peri Donati ll. [i.e. legum] doctoris eiusdem terre. Anno domini M.CCCC.LXXI. Die xxiii. mensis Ianuarii, tempore sanctissimi domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia pape secundi, pontificatus sui anno VII.¹⁴⁴

There is no mention in the colophon of the man who was most likely responsible for the enterprise: "ser Costantino Lucarini", who created three companies in order to print Bartolus and a life of Saint Francis of Assisi. Lucarini first set up a company with the German printer 'Johannes Reinhardi Rothomannus', then with the jurist 'Petrus Donatus', and later on, with his cousin for financial purposes. The Trevi edition of Bartolus was clearly the outcome of a one-off initiative, as

3563; ISTC ib00220500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Venice: Vindelinius de Spira], 1473. GW 3594; ISTC ib00225900.

143 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg, before 20 Oct. 1472]. GW 3582; ISTC ib00223600 GW includes Johannes Vydenast in the group of printers and dates 1471. On the identification of the printers working in Perugia: Veneziani, "Pietro da Colonia e il Tipografo del Robertus Anglicus"; "Johann Vydenast and a New Incunabulum from Perugia".

144 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Add: Baldus de Ubaldis: *Super titulo De excusationibus tutorum usque ad titulum De testamentis*. Trevi: Johannes Reinhardi, 23 Jan. 1471. GW 3612; ISTC ib00230900.

shown by the short existence of the company. Possibly it was stimulated by the appearance of the *princeps* of a text, the *Lectura super Prima Infortiati*, of which Lucarini possessed a good manuscript.¹⁴⁵

The same *lectura* was printed very soon afterwards (less than three weeks) by Vindelinius in Venice.¹⁴⁶ The three editions of the same text quickly following each other lead us to think that there was a reason for choosing to start with the *lectura* of the *Infortiatum*, rather than another part. Indeed, the order of appearance of the *lecturae* is certainly important, as this may well have depended on the availability of a good manuscript or on the organisation of the courses within the University system (traditionally based on the alternation of the readings of each part of the *Corpus*)¹⁴⁷ or both. We are almost certain, for example, that the edition printed in Treviso was intended primarily for the students of the Universities of Rome and Perugia, where the copies were expected to be distributed.¹⁴⁸ A more coordinated initiative was undertaken in Perugia, where on 26 April 1471 a printing company was founded by two groups of people: on one side there were some citizens of Perugia, including the jurist Matheus de Ubaldis and Braccio Baglioni, the most prominent figure in town; on the other side, two German printers, Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg. None of them are mentioned in the books apart from Baglioni, whose name is found on four prefaces printed at the opening of the editions realised by the company, where he was called ‘magnificent’. He was presented as the one who had called the printers to the city to launch the new art in support of the famous university of the same: the earliest printed texts were the works of the likewise famous jurists Bartolus and Baldus.¹⁴⁹ Three lectures of Bartolus were printed in Perugia by Petrus de Co-

145 The company was dissolved as early as September 1471, when the printing material was sold to Evangelista Angelini, who shortly after published the first edition of Dante’s *Comedia* in Foligno with Johannes Numeister. Cf. Valenti, “La tipografia di Treviso e i suoi incunaboli”; BMC VI, ix.

146 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Sipra, 9 Feb. 1471. GW 3613; ISTC ib00231000.

147 On this subject Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV*. As for the University of Perugia, the succession of the texts read each year has been reconstructed in Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell’economia del Comune di Perugia*; unfortunately no records have survived for the 1470s, so we cannot ascertain a direct relation between the texts being printed and the courses.

148 Valenti, “La tipografia di Treviso e i suoi incunaboli”.

149 “Huius artificii commoditatem maximam ac studio Perusino pernecessarium considerans nobilissimus ac prestantissimus vir Bracchius Balionius sua cura ac diligencia homines huius artis peritos in hanc civitatem accessiri curavit conduxitque eos ut haec Bartholi commentaria imprimerent. Quae res studio quidem Perusino utilitatem maximam civitati vero honorem & gloriam affert”. Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg, about 1473-74, before 6 Apr. 1474]. GW 3593; ISTC ib00225920, a1v.

lonia and Johannes de Bamberga between 1471 and 1474: both lectures of the *Digestum Vetus*, and the one of the second part of the *Infortiatum*, the latter being the *princeps*.¹⁵⁰ The absence of any imprint dates not only makes it impossible to ascertain how many editions printed in Perugia were the *principes*; this fact also shows the secondary role played by the printers, who did not feel the need, or were not allowed, to put their names on the books.¹⁵¹ Their duty, it appears, was limited to the material and physical part of the operation and this involvement seems to have been regarded as unworthy of mention.¹⁵²

By 1474 all Bartolus' major works were available in the new medium, with exception of the lecture on the Novels (*super Authenticis*), which was realised by Christophorus Valdarfer in Milan in 1477 for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono,¹⁵³ whose initiative of publishing legal texts has already been highlighted in relation to the texts of the *Corpus iuris*. It is worth noticing that the first edition of the three collections of Bartolus' 'minor' works was also realised in Milan, in 1479, again for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, this time together with Ambrosius de' Caymis and in the printshop of Johannes Antonius de Honate.¹⁵⁴

In the meantime, in Venice, the two major printing houses engaged themselves with the works of the jurist from Sassoferrato. The company of Johannes Manthen and Johannes de Colonia, which took over from Vindelinius,¹⁵⁵ started in 1475 with a lecture that the latter had not printed (*super prima Digesti Veteris*). They went on by publishing other eight editions of the *lecturae* in Roman type until 1478, when they started a new series of *lecturae*, this time in Gothic type, for a

150 Bartolus De Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. [Perugia: Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberga, about 1473-74, before 6 Apr. 1474]. GW 3629; ISTC ib00237600.

151 On this cf. also Coppens, *Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler the Early Printed Book and Its Investors*, note 2.

152 The choice of the texts was likely due in its entirety to the jurist Matheus de Ubaldis, who, for family reasons, might have owned some good manuscripts and be well aware of their value. He was in the best position to start a company, involving two merchants so as to arrange the distribution of the books, and the 'magnificent' local lord to whom the jurist could easily show the importance of the initiative for the prestige of the city. On the history of early printing in Perugia: Rossi, *L'arte tipografica in Perugia durante il secolo XV e la prima metà del XVI*; Capaccioni, *Lineamenti di storia dell'editoria umbra*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Scrivere stampare e leggere a Perugia nel primo secolo*.

153 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 27 Feb. 1477. GW 3475; ISTC ib00184500.

154 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 17 Sept. 1479. GW 3538; ISTC ib00210800.

155 Scholderer, *Printing at Venice in the Fifteenth Century*; Coppens, *Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler the Early Printed Book and Its Investors*.

total of 13 editions, printed by 1480, all entirely new – as announced by the collation, in addition to the change of type.¹⁵⁶

The other major firm who worked on Bartolus in Venice was the one of Nicolaus Jenson who, in only two years (1477-78), printed ten editions of Bartolus' *lecturae*,¹⁵⁷ during the time when he was also engaged with the printing of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and after having printed almost all parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*. In the printing of legal texts Jenson accomplished some of his finest achievements, starting with the use of a Gothic type that he made as beautiful as his celebrated Roman. Jenson reshaped the law book and gave it the elegance usually reserved for classical texts. This feature is particularly true as regards the im-

156 In chronological order: **[Roman type]** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475. GW 3583; ISTC ib00224000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 9 Mar. 1475. GW 3630; ISTC ib00237900; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3490; ISTC ib00191000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3508; ISTC ib00199000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476. GW 3547; ISTC ib00215000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 May 1477. GW 3614; ISTC ib00232000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 2 Jan. 1478/79. GW 3632; ISTC ib00239000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 26 Feb. 1478/79. GW 3596; ISTC ib00226000. **[Gothic type]** Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 21 Mar. 1478. GW 3568; ISTC ib00221000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 6 Nov. 1479. GW 3584; ISTC ib00225000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 31 Jan. 1479/80. GW 3527; ISTC ib00206000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 12 June 1480. GW 3493; ISTC ib00193000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 30 June 1480. GW 3510; ISTC ib00201000.

157 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 25 Apr. 1478. GW 3491; ISTC ib00192000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 7 May 1478. GW 3509; ISTC ib00200000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. GW 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar. De publicanis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3549; ISTC ib00216000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar. De publicanis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3550; ISTC ib00217000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson], 1478. GW 3566; ISTC ib00220800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [after 21 Mar.] 1478. GW 3569; ISTC ib00221200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima et secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477-78. GW 3605; ISTC ib00229000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3616; ISTC ib00233000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 Mar. 1478. GW 3617; ISTC ib00234000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1478. GW 3631; ISTC ib00238000.

portant number of copies of editions of legal texts that Jenson printed on parchment. They were mostly parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, destined for members of the ruling aristocracy, bishops and abbots, or to wealthy institutions, such as the Canons of Monte Donico of Verona whose name has been found, so far, on the copies of two parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the constitutions of Clement V and the decretals of Boniface VIII, scattered between Venice and London, but now gathered together again, in virtual fashion, in the MEI database.¹⁵⁸

4.1.2 Growth, Development and Innovation

A second phase in the printing of Bartolus' works started around 1480, when all the early printers gradually disappeared and several new ones made their appearance, but all in the north: Venice and Milan in the Peninsula, Lyon beyond the Alps. Almost all editions of the major works – the *Lecturae* and the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus* – were printed in those three places (104 out of 172; **tabs. 18-19**). The number of printers expanded considerably in Venice, where in the 1480s about twelve printing houses were working on one or more editions of Bartolus' works. However, two leading figures soon emerged: Andreas Torresanus and Baptista de Tortis, who printed altogether about half of all Venetian editions of Bartolus' major works [**tab. 20**]. Both Torresanus and Tortis printed all the *lecturae*, more than once, apparently following a similar pattern: first they printed one, two or even three editions of the same works, with some editions entirely based on previous ones; then they printed new series of editions enhanced with the additions of contemporary jurists.

158 Clemens V, Pont. Max, *Constitutiones* (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae) Add: *Decretales extravagantes Johannis XXII*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 7098; ISTC ic00728000. Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Membr. 0005 (MEI 00200232); Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max, *Liber sextus Decretalium* (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Ed: Alexander de Nevo. Add: Johannes Andreae: *Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 4856; ISTC ib00984000. London, The British Library, IC.19688 (MEI 02108441). A number of copies on vellum are found of both editions as well as of other parts of the *Corpus*, such as the *Decretum Gratiani*, printed by Jenson in 1474 (GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000). A copy of the latter edition, which is today preserved in the British Library (IC.19678; MEI 02108507), was marvellously illuminated, and bears provenance evidence of importance in relation to the production and distribution of special copies within the network established by Jenson. On this theme a number of groundbreaking studies have been published by Lilian Armstrong: *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice* (individual articles are cited in the MEI records in relation to individual copies and miniaturists); "Information from Illumination: Three Case Studies of Incunabula in the 1470s". Cf. also her contribution in this volume. On patterns and iconographic tradition proper of legal texts L'Engle, Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*.

Similarities apart, a closer look at the series of editions printed by both provides us with interesting elements, starting with the chronology, but also including the sequence of the texts, the introduction of additions, and the change in the structure of the book. It was Torresanus who started printing Bartolus' *lecturae* in 1485 and went on publishing the *lecturae* of the other parts, and new editions of the same ones, with a *crescendo* to the amount of 17 editions printed in the following five years,¹⁵⁹ during which Tortis intervened only once, in 1486, with one edition of the *Lectura super tribus libris* that Torresanus had not included in his first series.¹⁶⁰ Tortis, in the meantime engaged with the printing of the *Corpus*, reappeared in 1490 with the *Lectura super Authenticis* that, again, Torresanus had not yet printed.¹⁶¹ Also, Tortis introduced in his books a most helpful element: printed leaf numbers, soon adopted also by Torresanus, al-

159 In chronological order: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 26 Jan. 1485. GW 3635; ISTC ib00239900; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 22 Nov. 1486. GW 3571; ISTC ib00221600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: [Andreas Torresanus], for Bartholomaeus de Zanis et Socii, 31 Jan. 1486/87. GW 3496; ISTC ib00193800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 9 Mar. 1487. GW 3513; ISTC ib00201600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 5 Dec. 1487. GW 3636; ISTC ib00240000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 31 Jan. 1487/88. GW 3621; ISTC ib00235400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 31 July 1488. GW 3587; ISTC ib00225300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 16 Sept. 1488. GW 3554; ISTC ib00219000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 21 Oct. 1488. GW 3497; ISTC ib00194000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 30 Nov. 1488. GW 3599; ISTC ib00227200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 18 Jan. 1488/89. GW 3514; ISTC ib00202000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 12 Feb. 148[8/89?] [1480 in the book]. GW 3618; ISTC ib00235500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 3 Apr. 1489. GW 3572; ISTC ib00221800; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 5 May 1489. GW 3637; ISTC ib00240500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 28 Dec. 1489. GW 3588; ISTC ib00225400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi*. Add: *Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 23 Sept. 1490. GW 3555; ISTC ib00219300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 28 Oct. 1490. GW 3498; ISTC ib00195000.

160 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Apr. 1486. GW 3530; ISTC ib00209000.

161 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 27 May 1490. GW 3484; ISTC ib00189600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 July 1490. GW 3533; ISTC ib00210000.

though not in all editions. For a few more years Torresanus continued printing the majority of the editions,¹⁶² with Torti only issuing the texts the former had omitted, until 1493, when Torresanus realised his last edition¹⁶³ and the latter printed six new editions all at once.¹⁶⁴ From then onwards, until the end of the century and beyond, Tortis embarked on a regular programme of Bartolus' works.¹⁶⁵ Seemingly

162 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 June 1491. GW 3600; ISTD ib00227400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 8 Dec. 1491. GW 3515; ISTD ib00202300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Add: *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1492. GW 3485; ISTD ib00190000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 6 June 1492. GW 3590; ISTD ib00225600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et aliorum*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 25 Aug. 1492. GW 3501; ISTD ib00196000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino (in the workshop of Andreas Torresanus, de Asula), 20 Oct. 1492. GW 3624; ISTD ib00236300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 20 Nov. 1492. GW 3640; ISTD ib00241400.

163 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni; Repetitio legis Caesar de publicanis*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 24 July 1493. GW 3560; ISTD ib00220200.

164 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 6 Feb. 1492/93. GW 3603; ISTD ib00228000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 Apr. 1493. GW 3576; ISTD ib00223000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1 May 1493. GW 3519; ISTD ib00204000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 May 1493. GW 3558; ISTD ib00220000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 30 June 1493. GW 3641; ISTD ib00241600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 July 1493. GW 3625; ISTD ib00236500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Nov. 1493. GW 3502; ISTD ib00197000.

165 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 12 Apr. 1494. GW 3591; ISTD ib00225700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, with the Additiones of the editor Bernardinus Landrianus*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 June 1495. GW 3544; ISTD ib00213000; GW 3545; ISTD ib00214000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Jan. 1499. GW 3604; ISTD ib00228500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 14 Feb. 1499. GW 3522; ISTD ib00204300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Codicis cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 9 Aug. 1499. GW 3505; ISTD ib00197700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Sept. 1499. GW 3580; ISTD ib00223400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti veteris cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Nov. 1499. GW 3592; ISTD ib00225800; Bartolus de Sa-

the operation was conducted on the basis of an agreement between the two firms [tab. 20]. Through a long series of new editions, they found the way to rationalise their own production, alternating fresh editions with others apparently based on previous ones: Torresanus did so five times and Tortis nine. Likewise the collations, when the signatures applied to the various parts are formed by multiple sets of letters (e.g.: aa-pp⁸, aaa-ppp⁸, AA-OO⁸ and so on), imply that the publishing of the various parts of the *Corpus* was carefully coordinated and intended as a multi-volume production. The most important feature, however, was the further elaboration of the texts, when the exegetical scholarship conducted on Bartolus' works by later jurists was introduced in printed editions in the form of additions.

The earliest additions appeared in the late 1470s, at the beginning printed in columns following the main text, then introduced into the margins, according to the pattern of the glossa. They mostly came from the work of Alexander Tartagnus, whose *Apostillae ad Bartolum* on the lectures of various parts appeared as self-standing works in 19 editions (1475-1489). Along with the work of renowned jurists, such as Alexander Tartagnus or Angelus de Ubaldis, there are contributions by a scholar of far inferior fame, Bernardinus Landrianus, jurist and member of the College of jurists of Milan, whose work seems to be receiving the attention it deserves only in recent times, in relation to the editions of the collection of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. Here Landrianus manifests the explicit intention of producing a better edition by rationalising and putting order into the mass of Bartolus' texts.¹⁶⁶

One of the early editions of Bartolus' *lecturae* enhanced with Tartagnus' *Apostillae* and the edition of a treatise edited by Bernardinus Landriani form the subject of two case studies analysed in the next two paragraphs.

xoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti novi cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 29 Nov. 1499. GW 3562; ISTC ib00220400; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super prima parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 18 Dec. 1499. GW 3628; ISTC ib00237300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 11 Mar. 1500. GW 3644; ISTC ib00242200; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super secunda parte Infortiati cum additionibus Alexandri Tartagni et apostillis Andreae Barbatiae*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 Nov. 1500. ISTC ib00242100 (not in GW).

166 Treggiari, "Sulle edizioni dei *Consilia quaestiones et tractatus* di Bartolo da Sasoferrato"; Panzanelli Fratoni, "Bartolo in tipografia: il Quattrocento".

4.2 The Lectura of the *Tres libri*: Early Editions and New Evidence from a Manuscript

The editions of Bartolus' commentary on the last three books of the Codex are very interesting in relation to various aspects of the transmission of the texts, critical approach, and attribution. Bartolus did not complete the commentary on this part of the Codex, since he died while he was still working on it. The text was therefore completed by a follower of Bartolus, who has been identified with the jurist Conte di Sacco. A reference to his illness is also found in a first prologue, where the circumstances of his bad health are presented by the author as the occasion for a new teaching experience; it also inspires a heartfelt preamble, starting with a quotation from the Book of Proverbs:

Omnes gaudentes floridam etatem faciunt et spiritus tristis desiccant ossa.¹⁶⁷ Cum igitur diu fuerim gravi corporis infirmitate gravatus et propter hoc a consueto gaudio speculationis doctrine cessaverim, cognovi quod in me vires corporis non poterant restaurari, nisi aliquantulum efficeretur meus animus gaudentes. Hoc autem consideravi facile esse posse si auditoribus meis quibus propter infirmitatem servire non valui aliquid utilitatis afferre possem legendo id quid eis esset acceptum michique et eis novum et per consequens delectabile, ideo Tres libros Codicis legere destinavi, ubi multa sunt incognita et per antiquos doctores neglecta, secundum usum tamen frequentia et necessaria. Hac igitur lecturam quilibet videns si in aliquo non bene dictum reperire humiliter corrigat in hiis que bene dictum sunt mecum Deo gratias agat.¹⁶⁸

A marvellous link between joy and recovery from illness, and between teaching and happiness is made here, which may sound more like the way of thinking of a Renaissance rather than a medieval author. Another, second, prologue exists, which seems much more traditional, opening with the invocation of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary

167 *Proverbi*, 17:22, reads: "Animus gaudens floridam aetatem facit".

168 "Since for a long time I have been weighed down with a serious illness and because of this I have been deprived of the joys of study and thought, I realised that I would never recover strength in my body unless my soul were to find a source of pleasure. I considered that this would happen if I could help my students, whom I was unable to teach because of my sickness, and I decided I could do this by writing a lecture of a text which was new to them as well as to myself and therefore pleasant. I chose to read the *Three Books of the Codex*, where one finds many helpful subjects that, nevertheless, early scholars had neglected". The original text is taken from the *princeps*: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis*. [Naples]: Sixtus Riessinger, [about 1471]. GW 3523; ISTC ib00204500 (a2r).

and three more saints¹⁶⁹ and this is only found in the manuscripts, as Paolo Mari, who first drew attention to this text, pointed out after having analysed a sample of three manuscripts, three incunabula and three 16th century editions.¹⁷⁰ Mari concluded that the *introitus* 'Omnes gaudentes' was not written by Bartolus and was added in the course of the 15th century and, most interestingly, that "its introduction marks the passage from the manuscript tradition to the printed tradition". The thorough analysis of all thirteen editions printed in the 15th century provides a slightly different result, without altering the overall evolution of the texts as presented by Mari. The incunable editions do not only have the 'modern' *introitus* 'Omnes gaudentes' but also include the medieval one 'In nomine Domini'. Where both are present, the modern one always appears first, as suits a later addition. The modern *introitus*, moreover, is found in all the editions except for one: the second edition, printed in Mantua by Paul de Butzbach five years after the *princeps*.¹⁷¹ This edition is also unique in terms of its additions: here Bartolus' *lectura* is enhanced with the additions of Angelus de Ubaldis,¹⁷² but not with those written by Alexander Tartagnus, which would appear in all later editions, starting with the one printed in Venice by Jenson in 1477 [tab. 22].¹⁷³

169 "In nomine Domini Ihesu Christi eiusque matris Marie virginis gloriose, nec non beatorum Anthonii et Nicolai et Iheronimi tociusque celebris curie Amen. Quia ubi Christus non est fundamentum nullius boni operis superest edificium ..." (cf. previous footnote).

170 Mari, "Aspetti della vita quotidiana nell'opera di Bartolo", 674-8.

171 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis*. Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 17 Sept. 1476. GW 3524; ISTC ib00204700.

172 "cum additionibus d. Angeli de Ubaldis de Perusio suo loco ubique positus": the additions indeed are placed right after the text and easy to find, being announced by the term *Addicio* (cf. TEXT-inc tib00204700).

173 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. GW 3525; ISTC ib00205000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, about 1480]. GW 3526; ISTC ib00205500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 31 Jan. 1479/80. GW 3527; ISTC ib00206000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1482]. GW 3528; ISTC ib00207000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas de Soziis, Parmensis, 16 Apr. 1485. GW 3529; ISTC ib00208000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Apr. 1486. GW 3530; ISTC ib00209000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 25 Mar. 1487. GW 3531; ISTC ib00209300; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1490]. GW 3532; ISTC ib00209600; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus*

The arrangement of text and additions in the Mantua edition appears quite unusual and deserving of further investigation: it was both the absence of the 'modern' *introitus*, together with the absence of Tartagnus' additions, that seems surprising, especially considering that the book was printed when the jurist was still alive and working elsewhere in Northern Italy. Tartagnus taught at the University of Padua until 1470 when he was invited to teach at the University of Bologna.¹⁷⁴ A quick glance at the output of Butzbach, however, was enough to establish that the printer, or more likely those figures who commissioned the publication, were well aware of Tartagnus' work. In fact they arranged to have it printed as a separate work, with the title *Additiones [sive Apostille] ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis per dominum Alexandrum de Ymola* [i.e. Tartagnus] and it appeared just before the commentary itself.¹⁷⁵

Interesting information comes from studies on Butzbach, which reveal that the publication in Mantua of Bartolus' commentary was a second choice; the original plan was to print it in Padua, where most likely Tartagnus conceived and wrote his *Apostillae*. The evidence is found in the documents of the trial which came about because of the failure of the original project put together by a businessman from Mantua, Gaspare Siliprandi, and his son Domenico. They had arranged for the publication in Padua of Bartolus' commentary *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis* with Petrus Maufer de Maliferiis and Carlo Ridolfi, who eventually abandoned the publication causing the breaking-up of the agreements and Domenico and Gaspare's decision to move back to their home city.¹⁷⁶ To this reconstruction it is possible now to add a further element consisting of evidence from the manuscript Arundel 479 of the British Library, a large folio codex consisting of 178 leaves and containing:

1. Alexandri de Imola Additiones ad Bartolum super tribus libris postremis Codicis Justiniani (ff. 3-24);

ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 24 July 1490. GW 3533; ISTC ib00210000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super authenticis*. Add: *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1492. GW 3485; ISTC ib00190000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1495]. GW 3534; ISTC ib00210100.

174 Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV*, 110-18; Padovani, "Tartagni, Alessandro".

175 Tartagnus, Alexander, *Apostillae ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis*. Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 12 Sept. 1476. GW M44924; ISTC it00018600. Bartolus' commentary is dated 17 September.

176 Cf. Fattori, "Nuovi documenti per la storia della tipografia padovana del '400"; Canova, "Paul Butzbach e Gaspare Siliprandi"; "Paolo da Butzbach".

2. Bartoli a Saxoferrato *Commentarius super tribus libris postremis Codicis, una cum quibusdam notis Angeli de Perusio* (25-90);
3. Angeli de Perusio in *Novellas Constitutiones Justiniani Commentarius* (91-177).

Several elements deserve attention, starting with the combination of section 1 and 2, which appear to mirror fairly precisely the arrangement of the printed edition. Most importantly, the texts were not all written by the same hand: the twenty-four leaves bound at the opening of the volume were written by an anonymous scribe to be added to a codex, which was previously formed by what are now sections two and three, as is duly noted in the BL manuscript catalogue. The questions of who created this codex, when, how and for whom are spelt out in the colophon and a later note (f. 177v): the scribe was a certain Johannes (Jan?) Hasselt from Liège, who finished his work on 23 July 1471, and he did it at the request of Johannes Mendel, or Mandel, at the time a university student in Padua:

Et sic est finis ad laudem Dei nostri Ihesu Christi eiusque matris Marie virginis semper benedictae et ad instantiam egregii viri domini Johannis Mendel scholaris Patavini per me Johannem Hasselt Leodiensem, die xxiii mensis Julij M^occcc^olxxi^o.

Mendel, in his turn, had commissioned the work on behalf of an illustrious reader, who also wished to make his ownership known:

Dominus Johannes Mendel scribi fecit ad instantiam mei Johannis Pirckheymer utriusque iuris doctoris.

Johannes Pirckheymer, a Nuremberg patrician and father of the more famous Willibald, was a Doctor of Law and created an important library, part of which was sold to Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel in 1636.¹⁷⁷ A number of important juridical manuscripts, today in the

177 Cf. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, record 488: "Fols. 1-24 are a separate MS but the whole volume evidently belonged to Pirckheimer". On Mendel Watson wrote that he became chancellor of Eichstädt in 1488 and owned a remarkable book collection most part of which is now preserved in Augsburg. He is plausibly the Johannes Mandel whose career is recorded in the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*, from his enrolment at the Faculty of Arts in Vienna (1442) to the years that he spent in Italy, from 1467 until 1471, when he was indeed in Padua where he graduated in Canon law. Cf. Johannes Mandel (RAG-ID: ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t5CqP5FR), <https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngEU9V577DM38tayyE7t5CqP5FR>. The library started by Johannes Pirckheymer was made of mainly legal texts; it was greatly enriched with classics and humanist works by Willibald. After the latter's death, the library was inherited by his daughter Felicitas and her husband Hans Imhoff, and lat-

British Library, belonged to Johannes Pirckheymer, and entered the library with the rest of Arundel's collections. Many of them were written in the 15th century and provide a good picture of the life which existed around the School of Law in Padua and of the university environment in general, beginning with the practices of producing texts, as is also shown in MS Arundel 479.

As has already been stated, the first section of the manuscript was written by someone different from the official scribe and contains the *Apostillae* written by Tartagnus, whose lectures Mendel most likely attended, as they were both in Padua in the same period of time. There is more, however. The 24 leaves containing Tartagnus' *Apostillae* are not the only text written by the anonymous scribe. Angelus's additions to Bartolus' *lectura* were also written at a later moment: they are all found in the margins, linked to the text of the *lectura* with symbols indicating where they should be introduced: 'suo loco ubique positus', as the *colophon* reads in the Butzbach edition. Thus the whole manuscript seems to bear evidence of the creation of the new edition, including the layout of the texts in both the manuscript and the printed edition, which look impressively similar. How should we interpret this?

Further investigation is needed to reach a better understanding of the relation between this witness and the printed edition;¹⁷⁸ I am not suggesting here that this manuscript was the copy-text used in the printshop, since so far no traces have been found in the manuscript of any work done by the printers. There are instead clear traces of a close relationship which has to do with the texts and their arrangement, which is unique among 15th-century editions. Most importantly, the choice of such an arrangement was likely down to Tartagnus, and to his teaching and critical approach to Bartolus' works. In which case

er by their son, another Willibald, who greatly increased it. His grandson, Johann Hieronymus Imhoff, started selling the collections, despite the originary mandate not to disperse them, due to the financial difficulties consequent to the Thirty Years War. The bulk of the library was purchased in 1636 by Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel, 1586-1646, during a diplomatic mission to the Holy Roman Emperor (he was son to a Roman Catholic family and grandson of Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk executed in 1572). Some time after Arundel's death, his grandson, Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (d. 1684), presented the bulk of the library to the Royal Society (1666-67) which, later on, sold what was not considered as pertinent to the collections of the same; a large portion was purchased by Quaritch in 1873. What the Society had retained was sold by auction at Sotheby's in 1924, after the British Museum had selected a few items. Cf. De Ricci, *English Collectors*, 25; Levy Peck, "Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society"; cf. also the entries for Willibald Pirckheymer, Johann Hieronymus Imhoff, Willibald Imhoff, Thomas Howard, and Henry Howard in the Index of Owners of MEL, where further bibliography is provided (ID numbers respectively 4744, 00010016, 3037, 2736, 4743).

178 Such analysis will include the text of the third section, the comment of the *Authenticum* by Angelus de Ubaldis. It is interesting that the comment by Bartolus of the same text (*Authenticum*) is found in the edition of his comment of the *Tres Libri* printed by Torresano in 1492 (GW 3485; ISTC ib00190000).

this manuscript would be a vivid testimony to an important phase in the transmission of the text of Bartolus' works. If it is, then it is worth underlining here that many important elements in the manuscript have emerged thanks to the study of the early printed editions.

4.3 The Editions of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*

Another very interesting case is provided by the editions of the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*. After having appeared in separate editions (Venice, Vindelinus, 1471 and 1472; Rome, Gensberg, 1473),¹⁷⁹ the three groups of texts were assembled in a single edition, printed in Milan in 1479 by Johannes Antonius de Honate [tab. 23].¹⁸⁰ A few years later another edition appeared, *sine notis*, but attributable to the same printer, where some important innovations were made by the already mentioned Bernardinus Landrianus.¹⁸¹ Landrianus wrote additions to the *Consilia*, but also reduced them, from 245 to 237, in an attempt to rationalise the collection, for example by deleting duplicates (e.g. consilium 245 was the same text as one of the *Quaestiones*): "a few additions at the end of a number of *consilia*, especially where he found a decision opposing a *consilium* or other decisions taken by jurists of a later period".¹⁸² This intervention provoked a fierce debate that was conducted in the prefaces of

179 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Quaestiones disputatae*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, [1471]. GW 3657; ISTC ib00249000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Tractatus varii*. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De successionibus ab intestato*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De testibus*. Jacobus Aegidius: *De reprobatione testium*. Nellus de Sancto Geminiano: *De testibus*. *De publicatione testium*. [Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, 1472. GW 3665; ISTC ib00255000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia*. Rome: Johannes Gensberg, for Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus, 5 Dec. 1473. GW 3537; ISTC ib00210700. On the edition printed by Gensberg: Ascheri, *The Formation of the 'Consilia' Collection of Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Some of His Autographs*; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa*.

180 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione and Ambrosius de Caymis, 17 Sept. 1479. GW 3538; ISTC ib00210800.

181 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*, with the *Additiones* of the editor Bernardinus Landrianus. [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, about 1485]. GW 3540; ISTC ib00212000.

182 "Bernardinus Landrianus I.V. doctor et in collegio Mediolanensi iurisperitorum minimus. Clarissimo I.V. monarce ac preceptoris suo Io. Puteo ordinariam iuris civilis de mane interpretanti in almo gymnasio Papiensi salutem. Cum dulcis patria non mediocri contagione vexaretur incole fere omnes quibus abeundi facultas data erat salubriora loca peciere, sed ego in tantis calamitatibus firmavi ac statui pro viribus ingenio mei figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometrice confecerat, **necnon nonnullas addiunculas ad calcem quamplurimorum consiliorum collocare [sic] ante confusse [sic] editorum corrigendo, maxime ubi ita vel contra consultum inveni vel decisum ob multitudinem ac varietatem eorum qui post ipsum scripsere**" (a1v; cf. TEXT-inc tib00212000).

two subsequent editions (both printed in Venice: 1487-88 and 1495).¹⁸³

Consilia, in any case, were not Landriani's main concern; in fact, the first thing he highlighted in the preface were the illustrations created for the treatise *Tyberiadis* (*De fluminibus*). He wrote that he "wanted to remake those images that Bartolus had made with his genius and that had been destroyed because of the passage of time".¹⁸⁴ Landriani is not the only one to appreciate the innovations introduced by Bartolus: the importance of the drawings, which are part of Bartolus' treatise, has been strongly underlined by modern scholars, such as Carla Frova and Osvaldo Cavallar, who have clarified how this is further evidence of Bartolus' genius and of his ability to take from other disciplines (such as geometry) the knowledge he needed to solve his legal cases. The importance of the drawings is reinforced by the fact that at least some of them have been identified as having been made by the author himself.¹⁸⁵ All this helps us

183 Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. Ed: Honofrius. Venice: [Georgius Arrivabenus and] Bernardinus Benalius, 25 Feb. 1487-88. GW 3541; ISTC ib00212500; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 20 June 1495. GW 3544; ISTC ib00213000. [Same text and imprint date]. GW 3545; ISTC ib00214000. The last three editions are: Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 7 Mar. 1485. GW 3539; ISTC ib00211000; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, not after 1492]. GW 3542; ISTC ib00212700; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus, cum additionibus Bernardini Landriani*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1495]. GW 3543; ISTC ib00212800. The case has been analysed in detail: Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo da Sassoferrato e la stampa*, 264-5; Treggiari, *Sulle edizioni dei Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*, 167-71; Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bartolo in tipografia*, 126-34.

184 "pro viribus ingenioli mei figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere quas Bartolus lux nostra suo divino ingenio geometricè confecerat". Landriani showed special care for this treatise also by writing another introduction only for it, again addressed to his master Giovanni dal Pozzo (g1r): "hunc tractatum Tyberiadis figuris abolitum impressioni tradidi ut Bartolo illuminationi nostrae quod suum est tribueremus, satis est enim quod nobis eius opera altius investigandi copia data est. Itaque opusculum ipsum in ordine primum accipite, ut ad subsequentes tractatus viam vobis aperiat, sicut Tiber flumen ad varia loca navigando iter prestat et si a recto tramite deviabitur habetis Io. Puteum communem preceptorem cui gratum onus imposui q[ui] vos ad optatum finem perducet".

185 Cf. Frova, "Le traité de fluminibus de Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1355)"; Cavallar, "River of Law". The treatise *Tyberiadis* (or *De fluminibus*) is made of three sections: *De alluvionibus*, *De insula*, *De alveo* and they are not always transmitted together in manuscript. It is not a surprise, therefore, that in early editions they are listed one after the other as if they were different texts (nos. 15-17 in the *princeps*, whose order was not altered in later editions; cf. also the description in TEXT-inc tib00255000). Nevertheless, the three texts are now considered as sections of a single treatise (no. 163 in the entry dedicated to Bartolus in C.A.L.M.A.). Illustrations are found in the sections *De alluvione* and *De insula* and an autograph witness of the first section has been identified in a composite manuscript once owned by Baldus (the most celebrated among Bartolus' pupils) today in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Barb. lat. 1398): Colli, "Collezioni d'autore di Baldo degli Ubaldi", 333-4.

to appreciate fully the initiative taken by Landriani. First of all, illustrations were not included in the *princeps*, where spaces were left blank for them to be added by hand and the same holds true for the two following editions of the ‘collectio maior’, printed in 1479 and 1485. In the meantime, before October 1483, a minor, and very interesting, collection of Bartolus’ treatises was printed in Rome by Sixtus Riessinger, including the *Tyberiadis* with the *De insigniis et armis*. Here 39 woodcuts were added for the first time (22 in the section *De alluvione* and 17 in the section *De insula*);¹⁸⁶ their style, however, appears to be very different from the illustrations that Landriani wished to add to the edition he was working on. In fact, he did not claim to have introduced the illustrations but rather wrote that he wanted to recreate the illustrations, since those made by Bartolus were almost worn away due to their age: “*figuras Tyberiadis iam antiquitate deletas reficere*”. The suspicion that Landriani was referring precisely to the autograph emerges, especially if one looks at the woodcuts printed in Landriani’s edition, which are very similar to the originals in the Vatican manuscript; the shape of the river is the same, with a profile of a mascaron, whereas the original has the head of a dog (though they are very similar to each other and very different from all other woodcuts); the overall simplicity of the drawings, where only a few lines are used to represent both geometrical figures and real objects, is also found in both sets of images. Most important of all, however, are the colours, which Bartolus used as a real code of communication and which are found as early hand-added decoration in copies of Landriani’s edition (three out of the four in the sample examined so far). In all later editions of the ‘collectio maior’ woodcuts always appear and are more detailed and refined than those used by Landriani; however none of them seem as close to the original drawings as his.¹⁸⁷ As a final note to this paragraph,

¹⁸⁶ Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis*, lib. I-III. Ed: Rufinus Galboneta. Add: *De insigniis et armis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessinger [and Georgius Herolt?], before 27 Oct. 1483]. GW 3610; ISTC ib00230500; TEXT-inc tib00230500.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. also Frova, “Dans notre traité on remarque avant tout comment, dans la partie illustrée, l’écriture et l’image conçue de façon contextuelle s’avèrent indispensables l’une à l’autre. [...] Notons que le texte prévoit l’utilisation de différentes couleurs dans l’exécution des figures. Cela a créé des difficultés pour la réalisation des éditions imprimées; les illustrations de certains exemplaires ont été complétées à la main, tandis que d’autres sont restées en noir et blanc, comme celles de l’édition fac-similé reproduites ici, ce qui nuit à la bonne compréhension des figures” (“Le traité de fluminibus”, 87-8 fn. 20). To these notes Osvaldo Cavallar, who based his analysis on later editions (the 1576 one), added further observations about the lesser effectiveness of woodcuts found in printed editions compared to the original drawings, which sounds like a positive evaluation, *e converso*, of the quality of the woodcuts found in Landriani’s edition. This is what he wrote: “A careful choice and consistent use of colors enabled him [i.e. Bartolus] to differentiate between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ [...]. The colors of the figures [...] speak of Bartolus’ consciousness of both the limits and potentialities of a cogni-

I should like to point out how both the cases presented here (Bartolus' lecture *Super tribus ultimis libris* and his treatise *De fluminibus*) reveal that, when working on the 15th-century editions, it is important not just to reconstruct the textual tradition of the printed editions alone. Such instances also provide insights into the history of the manuscript traditions and make it possible to formulate better questions about the complexities found therein. For example, how are we to explain the almost complete absence of printing initiatives of Bartolus' work in those two countries, Germany and Spain, where a large number of manuscripts of his works circulated from late medieval times onwards?¹⁸⁸ Were the manuscripts sufficient to match readers' needs over a long period or were printed books imported from elsewhere? In short: was the book trade developed to such a point that it was preferable to import Bartolus' lectures from Venice, Naples or Milan into Seu d'Urgell, Zaragoza, Madrid or Freiburg, Würzburg and Munich rather than printing them on the spot? It is highly probable that this was the case: books were preferably imported from those places where skilled printers and scholars had developed a cooperation which was not easy to replicate. On the other hand, the import/export of legal texts was facilitated by the students who were accustomed to travelling long distances in order to attend the most renowned universities. To what extent books were exported soon after they had been printed or accompanied early owners in their travels is a matter that the ongoing analysis of the copies and the critical recording of provenance evidence is clarifying.

tive tool like geometry. In contrast to the holograph, the printed editions cluttered the figures with redundant elements, such as buildings, castles [...]. The absence of colors compelled the early printers to use other devices [...]. In Bottrigari's edition [i.e. *Tiberiadis D. Bartoli de Saxoferrato ... Tractatus de fluminibus tripertitus ab Hercule Buttrigario restitutus ...* Bononiae: apud Ioannem Roscium, 1576; Edit16 4426]. Another change introduced in the printed editions was the suppression of the heads of animals Bartolus drew to indicate the origin and the direction of the flow of the river. Restoring those heads to the figures will give us an additional facet of Bartolus' personality" which is exactly what Landriani wanted to do. Cf. Cavallar, "River of Law: Bartolus's *Tiberiadis (De alluvione)*", 35, 40-1 (the drawings from the autograph are on pages 30, 119-29). The autograph is now fully available in the digital collections of the Vatican Library, although in black and white: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.1398; paradoxically, a comparison between the autograph and the printed editions is made difficult because of the rarity (at the moment, August 2019, unavailability) of any copy of the Landriani edition.

188 Cf. Casamassima, *Iter Germanicum*; García y García, *Iter Hispanicum*.

5 Conclusions

Despite the large number of editions of Bartolus' works, the majority of which were printed in Italy, most are very rare in their country of origin itself and many are totally absent.¹⁸⁹ The very first edition is one of these, known today only in four copies, not one of them in Italy.¹⁹⁰ Germany is the country where the highest number of copies of Bartolus' editions can be found today¹⁹¹ and there were even more before some of them were sold as duplicates in the course of the 19th century, when they were acquired by institutions such as the British Museum, the forerunner of the present British Library, where the bulk of the research supporting the current essay was done.¹⁹²

The majority of the copies that I have examined in the BL arrived there from German libraries, where they had been conserved for centuries. In Germany copies of legal texts (Bartolus' works as well as the texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*) were imported very soon after

189 Of the about 200 editions of Bartolus' main works 50 are not found in Italy, and 57 are held in Italy in only 1 copy. On the other hand, of the 10 editions which survive in unique copies, 6 are in Italy (including a copy in the Vatican Library). The survival rates of the early editions of Bartolus' works (and more generally speaking, of the early editions of legal texts) is connected to a change of the curricula in law studies which took place over the course of the 16th century, as discussed above. In order for this subject to be properly tackled, it would need a detailed and long-term analysis, which would go beyond the purpose of this current research.

190 They are in Germany (Munich and Lübeck, the latter no more existing), Great Britain (Birmingham) and United States (Cambridge, MA) (ISTC ib00230800; GW 3611). The copy in Munich bears the coat of arms of the Dominicans of Freising, and was decorated with motifs that reinforce the evidence of the early acquisition of the book, as anyone can see (<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00065525-2>).

191 With 176 copies, Germany is followed by Italy (139), Austria (130), United Kingdom (112), Spain and Portugal (92), France (88), United States (80) and Switzerland (62). Numbers include editions of the CIC or other collections where Bartolus appears in addition to other authors.

192 The British Library was founded in 1973 by an act of Parliament and took with it the collections of manuscripts and printed books belonging to the previous Library of the British Museum. I would like to take the occasion here to express my gratitude to all members of the Library's Collections and Curation department and to its head Kristian Jensen, who warmly welcomed me during the four years of research. Special thanks go to all colleagues of the area 'Printed Heritage Collections', where I worked, and particularly to Adrian Edwards, Karen Limper-Herz, Philippa Marks, Stephen Parkin, with whom I exchanged ideas and information on daily basis, and to Andrea Clark, curator in Manuscripts area, who helped me with accessing manuscripts. Also, I would like to thank John Goldfinch, who was head of incunabula when we started the recording of the British Library incunabula in MEI. The work done on the BL incunabula and their owners could not be included in this article, given the subject of the present work and its focus on the texts and editions rather than the copies. Also, the analysis of the copies implies another big set of data, which needs to be explored in a dedicated article. The same applies to an aspect of this very research that was not possible to include either, that is a chapter on the copies of law incunabula and their provenance (so far 385 copies of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and 275 of the works of Bartolus have been recorded in MEI; last search 2019-09-13).

they had been printed. This fact holds true also for the many copies of legal texts that are still preserved in the libraries of Oxford colleges, where the same works (the texts of the *ius commune*) were presumably read and taught regularly. Copies of legal texts are found across Europe, in various countries where they had been imported from Italy soon after being published to be used in the local law schools. Copies were also brought back to their native countries by students who had completed their studies in law schools abroad when, on re-entry, they became part of the ruling élite, either in the Church hierarchy or as officers in the lay administration.¹⁹³ Once back home, they would apply the law they had learnt in their daily activities, because the *ius commune* (Roman, Canon and Feudal Law) was not just the law of the School: the *ius commune* provided the theoretical, conceptual, structural framework within which the ‘*iura propria*’ (local laws, statutes, etc.) were applied.¹⁹⁴ The *ius commune* was the law shared all over Europe, where students were free to travel as were printers and booksellers, scholars and artists: this was the Europe in which the Renaissance emerged and so did the printing revolution.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BMC = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum [vols. 11 and 13: Hes & de Graaf; vol. 12 The British Library], 1908-2007 (13 vols.);

C.A.L.M.A. = *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi, 500-1500*, founded by M. Lapidge and C. Leonardi. Cambridge; Firenze: 2003- (the entry for Bartolus by Susanne Lepsius appears in issue 2(1), 101-56);

DBGI = *Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani*. Bologna: il Mulino, 2013;

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1960-;

ISTC = *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*. URL http://data.cerl.org/istc/_search/; in ISTC there are links to all the main other repertoires and cata-

193 Alain Wijffels clarifies very well the role played by the Roman law in shaping the western society: “Dissipons d’emblée une représentation excessivement réductrice du droit romain parmi les juristes [...] celle d’un droit romain identifié essentiellement comme un droit privé [...] la science médiévale du droit portait sur l’ensemble de la gouvernance publique. [...] Le droit étudié et enseigné aux universités médiévales correspondait avant tout à une science de gouvernement, ou, quoique l’expression rencontre toujours de fortes résistances en français, à une science, voire plutôt à un ‘art’ de la gouvernance publique” (“Une très brève histoire du droit dans la civilisation occidentale”, 398).

194 “It created the concepts, the institutions, the procedures, the documents, the doctrines without which the *iura propria* would have evolved very differently” (Kenneth Pennington, “Foreword” to Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe*).

- logues of incunabula, starting from *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1925-. URL <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>;
- MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula*. URL http://data.cerl.org/mei/_search/;
- RAG = *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum: Die graduierten Gelehrten des Alten Reiches zwischen 1250 und 1550*. URL <https://rag-online.org/>;
- TEXT-inc = *TEXT-inc. A Corpus of Texts Printed in the 15th Century*. URL <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

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[Rome: Stephan Planck, ab. 1490]. GW 1747; ISTC ia00644000

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Antonius de Prato Veteri

Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli

[Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate], for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 23 Mar. 1481. GW 2249; ISTC ia00915000;

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Barlasina, Matthaeus

Repertorium in Singularia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaei Mattaselani

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Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de

De modo studendi in utroque iure et vita doctorum. Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *Contrarietates*. Matthaeus Mattaselanus: *De electione opinionum*. Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3-4 July 1493. GW 5841; ISTC ic00006000

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Chappe, Paulinus, commissary

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Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae)

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Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, [12 Apr.] 1473. GW 7084; ISTC ic00715500

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Constitutiones (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae) Add: *Decretales extravagantes Johannis XXII*

Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. GW 7098; ISTC ic00728000
With additions by L. Marius Parutus. Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1479.
GW 7099; ISTC ic00729000

Faber Runcinus, Johannes

Breviarium super Codicem. Prelim: Johannes Oliverus, *Carmen*; Ludovicus Hon-
nomus, *Epistola*. Add: *Repetitio super materia quaestionum sive torturarum*;
Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *De insigniis et armis*. Ed: Matthaeus Quadrigerius.
Paris: André Bocard, for Jean Petit and Jean Alexandre at Angers, 15 Dec.
1499. GW 9632; ISTC if00009900

Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti

[Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, Postilla super Psalterium (H 10383), ab. 1493].
GW 10051; ISTC if00210300

[Paris: Etienne Jehannot?], for Denis Roce, [ab. 1495-1500]. GW 10064; ISTC
if00211000

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[Paris: Etienne Jehannot], for E., J. and G. de Marnef, [ab. 1498]. GW 10060;
ISTC if00216200

[Paris: n.pr.], for Jean Petit, [ab. 1499]. GW 10063; ISTC if00216600

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if00216700

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Bologna: Danesius Hectoris, 12 June 1494. GW 10053; ISTC if00210500

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if00210700

Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayryer, 1497. GW 10058; ISTC if00215800

Paris: Guy Marchant, 30 Dec. 1496. GW 10056; ISTC if00212000

Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 1496. GW 10055; ISTC
if00213000

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1496-98]. GW 10052; ISTC if00215000

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1497]. GW 10059; ISTC if00215900

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1497]. GW 10057; ISTC if00214000

Formularium diversorum contractuum, Firenze: Francesco di Dino [ab. 1487].
GW 10190; ISTC if00249000

Gambilionibus, Angelus de

Tractatus de maleficiis, cum additionibus Hieronymi de Castellanis. Add: Bar-
tolus de Saxoferrato: *Ordo iudicii*. Pavia: Antonius de Carcano, for Jacobus
de Sancto Petro, 25 Apr. 1477. GW 10523; ISTC ig00060000

Gratianus,

Decretum (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis)

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca).
Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein, 1472. GW 11352; ISTC ig00361000

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis and Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca).
Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 13 Aug. 1472. GW 11353; ISTC ig00362000

Comm: Bartholomaeus Brixiensis. Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein, 1471.
GW 11351; ISTC ig00360000

Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000

Ed: Alexander de Nevo and Petrus Albinianus Trecius. Add: Johannes Daconus: *Summariū, seu Flos decreti*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June 1474. GW 11354; ISTC ig00363000.

Rome: Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar. 1476. GW 11355; ISTC ig00364000.

Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castellione and Ambrosius de Caymis, 20 Aug. 1483. GW 11367; ISTC ig00374500.

Gregorius IX, Pont. Max. (formerly Ugolino, Count of Segni),
Decretales, cum glossa

Paris: Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, 1 May 1476. GW 11455; ISTC ig00449300

Lyon: Johannes Siber, 4 Nov. 1481. GW 11461; ISTC ig00453500

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 16 Aug. 1486. GW 11473; ISTC ig00461000

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Speyer: Peter Drach, 28 May 1492. GW 11486; ISTC ig00468000.

Comm: Bernardus Parmensis. Ed: Sebastian Brant, Jean Chappuis. Paris: Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 16 Mar. 1499/1500. GW 11496; ISTC ig00478000.

Innocentius III, Pont. Max. (Lotharius de Conti)

Compendium breve quinque libros continens. Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer, 17 Sept. 1473. 4°. GW M12106; ISTC ii00081800

Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis. [Strassburg: Heinrich Eggstein, about 1473]. 4°. GW M12152; ISTC ii00082000

Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis. Add: *De creatione mundi. Summa poenitentiae. Sermones pro mortuis*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *Litigatio Satanae contra genus humanum*. Johannes Nider: *De contractibus mercatorum*. Johannes de Nigro Monte: *Articuli contra impugnantes privilegia ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*. [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, about 1484/85-87]. 4°. GW M12132; ISTC ii00087000.

Johannes XXII, Pont. Max. (formerly Jacques Duèze),

Constitutiones Johannis Papae XXII cum apparatu Jesselini de Cassanis necnon cum additionibus Johannis Francisci de Pavinis. Decretales extravagantes communes selectae Johannis XXII, Benedicti XI et Clementis V. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Sept. 1497. GW M1275210; ij00247100.

Decretales extravagantes. Comm: Jesselinus de Cassanis. Add: Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis: *Preludium ad extravagantes*. [Lyon: Johannes Siber, ab. 1488]. GW M12748; ij00247300.

Johannes, Monachus Cisterciensis

Defensorium iuris. Add: Dinus de Mugello: *De praescriptionibus*. Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitriis et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus*. Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 18 Mar. 1499. GW M13387; ISTC ij00378200

Lauretus, Bernardus

Casus in quibus iudex saecularis potest manus in personas clericorum sine metu excommunicationis imponere. Add: Boninconcus Andreae: *De privilegiis clericorum. De exemptionibus*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *De carceribus*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De alimentis*

[Lyon: Printer of Nicolaus de Lyra, 'Postilla super psalterium' (H 10383), about 1491-95?]. 4°. GW M17328; ISTC il00092500

[Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, about 1494]. 4°. GW M17327; ISTD il00092600
[Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, about 1494]. 4°. GW M1732750; ISTD il00092700
Paris: Antoine Denidel and Nicole de la Barre, [between 1495 and 1497]. 8°. GW M17331; ISTD il00093000
Paris: Antoine Denidel, [about 1497]. 8°. GW M17329; ISTD il00094000
Paris: Antoine Denidel, [about 1498]. 8°. GW M17330; ISTD il00094400
Paris: Felix Baligault, 22 July 1500. 8°. GW M1733210; ISTD il00094600

Marcilletus, Stephanus,

Doctrinale florum artis notariae

[Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, ab. 1487-88]. GW M20840; ISTD im00254700
[Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, ab. 1487-88]. GW M2083710; ISTD im00254800
Turin: Nicolaus de Benedictis and Jacobinus Suigus, 16 Oct. 1492. GW M20846; ISTD im00255000
[Lyon: Johannes Fabri, ab. 1494]. GW M20848; ISTD im00255300
[Lyon: n.pr., ab. 1495?]. GW M20842; ISTD im00255500.

Margarita legum

Compendium Margarita legum appellatum. Add: Amanellus de Claris Aquis: *Casus speciales*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis, Angelus de Ubaldis, Antonius de Butrio, Angelus de Gambilionibus, Guillelmus Salicetus, Guillelmus de Ludo: *Textus et glosae singulares et speciales*; Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus*. [Vienne: Eberhard Frommolt, about 1481]. 4°. GW M20994; ISTD im00264700

Methodus utriusque juris

[Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 24 Dec. 1481. GW M23075; ISTD im00526500
[Louvain: Rodolphus Loeffs de Driel, 1483-84]. GW M23074; ISTD im00526600
[Louvain]: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 23 Feb. 1488. GW M23076; ISTD im00526700
[Paris: Jean Du Pre (printer of Paris), ab. 1488]. GW M23973; ISTD im00526750
[Paris]: Michel Le Noir, 31 Jan. 1493/94. GW M47133; ISTD im00526900.

Modus legendi abbreviaturas

[Cologne: Nicolaus Götz, ab. 1475]. GW M24955; ISTD im00741000
Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 Sept. 1476. GW M24970; ISTD im00743000
[Basel: Berthold Ruppel, ab. Oct. 1476]. ISTD im00743100 (not in GW)
[Cologne: Petrus in Altis (Bergmann?), de Olpe, ab. 1478]. GW M24958; ISTD im00743500
Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [1477-83]. GW M24967; ISTD im00743300
[The Netherlands (Utrecht?): Printer of Alexander Magnus (GW 875) (Gerardus de Leempt?), between 1475 and 1479]. GW M24944; ISTD im00742000
Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1 July 1482. GW M24971; ISTD im00744000
Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, [ab. 1483]. GW M24968; ISTD im00743200
Basel: [Printer of the 'Modus legendi abbreviaturas'], 7 Apr. 1484. GW M24947; ISTD im00745000
Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, [ab. 1485]. GW M24956; ISTD im00746000
Paris: Pierre Levet, 31 Oct. 1486. GW M24983; ISTD im00746500
Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1487. GW M24961; ISTD im00747000
Paris: Pierre Levet, 24 Jan. 1488. GW M24984; ISTD im00747500
Louvain: Aegidius van der Heerstraten, 5 Feb. 1488. GW M24966; ISTD im00748000
Paris: Pierre Levet, 11 May 1490. GW M24985; ISTD im00748600

Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 10 Mar. 1492. GW M24972; ISTC im00749000
[Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1493. GW M24957; ISTC im00749500
Paris: Felix Baligault, 25 Oct. 1493. GW M24976; ISTC im00750000
Paris: [Etienne Jehannot], 24 Sept. 1494. GW M24978; ISTC im00750400
[Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, ab. 1494-97]. GW M47355; ISTC im00750420
Delft: [Christiaen Snellaert], 28 Sept. 1495. GW M24964; ISTC im00750450
Paris: Pierre Le Dru, 27 Nov. 1495. GW M24982; ISTC im00750500
Paris: Etienne Jehannot, for Durand Gerlier, 5 June 1497. GW M24979; ISTC
im00751000
Leipzig: [Gregorius Böttiger (Werman)], 1497. GW M24965; ISTC im00750700
Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 25 June 1498. GW M24986; ISTC im00751100
Paris: [Johannes Higman?, for] Jean Petit, 11 Nov. 1498. GW M24974; ISTC
im00751200
Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne], 1500. GW M24969; ISTC im00751500
Paris: [Georg Mittelhus], for Jean Petit and Durand Gerlier, 30 Mar. 1500. GW
M24988; ISTC im00751700.

Modus legendi abbreviaturas et al.

Modus legendi abbreviaturas. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*; Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*; Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*; Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*; Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*; Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*

[Basel: Johannes Solidi (Schilling), not after 1476]. GW M47366; ISTC
im00753000

[Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1477]. GW M47359; ISTC
im00753500

[Basel: Berthold Ruppel, after 1479]. GW M47324; ISTC im00754300

Modus legendi abbreviaturas. Add: Johannes Auerbach: *Processus iudiciarius. Tractatus praesumptionum*. Dominicus de Visentina: *Summa qualiter notarii... debeant officium exercere. Tractatus notariatus*. Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris*. Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum*. Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum*. Petrus Jacobus de Montepessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus*. Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum*. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus*

Speyer: Peter Drach, [about 1478]. GW M47339; ISTC im00754000

[Speyer]: Peter Drach, [not after 1484]. f° & 4°. GW M47341; ISTC im00755000
Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],
1487; 26 Feb. 1488. GW M47346; ISTC im00756000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],
9 Aug. 1490. GW M47350; ISTC im00757000

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 23 June 1494. 4°. GW M47335; ISTC im00758000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],
21 July 1494. GW M47352; ISTC im00759000

Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],
20 and 30 Aug. 1499. GW M47364; ISTC im00760000

Processus Satanae

Processus iudiciarius Mascaron contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, before 1473].
GW 12451 (VII); GW M3555710; ISTC ip01001000

Processus Satanae contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli

[Rome]: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 11 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW M35558; ISTC ip01002000

Venice: Gerardus de Lisa, de Flandria, 17 Feb. 1478. 4°. GW M35563; ISTC ip01003000

Rome: Stephan Planck, 16 Jan. 1486. 4°. GW M35560; ISTC ip01004000
[Rome: Stephan Planck, about 1491-1500]. 4°. GW M35559; ISTC ip01005000

Rolandinus de Passageriis

Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis.

Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Johannes de Legnano, 25 Oct. 1486. GW M38633; ISTC ir00247500

Modena: Balthasar de Struciis, Oct. 1476. GW M38634; ISTC ir00244500

Turin: Johannes Fabri Lingonensis, 6 May 1478. GW M38637; ISTC ir00245000

Toscolano: Gabriele di Pietro, 1 Feb. 1480. GW M38635; ISTC ir00246000

Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 30 Apr. 1483. GW M38646; ISTC ir00246500

Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 30 Nov. 1485. GW M38642; ISTC ir00247000

Venice: [Baptista de Tortis], 12 Dec. 1489. GW M38654; ISTC ir00248000

Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 9 Sept. 1492. GW M38645; ISTC ir00249000

Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 16 Mar. 1496. GW M38655; ISTC ir00250000

Venice: Petrus de Quarengiis, Bergomensis, 22 Oct. 1498. GW M38644; ISTC ir00251000

Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 31 Oct. 1500. GW M38648; ISTC ir00251500.

[Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, between 1499 and 1506]. GW M38650; ISTC ir00251400

Rubricae iuris civilis et canonici

[Padua: Johannes de Reno, ab. 1473]. GW M3904110; ISTC ir00340250

Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 6 Feb. 1478. GW M39042; ISTC ir00340500

Pavia: Franciscus de Sancto Petro, 18 Jan. 1483. GW M39043; ISTC ir00340600

[Rome: Stephan Planck, before 1485]. GW M39044; ISTC ir00341000

[Rome: Stephan Planck], 20 July 1485. GW M39045; ISTC ir00342000

[Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, ab. 1488]. GW M3904810; ISTC ir00342250

Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 9 Jan. 1486. GW M39036; ISTC ir00342150

[Rome: Stephan Planck, undated or (GW) Eucharius Silber, ab. 1490]. GW M39046; ISTC ir00343300

Rome: Eucharius Silber, 5 Oct. 1493. GW M39047; ISTC ir00342300

[Lyon: Antonius Lambillon, ab. 1494]. GW M39033; ISTC ir00342350

[Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 1494-1500]. GW M39032; ISTC ir00342400

[Paris]: Georg Mittelhus, [ab. 1494-1500]. GW M39034; ISTC ir00342420

Ingolstadt: Georg Wirffel and Marx Ayer, 1497. GW M39037; ISTC ir00342500

[Paris: Pierre Le Dru for] Jean Petit, [ab. 1500]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342600

[Paris: n.pr.] for Jean Petit, [after 1500?]. GW M39040; ISTC ir00342700

Sensenschmidt, Johann and Andreas Frisner

Bücheranzeige [Advertisement for the Codex of Justinianus with the commentary of Accursius (GW 7723)]. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, [1475]. ISTC is00443200; GW M41555

Tartagnus, Alexander

Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Digesti veteris.

- [Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, about 1488]. GW M45107; ISTC it00019250
[Venice: Andreas Calabrensis, Papiensis, 1489]. GW M4510010; ISTC it00019300
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Digesti veteris*
Venice: Andreas Calabrensis, Papiensis, 27 Jan. 1489. GW M4510020; ISTC it00019400
Milan: Leonardus Pachel, 3 Oct. 1489. GW M45116; ISTC it00019500
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Infortiati*
Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 25 Sept. 1482 GW M45156; ISTC it00019600
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Digesti novi*
[Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, about 1480]. GW M45040; ISTC it00018870
Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, 27 Mar. 1480. ISTC it00018900 (not in GW)
[Venice: Johannes Herbort, de Seligenstadt, 1484]. GW M45059(I); ISTC it00018930
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Digesti novi.*
Bologna: Henricus de Colonia, for Sigismundus de Libris, 15 Mar. 1478. GW M45033; ISTC it00018970
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 14 Feb. 1488. GW M45061; ISTC it00019200
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima et secunda parte Digesti novi*
Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 1492. GW M45002; ISTC it00018800;
'Venice' [i.e. Milan: Leonardus Pachel], 1495. GW M45057; ISTC it00018830;
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super prima parte Codicis*
[Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, about 1475]. GW M44928; ISTC it00018650
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 22 Sept. 1488. GW M44927; ISTC it00018670
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super secunda parte Codicis*
[Bologna]: Henricus de Colonia, 23 June 1480. GW M44933; ISTC it00018700
[Modena]: Henricus de Colonia, 11 Oct. 1482. GW M44935; ISTC it00018730
Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler for Philippus de Lavagnia, 17 May 1483. GW M44934; ISTC it00018750
Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 1488. GW M44919; ISTC it00018770
- Apostillae ad Bartolum super tribus libris Codicis.* Mantua: Paulus de Butzbach, 12 Sept. 1476. GW M44924; ISTC it00018600
- Trano, Ganfredus (Goffredus) de
Summa super titulos Decretalium. Add: Johannes Monachus: *Defensorium iuris.*
Innocentius IV: *Tractatus exceptionum.* Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum.* Petrus Jacobus Montipessulano: *De arbitris et arbitratoribus.*
Galvanus Salvianus, de Bononia: *Differentiae legum et canonum.* Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De tabellionibus.* Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis: *Repetitiones super Capitulum Ecclesiae S. Mariae.* Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 26 Jan. 1491; 9 Feb. 1491; 3 Feb. 1491. GW 10951; ISTC it00425000
- Ubaldis, Baldus de
De quaestionibus et tormentis. Add: *De carceribus. De exemptionibus. De permutationibus beneficiorum. Tractatus discrepantium legum et canonum.*
Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De insigniis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus.* Johannes Raynaudi: *De nobilitate.* Boninconcus Andreae: *De privilegiis clericorum.* Paris: [Pasquier and Jean Bonhomme, about] 28 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW M48674; ISTC iu00034900
-

De quaestionibus et tormentis. Add: De carceribus. De exemptionibus. Tractatus discrepantiarum legum et canonum. De permutationibus beneficiorum. Bartolus de Saxoferrato: *De testibus.* Johannes Andreae: *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis. Super arboribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis.* Boninconcus Andreae: *De privilegiis clericorum.* Dinus de Mugello: *Tractatus praescriptionum.* Johannes Raynaudi: *De nobilitate.* Johannes de Legnano: *De pluritate beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum.* Guillelmus Bont: *Responsio ac decisio quaestionis quodlibeticae*

Paris: [Pasquier Bonhomme, about] 28 Aug. 1477. 4°. GW M48687; ISTC iu00034950

Paris: [Jean Bonhomme], 1486. 4°. GW M48690; ISTC iu00035000

Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV)

Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 13 Aug. 1489. GW M48654; ISTC iu00031000

[Milan]: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono, 30 Sept. 1491. GW M48655; ISTC iu00032000

Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499. GW M48659; ISTC iu00032500

Margarita (Repertorium super Innocentio IV). Add: Singularia, seu Repertorium. Angelus de Ubaldis: *Singularia.* Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, 8 Nov. 1499. GW M48660; ISTC iu00032600

Repertorium aureum super Speculo Guillelmi Durandi. Signata in leg. 'Ingenuum', Dig. De statu hominum. Signata in leg. 'Quaedam mulier', Dig. Familiae erciscundae. Guillelmus Duranti: *Singularia ad causas cotidianas. Signata super leg. 'Dotis causa', Dig. De iure dotium.* Innocentius IV: *Notabilia dicta.* [Rome: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, 1475]. GW M48700; ISTC iu00012500

Vocabularius juris utriusque

[Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1473]. GW M12628; ISTC iv00334000

Basel: Michael Wenssler, ab. 1473]. GW M12625; ISTC iv00335000

Speyer: Peter Drach, 18 May 1477. GW M12653; ISTC iv00336000

Speyer: Peter Drach, Sept. 1478. GW M12654; ISTC iv00338000

[Speyer: Peter Drach, ab. 1477]. GW M12655; ISTC iv00337000

[Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1477]. GW M12663; ISTC iv00337200

[Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, ab. 1477-78]. GW M12635; ISTC iv00335500

[Basel: Michael Wenssler, between 1475 and 1478]. GW M12614; ISTC iv00335600

Paris: In vico S. Jacobi (Au Soufflet Vert [Louis Symonel et Socii]), 31 Oct. 1476. GW M12648; ISTC iv00335700

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 4 Sept. 1481. GW M12646; ISTC iv00340000

Ed: Daniel ab Aqua. Vicenza: Leonardus Achates de Basilea and Jacobus de Dusa, 1482. GW M12677; ISTC iv00341000

[Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen], 29 Sept. 1483. GW M12634; ISTC iv00343000

Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 25 Dec. 1483. GW M12674; ISTC iv00344000

Basel: [Michael Wenssler], 20 Aug. 1483. GW M12632; ISTC iv00342000

Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca) and Bernardino di Pino, 18 June 1485. GW M12668; ISTC iv00345000

Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Sept. 1486. GW M12661; ISTC iv00346000

Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 19 Dec. 1487. GW M12675; ISTC iv00346500

Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 17 Aug. 1488. GW M12624; ISTC iv00347000

- Lyon: Mathias Huss, 21 May 1490. GW M12638; ISTC iv00347500
Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)],
28 Sept. 1490. GW M12666; ISTC iv00348000
Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 30 May 1491. GW
M12669; ISTC iv00350000
Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 6 July 1492. GW M12641; ISTC iv00351000
Venice: Philippus Pincius, 31 Oct. 1493. GW M12672; ISTC iv00352000
[Lyon: Mathias Huss, not after 25 Jan. 1494]. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00352300
Rome: Stephan Planck, 6 Feb. 1494. GW M12652; ISTC iv00353000
Strasbourg: [Printer of the 'Casus Breves Decretalium' (Georg Husner?)], 13
Aug. 1494. GW M12662; ISTC iv00354000
[Lyon: Johannes Siber], 12 Dec. 1494. GW M12618; ISTC iv00354500
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1 July 1496. GW M12647; ISTC iv00355000
[Lyon: n.pr.], 8 June 1497. [not in GW]; ISTC iv00355500
Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1498. GW M12676; ISTC
iv00356000
Lyon: Jean de Vingle, 24 Dec. 1499. GW M12640; ISTC iv00357000;
Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 27 May 1500. GW M12667; ISTC iv00358000
[Spain?: n.pr., after 1500?]. GW M1261710; ISTC iv00358100
- Zabarellis, Franciscus de, *Lectura super Clementinis*. [Rome]: Sixtus Riessing-
er, [ab. 1468-69]. GW M51984; ISTC iz00002000

Charts and Tables

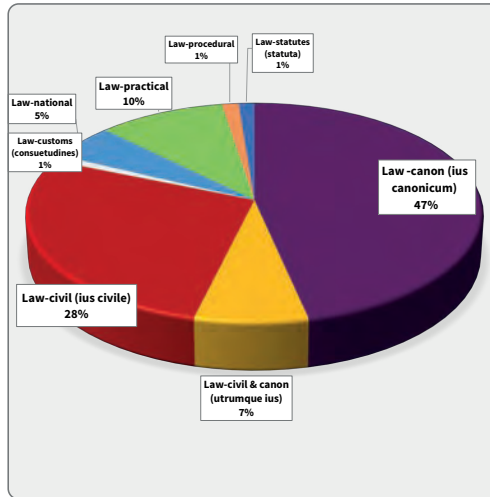


Chart 1 All editions of legal texts by subject

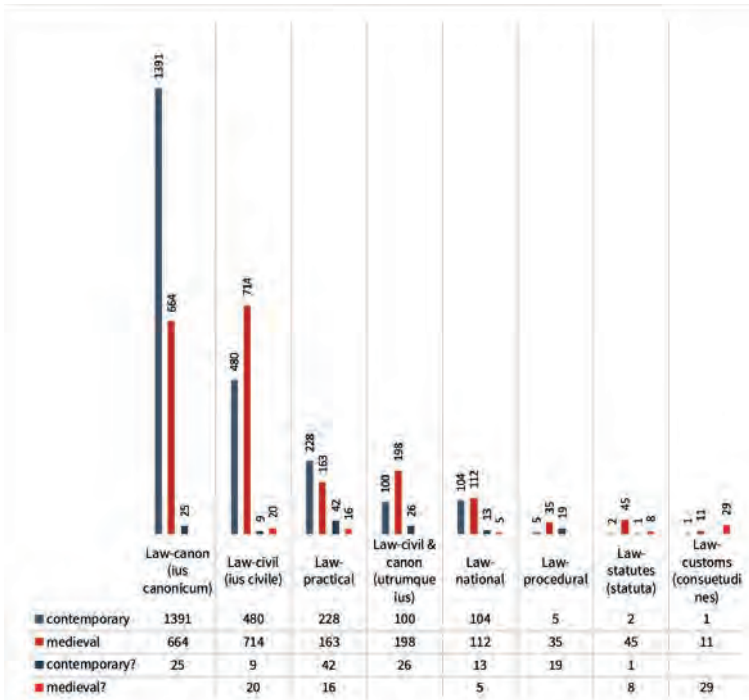


Chart 2 All editions of legal texts by subject and period

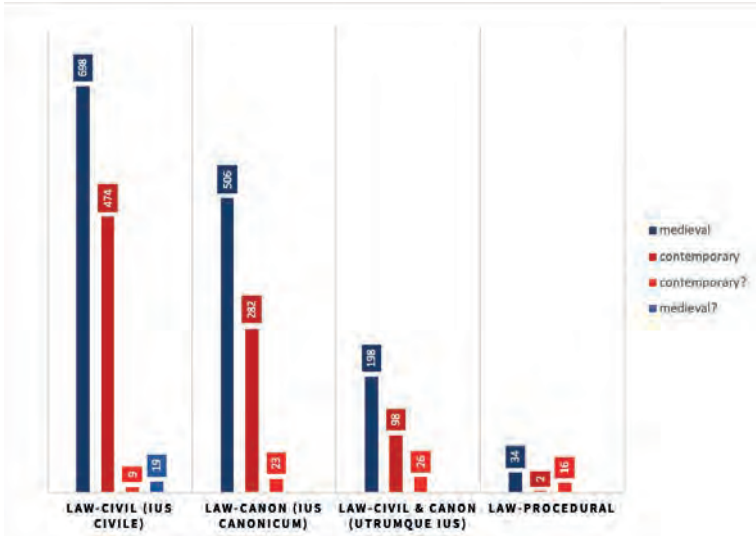


Chart 3 Editions of scholarly works by time period of author/texts

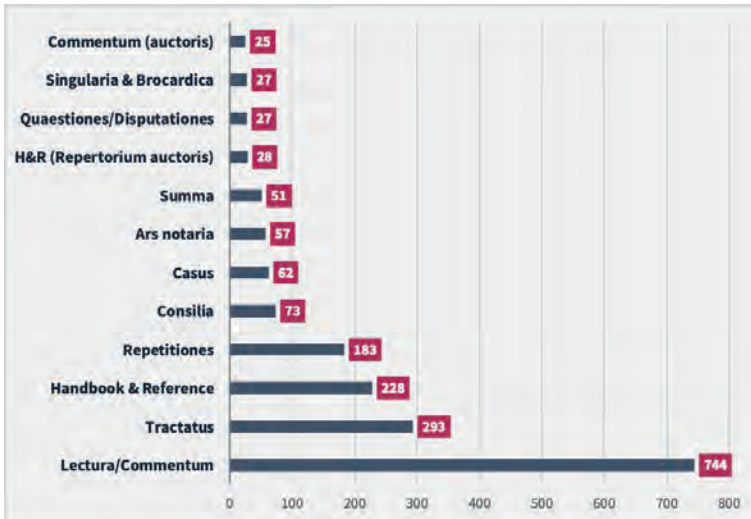


Chart 4 Distribution of scholarly legal texts by genre (not including the texts of the two *corpora iuris*)

Tables

Table 1 All editions of legal texts by country of printing and time period

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Medieval?	
Italy	941	48	1099	21	2109
Law-civil (ius civile)	433	5	519	5	962
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	328	10	277		615
Law-practical	102	26	125	13	266
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	62	7	91		160
Law-statutes (statuta)	1		40	3	44
Law-national	10		29		39
Law-procedural	5		16		21
Law-customs (consuetudines)			2		2
Germany	805	49	306	5	1165
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	697	6	178		881
Law-practical	78	9	11		98
Law-civil (ius civile)	16	4	53	3	76
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	9	5	40		54
Law-national	4	10	15	2	31
Law-procedural		15	6		21
Law-statutes (statuta)	1		3		4
France	170	20	337	48	575
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	76	5	128		209
Law-civil (ius civile)	27		124	12	163
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	22	10	45		77
Law-practical	27		11	3	41
Law-customs (consuetudines)			6	29	35
Law-national	18	1	12	2	33
Law-procedural		4	11		15
Law-statutes (statuta)				2	2
Iberian Peninsula	187	3	45		235
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	107	1	13		121
Law-national	69		22		91
Law-practical	8	2	5		15
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	1		2		3
Law-civil (ius civile)	1		2		3
Law-statutes (statuta)			1		1
Law-customs (consuetudines)	1				1
Low Countries	92	6	56		154
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	80		21		101
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	3	3	11		17
Law-practical	6	2	8		16
Law-civil (ius civile)	3		5		8
Law-national			5		5

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Medieval?
Law-customs (consuetudines)			3	3
Law-statutes (statuta)		1	1	2
Law-procedural			2	2
Switzerland	59	7	62	128
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	51	3	38	92
Law-practical	6	3	3	12
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	2	1	9	12
Law-civil (ius civile)			11	11
Law-national			1	1
England	41	2	33	3 79
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	37		6	43
Law-national	3	2	27	32
Law-statutes (statuta)				3 3
Law-civil & canon (utrumque ius)	1			1
Unknown	8			8
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	8			8
Austria	4		3	7
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	4		3	7
Sweden	2			2
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	2			2
Bohemia	1			1 2
Law-practical	1			1
Law-national				1 1
Ottoman Empire			1	1
Law-national			1	1
Hungary	1			1
Law-canon (ius canonicum)	1			1
	2311	135	1942	78 4466

Table 2 Official documents by country of printing

Country of issue	Editions
Germany	629
Iberian Peninsula	102
Low Countries	70
Italy	51
Switzerland	37
England	36
France	24
Unknown	8
Austria	3
Sweden	2
Hungary	1
	963

Table 3 Official documents by author/anonymous texts (only showing authors/
anonymous texts with 10 or more editions)

Author and genre	Eds
Commissary (card. Raimundus Peraudi)	190
Decree (indulgentia)	166
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	24
pope (Sixtus IV)	180
Decree (indulgentia)	102
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	78
pope (Innocentius VIII)	104
Decree (indulgentia)	61
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	43
[Indulgentia]	82
Decree (indulgentia)	82
Commissary (Johannes de Cardona)	33
Decree (indulgentia)	32
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	1
Commissary (Werdenberg)	27
Decree (indulgentia)	27
pope (Alexander VI)	23
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	16
Decree (indulgentia)	7
Bishop of Sebenico (Lucas de Tollentis)	17
Decree (indulgentia)	17
Bishop of Würzburg (Rudolphus de Scherenberg)	16
Decree (bullae, breve, regula etc.)	16
Commissary (Robertus Castellensis)	13
Decree (indulgentia)	13
Commissary (Bartholomaeus de Camerino)	13
Decree (indulgentia)	13
Commissary (Alphonsus de Losa)	13
Decree (indulgentia)	13
Commissary (Emericus de Kemel)	11
Decree (indulgentia)	11
Commissary (Robertus Gaguinus)	10
Decree (indulgentia)	10
Commissary (Ximenes de Cisneros)	10
Decree (indulgentia)	10
Total	742

Table 4 Editions of papal legal texts (out of the *Corpus iuris canonici*)

	Canon law	Practical law	Statutes (<i>statuta</i>)	Eds
contemporary	410	76		485
pope (Sixtus IV)	218	36		254
pope (Innocentius VIII)	137	14		150
pope (Alexander VI)	37	21		59
pope (Paulus II)	14	5		19
pope (Calixtus III)	2			2
pope (Leo VIII)	1			1
medieval	4		1	5
pope (Johannes XXII)	2			2
pope (Bonifacius VIII)	1			1
pope (Nicolaus V)	1			1
pope (Martinus V)			1	1
medieval & contemporary	9			9
popes (Johannes XXII; Benedictus XII; Martinus V; Eugenius IV; Paulus II)	9			
Editions	422	76	1	499

Table 5 Editions of texts classified as National law (only showing texts printed in 5 or more editions)

	Contemporary	Contemporary?	Medieval	Eds
Iberian Peninsula	68		7	75
Kings of Spain (Ferdinandus et Isabella)	57			57
Díaz de Montalvo, Alonso, <i>Ordenanzas reales</i>	11			11
Jacob ben Asher*			7	7
France	12		11	23
King of France (Carolus VIII)	12			12
King of France (Carolus VII)			11	11
Italy	7		11	18
Duke of Milan (Sforza, Ludovico Maria)	7			7
Jacob ben Asher			6	6
Rampinis, Andreas de, de Isernia**			5	5
Germany		5	12	17
Eike von Reggow, <i>Sachsenspiegel</i>			12	12
Schwabenspiegel		5		5
England			7	7
King of England (Henry VII)			7	7
Low Countries			5	5
Eike von Reggow, <i>Sachsenspiegel</i>			5	5
Total	87	5	53	145

*Jacob ben Asher (ca. 1269-ca. 1340) is the author of the most complete codification of Jew law

** Andreas de Isernia (d. ca. 1316), professor of Civil law in Naples, is the author of commentaries on the Constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily (feudal law, which is also part of the *Corpus iuris civilis*)

Table 6 The texts of Civil and Canon law as they were arranged in 15th-century editions

Corpus iuris civilis	206
Institutiones	77
Codex Iustinianus	30
Digestum Vetus	25
Digestum Infortiatum	24
Digestum Novum	22
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Constitutiones Extravagantes)	18
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)	6
Libri feudorum	4
Corpus iuris canonici	202
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	58
Gregorius IX, Decretales	55
Gratianus, Decretum	45
Clemens V, Constitutiones	42
Johannes XXII, Extravagantes	2

Table 7 Editions of texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and the *Corpus iuris canonici* by time (decades) and space (country of printing)

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
1451-60			1			1
Corpus iuris canonici			1			1
Clemens V, Constitutiones			1			1
1461-70			4			4
Corpus iuris canonici			3			3
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium			2			2
Clemens V, Constitutiones			1			1
Corpus iuris civilis			1			1
Institutiones			1			1
1471-80	61	3	22	14	1	101
Corpus iuris canonici	30	3	14	9		56
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	9	1	3	3		16
Clemens V, Constitutiones	9	1	4	4		18
Gratianus, Decretum	7		4	1		12
Gregorius IX, Decretales	5	1	3	1		10

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
Corpus iuris civilis	31		8	5	1	45
Codex Iustinianus	3		2			5
Digestum infortiatum	3					3
Digestum novum	3			1		4
Digestum vetus	3					3
Institutiones	14		3	3	1	21
Libri feudorum			2			2
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)	3		1	1		5
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	2					2
1481-90	88	36	17	13		154
Corpus iuris canonici	42	19	12	9		82
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	11	5	3	2		21
Clemens V, Constitutiones	11	4	3	2		20
Gratianus, Decretum	8	2	4	3		17
Gregorius IX, Decretales	12	7	2	2		23
Johannes XXII, Extravagantes		1				1
Corpus iuris civilis	46	17	5	4		72
Codex Iustinianus	8	2	1	1		12
Digestum infortiatum	7	2				9
Digestum novum	5	2	1			8
Digestum vetus	8	3	1			12
Institutiones	13	7	1	3		24
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	5	1				6
1491-1500	74	56	10	6		146
Corpus iuris civilis	46	37	3			86
Codex Iustinianus	8	4				12
Digestum infortiatum	7	4				12
Digestum novum	7	3				10
Digestum vetus	6	4				10
Institutiones	11	18	1			30
Libri feudorum			2			2
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum)	1					1
Volumen (Novellae; Tres ultimi libri Codicis; Libri feudorum; Const. Extravagantes)	6	4				10

Period and texts	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	Total eds
Corpus iuris canonici	28	19	7	6		60
Bonifacius VIII, Liber Sextus Decretalium	9	7	1	2		19
Clemens V, Constitutiones	1		1			2
Gratianus, Decretum	8	4	2	2		16
Gregorius IX, Decretales	9	8	3	2		22
Johannes XXII, Extravagantes	1					1
Total Editions	223	95	54	33	1	406

Table 8 Scholarly production: the ‘top ranking’ of authors/texts printed in 20 or more editions

	Medieval	Contemporary	Cont?	Eds
<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	204			204
<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i>	202			202
Bartolus de Saxoferrato	199			199
Andreae, Johannes	95			95
Tartagnus, Alexander		86		86
Ubaldis, Baldus de	74			74
Tudeschis, Nicolaus de (Panormitanus)		65		65
Paulus de Castro	50			50
Mayno, Jason de		48		48
Gambilionibus, Angelus de		45		45
Sandeus, Felinus		43		43
Cepolla, Bartholomaeus		41		41
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i>	40			40
<i>Casus</i>	38		1	39
<i>Formularium</i>			39	39
<i>Ars notariatus</i>	36			36
Socinus, Bartholomaeus		36		36
Barbatia, Andreas		35		35
<i>Vocabularius juris</i>	33			33
Pontanus, Ludovicus (Romanus)	30			30
<i>Modus vacandi et acceptandi beneficiorum</i>	28			28
Ubaldis, Angelus de	27			27
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de		27		27

	Medieval	Contemporary	Cont?	Eds
Accoltis, Franciscus de		26		26
<i>Modus servandus in executione</i>	25			25
Johannes de Imola	23			23
Bologninus, Ludovicus		21		21
Rolandinus de Passageriis	20			20
Socinus, Marianus, de Senis		20		20
Ferrariis, Johannes Petrus de	20			20
	1144	493	40	1677

Table 9 Scholarly production: authors (or titles) printed in less than 20 editions

Eds*	Medieval authors/title
17	Duranti, Guillelmus
16	Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano
14	Ancharano, Petrus De; Bernardus Parmensis; Brocardica
12	Saliceto, Bartholomaeus de; Auerbach, Johannes (jurist); Ubaldis, Petrus de; Modus legendi abbreviaturas [et al.]; Zabarellis, Franciscus de;
11	Butrio, Antonius de
9	Albericus de Rosate; Florianus de Sancto Petro
8	Calderinus, Johannes; Cinus de Pistorio; Johannes de Anania; Milis, Johannes Nicolaus de; Petrucius, Fredericus; Rampinis, Andreas de, de Isernia
7	Adam, Magister; Faber Runcinus, Johannes; Guido; Henricus de Segusio; Tuscus, Vivianus
6	Gandino, Albertus de; Innocentius IV; Lignano, Johannes de; Mattaselanus, Matthaeus
5	Azo, Portius; Castellione, Johannes Lopus de; Gerson, Johannes; Militio, Albricus de; Oldradus de Ponte; Raymundis, Raphael de
4	Alvarotus, Jacobus; Antoninus Florentinus; Baysio, Guido de; Calderini, Giovanni; Gaspar Calderinus; Odofredus Beneventanus; Ridolfi, Lorenzo
3	Arena, Jacobus de; Bartholomaeus Brixiensis; Barzis, Benedictus de (Perusinus); Baysio, Guido de; Dinus de Mugello; Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia; Nellus De Sancto Geminiano; Platea, Johannes de; Trano, Ganfredus (Goffredus) de
2	Accursius, Franciscus (1225-93); Afflictis, Matthaeus de; Barzi, Benedetto; Castillioneus, Christophorus; Homodeis, Signorolus de; Johannes, Monachus Cisterciensis; Unzola, Petrus de
1	Acceptantibus, Franciscus de; Alvarotus, Petrus; Azo de Ramenghis; Bamberg (dyoensis); Bassianus, Johannes; Bellamera, Aegidius de; Brandi, Petrus; Bouhic, Henricus; Cappel, Ludeco; Corneto, Tancredus de; <i>Expositiones</i> ; Faber Runcinus, Johannes; Fulgosio, Raffaele; Jacobi, Petrus, de Aureliaco; Jacobi, Petrus, de Montepessulano; Johannes Diaconus; Liazariis, Paulus de; <i>Liber assisarum</i> ; Mattaselanus, Petrus; Oden-dorff, Henricus de; Sardis, Ludovicus de; Spinellus, Nicolaus, de Neapoli; Vitalinis, Bonifacius de; Zochis, Jacobus de

Medieval?	
19	<i>Flores legum</i>
Contemporary author/texts	
9	Breitenbach, Johannes de; Canis, Johannes Jacobus; Curtius, Franciscus
8	Bartolinis, Baldus de; Bulgarinis, Bulgarinus de; Decius, Lancelottus; Regnierus, Helias
7	Lauretus, Bernardus ; Michael de Dalen; Ubaldis, Nicolaus de
6	Antonius de Prato Veteri; Berberius, Johannes; Cornio, Petrus Philippus de; Monte, Petrus de; Puteo, Paris de
5	Bovillus, Nicolaus; Cambanis, Vitalis de; Giocchis, Fabianus de; Koelner de Vanckel, Johannes; Marcilletus, Stephanus; Meckenlocher, Fridericus
4	Attavanti, Paolo; Costa, Stephanus; Franciscus de Crema; Jacobus de Clusa; Johannes Nivicellensis, Abbas; Papa, Guido; Periglis, Angelus de; Porchus, Johannes Christophorus; Tyndarus de Perusio
3	Campegius, Johannes; Caraziis, Martinus de; Castello, Amadeus Justinus de; Natta, Georgius; Palatiis, Laurus de; Piro, Henricus de; Ranchicourt, Carolus de
2	Ambrosius de Woestine; Bellincinis, Bartholomaeus de; Benedictis, Benedictus de; Brant, Sebastian; Brunus, Franciscus; Crispus de Montibus, Johannes; Decius, Philippus; Gerardus de Elten; Montepico, Paulus de; Pavinis, Johannes Franciscus de; Petrus Ravennas (d. 1478); Sancto Blasio, Baptista de; Seysello, Claudius de; Soto, Alphonsus de; Tortis, Hieronymus de; Zanetinis, Hieronymus de
16	Rosellis, Antonius de
13	Sancto Georgio, Johannes Antonius de; Franchi, Filippo
12	Bertachinus, Johannes; Corsettus, Antonius; Lanfrancus de Oriano
11	Canaro, Antonius de; Díaz de Montalvo, Alonso
1	Alexander de Nevo; Alexandro, Antonius de; Amicis, Johannes de; Antiboli, Petrus; Bagnyon, Jean; Barlasina, Matthaues; Bartolinus, Pius Antonius; Baveriis, Marcus Antonius de; Bologninus, Bartholomaeus (Jurist); Bonifacius Lusitanus; Branditius, Joannes Georgius; Briccius, Jordanus; Camers, Johannes; Carafa, Johannes Antonius; Clarius, Hieronymus; <i>Consilia</i> ; <i>Consilium</i> ; Contarenus, Franciscus; Currifex, Johannes; Dragacius, Jacobus; Ebeling, Bernhard; Fortunatus Perusinus, Franciscus; Gothardus de Buscoducis; Grassus, Petrus; Greve, Henricus, de Göttingen; Hermes, Flavius; Lanfrancus Balbus, Jaffredus; Mongardinis, Agamemnon de; Montevidiano, Balionus de; Nicasius de Voerda; Nicellis, Christophorus de; Nicellus, Antonius; Oppizonus, Ambrosius; Pepis, Franciscus de; Pfeffer de Wydenberg, Johannes; Platus, Anastasius; Poliascha, Johannes Franciscus de; Rolewinck, Werner; Ruinus, Carolus; Sadoletus, Johannes; Segura, Didacus de; Sifridus Teutonicus de Arena; Stephanus de Caieta; Vegius, Maphaeus
Contemporary?	
19	<i>Rubricae</i>
16	<i>Ordo iudiciarius</i> [German]
14	Rota Romana
5	<i>Methodus utriusque iuris</i>
3	<i>Margarita Decretalium</i> ; Turnhout, Johannes de
2	Fitzherbert, Anthony
1	<i>Compendium juris canonici</i> ; <i>Repertorium aureum sive Concordantiae utriusque iuris</i> ; Endrino, Martinus Ferdinandus; <i>Exceptiones</i> ; Langer, Johannes; <i>Margarita Legum</i> ; <i>Quaestio</i> ; <i>Regulae</i> [Index]; <i>Tituli utriusque iuris</i> ; Turretinus, Paulus

*Number of editions for each author/title

Table 10 The *editiones principes* of all parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

WHERE	Mainz	Strassburg	Rome	Perugia
WHO	Peter Schoeffer	Heinrich Eggstein	[Vitus Puecher]	H. Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast
WHEN				
1468	1			1
Institutiones	1			1
1472		1		1
Libri feudorum		1		1
1475	1		1	2
Codex	1			1
Digestum Infortiatum			1	1
1476			2	1
Digestum Novum			1	1
Digestum Vetus				1
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)			1	1
	2	1	3	1
				7

Table 11 Country of printing and time periods of editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

	Italy	France	Germany	Switzerland	Low Countries	
1461-70			1			1
Mainz			1			1
1471-80	31		8	5	1	45
Venice	12					12
Rome	9					9
Basel				5		5
Mainz			4			4
Strassburg			3			3
Pavia	2					2
Ferrara	2					2
Padua	2					2
Louvain					1	1
Mantua	1					1
Milan	1					1
Perugia	1					1
Pinerolo/Venice	1					1
Nuremberg			1			1
1481-90	47	17	6	4		74
Venice	37					37
Lyon		16				16
Milan	7					7
Basel				4		4
Nuremberg			4			4
Strassburg			1			1
Turin	1					1
Pavia	1					1
Rome	1					1
Paris		1				1
1491-1500	45	38	2			85
Venice	44					44
Lyon		32				32
Paris		6				6
Augsburg			2			2
Milan	1					1
	123	55	17	9	1	204

Table 12 Editions of each part of the *Corpus iuris civilis* by time periods and printing places

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice	
1465-70							1											1	
Institutiones							1											1	
1471-75			4				2	1	3			1					1	12	
Institutiones			3				1		1			1					1	7	
Libri feudorum									2									2	
Codex							1	1										2	
Digestum Infortiatum				1														1	
1476-80	12		5	1	5		2		2			1	2	1		1		1	33
Institutiones	3		2	1	3		1		1			1		1				1	14
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum)	3					1	1												5
Digestum Novum	1		1		1								1						4
Codex	2		1																3
Digestum Vetus	2																1		3
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)				1						1									2
Digestum Infortiatum	1												1						2
1481-85	16	6	1	7	1			2		1									34
Institutiones	4	2	1	1	1					1									10
Digestum Vetus	2	1		2				1											6
Codex	3	1		1															5
Digestum Novum	2	1		1				1											5
Digestum Infortiatum	3	1		1															5
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	2																		2

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice	
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)				1															1
1481-90	1								1										2
Institutiones	1								1										2
1485-90	20	10			3	1		2								1			37
Institutiones	5	4			2	1		1								1			14
Codex	4	1			1			1											7
Digestum Vetus	4	2																	6
Digestum Infortiatum	3	1																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	2	1																	3
Digestum Novum	2	1																	3
1491-95	27	10				2					2								41
Institutiones	6	7				2													15
Digestum Novum	5	1																	6
Codex	4	1																	5
Digestum Vetus	4	1																	5
Digestum Infortiatum	4																		4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)	3																		3
Libri feudorum [German]											2								2
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	1																		1

	Venice	Lyon	Rome	Milan	Basel	Paris	Mainz	Nuremberg	Strasbourg	Pavia	Augsburg	Ferrara	Padua	Mantua	Turin	Perugia	Louvain	Pinerolo/ Venice	
1495-1500	17	22		1		4													44
Institutiones	4	5				4													13
Codex	4	4																	8
Digestum Infortiatum	3	4																	7
Digestum Vetus	1	3		1															5
Digestum Novum	2	2																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		4																	4
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	3																		3
	93	48	10	9	9	7	5	5	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	204

Table 13 Printers and publishers of the *Corpus iuris civilis*

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
Venice			12	16	1	20	27	17	93
B Tortis				1		9	11	16	37
G Arrivabene					1	1	5		7
J Rubeus			7						7
A Calabrensis				2		3	1		6
B Stagninus							5		5
N Jenson			4						4
J & G de Gregoriis J									
Britannicus				3					3
R Novimagius						2			2
A Torresanus						1	1		2
A de Bonetis						2			2
H Paganini							1		1
A Soziis for Birreta & Grassis				1					1
B Rizus				1					1
N de Benedictis				1					1
J Hamman for O Scotus							1		1
Anonymus				1					1
[A Calabrensis B Torti]							1		1
N Rubeus			1						1
A de Stanchis						1			1
A Soziis				1					1
O Scotus				1					1
[A Torresanus] for A de Pavia & B de Moronis				1					1
J & G de Gregoriis				1					1
G Anima Mia						1			1
J & G de Gregoriis for Pincius								1	1
G Arrivabene for B Torti							1		1
G Grassis for Birreta				1					1
J Herbort				1					1
Lyon				6		10	10	22	48
J Siber				6		9		13	28
J Du Pré						1	6		7
N de Benedictis B Suigus								3	3

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
J deVingle							1	2	3
P Hongre								2	2
P Lathomi							2		2
N de Benedictis								1	1
P Lathomi etc							1		1
M Wenssler								1	1
Rome		4	5	1					10
V Puecher		1	3						4
Han		2							2
G Lauer			1						1
B Guldinbeck			1						1
Plannck				1					1
G Lauer L Pflugel		1							1
Milan			1	7				1	9
JA Honate for PA Castellione				6					6
Anonymous								1	1
L Pachel U Scinzenzeler			1						1
JA Honate				1					1
Basel			5	1		3			9
M Wenssler			4	1		1			6
M Wenssler for Helmut						1			1
B Ruppel			1						1
N Kesler						1			1
Paris						1	2	4	7
A Bocard							1	1	2
A Caillaut						1			1
U Gering B Rembolt								1	1
Pigouchet for Vostre								1	1
Wolf							1		1
A Bocard for Petit								1	1
Mainz	1	2	2						5
P Schoeffer	1	2	2						5
Nuremberg		1		2		2			5
A Koberger				2		2			4
J Sensenschmidt A Frisner		1							1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1481-90	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
Strassburg		3			1			4
H Eggestein		3						3
J Grueninger					1			1
Pavia			2	1				3
A de Carcano			2	1				3
Ferrara		1	1					2
A Belfortis		1	1					2
Augsburg							2	2
L Zeissenmair							1	1
E Ratdolt							1	1
Padua			2					2
P Maufer for Zacharotis			1					1
P Maufer			1					1
Turin						1		1
B Suigo						1		1
Venice or Pinerolo			1					1
J Rubeus			1					1
Mantua			1					1
P de Butzbach			1					1
Louvain		1						1
Johannes de Westfalia		1						1
Perugia			1					1
Clayn for Langenbeke & Vydenast			1					1
	1	12	33	35	2	37	41	44
								204

Table 14 Who printed all parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*

	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
B Torti	1	9	11	16	37
Codex		2	2	4	8
Digestum Infortiatum		1	2	3	6
Digestum Novum		1	1	2	4
Digestum Vetus		2	3	1	6
Institutiones	1	2	2	3	8
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		1	1		2
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)				3	3
[J Siber]	3	8		11	22
Codex				1	1
Digestum Infortiatum	1	1		2	4
Digestum Novum		1		2	3
Digestum Vetus		2		2	4
Institutiones	2	3		1	6
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)		1		3	4
JA Honate for PA Castellione	6				6
Codex	1				1
Digestum Infortiatum	1				1
Digestum Novum	1				1
Digestum Vetus	1				1
Institutiones	1				1
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes; Acta de Pace Constantiae)	1				1
J Siber	3	1		1	5
Codex	1	1			2
Digestum Infortiatum				1	1
Digestum Novum	1				1
Digestum Vetus	1				1
JA Honate	1				1
Digestum Vetus	1				1
A Calabrensis B Torti			1		1
Digestum Novum			1		1
G Arrivabene for B Torti			1		1
Volumen (Novellae; Codex X-XII; Libri feudorum; Extravagantes)			1		1
	14	18	13	28	73

Table 15 A general overview of 15th-century editions of works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato plus works based on his texts

Authorship	Genre	Eds
Main author	<i>Lecturae</i>	162
	<i>Tractatus</i> (minor collections/single text*)	20
	<i>Consilia</i> (244-5), <i>Quaestiones</i> (18), <i>Tractatus</i> (collectio maior: 28-31)**	8
	<i>Consilia</i> (244-5)	1
	<i>Quaestiones</i> (18)	1
	<i>Tractatus</i> (collectio maior: 28-31 texts)	1
		193
*Not including editions of the <i>Processus Satanae</i> not attributed to Bartolus		
** In almost all editions 244 <i>Consilia</i> were printed but were numbered up to 245 because of a repetition; the number of treatises within the collection varied.		
Author of additional texts	Commentary/summaries in <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	33
	<i>Tractatus</i> (collectiones aliorum auctorum)	26
		59
Works based on Bartolus' texts	Alexander Tartagnus, <i>Apostillae ad Bartolum</i>	19
	<i>Repertorium super operibus suis</i> (attributed to Bartolus)	7
	Antonius de Prato Veteri, <i>Repertorium iuris super operibus Bartoli</i>	6
	Contradictiones/Contrarietates Bartoli	5
	Johannes de Turnout, <i>Casus breves ex lecturis Bartoli et al.</i>	3

Table 16 Editions of Bartolus' *Lecturae* on the *Corpus iuris civilis*

Period of Time and Texts	Eds
1466-70	1
Super prima Infortiati	1
1471-75	18
Super prima Digesti Veteris	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	3
Super prima Codicis	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super secunda Digesti Novi	2
Super tribus libris	1
Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, Super tit. De exc.	1
Super prima Digesti Novi	1
Super prima Infortiati	1
1476-80	34
Super secunda Digesti Novi	5
Super prima Codicis	4
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	4
Super prima Infortiati	4
Super secunda Codicis	3
Super Authenticis	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	2
Super prima Digesti Novi	2
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris	1
1481-85	22
Super Authenticis	4
Super secunda Infortiati	3
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super prima Codicis	2
Super prima Infortiati	2
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris	1

Period of Time and Texts	Eds
Super prima Digesti Veteris	1
Super secunda Digesti Novi	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1
Super omnibus Digesti et Codicis (i-ix)	1
1486-90	34
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	4
Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio	3
Super Authenticis	3
Super secunda Digesti Novi	3
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	2
Super secunda Infortiati	2
Super prima Codicis	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris	2
Super secunda Codicis	2
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Infortiati	2
Collatio 11 extravagantium	1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
1491-95	44
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	6
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	6
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	5
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	5
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	5
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	4
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio	2
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	2
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	1
Super Authenticis	1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1
Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis	1

Period of Time and Texts	Eds
1496-1500	9
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1
Super secunda Codicis , cum additionibus	1
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1
	162

Table 17 Editions of all Bartolus' works by the time when all the *principes* (in bold) were printed (1477)

	[VENICE]	VENICE	[NAPLES]	NAPLES	[PERUGIA]	[ROME]	TREVI	MILAN	ROME	[PADUA]	MANTUA	PARIGI	[VENICE ROME]	[ANGERS]	BOLOGNA
1470													1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati													1		1
1471	4		2				1								7
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis	1		1												2
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi	1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, <i>Super titulo De excusationibus tutorum</i>							1								1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis	1		1												2
1471 [ab.]	1		1												2
[Lectura] Super tribus libris			1												1
QUAESTIONES	1														1
1471 [ab. 1471-72]			1		1										2
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris			1		1										2
1472	1														1
TRACTATUS (collectio maior)	1														1
1472 [ab.]			1			1									2
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris			1												1
[Tractatus] <i>De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium</i> (+Baldus, same subject)						1									1
1473	2								1	1					4
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi	1														1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1														1
CONSILIA									1						1
[Tractatus] <i>Processus Satane</i>										1					1

	[VENICE]	VENICE	[NAPLES]	NAPLES	[PERUGIA]	[ROME]	TREVI	MILAN	ROME	[PADUA]	MANTUA	PARIGI	[VENICE ROME]	[ANGERS]	BOLOGNA	
1473 [ab. 1473-74]					2	1										3
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris					1											1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati					1											1
[Tractatus] <i>De tabellionibus</i>						1										1
1475 [ante]			1													1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1													1
1475	1	1										1				3
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris	1															1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati			1													1
[Tractatus] <i>De insigniis et armis. De alimentis. De testibus.</i> In Baldus et al.												1				1
1476		3	1								1					5
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis		1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi		1	1													2
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis		1														1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus											1					1
1476 [ab. 1476-77]														1		1
[Tractatus] <i>De insignis et armis. De alimentis (+ Baldus, De quaes. et torm.)</i>														1		1
1477		3						1				1			1	6
[Lectura] Super Authenticis								1								1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris		1														1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati		1														1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi														1		1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus		1														1
[Tractatus] <i>De testibus.</i> In: Baldus et al.												1				1
	9	7	6	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	38

*Not including the editions of *Processus Satane* which are not attributed to Bartolus in the book

Table 18 Bartolus de Saxoferrato major works (*Lecturae* and major collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones*, and *Tractatus*) by printing places and period of time

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	
Venice		1	21	11	26	26	9	94
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis			3	1	2	1		7
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis			3	1	2			6
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio			2	1	3			6
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati			3	1	2			6
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati		1	1	2	2			6
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus					1	3	1	5
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris			2	1	2			5
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			2		3			5
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris			1	1	2	1		5
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						3	2	5
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			2	1	2			5
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus						3	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						3	1	4
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1	2	1	4
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)				1	1	2		4
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	1	3
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1	1			2
[Lectura] Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus						1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi			1					1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio						1		1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris			1					1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
[Venice]	8		2				10
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi	1		1				2
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris	1						1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati				1			1
Quaestiones	1						1
Lyon				1			1
[Lectura] Super omnibus Digesti et Codicis (i-ix)				1			1
[Lyon]				2	2	19	23
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1	1	1	3
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus						3	3
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus				1	1	1	3
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						2	2
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						2	2
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)						2	2
Milan			2	7	5	3	17
[Lectura] Super Authenticis			1				1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio				1			1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio						1	1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati				1			1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus					1		1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus						1	1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati				1			1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus						1	1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus					1		1
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)			1				1
[Milan]			3	2			5
[Lectura] Super Authenticis			2	1			3
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			1				1
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior)				1			1
Naples			1				1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi			1				1
[Naples]		6					6
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis		1					1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris		1					1

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500
Pavia			3		1		4
[Lectura] Super Authenticis					1		1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis			1				1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati			1				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris			1				1
[Perugia]		3					3
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris		1					1
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati		1					1
[Venice]or[Rome]	1						1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati	1						1
Trevi		1					1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati + Baldus, Super tit. De exc.		1					1
Rome		1					1
Consilia		1					1
Mantua			1				1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus			1				1
Parma			1				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1				1
Bologna			1				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi			1				1
Nuremberg				1			1
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				1			1
[Paris]					1		1
[Lectura] Collatio 11 extravagantium					1		1
	1	20	35	24	35	48	9
							172

Table 19 Printers of Bartolus de Saxoferrato's major works by place and time

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	Eds
Venice		1	21	11	26	26	9	94
A Torresanus				1	15	7		23
B de Tortis					3	10	9	22
J de Colonia J Manthen		1	10					11
N Jenson			10					10
A Paltasichis					3	5		8
P Maufer			1	5				6
B Stagninus (A Torresanus)						4		4
J & G de Gregoriis				2				2
A Calabrensis					2			2
[P Maufer]				1				1
[A Torresano]					1			1
[P Paganini]					1			1
[A Calabrensis]				1				1
[G Arrivabene] B Benali					1			1
A Soziis				1				1
[Venice]		8	2					10
Vindelinus de Spira		6						6
J de Colonia J Manthen		1	1					2
[N Jenson]			1					1
[Vindelinus de Spira]		1						1
[Lyon]				2	2	19		23
[J Siber]				2	2	17		21
J Siber						1		1
[J Suigus de Benedictis]						1		1
Lyon				1				1
[G Le Roy] for Buyer				1				1
Milan			2	7	5	3		17
L Pachel U Scinzeler				7	1			8

	1466-70	1471-75	1476-80	1481-85	1486-90	1491-95	1496-1500	Eds
L Pachel					4	3		7
C Valdarfer for PA de Castelliono			1					1
JA Honate			1					1
[Milan]			3	2				5
[JA Honate]			3	2				5
[Naples]		6						6
S Riessinger		6						6
Naples			1					1
S Riessinger del Tuppo			1					1
Pavia			3		1			4
D Confaloneriis			3					3
C de Canibus					1			1
[Perugia]		3						3
[PP de Colonia]JN de Bambergia]		3						3
[Venice or Rome]	1							1
Anonymous	1							1
Trevi		1						1
J Reinhard		1						1
Rome		1						1
J Gensberg		1						1
Mantua			1					1
P de Butzbach			1					1
Bologna			1					1
D de Lapis			1					1
Parma			1					1
A Portilia			1					1
Nuremberg				1				1
A Koberger				1				1
[Paris]					1			1
[J Bonhomme]					1			1
	1	20	35	24	35	48	9	172

Table 20 Torresanus, Stagninus (in Torresanus' workshop) and Tortis' editions of Bartolus: a parallel

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
1485		1		
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati A-Z ⁸ 184		1		
1486		1		1
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus a ⁸ b–g ⁶ 44				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi ab ⁸ c ¹⁰ d–z [et con rum] ⁸ aa ¹⁰ 220		1		
1486/87	1			
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis a ¹⁰ bc ⁸ d ⁶ e ⁴ f–m ⁸ n ⁶ o–r ⁸ s ⁶ 136	1			
1487		2		
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati a–u ⁸ x ⁶ 166		1		
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati A–T ⁸ 152		1		
1487/88		1		
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis a–o ⁸ 112		1		
1488		5		
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio aa–pp ⁸ qqrr ¹⁰ 140		1		
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris aaa–ppp ⁸ 120		1		

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis				
AA-OO ⁸ PP ⁶		1		
118				
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis				
AAA-MMM ⁸ NNN ⁶		1		
102				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris				
a-v ⁸ x ¹⁰		1		
170				
1489		3		
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati				
a-e.f-q ⁸		1		
136				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris				
a-v ⁸		1		
160				
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi				
aA-uU ⁸ xX ¹⁰		1		
170				
[1488-89?]		1		
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati				
A-H ⁸ I ¹⁰ K-R ⁸ S ⁶		1		
144				
1490		2		2
[Lectura] Super Authenticis				
a-d ⁸ e ⁶ g ⁴				1
48 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus				
AA-OO ⁸ PP ⁶		1		
118				
[Lectura] Super tribus libris, cum additionibus				
a-f ⁶ g ⁴				1
40 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi + Repetitio				
aa-pp ⁸ qqrr ¹⁰		1		
140				

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
1491		2		
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis				
AAA–MMM ⁸ NNN ⁶		1		
102				
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris				
aaa–ppp ⁸		1		
120				
1492		4	3	1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus				
aaa–ttt ¹⁰ vvv ¹²				1
202 (numbered)				
AA–TT ⁸ UU ¹⁰			1	
162 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus				
a–z [et con rum] ¹⁰ A ⁸ B ⁶		1		
274 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus				
aa–zz ¹⁰ [etet concon] ¹²		1		
254 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus				
A–T ¹⁰ UX ⁶		1		
202				
[Lectura] Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus				
aaaa–ddd ⁸ eeee–ggg ¹⁰		1		
hhhh–nnnn ⁸ oooo ⁶				
116				
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus				
AAA–PPP ¹⁰ QQRRR ¹²			1	
174 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus				
a–d ¹⁰ e ⁸ f ¹⁰ g ⁸ h–l ¹⁰ m ¹² n–z ¹⁰			1	
[et]6				
234 (numbered)				

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
1493		1	1	6
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus				
AAAA-ZZZZ ⁸ AAAA-LLLL ⁶				1
270 (numbered)				
A-ZaA-IL ¹⁰ mM ⁸			1	
348 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio				
a-u ¹⁰ x ¹²		1		
212 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus				
aa-zz ⁸ [etet concon rumrum] ⁸				1
208 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus				
AAA-YYY ⁸ ZZZ ⁴				1
180 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus				
(AAaaa)bbb-xxx ⁸ yyy ⁶ zzz ⁴				1
178 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus				
aaaa-rrrr ⁸				1
136 (numbered)				
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus				
a-q ⁸ s-z ⁸ [et con rum] ⁸ A ⁶				1
206				
1494				
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus				
A-Z ⁸				1
224 (numbered)				

Date, texts, collation and leaves	[Torresanus]	Torresanus	Stagninus (Torresanus)	Tortis
1495				2
Consilia; Quaestiones; Tractatus (maior) a-s ⁸ t ⁶ v ⁴ 154 (numbered)				2
1499				7
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus AA-TT ⁸ UU ¹⁰ 162 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus AAA-YYY ⁸ ZZZ ⁴ 180 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus A-Z ⁸ 224 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus AAAA-ZZZZ ⁸ AAAA-LLLL ⁶ 270 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus aaa-xxx ⁸ yyy ⁶ zzz ⁴ 178 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus aaaa-rrrr ⁸ 136 (numbered)				1
[Lectura] Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus a-z [et con] ⁸ [rum] ⁶ 206 (numbered)				1
1500				2
[Lectura] Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus aa-zz ⁸ [etet concon rumrum] ⁸ 208 (numbered)				2
	1	23	4	22

Table 21 Authors of additions to Bartolus' *Lecturae*

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua	
1476-80	2			1	1	4
Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A	2			1		3
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2			1		3
Ubaldis A de					1	1
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus					1	1
1481-85	1	1				2
Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A	1	1				2
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	1	1				2
1486-90	5	1	5			11
Tartagni A	3		4			7
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1		1			2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1					1
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus			1			1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1					1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus			1			1
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus			1			1
Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A	2	1	1			4
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus	2	1	1			4
1491-95	22	16	3			41
Tartagni A; Ubaldis A de	1					1
Super Authenticis + Tres Libri, cum additionibus	1					1
Tartagni A	18	15	3			36
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	3	2	1			6
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	3	2	1			6

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	3	2			5
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	2	3			5
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	2	2			4
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	2	2			4
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus + Repetitio	1		1		2
Super prima et Secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus		2			2
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Tartagni A et al	1				1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
Ubaldis A de; Tartagni A		1			1
Super tribus libris, cum additionibus		1			1
Tartagni A; Landriani B	2				2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
1496-1500	9				9
Tartagni A	6				6
Super secunda Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1
Super secunda Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Novi, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Codicis, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1

Date-authors of additions-titles	Venice	[Lyon]	Milan	[Milan]	Mantua
Tartagni A; Landriani B	2				2
Super secunda Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Super prima Digesti Veteris, cum additionibus	1				1
Tartagni A.; Barbatia A.; Landriani B.	1				1
Super secunda Infortiati, cum additionibus	1				1
	39	18	8	1	1
					67

Table 22 Editions of Bartolus' comment on the *Tres libri Codicis* and their *introitus*

GW; ISTC	Imprint	Texts	introitus <i>In nomine Domini</i>	introitus <i>Omnes gaudentes</i>
3523; ib00204500	[Naples]: Riessinger, [1471]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis	Yes	Yes
3524; ib00204700	Mantua: Butzbach, 17 Sett. 1476	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis	Yes	No
3525; ib00205000	Venice: Jenson, 1477	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni	Yes	Yes
3527; ib00206000	Venice: J. de Colonia-Manthen, 1479/80	= [ed: Petrus Albinianus Trecius]	Yes	Yes
3526; ib00205500	[Milan: Onate, 1480 ca.]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni	Yes	Yes
3528; ib00207000	[Lyon:Siber, 1482 ca.]	=	Yes	Yes
3529; ib00208000	Venice: Sozi, 1485	=	Yes	Yes
3530; ib00209000	Venice: Torti, 1486	=	Yes	Yes
3531; ib00209300	Milan: Pachel, 1487	=	Yes	Yes
3533; ib00210000	Venice: Torti, 1490	=	Yes	Yes
3532; ib00209600	[Lyon: Siber, 1490 ca.]	=	Yes	Yes
3485; ib00190000	Venice: Torresano, 1492	Super authenticis. Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni	Yes	Yes
3534; ib00210100	[Lyon: Siber, 1495 ca.]	Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis cum additionibus Angeli de Ubaldis et Alexandri Tartagni	Yes	Yes

Table 23 Editions of the collections of *Consilia*, *Quaestiones* and *Tractatus*: an analysis

Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus									
	PRINCEPS	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII-VIII	IX	
	Consilia		Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus						
Editions	Rome 1473 ib00210700	Milan 1479 ib00210800	Venice 1485 ib00211000	[Milan 1485] ib00212000	Venice 1487/88 ib00212500	[Lyon ante 1492] ib00212700	Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000	[Lyon ca. 1495] ib00212800	
Leaves	136	100 (C) 172 (Q, T)	162	228	170	178	154	178	
Title	---	---	---	---	---	---	<i>Consilia questiones et tractatus Bartoli cum additionibus novis</i>	---	
Table of contents	<i>Tabula consiliorum</i>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Preface	---	---	---	Berardinus Landrianus to Johannes de Puteo	Note to the reader, anonymous [Honofrius?]	---	'Cuidam Honofrio' reply to criticisms	---	
Texts officially printed	245 [i.e. 244]	=	=	237	245 [i.e. 244]	=	245 [i.e. 244]	245 [i.e. 244]	
Note	"Hic erat duplicatum consilium numero tali videlicet CCLXIII"	=	=	No note: the <i>consilia</i> are renumbered and the duplication cancelled	"Hic erat duplicatum ..."	=	The cons. 243 is missing, without notes	"Hic erat duplicatum ..."	
<i>Quaestio Bartoli</i> (at the end)	"Adunantia generalis Comunis Perusii"	=	=	absent	present	present	absent	present	
Additiones	---	---	---	In column after each <i>consilium</i> introduced with ' Addi- tio '	Gathered at the end of consilia (quire hh), as announced in the pre- face.	On the mar- gins (as a glosa)	"cum ad- ditionibus novis" shortened and printed on the mar- gins	= Lyon [ante 1492]	
	Quaestiones	Consilia	Quaestiones	Tractatus					
	Venice [1471] ib00249000	Milan 1479 ib00210800	Venice 1485 ib00211000	[Milan 1485] ib00212000	Venice 1487/88 ib00212500	[Lion ante 1492] ib00212700	Venice 1495 (2) ib00213000 ib00214000	[Lion ca. 1495] ib00212800	
texts	18	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	
	Tractatus	Consilia Quaestiones Tractatus							

Venice 1472 ib00255000								
Illustrations (trattati <i>De fluminibus</i> , <i>De insula</i> , <i>De alveo</i>)	space left blank	space left blank	space left blank	39 woodcuts (announced in the preface), some coloured by hand	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	39 woodcuts numbered (I-XXXIX)	= [Lione ante 1492], apart from the last two
Table of contents	List of 35 titles with reference to leaf	List of 42 titles of tractatus (including titles of paragraphs)	General reference to 245 <i>consilia</i> and 18 <i>quaestiones</i> , list of 42 tractatus	List of 33 tractatus and general reference to <i>Quaestiones</i>	= Venice 1485, 42 titles	= Venice 1487	Similar to Venice 1485 (or 1487), but 43 titles of tractatus	= [ante Lyon 1492] summarised in half a column

Table 24 All editions of Bartolus' treatises in all combinations

Typology of collections and related main authors	1471-75	1476-80	1481-90	1491-1500	Eds
Collectio 'maior' (Bartolus)	1				1
(in: <i>Consilia, Quaestiones et Tractatus</i>)		1	3	4	8
Single text	4	2	4	6	16
Bartolus de Saxoferrato	1			5	6
Bartolus de Saxoferrato [or Baldus de Ubaldis o Gozzadinus de' Gozzadinis]	1	1	3		5
Anonymous (<i>Processus Satanae</i>)	2	1	1	1	5
Minor collections (Bartolus)	1	2	2	4	9
Collections (other authors)	2	3	8	12	26
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de				1	1
Faure, Jean				1	1
Gambilionibus, Angelus de		1			1
Innocentius III	1		1		3
Jean Le Moine (Johannes Monachus)				1	1
Lauret, Bernard et al.				7	7
Margarita legum			1		1
Modus legendi abbreviaturas		1	5	1	7
Goffredo da Trani et al.				1	1
Ubaldis, Baldus de	1	1	1		3
	8	8	17	26	60

Table 25 Bartolus' treatises printed in the 15th century

Text	C.A.L.M.A.	Collectio maior (1472)	Printed as single text	In minor collections	Other author collection	Printing places	Eds
<i>Processus Satanae</i>	158	[9]	10	5	3	Padua; Leipzig; Memmingen; Augsburg; Rome; Venice; Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris; Lyon; Lovanio; Speyer; Strassburg; Norimberga	18
<i>De Tabellionibus</i>	153	---	5		9	Rome; Venice; Bologna; Speyer; Strassburg; Lovanio; Nuremberg	14
<i>De alimentis</i>	100	[8]		1	7	Angers; Lyon; Toulouse; Paris	8
<i>Ordo iudicii</i>	149	[20]		5	1	Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris; Pavia;	6
<i>De insigniis et armis</i>	127	[7]		4	1	Angers; Rome; Leipzig; Paris	5
<i>De renuntiationibus beneficiorum in publicis instrumentis</i>	146?	---		5		Vienne; [Toulouse]; Paris	5
<i>De testibus*</i>	154	[31]			3	Paris	3
<i>De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus**</i>		≠ [31] ≠ [33]			1	[Vienne]	1
<i>Tractatus excussionum pignorum</i>	119	---			1	Urbino	1
<i>De lucro duorum fratrum simul habitantium</i>	115	[3]		1		Rome	1
<i>De falcone</i>	121	[12]		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De causis allegationis iudicis suspecti</i>	128	---			1	Urbino	1
<i>De nobilitate</i>	133	---		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De regimine civitatis</i>	145	[24]		1		Leipzig	1
<i>De minoritis</i>	157	[2]	1			Venice	1
<i>De fluminibus seu Tyberiadis</i>	163	[15]		1		[Rome]	1

* Short version of *Tractatus testimoniorum*, ending with chapt. 33 (out of 125 of the critical edition).

**Other text from both *De testibus* and *De reprobatione testium* (as they are in *collectio maior*)

Table 26 An overview of 15th-century editions of the Tractatus known as Processus Satanae

	princeps 1472 (Venice)	ante 1473 (Augsburg)	1473 (Padua or Venice)
ISTC	ib00255000	ip01001000	ib00246500
C = collection S = single	C	S	S
Heading	<i>Tractatus Bartoli de Saxoferrato qui sua scientia leges illuminavit</i> [collectio maior]	<i>Processus iudiciarius (Litigatio Mascaron contra genus humanum)</i>	<i>Bartolo, Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro ...</i>
Titulus of Processus Satanae	<i>Tractatus questionis ventilate coram dominum nostro Iesu Christo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte</i>	<i>Processus iudiciarius</i>	<i>Tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro Iesu Cristo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et dyabolum ex altera parte</i>
Incipit (variant)	<i>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</i>	<i>Accessit Mascaron (B)</i>	<i>Nostis fratres carissimi (A)</i>
Explicit	<i>... Salve regina mater misericordie vita dulcedo et spes salve.</i>	<i>... et Ihesum benedictum fructum [etc.] exploso dyabolo.</i>	<i>... Salve regina mater mie vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.</i>
Closing formula and/or Colophon	<i>Explicit processus et tractatus questionis ventilate coram domino nostro Iesu Christo inter virginem Mariam advocatam humani generis ex una parte et dyabolum contra genus humanum ex alia parte compositus et compilatus per eximium legum doctorem dominum Bartolum de Saxoferrato civem Perusinum cuius anima requiescat in pace amen</i>	<i>Litigacio Manscaron contra genus humanum finit feliciter.</i>	[= Venice 1472, followed by the new data imprint:] <i>Mcccc^olxxiii^o xiiii^o die mensis aprilis.</i>
Attribution (Bartolus)	YES (closing formula)	NO	YES (closing formula)
Notes			In the following Latin edition Bartolus' name appears in the opening <i>titulus</i> together with the word <i>processus</i> ; the closing formula is identical. Most likely from the Padua edition derive the two translations into German (about 1493).

1473 (Lyon)	1475 (Rome)	1478 (Vienne)
ii00081800	ip01002000	ib00242700
C	S	C
<i>Innocentius III, Compendium breve quinque continens libros</i> De trinitate. De miseria humanae conditionis. De Anticristo. De vitiis fugiendis. De Sathane litigatione contra genus humanum.	<i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum</i>	<i>Tractatus iudiciorum per Bartolum de Saxoferrato.</i> <i>De renunciationibus</i> <i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum</i>
<i>Spurcissimi Sathane litigationis infernalisque nequie procuratoris contra genus humanum coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo agitate beata virgine Maria eius matre pro nobis advocata et comparenti liber feliciter incipit</i>	<i>Processus Satanae contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli</i>	<i>Spurcissimi Sathane litigationis infernalisque nequie procuratoris contra genus humanum coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo agitate. Beata Virgine Maria eius matre pro nobis advocata et comparenti liber feliciter incipit</i>
Nostis fratres carissimi (A)	Accessit Mascaron (B)	Nostis fratres carissimi (A)
<i>... quo pretermissio nullum rite fundat exordium. Amen.</i>	<i>... et Ihesum benedictum fructum ventris tui excluso diabolo nobis ostende. O clemens. O pia. O dulcissima virgo Maria Amen.</i>	<i>... Pro quibus omnibus supradictis laudandus est ille pater verus pius et misericors quo pretermissio nullum rite fundatur exordium Amen.</i>
Scelestissimi Sathane litigationis contra genus humanum liber feliciter explicet. <i>Lugduni per magistrum Guillerum Regis huius artis impressorie expertum honorabilis viri Bartholomei Buyerii dicte civitatis civis iussu et sumptibus impressus. Anno verbi incarnati M.CCCC.Lxxiii. Quintodecimo kal. Octobres. .s.</i>	Finitus & impressus est presens iste tractatus per magistrum Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck de Sultz anno lubilei. M.cccc.lxxv. die vero lune videlicet xi Septembris	Scelestissimi Sathane litigationis contra genus humanum liber feliciter explicet. <i>Viennae per magistrum Iohannem Solidi huius artis impressorie expertum. Anno incarnationis M.CCCC.lxxviii.</i>
NO	NO	YES and NO (surreptitious)
There is one following collection which begins with Innocent III's works; here the <i>Processus</i> is called <i>Placitum habitum inter genus humanum et genus diabolicum</i> ; the incipit is partially different (<i>Nostis carissimi</i>) as well as the closing formula (which consists in a comment instead of the prayer). Bartolus is never mentioned.		Bartolus appears as author only in relation with the <i>Tractatus iudiciorum</i> (first in the collection). This collection reappears many times (4 in the 15th century) with paratextual developments (e.g. a running title: <i>Processus Sathanae</i>); found also alone, with no attribution to Bartolus.

Later editions roughly belonging to the same group	Milan (2) 1479; [1485]	[Leipzig ca. 1495]	
	Venice (4) 1485; 1487/88; 1495 (2)	Translation [2: Leipzig ca. 1493]	
	Lyon (2) [1492; 1495 ca.]		
ISTC	ib00210800	ib00247000	
	ib00211000		
	ib00212000	[translation]	
	ib00212500	ib00248000	
	ib00212700	ib00248100	
	ib00212800		
	ib00213000		
	ib00214000		
Total editions	9	1	4 (2+2)

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[Strasbourg; Eggstein, 1482] Leuven [ca. 1484/85-1487]	Venice (1478) Rome (2) 1486; [1491-1500]	Toulouse [1485] Paris (3) [1495; 1500] (single) [Memmingen 1500]
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ii00082000	ip01003000	ib00242800
ii00087000	ip01004000	ib00243000
	ip01005000	ib00244200
		ib00244500
		ib00247500

3

4

6

La stampa medico-scientifica nell'Europa del XV secolo

Con cenni sulla fruizione dei libri di *materia medica* e ricettari

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Abstract The 15cBOOKTRADE has assigned a subject and multiple keywords to each edition printed before 1501. We are now able to provide a comprehensive assessment of the entire production of medical material in print. This essay first does that, by looking at overall numbers, topics, areas of publication, Latin versus vernacular editions, and so on. It then focuses on the production and distribution of *Materia Medica*, and concludes with the evidence of use of this material, gathered from the copy-specific data pertaining to the surviving copies described in MEI, to sketch out the socio-cultural profile and the reading practices of the many anonymous and of the few known actual readers.

Keywords Reading practices. Incunabula. Medical texts. *Materia medica*. Printing medicine.

Sommario 1 Una rivoluzione dai margini, un po' anonima e molto pseudonima. – 2 Mappare il secolo che non c'è: latino e volgare, testi medievali, classici e contemporanei. – 3 Medicina per l'università. – 4 Medicina per professionisti. – 5 *Regimina sanitatis*. – 6 Libri di *materia medica*. – 7 Ricettari, vademecum e medicina in versi: la medicina domestica.



1 Una rivoluzione dai margini, un po' anonima e molto pseudonima

L'avvento della stampa a caratteri mobili rivoluzionò anche la cultura medico-scientifica in Europa. Tuttavia, a scanso di ottimistiche esagerazioni, precisiamo subito che ciò non accadde attraverso grandi opere di altrettanti grandi autori messe sotto il torchio per il loro potenziale innovativo.

È un fatto che nella produzione medico-scientifica del secondo Quattrocento non ci sono quasi edizioni di classici epurati dalle adulterazioni della tradizione e pronti a stimolare nuove ricerche.¹ Tale assenza ha indotto gli storici della medicina ad appiattire i primi cinquant'anni della stampa su Medioevo e tardo Medioevo da una parte e sul Cinquecento dall'altra. Negli studi sul *rinascimento medico* i riferimenti alla produzione a stampa medico-scientifica prendono sempre le mosse dalla seconda decade del Cinquecento, assumendo come cesura le prime edizioni degli originali greci - *in primis* il Galeno greco del 1525 - che soppiantarono le traduzioni latine condotte sulla mediazione araba dei testi antichi;² e molti studi tematici dedicati alla prima età moderna, per quanto buoni, ignorano quasi sempre le edizioni incunabile dei titoli di cui trattano.³ È certo e dimostrato che il recupero filologico del pensiero medico classico, che attiene alla *learned medicine*, avvenne dal primo Cinquecento in poi.⁴ Ma questa consapevolezza non ci esime dal prendere in considerazione anche la produzione a stampa del secondo Quattrocento in sé e per sé, per verificare se si possano scorgere peculiarità che la distinguono dai secoli che la precedono e la seguono. Oltretutto, liquidare la prototipografia nel limbo dell'attesa dei frutti dell'*umanesimo* e *rinascimento medici* che verranno significa far propria la stessa attitudine degli umanisti detrattori della precedente tradizione arabo-latina, con una mancanza di prospettiva che, se è giustificata per i protagonisti degli eventi, non si addice a uno sguardo storico.

Questa volta dunque ci focalizzeremo su quello che acutamente Vivian Nutton ha definito *the missing century* quanto alle indagini di storia della medicina.⁵ Lo studioso ha dato una chiave di lettura cruciale

1 Le rare eccezioni si indicheranno a suo luogo.

2 Il ruolo dell'avvento della stampa è citato solo *en passant* nell'ultimo capitolo («The Medical Renaissance») dell'ottimo Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 224, mentre il rinascimento medico si fa tradizionalmente partire dal XVI secolo, da Wear, French, Lonie, *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* fino agli studi più recenti di Ian Maclean.

3 Es. Cohn, *Cultures of Plague*, sul quale si tornerà.

4 Un lucido inquadramento cronologico è in Maclean, «The Diffusion of Learned Medicine».

5 Nutton, «Medicine in Medieval Western Europe, 1000-1500», 139-205: 198-200 (cap. «The Missing Century»).

per questo secolo, delineando una cultura medica vivace e votata alla pratica, anche se riconosce queste caratteristiche più nella produzione manoscritta che in quella a stampa.⁶ Sicuramente molto continuò a circolare manoscritto, come vedremo, e molto non andò mai in stampa, ma numerosi sono i titoli e generi di carattere pratico che fiorirono anche nella produzione incunabolistica. Pure di questi daremo conto per il secondo Quattrocento, rinviando al Cinquecento e ai secoli successivi nel caso di titoli che li lambiranno con la loro fortuna.

Per cogliere l'impronta pratica della produzione medico-scientifica di questo mezzo secolo non guarderemo tanto agli *opera omnia* di autori ben identificati, che comunque tendono a comparire quando il mercato del libro è pronto a riceverli - come è il caso ad esempio della *princeps* di Arnaldo di Villanova (Venezia, 1504) - ma ci dedicheremo anche a smilze operette, edizioni parziali di testi, latini e volgari, che furono manipolati e assemblati da contemporanei curatori anonimi o magari messi in circolazione dai prototipografi sotto pseudonimi.⁷ L'editoria del secondo Quattrocento si distingue infatti anche per un alto tasso di titoli anonimi e pseudonimi, questi ultimi imputabili alle strategie commerciali che mirano a un pubblico più vasto, ascrivendo i titoli a tradizionali e notissime *autoritates*. Un caso emblematico è il tipografo napoletano Del Tuppo che nella sua edizione del fortunato vademecum in forma dialogica *Il libro del Perché* del medico Girolamo Manfredi (1492) preferì attribuirlo ad Alberto Magno anziché al legittimo autore, perché indubbiamente di maggiore impatto sul lettore medio-basso.⁸

Ma c'è dell'altro oltre al calcolo commerciale. All'anonimia e alla pseudonimia di molti incunaboli è bene avvicinarsi anche tenendo conto di uno statuto dell'autore che nel secondo Quattrocento era *debole*, ben lontano dalla consapevolezza del secolo successivo che avrebbe condotto all'attuale convinzione - a tratti pure esasperata - della riconducibilità di ogni testo e porzione di testo a una responsabilità

6 Nutton, «The Missing Century», 199.

7 Maclean, «Reception of Medieval Practical Medicine in the Sixteenth Century», declina la categoria pratica individuata da Nutton nella ricezione a stampa di Villanova a partire dalla sua *princeps*, espandendo il concetto di incunabolo al 1520 ("the end of the incunable period", 88). Forse però è opportuno stimolare anche studi che prendano in considerazione le edizioni, latine e volgari, di singole opere di Villanova o circolanti sotto il suo nome impresse nel XV sec., che molto rivelano delle attitudini medico-scientifiche nei diversi paesi europei. Sintomatica è ad esempio la geografia delle sue edizioni incunabile: mentre l'Italia si dedicò alle opere latine (*De arte conosciendi venena* e *Breviarium practicae medicinae*) mirando a una diffusione europea (del *Breviarium* del 1497 ad esempio solo 6 esemplari dei 50 giunti sino a noi si conservano in Italia - certo non tutti espatriati per collezionismo), la Francia editò il *Regimen senum* e il *De somniorum interpretatione* e la Spagna il solo *Antidotarium*; invece in Germania (compresa Strasburgo) apparvero molte edizioni del solo *De vinis* in tedesco dal taglio estremamente pratico, sulle quali si tornerà nell'ultimo paragrafo.

8 Carré, Cifuentes, «Girolamo Manfredi's *Il Perché*».

certa e spesso unica.⁹ Quello che si trovavano davanti i prototipografi era spesso un ventaglio di testi antichi e tardo medievali la cui tradizione manoscritta era fatta di interventi plurimi e stratificati, e dove la singola personalità tendeva naturalmente alla dissoluzione. Filtrare la produzione incunabolistica attraverso il nostro senso dell'autorialità è una sorta di *hysteron-proteron* perché di fatto fu proprio grazie alla stampa a caratteri mobili che dal tardo XV secolo iniziò a maturare il solido statuto dell'autore che oggi sperimentiamo.¹⁰ Se si tiene conto di tutto ciò, è possibile guardare con più comprensione ai titoli anonimi e pseudonimi pubblicati nel Quattrocento, svincolandoli da giudizi di valore e insieme correggendo lievemente la nostra programmatica prevenzione verso le dichiarazioni dei tipografi, che ha indotto anche studiosi noti per la loro acribia a conclusioni sbagliate per la scarsa fiducia nutrita in fatto di attribuzioni del testo stampato.¹¹

Proponiamo dunque di scandagliare l'editoria del secondo Quattrocento con l'occhio vigile anche verso produzioni a vario titolo marginali, generi poco studiati e mai contestualizzati per il XV secolo, erbari d'incerto autore e ricettari di varia natura, *regimina sanitatis* e produzioni in versi anonime che, guardando a parametri come il numero di copie sopravvissute e/o la densità di annotazioni che li caratterizzano, hanno avuto una fruizione più estesa e capillare dei titoli di medicina universitari o esclusivamente professionali.

Quale può essere il senso di una simile produzione in cui non spiccano autori o testi particolarmente innovativi? Ebbene, da decenni è stata ridimensionata l'idea di Rivoluzione scientifica come frutto dell'innovazione di pochi grandi protagonisti per essere sostituita da una dimensione più collettiva della costruzione della conoscenza, con significativi contributi dalla marginalità.¹² Si può guardare alla produzione a stampa del secondo Quattrocento come a una grande e disordinata fucina nella quale anche la riproposizione di testi corrotti, adespoti o assemblati – ma sempre rivisti da contemporanei – è la premessa necessaria a nuovi confronti e rielaborazioni delle conoscenze che un numero sempre più ampio di persone possono fare. Illuminare finalmente anche questa produzione marginale rispetto alla *learned medicine* significa valorizzare una proposizione di testi su grande scala che permise a molti, e non solo professionisti, di sperimentare nel proprio piccolo nozioni di medicina e quindi di acquisire nuova dimestichezza verso queste conoscenze. D'altro canto, alla luce di studi ben più consolidati sul Cinquecento, ci si potrebbe provocatoriamente chiedere se i cambiamenti indotti dalla stampa non

⁹ Nonché dibattuta; si pensi anche all'ormai ventennale operazione Wu Ming.

¹⁰ Minuzzi, *The Invention of the Author*.

¹¹ Si veda più oltre il caso di Pietro da Montagnana.

¹² Cook, «The History of Medicine and the Scientific Revolution».

furono spesso frutto di titoli poco eclatanti e persino poco innovativi, generi nati e diffusi in sordina, produzioni talvolta di poche carte (o addirittura su foglio volante) ma dilaganti quanto a distribuzione. Questi probabilmente erano i prodotti tipografici che plasmavano e modificavano l'habitus mentale diffuso, creando le premesse per le svolte scientifiche. Andrea Carlino ha spiegato, ad esempio, che anziché il Vesalius dell'opera maggiore, il *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) – costoso prodotto artisticamente confezionato ma fieramente contestato dalle élite accademiche – furono altri i prodotti che cambiarono la temperie culturale e prepararono il terreno alla ricezione della *Fabrica*: le fortunate *Tabulae anatomicae* che Vesalio editò nel 1538, copiate, riprodotte e plagiate in tutta Europa, e più ancora i fogli anatomici anonimi dal contenuto conservativo e ripetitivo che dai primissimi anni del Cinquecento alla fine del Seicento alimentarono un diffuso clima di accettazione verso l'anatomia dell'uomo, sdoganata come bellezza della creazione divina non solo fra gli addetti ai lavori ma anche in fasce di fruitori medio-bassi e semi-alfabetizzati.¹³

Come già è stato fatto per il Cinquecento insomma, è giunto probabilmente il momento di studiare in questo modo anche gli albori della stampa medico-scientifica.

2 Mappare il secolo che non c'è: latino e volgare, testi medievali, classici e contemporanei

Il primo passo per avviare nuovi studi sulla produzione di carattere medico-scientifico nell'Europa dei primi cinquant'anni di stampa a caratteri mobili è disporre di un censimento dei titoli. Se Osler e Klebs erano fra i repertori speciali più esaustivi fino agli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso,¹⁴ disponiamo oggi di un database di incunaboli tendenzialmente completo e in costante aggiornamento, l'*Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* realizzato dalla British Library, che censisce il patrimonio di circa 4.000 istituzioni, prevalentemente pubbliche.¹⁵ Ad ora ISTC registra oltre 30.500 edizioni per un totale di circa 500.000 copie, e costituisce lo strumento più valido per esplorare anche la produzione medico-scientifica nell'Europa del XV se-

13 Carlino, *Paper Bodies*. Nonostante il fatto che le dissezioni pubbliche fossero previste fin dai primi decenni del Quattrocento, le dirimpenti novità del *De humani corporis Fabrica* di Andrea Vesalio (1543) faticarono assai ad affermarsi nei corsi universitari, vedi Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo*, in particolare il primo capitolo («Rappresentazioni») e le pagine 230-40.

14 Osler, *Incunabula medica*; Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica*; cf. Rhodes, «Medical incunabula».

15 Per la storia e le prospettive di ISTC si veda in questi atti il contributo di Karen Limper-Herz e John Goldfinch.

colo.¹⁶ Naturalmente bisogna considerare che l'elaborazione poggia su dati che non coprono l'intera produzione a stampa esistita, perché si calcola che nella migliore delle ipotesi un buon 30% delle edizioni siano andate perdute, quelle più esili e/o di maggior successo poco dopo essere state stampate, nei secoli successivi le altre.¹⁷ Tuttavia, ISTC è il censimento più capillare di cui si disponga ora, che fa del Quattrocento il secolo di cui abbiamo una mappatura più completa degli stampati ad oggi esistenti.

Per consentire un recupero dei titoli attraverso il loro contenuto, il team di ricercatori del 15cBOOKTRADE Project ha associato a ciascuna delle edizioni incunabile di ISTC¹⁸ una categoria tematica principale (*subject*) e più numerose parole chiave (*keywords*) che definiscono ulteriormente i testi contenuti, anche in relazione a variazioni degli stessi da un'edizione all'altra.¹⁹

Come si può evincere dal grafico 1 le edizioni di medicina del XV secolo sono poco più di 1/5 di quelle di diritto, la disciplina universitaria sorella e 'rivale' con la quale scaturisce naturalmente il confronto; un secolo dopo la forbice fra le due discipline diminuirà lievemente, portando la medicina al 35% (decennio 1570-79) rispetto al 40% di diritto (decennio 1590-99), per proseguire con questa tendenza.²⁰ La differenza quantitativa fra produzione giuridica e di medicina è riconducibile innanzitutto al maggior numero assoluto di studenti di diritto e quindi di testi loro indirizzati, e insieme a un diverso rapporto con l'oggetto-libro nelle due professioni.²¹ Come notava Ian Maclean, mentre il giurista riceveva (e riceve) nello studio circondato da libri che con la loro presenza impressionavano positivamente la clientela, i consulti del medico avvenivano fuori dallo studio quando

16 Come spiega Cristina Dondi in questo volume, al 7 agosto 2019 ISTC registra 447.058 esemplari di 30.535 edizioni. Questo numero include alcune edizioni del primo Cinquecento ritenute in passato incunabili. Una ricerca in ISTC per *data:<1501* dà come risultato 28.478 edizioni, mentre con *data:>1501* ne calcola 1.477; vi sono inoltre 85 edizioni non datate e perciò non incluse in nessuna delle due interrogazioni.

17 I tentativi di quantificare la perdita di edizioni antiche vanno dagli studi di Neil Harris, «Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi» a quello focalizzato sugli incunabili di Green e McIntyre, «Lost Incunable Editions»; e, a proposito del modo di recuperare almeno la notizia (*notitia librorum*) degli incunabili esistenti, il contributo di Falk Eisermann nello stesso volume collettaneo del 2016 (Bruni, Pettegree, *Lost Books*).

18 Dall'operazione sono state escluse le edizioni *sine data* tradizionalmente ritenute incunabile ma grazie agli studi dell'ultimo secolo ascritte all'inizio del Cinquecento, rimaste in ISTC con datazione rettificata.

19 Nell'insieme sono stati elaborati 22 *subjects* e quasi un centinaio di *keywords*. Naturalmente, data l'entità dei titoli esaminati, si tratta di un lavoro passibile di aggiustamenti e revisioni.

20 Ian Maclean («The Diffusion of Learned Medicine», 67) è lo studioso che con più competenza mette in relazione produzione medica con quella giuridica nella prima età moderna.

21 Murano, *Opere diffuse per 'exemplar' e 'pecia'*.

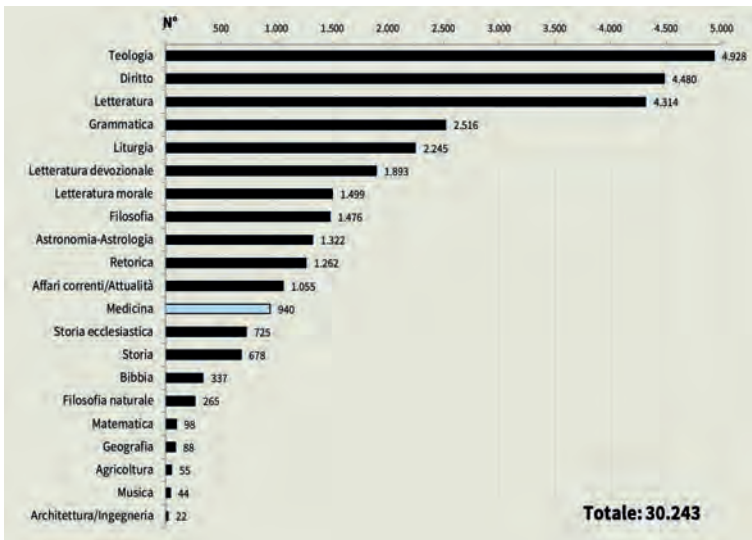


Figura 1 Edizioni incunabile ripartite per ambito disciplinare/genere

non, più spesso, al capezzale del malato. Se a ciò si aggiunge il fatto che una parte significativa della preparazione medica si trasmetteva sul campo attraverso gesti ed esperienze che implicano l'oralità e il coinvolgimento dei sensi, sarà chiaro come la disciplina medica non si esaurisca nella somma di conoscenze apprese dai libri all'università e quindi nella produzione editoriale dei testi. Una conseguenza di queste peculiarità disciplinari è che la medicina, più del diritto, si presta fin da subito ad alimentare anche una fitta produzione caratterizzata da forte vocazione pratica; e come vedremo, l'ambito igienico (*regimen sanitatis*) e farmacologico (*materia medica*) declineranno al meglio l'impronta pratica della disciplina conducendo a forme che potremmo definire di protodivulgazione medico-scientifica.

Per dare un quadro più esaustivo dell'insieme della produzione medico-scientifica, nella mappatura si sono inclusi anche i titoli che ricadono nella categoria di *Philosophy-Natural* relativa alle scienze della natura in accezione ampia, che all'altezza del secondo Quattrocento devono ancora codificarsi in discipline autonome, quali la botanica, la fisica, la fisiologia, l'alchimia/chimica, l'astronomia, ecc. Si è invece deciso di escludere il soggetto *Astrology*, che conta in totale 1.093 titoli, quasi tutti pronostici e almanacchi: si tratta di una porzione di titoli che meritano uno studio a sé, sia per gli autori (alcuni scritti da medici, i più ano-

nimi) sia per la componente medicinale in essi variamente presente.²²

Nell'insieme, i titoli categorizzati sotto *Medicine*, *Medicine-Practical* – ovvero con impianto e finalità esclusivamente pratici – e *Philosophy-Natural* sono 1.171 [fig. 2]. Italia, Germania e Francia rivestono il ruolo apicale nella produzione di titoli di medicina. È interessante, prima di addentrarci nelle tipologie di pubblicazione, leggere lo stesso dato distinguendo fra produzione in latino e in lingua volgare [fig. 3]. L'istogramma fotografa chiaramente uno sbilanciamento dell'Italia sul versante della produzione in latino che assorbe il 90% dei suoi titoli, cui seguono la Francia con un rapporto più equilibrato (67% in latino) e la Germania, che pubblica in latino meno del 50% dei suoi titoli di carattere medico-scientifico. Interessanti, anche se con numeri assoluti molto più contenuti, la produzione in volgare di Spagna e Inghilterra, mentre Belgio e Svizzera sono piuttosto allineate nel preferire la lingua dei dotti – e quindi una circolazione internazionale.

Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, la debordante prevalenza del latino ha due motivazioni essenziali, una frutto della situazione linguistico-culturale della penisola, l'altra funzionale alle esigenze commerciali del nuovo prodotto tipografico. A differenza delle altre lingue europee, il volgare italiano è la lingua di un'oralità che tarda a conquistare lo status di scrittura dotata di dignità letteraria. Fin dal Trecento infatti, mentre altri paesi conoscevano una crescente produzione scritta in lingua volgare quasi ad ogni livello, in Italia il volgare scritto era vitale per usi pratici e personali (mercantili, omiletici, cancellereschi, diaristici, ecc.), ma tendenzialmente ostracizzato quando gli scopi erano culturalmente o politicamente più elevati.²³ Con l'eccezione di Firenze e della Toscana, in cui prima che altrove ci si interrogò su come dare dignità letteraria anche al volgare e dove giocò un ruolo fondamentale la tradizione delle Tre Corone (Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio), nel resto della penisola e per buona parte del Quattrocento la produzione del libro in volgare venne limitata dal peso

22 Oltre a un uso intercambiabile dei termini *astrologia* e *astronomia*, nello studio degli astri del Quattrocento si possono riconoscere una dimensione teoretica e una pratica. Nella classificazione dei titoli ISTC, quella che ora definiamo astronomia – la dimensione teoretica dello studio degli astri, connessa con le scienze naturali, la matematica e la medicina, ovvero l'astrologia che veniva insegnata all'università – è stata fatta ricadere nell'ampia categoria di *Philosophy-Natural*; mentre si è riservato il soggetto *Astrology* ai titoli che si occupano dell'influsso degli astri nelle declinazioni più pratiche della materia, in cui è distinguibile solo una piccola componente di medicina. In quest'ultima rientrano tutti i testi di *astrologia iudicialis* che nel 1586 saranno messi al bando dalla bolla di papa Sisto V, in quanto ritenuti lesivi del libero arbitrio dell'individuo. Vedi Rutkin, «Astrology» e in particolare il paragrafo «Astrology circa 1500. Intellectual and Institutional Structures» e il classico Garin, *Lo zodiaco della vita*.

23 Formentin, «La 'crisi' linguistica del Quattrocento» e Tavoni, *Storia della lingua italiana. Il Quattrocento*.

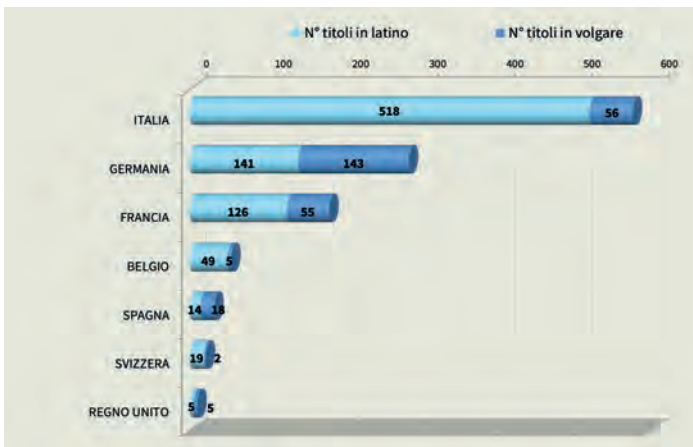
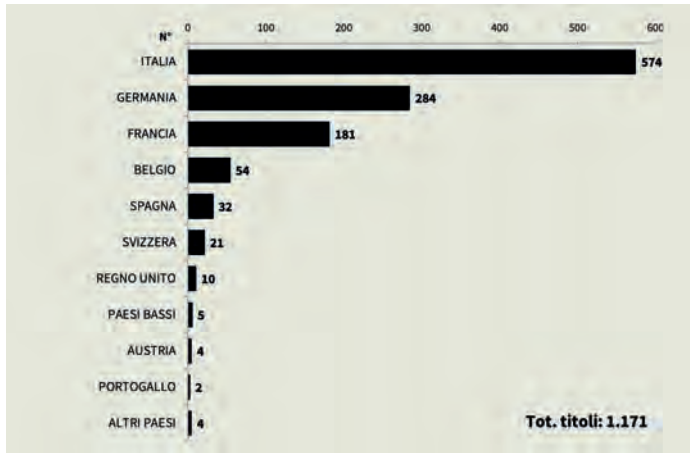


Figura 2 Incunaboli di carattere medico-scientifico nei diversi paesi europei

Figura 3 Produzione medico-scientifica in latino e in volgare in alcuni paesi europei

del libro umanistico in latino.²⁴ E tutto ciò, se è ancora da verificare con un censimento della produzione manoscritta, è palese a livello di produzione incunabolistica.²⁵

²⁴ Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento*; Petrucci, *Letteratura italiana*, silloge degli scritti del grande paleografo e storico della scrittura, dei quali si vedano in particolare «Il libro manoscritto» e «Storia e geografia delle culture scritte».

²⁵ Si sono recentemente avviate importanti ricognizioni sulla produzione manoscritta in volgare, non a caso in area toscana: Boschi Rotiroli, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia* e i due volumi curati da Sandro Bertelli che censiscono *I manoscritti del-*

Sostanzialmente, mentre in Italia gli umanisti erano impegnati a far rivivere il greco e il latino classici, altri paesi europei si cimentavano già in produzioni letterarie o in traduzioni nelle rispettive lingue volgari.²⁶ D'altro canto, la penisola pativa anche una frammentazione politica che si ripercuoteva nell'estrema varietà delle parlate. Nel primo cinquantennio della stampa era problematico anche solo eleggere a lingua letteraria uno dei tanti volgari che si parlavano - una questione, quella della lingua, delineata già da Dante Alighieri e che si trascinerà fino ad Alessandro Manzoni e oltre. È comprensibile dunque che i prototipografi, spesso neppure italiani, guardassero al latino come alla soluzione ideale per le scelte dei primi titoli da mandare in stampa: lingua delle élites europee, il latino garantiva una circolazione commerciale internazionale ai loro prodotti a stampa; a maggior ragione al libro di medicina i cui primi destinatari erano persone *litteratae*, medici, che, con le dovute eccezioni, fino a XVI secolo inoltrato si mostrarono piuttosto restii ad usare la lingua scritta dei *non litterati*.²⁷

Ciononostante, come vedremo, trattando di ricettari e di medicina in versi, anche nella scarsa produzione in italiano dello scorcio del Quattrocento sono ravvisabili alcuni titoli vernacolari di successo. Inoltre non è da escludere, come vedremo nell'analisi di esemplari di *materia medica*, che anche quanti possedevano solo un'alfabetizzazione elementare potessero usare libri scritti (e stampati) in un latino piano e corredato di immagini.²⁸

la letteratura italiana delle origini della Biblioteca Laurenziana e della Nazionale centrale di Firenze.

26 Pade «Humanist Latin and Italian Identity» e Wilkinson «Vernacular Translation in Renaissance France, Spain, Portugal and Britain». Per quanto riguarda la letteratura medica 'popolare' in inglese, Paul Slack calcolò che un terzo dei 153 titoli pubblicati in Inghilterra fra il 1486 ed il 1604 era costituito da traduzioni di opere straniere, vedi «Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men», 237, 242.

27 Cavallo, Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy*, cap. I: «Print and a Culture of Prevention», in particolare 41-2.

28 Non si tiene mai conto abbastanza del fatto che la vita quotidiana del Quattrocento era fatta di una «mescolanza endemica» di latino e volgare, vedi Formentin, «La 'crisi' linguistica del Quattrocento», in particolare il paragrafo «Latino e volgare nel corso del secolo XV», 164-9. Già Migliorini, nel suo «Latino e volgare nel Quattrocento» parlava di simbiosi di latino e volgare, dall'educazione primaria in su, evidente soprattutto nella predicazione e negli scambi epistolari.

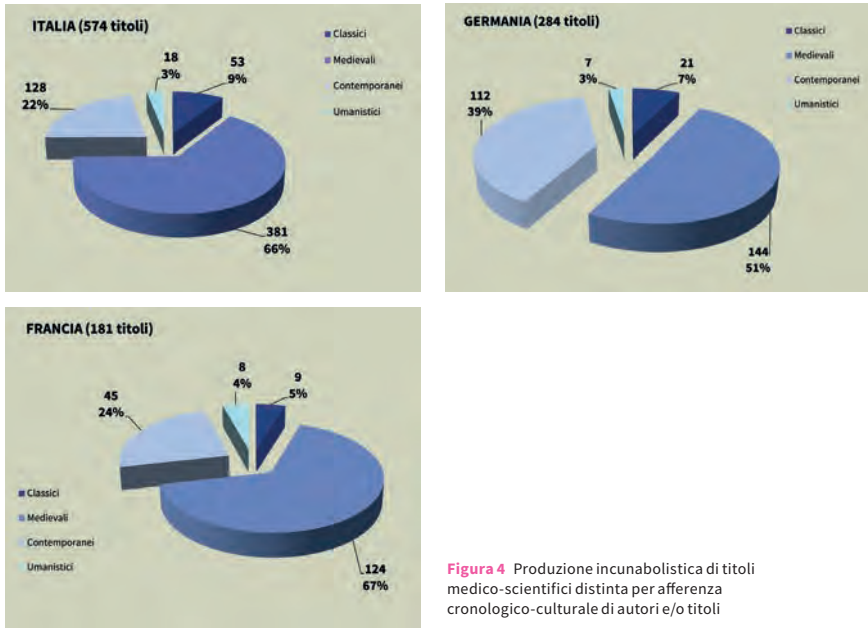


Figura 4 Produzione incunabolistica di titoli medico-scientifici distinta per afferenza cronologico-culturale di autori e/o titoli

Un'ultima angolatura dalla quale leggere complessivamente i dati relativi alle edizioni medico-scientifiche del secondo Quattrocento è fornita dalla loro afferenza cronologico-culturale. Il gruppo di ricerca del 15cBOOKTRADE ha assegnato a ciascuna delle notizie ISTC anche una di quattro categorie che consentono di distinguere fra titoli che veicolavano testi classici, medievali, contemporanei e umanistici - ovvero frutto della penna di qualche autore contemporaneo dotato di statura e interessi intellettuali umanistici.²⁹ Risalta l'ampia porzione di produzione medievale che accomuna Italia e Francia (66% e 67%) distinguendole dalla Germania (51%) che presenta invece un ben più radicale investimento nella contemporaneità (39% di contro al 22% e 24% delle prime due) e la produzione in tedesco. Il dato italiano e francese, associato alla prevalenza della lingua latina [fig. 4], non è tuttavia da leggere esclusivamente in termini di retaggio del passato medievale, ma anche, contrariamente a quanto si potrebbe pensare, come frutto di una cultura umanistica diffusa che influenzava le scelte dei primi stampatori/editori. Accanto a titoli propriamente alto medievali, infatti, quelle percentuali comprendono anche

²⁹ Per la precisione i descrittori sono Classical, Medieval, Contemporary, Humanist.

le opere di autori di primo Quattrocento scomparsi da pochi anni (come gli autori dei *Consilia* che vedremo), dei quali erano più facilmente reperibili manoscritti vicini all'originale, quando non l'autografo: scelte perfettamente in linea con quanto prescriveva l'umanesimo filologico e che i curatori delle edizioni o gli stampatori stessi si studiavano di sottolineare nelle prefazioni di molti incunaboli.³⁰

3 Medicina per l'università

Poco più di un terzo dei titoli di carattere medico-scientifico (34,9%) erano approntati per la formazione universitaria, porzione non trascurabile ma di gran lunga inferiore al 50% dei titoli di diritto con la medesima destinazione.³¹

Dei classici, eccezion fatta per Cornelio Celso edito nella lingua originale che era comunque il latino,³² e per il Dioscorides della *Materia medica* e il Galeno della *Therapeutica* pubblicati in greco al crepuscolo del secolo, gli altri autori, come già accennato, erano filtrati attraverso la tradizione latina medievale.³³ Si tratta di titoli pubblicati in Italia (per lo più) e in Germania, spesso curati da medici ma anche da letterati e umanisti contemporanei, o da figure meno note che andrebbero approfondite nell'insieme e in relazione ai centri tipografici con cui collaboravano. Fra essi spiccano alcuni nomi per frequenza o per importanza delle opere curate, come il medico bresciano Diomede Bonardo³⁴ che si occupò del Galeno latino del 1490 e l'umanista Sebastiano Manilio (lo stesso che volgarizzò anche il *Fasciculus Medicinæ*) alle prese col *De animalibus* di Aristotele;³⁵ il cipriota, medico e futuro cardinale Ludovico Podocataro,³⁶ Jacobus de Amorsfordia ed Hermannus de Virsen che curarono opere di Aristotele l'uno per Heinrich Quentell attivo a Colonia, l'altro per due

30 Si vedano le dichiarazioni di conformità all'originale o all'autografo tratte da prefazioni di incunaboli di medicina e di storia naturale impressi in Italia e in Francia in Campanelli, «Autografia e filologia alle origini della stampa», 256-7.

31 Il dato si ricava estrapolando i titoli che presentano la keyword *Education* come ulteriore descrittore. *Education* è stato utilizzato per la formazione ad ogni livello, dalla più elementare a quella universitaria, ma per le categorie semantiche *Medicine*, *Medicine-Practical* e *Philosophy-Natural* risulta applicata esclusivamente a titoli destinati ad ambienti accademici. Per la percentuale della produzione di diritto per l'università si veda il contributo di Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni in questo stesso volume.

32 ISTD ic00364000 (Firenze 1478), ic00365000 (Milano 1481), ic00366000 (Venezia 1493).

33 ISTD id00260000 (Venezia 1499), ig00038000 (Venezia 1500).

34 Schivardi, *Biografia dei medici illustri bresciani*, 1: 187; ISTD ig00037000 (Venezia 1490).

35 DBI, s.v. (S. Centi); ISTD ia00974000 (Venezia 1492).

36 DBI, s.v. (E. Andretta); ISTD ia00973000 (Venezia 1476).

edizioni veneziane;³⁷ il letterato Bartolomeo Della Fonte (o Fonzio o Fontius)³⁸ per Cornelio Celso; il traduttore di professione Andrea Brenta o Brentio³⁹ che tradusse e curò la pubblicazione di numerose opere di Ippocrate. Vari sono anche i nomi dei curatori che non vengono citati all'interno delle pubblicazioni e affiorano solo a seguito di studi secondari, come ad esempio quello di Niccolò Perotti grammatologo e docente di retorica relativamente ad un titolo fondamentale per la medicina come la *Naturalis Historia* di Plinio.⁴⁰

Come ha dimostrato Tiziana Pesenti per i commenti agli *Aforismi* di Ippocrate, un classico dell'insegnamento accademico, furono i prototipografi attivi in Italia a muovere con circospezione e intelligenza i primi passi nella stampa a caratteri mobili, scegliendo commentatori tardo medievali o del primo Quattrocento che vantassero già un alto gradimento nella tradizione manoscritta, talvolta assemblandoli fra loro per renderli appetibili a livello europeo. Una tradizione manoscritta, quella dei commenti, che continuò intensa anche contemporaneamente alla prima produzione a stampa, a sancire la difficile permeabilità di quel mercato specialistico.⁴¹ Nel Quattrocento la produzione tipografica dei testi universitari doveva infatti fronteggiare il sistema molto ben organizzato anche se ormai in declino della pecia, ovvero di *stationarii* che affittavano a fascicoli i testi ufficialmente approvati per l'insegnamento, ne affidavano la riproduzione a copisti di professione al loro servizio per poi vendere agli studenti le copie. Un sistema chiuso e organico all'università che a Padova restò descritto negli statuti dell'università degli artisti fino al 1589, per un'inerzia piuttosto sintomatica.⁴²

Non c'è dunque da stupirsi se non furono le città universitarie le protagoniste del primo mercato del libro a stampa per la didattica superiore di carattere medico-scientifico,⁴³ quanto piuttosto i centri con maggiori potenzialità commerciali, in grado di investire contem-

37 ISTC ia01017000 (Cologne 1491); ia01007500 (Cologne 1497); ij00016000 ([Cologne 1497]); ia01018000 (Cologne 1498); ie00002800 (Cologne 1499). ISTC ia00978000 (Venezia 1495) e ia00979000 (Venezia 1495).

38 DBI, s.v. (R. Zaccaria); ISTC ic00364000 (Firenze 1472).

39 DBI, s.v. (M. Miglio); ISTC ih00277000 ([Roma 1481]); ih00275000 (Padova 1483); ih00278000 ([Roma 1483-86]); ih00279050 ([Roma 1492-93]).

40 DBI, s.v. (P. D'Alessandro) e ISTC ip00789000 (Roma 1473).

41 Pesenti, «How Did Early Printers Choose Medical Commentaries for the Press?». I commentatori editorialmente più fortunati, al di là dei soli *Aforismi* di Ippocrate, furono Ugo Benzi da Siena (14 titoli, Hugo Bentius in ISTC) e Giacomo da Forlì (23 titoli, Jacobus de Forlivo in ISTC).

42 Statuta dominorum Artistarum Achademiae Patauinae [Venezia? 1520?] e Statuta almae Universitatis Artistarum et Medicorum Patavini Gymnasii. Venetiis 1589.

43 Perplexità verso il fenomeno manifesta Ian Maclean, «Reception of Medieval Practical Medicine», 89; Corsten «Universities and early printing».

poraneamente su altri titoli e di garantire una circolazione europea a quei testi specialistici. Lo dimostra molto bene la fortuna a stampa dell'*Articella*, agglomerato medievale di testi classici per l'insegnamento universitario che, dopo un primo maldestro tentativo padovano (1476) vide succedersi ben 6 edizioni veneziane fino alla fine del secolo.⁴⁴ Nel Cinquecento, e precisamente fino al 1534, Lione pubblicò altre 6 edizioni, Venezia 4 e Pavia, unica città universitaria fra queste, solamente 2, a conferma del primato di centri non universitari. Non sembra accadere ciò per i testi giuridici, che, almeno nel caso significativo di Bologna vennero abbondantemente stampati dai prototipografi locali.⁴⁵ È un dato di fatto già evidenziato che il mercato universitario del libro giuridico poteva contare su un bacino di utenza molto più vasto per il maggior numero assoluto di studenti iscritti oltre che per la natura della disciplina. Mentre la medicina, spesso pratica e potenzialmente utile a chiunque, si prestò più facilmente a declinarsi in un'ampia varietà di produzioni esterne all'università.

4 Medicina per professionisti

Uscendo dall'ambito esclusivamente accademico il panorama editoriale si fa più mosso e a tratti sorprendente. Il 61% della totalità dei titoli di medicina trattano la disciplina dal punto di vista pratico, veicolando testi (e autori) medievali (64,6%), contemporanei (25,1%) e pochi classici (1,3%).⁴⁶ È proprio nel 61% di pubblicazioni che hanno per soggetto *Medicine-Practical* che si rintracciano i primi indizi della novità dell'impatto della stampa a caratteri mobili nell'ambito della cultura medico-scientifica diffusa. A parte una piccola porzione comunque assorbita dalla didattica universitaria,⁴⁷ nel nutrito gruppo spiccano due tipologie di testi: quelli allestiti per uso professionale e altri pensati per una circolazione più ampia dei soli addetti ai lavori.

Piccola è la sezione dei libri di chirurgia, anche perché all'epoca solo poche città italiane (Bologna e Padova) e francesi (Montpellier) prevedevano l'insegnamento della chirurgia a livello universitario.⁴⁸ Accanto ai 31 titoli di chirurgia medievale, più della metà dei quali in volgare vista la frequente destinazione non accademica, brilla un'opera usci-

⁴⁴ Arrizabalaga, *The "Articella" in the Early Press*, al quale va aggiunta l'edizione attribuita all'anno 1500 e sopravvissuta in copia unica ad Assisi (ISTC ia01147500). Sulla fortuna del testo si veda anche Pesenti, «Editoria medica tra Quattro e Cinquecento».

⁴⁵ Bühler, *The University and the Press in Fifteenth-Century Bologna*.

⁴⁶ Precisamente sono 715 i titoli cui è stato associato il soggetto di *Medicine-Practical*.

⁴⁷ I titoli con soggetto *Medicine-Practical* e keyword *Education* sono 108, ovvero il 15% dei 715 presi in esame.

⁴⁸ McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages*.

ta dalla penna di un contemporaneo: la *Chirurgia, das ist das Buch der Chirurgia* del chirurgo, botanico e alchimista Hieronymus Brunschwig (1450 ca.-1512).⁴⁹ La Germania conferma così la sua precoce vocazione per la contemporaneità dando alle stampe il primo manuale di chirurgia assemblato da fonti preesistenti (medievali) ma aggiornato con la descrizione di pratiche chirurgiche italiane e francesi e corredato delle prime illustrazioni xilografiche di strumentazione chirurgica.

Le letture di carattere professionale dei medici fisici furono per eccellenza i *consilia medici*, un genere squisitamente italiano i cui titoli videro la luce, al contrario dei testi didattici, soprattutto in città universitarie: Pavia, Padova, Bologna.⁵⁰ Il loro legame con le città universitarie era probabilmente favorito dal fatto che sono opere di più facile allestimento laddove vi era disponibilità di professori che potevano curarne l'edizione, ma al tempo stesso avevano un mercato più ampio dei testi squisitamente universitari, interessando sia gli studenti che i professionisti. Apparse per la prima volta nel Duecento, le raccolte di *consilia* fornivano in compendio soluzioni pratiche a fronte di un'ampia gamma di casi patologici.⁵¹ Fu proprio l'avvento della stampa a canonizzarle in genere medico-scientifico, grazie anche all'accurata operazione di revisione e inquadramento teorico operata dai curatori delle edizioni, tutte postume. Gli autori passati alle stampe sono medici tardo medievali o contemporanei ma scomparsi da pochi anni (Gentile da Foligno, m. 1348; Antonio Cermisone, m. 1441; Bartolomeo Montagnana, m. 1452; Giovanni Matteo Ferrari, m. 1472 e Baverio de Baveriis, m. 1480). I loro *consilia*, già costellati di citazioni di *auctoritates*, venivano spesso modellati dai curatori su una delle sezioni pratiche del *Canone* di Avicenna (il III o il IV libro, sulle malattie da capo a piedi o sulle febbri e altre patologie) e spogliati dell'individualità dei racconti, per conferire dignità teoretica ad un genere eminentemente pratico.⁵² Dall'attuale distribuzione delle copie sopravvissute sembra che la produzione italiana fu più che sufficiente a soddisfare anche le esigenze europee. Vi sono infatti edizioni di *Consilia* ora conservate più numerose in sedi estere che non in territorio italiano:⁵³ emblematica quella di Bartolomeo Montagnana che vide la luce a Padova nel 1476, delle cui 37 copie censite in ISTC solo due sono ancora in Italia, men-

49 Taape, «Hieronymus Brunschwig and the Making of Vernacular Medical Knowledge in Early German Print». ISTC ib01225000 (Strasbourg Jul. 1497) e ib01226000 (Augsburg Dec. 1497).

50 A queste città si aggiungono Venezia (2 titoli) e Brescia (1 titolo).

51 Crisciani, «Consilia, responsi, consulti»; Agrimi, Crisciani, *Les "Consilia" médicaux*.

52 Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy*, in particolare 73 e seguenti.

53 Qui e per simili constatazioni successive si tenga conto che una piccola percentuale di esemplari si spostarono dal paese di stampa solo nei secc. XVIII-XX e per motivi collezionistici, in particolare quelli che ora si conservano in paesi extraeuropei.

tre le restanti sono ripartite fra Germania (11) Inghilterra (7), Francia (4), Austria (4), Svizzera (3), e, in esemplare unico, in Danimarca, Belgio, Paesi Bassi, Polonia, Slovenia e Stati Uniti.⁵⁴

Un'altra lettura professionale dalla fortuna europea fu il *Fasciculus Medicinæ*, prontuario medico-chirurgico corredato di tavole xilografiche che spiegava nel giro di poche pagine la lettura delle urine e il salasso regolato dagli astri, dava ricette per la cura di ferite e delle malattie più diffuse, sintetizzava conoscenze di anatomia e chirurgia, ecc.⁵⁵ La raccolta iniziò a circolare manoscritta in area tedesca tra fine XIV e inizio XV secolo, fino a quando lo stampatore Gregorio De Gregori ne fece una prima edizione veneziana in latino nel 1491, cui ne seguirono altre quattro nella stessa lingua e destinate ad un pubblico europeo. Che fosse un titolo pensato per l'esportazione è confermato indirettamente dal fatto che solo l'11% delle copie latine attualmente censite è ancora in suolo italiano.⁵⁶ Ma il *Fasciculus* era soprattutto un'opera destinata ad un pubblico ben più ampio dei soli addetti ai lavori, data l'agilità e i contenuti scientificamente aggiornati; infatti assai presto venne tradotto in italiano e in spagnolo, nel Cinquecento in tedesco - con ben 14 edizioni - e in olandese, oltre ad essere riedito in italiano, spagnolo e in latino.⁵⁷ Data l'importanza dell'opera per il contesto internazionale, il *Fasciculus* ha scatenato fiumi d'inchiostro fra gli storici moderni per le attribuzioni a Johannes Ketham e a Pietro da Montagnana, variamente citati come autori nelle edizioni. Se l'identità del primo resta ancora oscura, studiosi autorevoli negano fermamente che il secondo sia esistito, o con tortuose forzature ne sovrappongono l'identità a quella del grammatico e sacerdote contemporaneo Pietro Floriani da Montagnana.⁵⁸ In realtà Petrus de Montagnana è esistito e fu anche molto

54 ISTC im00814000. I *Consilia* di B. Montagnana e di Ferrari hanno molta fortuna anche nel secolo successivo, anche se il genere in sé avrà un seguito molto ridotto a paragone della moltiplicazione dei *consilia* giuridici, cf. EDIT16.

55 Pesenti, «Editoria medica tra Quattro e Cinquecento» e della stessa *Il "Fasciculus medicinae" ovvero le metamorfosi del libro umanistico*, 2 voll.; Coppens, *De vele levens van een boek: De fasciculus medicinae opnieuw bekeken*. Per il De Gregori si veda DBI, s.v. (T. Pesenti).

56 ISTC ik00013000 (Venezia 1491), ik00014000 (Venezia 1495), ik00015000 (Venezia 1500), ik00016000 (Venezia 1500/01). Della prima edizione ad esempio sono censiti 17 esemplari, dei quali uno soltanto si conserva in Italia; i restanti sono per lo più in Germania (7) e in altri paesi europei (Austria, Svizzera, Polonia, Francia, ecc.): anche se solo l'analisi sistematica degli esemplari lo confermerà, sicuramente solo una piccola parte di essi uscì dai confini italiani per collezionismo.

57 Delle sei edizioni pubblicate in Italia (5 a Venezia e 1 a Milano), due continuavano ad essere in latino.

58 DBI, s.v. (E. Gamba). L'omonimia è chiarita nella tesi di dottorato della stessa Gamba, *Pietro da Montagnana. La vita, gli studi, la biblioteca*, 83-4. Per Ketham si veda Coppens, *De vele levens van een boek: De fasciculus medicinae opnieuw bekeken*.

attivo sul fronte della didattica accademica nella pratica professionale e nell'editoria: docente a Padova e a Ferrara, insegnò anche anatomia e disegno anatomico.⁵⁹ È infatti da identificarsi con il medico Pietro del Min (o Min, Mini, Mino) abitante a Montagnana, la cui figura resta ancora completamente da indagare, soprattutto dal punto di vista dell'attività di divulgatore scientifico attraverso la protoeditoria - collaborazione peraltro non limitata al *Fasciculus Medicinæ*.⁶⁰

È dalla penna dei professionisti che esercitano e talvolta insegnano, sono viventi (anche se spesso anonimi o pseudonimi) e possono perciò seguire personalmente la pubblicazione dei propri testi, che sbocciano i titoli più originali di medicina pratica. Alcuni segnano l'alba di nuove discipline, perché trattano in modo specialistico temi che le *auctoritates* della medicina antica e medievale avevano diluito nelle loro opere, e insieme si arricchiscono di osservazioni tratte dall'esperienza professionale degli autori.

Quasi contemporaneamente in Italia, Germania e Belgio vengono pubblicati i primi titoli di quella che l'Illuminismo codificherà in pediatria: Paolo Bagellardo (m. 1492 o 1494) tratta patologie, terapie e corretto *regimen* del neonato nelle sue tre edizioni del *De infantium aegritudinibus et remediis* (1472; in italiano nel [1486]; 1487);⁶¹ Bartholomaeus Metlingen (m. 1492) con le cinque edizioni volgari dell'*Ein Regiment der jungen Kinder* (1473, 1474, 1476, 1497, 1500)⁶² e il fiammingo Cornelius Roelans (1450-1525) autore dell'*Opusculum aegritudinum puerorum* (Lovanio 1487).⁶³ L'Italia ha indubbiamente un ruolo trainante nell'elaborazione delle nascenti specializzazioni: non solo l'opera di Bagellardo viene puntualmente ripresa da Metlingen e Roelans, ma spetta al medico veronese Gabriele Zerbi (1445-1505) il primato nella pubblicazione di un testo interamente dedicato alle persone anziane. Grazie alla sua *Gerontocomia* stampata nel 1489, che tratta sistematicamente alimentazione e abitudini comportamentali, malattie e rimedi più adatti alla vecchiaia, Zerbi si merita a ragione il titolo di precursore della moderna geriatria.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Tosato, «Palazzo Bolis Valeri a Montagnana (Padova)».

⁶⁰ È in preparazione, da parte di chi scrive, una pubblicazione che chiarirà, sulla scorta di documenti d'archivio, l'identità e l'importante ruolo di Pietro del Min nell'edizione italiana del *Fasciculus*, nonché in altre attività editoriali.

⁶¹ ISTC ib00010000, ib00011000, ib00012000, cf. DBI, s.v. (di E. Carone) e Gualdo, «La lingua della pediatria».

⁶² Manzke, «*Remedia pro infantibus: Arzneiliche Kindertherapie im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*», cf. ISTC im00527000, im00528000, im00528400, im00529000, im00530000.

⁶³ ISTC ir00241000. Si vedano Sudhoff, «Die Schrift des Cornelius Roelans von Mecheln» e Manzke, «*Remedia pro infantibus*».

⁶⁴ Münster, «Il primo trattato pratico compiuto sui temi della vecchiaia: la *Gerontocomia* di Gabriele Zerbi».

Tuttavia la penisola continua ad investire quasi esclusivamente sul latino, con possibilità di fruizione necessariamente più ristrette, e anche il volgare utilizzato è talvolta così artificioso da ampliare di poco il pubblico professionale e accademico che leggeva latino. Rimase inedito un trattato ginecologico-pediatrico assolutamente innovativo come il *De regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum usque ad septennium* di Michele Savonarola composto intorno al 1460, ma anche se pubblicato avrebbe avuto scarso appeal oltre gli addetti ai lavori, dato il volgare involuto e retorico, nonostante l'espedito di dedicarlo alle donne ferraresi della corte Estense.⁶⁵

Il primato nella divulgazione della pratica medica attraverso la stampa spetta ad altri paesi europei e alla Germania in particolare, che ricorse più di altri alla lingua vernacola. Ad Ulm o Augsburg vide la luce intorno al 1495 il primo testo divulgativo di ginecologia, il *Büchlein der schwangeren Frauen*, attribuito nell'edizione al chirurgo di Würzburg Ortolf van Bayerland (secc. XIII-XIV).⁶⁶ Il libretto di 8 carte in-4° spiega in tedesco il corretto regime dietetico e comportamentale per la donna incinta, fornisce ricette naturali per agevolare il parto e si conclude con suggerimenti per l'assistenza a neonato e puerpera nei mesi successivi la nascita. Nella breve prefazione lo Pseudo-Ortolf si presenta come un medico, sollecitato dalle molte donne e ostetriche che ha aiutato nel corso degli anni a scrivere il trattato, perciò loro dedicato. Al di là del topos delle insistenze sull'autore, il libretto è steso in uno stile molto semplice fatto di frasi brevi, talvolta distribuite a modo di elenco, per comunicare con chiarezza consigli medici basilari e concreti ad un pubblico di livello medio-basso (fare passeggiate ma non sforzi fisici, evitare cibi acidi e amari, rifuggire pastinache, prezzemolo e ravanello, rendere la pelle del ventre più elastica con impacchi vegetali, ecc.). Ne sopravvivono solo 4 esemplari, indice dell'ampia circolazione (e quindi consumo) che conobbe confermata dalle edizioni del secolo successivo.⁶⁷

5 *Regimina sanitatis*

Il discrimine fra letteratura professionale e fruizione allargata ai non addetti ai lavori diventa sempre più sottile in due generi che ricadono sotto il soggetto che abbiamo definito *Medicine-Practical*: i *regi-*

⁶⁵ Zuccolin, «Nascere in latino e in volgare. Tra la *Practica Maior* e il *De regimine pregnantium*», 141-4. All'epoca esistevano già trattati di ostetricia, ma si trattava di volgarizzamenti di testi latini legati alla tradizione salernitana o di sillogi di scarse e schematiche indicazioni, ben lontane dall'organicità del testo monografico di Savonarola.

⁶⁶ Keil, «Pseudo-Ortolfisches Frauenbüchlein».

⁶⁷ ISTC io00113000.

mina sanitatis, di cui abbiamo visto qualche esempio specialistico, e i titoli di *materia medica*.

Le radici del paradigma preventivo risalgono all'antichità: Ippocrate e Galeno avevano discusso in vari passi delle loro opere le abitudini di vita adeguate per mantenere lo stato di salute. Furono poi i medici Arabi a sistematizzare le riflessioni intorno alle sei categorie dei cosiddetti fattori non-naturali. Secondo la visione umorale dell'individuo infatti, la conservazione della salute era frutto di un complesso equilibrio delle qualità primarie di caldo/freddo, secco/umido che si creava nell'individuo a seguito dell'interazione tra fattori interni (sangue, flegma, bile gialla e nera) ed esterni o non-naturali, nel senso di non intrinseci: aria, alimentazione solida e liquida, replezione ed evacuazione, esercizio e riposo, sonno e veglia, moti dell'animo.⁶⁸ I sei fattori esterni non-naturali erano appunto i soli sui quali l'individuo potesse intervenire per mantenere l'equilibrio salutare degli umori interni. Fra XI e XII sec. le opere arabe sul tema vennero tradotte in latino, prevalentemente in Spagna e in Italia, alimentando una folta tradizione manoscritta occidentale. Durante il Medioevo i *regimina sanitatis* erano ritagliati sulle figure di principi e del notabilato in genere - laico ed ecclesiastico - presentandosi quindi come prodotti elitari loro dedicati. Fu proprio grazie alla stampa a caratteri mobili che il *regimen sanitatis* iniziò a declinarsi a misura dell'uomo comune e si consolidò come genere medico-scientifico.

Nella fase di stampa poteva capitare che il nome del curatore-compilatore venisse lasciato nell'ombra, oppure che il tipografo-libraio attribuisse arbitrariamente il *regimen* a qualche medico famoso, medievale o scomparso da anni, per avere più presa sul pubblico generico. Accanto a quelli di tradizione medievale o anonimi, tuttavia, si stampavano anche nuovi titoli per iniziativa di medici contemporanei che figuravano regolarmente come autori dell'opera. Come si è visto, alcuni *regimina* si specializzarono in fasi della vita (infanzia, vecchiaia, parto), altri intorno a emergenze sanitarie (es. la peste o, negli ultimi anni del secolo, la sifilide), ma la maggior parte dei titoli si concentrava sulla gestione della quotidianità di segno più neutro, contribuendo alla diffusione di un paradigma medico preventivo che alimenterà un nutrito filone a stampa almeno fino ai primi decenni del XVII secolo.⁶⁹

La distribuzione geografica e linguistica dei *regimina* e della trattatistica correlata accentua quanto visto per altri titoli [fig. 5].

Germania e Italia con un netto distacco, insieme alla Francia, assorbono l'83,5% della produzione, mentre il restante 13,5% è ripartito fra Belgio (20 titoli), Inghilterra (4 titoli), Svizzera, Spagna, Paesi Bas-

⁶⁸ Nicoud, «Salute, malattia e guarigione»; *Les régimes de santé au Moyen Âge*, 1: 1-28.

⁶⁹ Cavallo, Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* e l'introduzione a Cavallo, Storey, *Conserving Health in Early Modern Culture*.

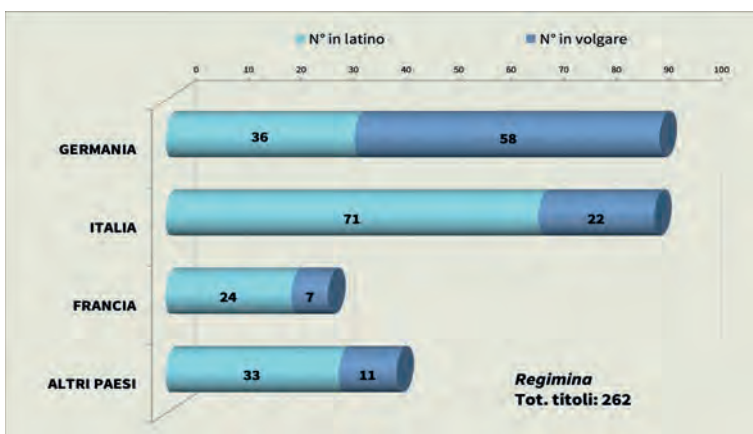


Figura 5 Produzione di *regimina* in latino e in volgare nei tre principali centri tipografici

si, Portogallo e Austria. Il dato ancora più significativo è però quello linguistico, che vede in prima posizione la Germania con il 62% della sua produzione di *regimina* e affini in tedesco, cui seguono l'Italia e la Francia con solo il 24% in italiano e in francese rispettivamente. Spicca l'Inghilterra con i suoi 4 titoli tutti in inglese. La Germania e - nel suo piccolo - l'Inghilterra risultano quindi i paesi che investono di più nella divulgazione medico-scientifica in lingua volgare.

Non a caso il primo trattato a stampa di *regimen* in tempo di peste si deve al medico di Ulm Heinrich Steinhöwel (1412-1482), il *Büchlein der Ordnung*, ovvero il 'Libretto del reggimento' scritto in tedesco nel 1446 e pubblicato nel 1473.⁷⁰ Nella prefazione Steinhöwel dichiara di averlo composto per l' 'uomo comune' (*gemein man*) e insieme per i professionisti alle prime armi - in effetti il testo, pur essendo in lingua vernacola, non disdegna citazioni latine e qualche riflessione più complessa. Nella successione delle 5 edizioni incunabile, tutte in-4°, si percepisce anche una certa evoluzione in direzione di semplificazione e alleggerimento della pagina (ma non del testo): dalle 40 carte iniziali a 32 e poi a 28, i capitoli sono più spaziosi e i titoli talvolta più articolati, mentre le locuzioni latine, che punteggiavano in lettere capitali il testo dell'edizione del 1473, nell'ultima si mimetizzano completamente pur senza scomparire. Deve ancora farsi un esame sistematico delle tracce di possesso degli esemplari cen-

⁷⁰ ISTC is00762800 (Ulm, Johann Zainer, 11 Jan. 1473). Successive edizioni: is00762900 ([Esslingen: Conrad Fyner], 1474); is00763000 ([Ulm: Johann Zainer, about 1482]); is00764000 (Ulm: Conrad Dincckmut, [about 1482]); is00764500 ([Nuremberg: Printer of the 'Rochus Legende', about 1482-84]). Vedi Heinrichs, *Plague, Print, and the Reformation*.

siti, ma spesso capita di imbattersi in *marginalia* fatte da medici in latino, sintomo (da confermare) di una circolazione ancora piuttosto professionale nonostante l'uso della lingua materna.⁷¹

Molta parte della produzione di *regimina sanitatis* degli albori della stampa è assorbita dalle emergenze sanitarie e fra queste soprattutto dalla peste: moltissimi sono gli opuscoli pubblicati e quasi sempre senza note tipografiche, probabilmente per non far invecchiare le giacenze fra uno scoppio epidemico e l'altro.

Un titolo di straordinario successo europeo fu l'opuscolo di Johannes Jacobi (ovvero Jean Jacmé, m. 1384) che era stato professore di medicina a Montpellier, attribuito in edizioni incunabile francesi allo svedese Benedictus Kanuti vescovo di Västerås (fl. 1460), forse per motivi commerciali o forse per errore.⁷² Dalla fine degli anni Settanta, il suo *Regimen contra pestilentiam* venne pubblicato in latino (22 volte), in francese (6 volte, fra cui la prima edizione in assoluto, in versi nel [1476]), inglese (3), tedesco (1) e portoghese (1), arrivando a contare 33 edizioni fino all'anno 1500⁷³ e molte di più fino agli anni Trenta del XVI sec. Opuscolo dalle 12 alle 8 e poi 6 carte in-4°, e più raramente in 8°, il testo ridotto all'essenziale e lo stile elencativo dal taglio fortemente pratico lo rendevano adatto ad una fruizione diffusa, soprattutto nelle edizioni in lingue nazionali, che infatti sopravvivono con una media di 1,5 esemplari per titolo, una quantità inversamente proporzionale all'uso effettivo. Il *Regimen* di Jacobi prova come una lingua volgare fosse condizione necessaria ma non sufficiente per una diffusione del titolo che travalicasse i settori professionali, ma dovesse essere accompagnata anche da scelte testuali e paratestuali adeguate, ovvero da un testo dallo stile piano e magari ripetitivo, meglio se spalmato su un torno ridotto di pagine. In Italia non venne mai tradotto, né allo stato attuale delle conoscenze si conservano copie di alcuna edizione latina in istituzioni pubbliche o private.⁷⁴ In Germania invece, oltre ad un'edizione in tedesco del *Regimen* di Jacobi, si produssero anche molti fogli volanti anonimi che istruivano in volgare sul reggimento in tempo di peste: i *Pestblätter*, spesso ornati da silografie, dei quali sopravvivono ad ora solo rari esemplari di 6 edizioni incunabile, che andrebbero studiate nel contesto della produzione medica tede-

71 Esemplari di Boston (MA) della Harvard Library (is00764000) e della Bayerische Staatsbibliothek di München (is00764500), riprodotti online.

72 Una ricognizione aggiornata degli studi su autore reale e fittizio e sulla tradizione del testo sarà a breve disponibile in Jones, *Time, Space, and The Plague*. Si vedano anche Sudhoff, «Der Pesttraktat des Magister Johannes Jacobi zu Montpellier»; Heinrichs, *Plague, Print, and the Reformation*, ad indicem.

73 Si cerchi con Johannes Jacobi in ISTC.

74 Coerentemente con la più ristretta fruizione delle edizioni latine, esse si conservano con una media di 7 esemplari ciascuna.

sca ed europea, coeva e successiva, del reggimento in tempo di peste.⁷⁵

Un tentativo italiano di realizzare un testo in volgare sulla peste che fosse compreso da chiunque affinché potesse prendere le adeguate misure e fare da sé i rimedi medicinali senza bisogno di ricorrere a professionisti, fu quello del medico bolognese Girolamo Manfredi (1430 ca.-1493). Nel 1478 Manfredi scrisse e pubblicò in italiano quella che voleva essere un'opera «breve e sententiosa» per insegnare «succintamente» ad affrontare l'emergenza sanitaria: il *Trattato della pestilenza*.⁷⁶ Niente di più lontano dalla realtà delle sue «pie» (da Manfredi stesso definite tali) intenzioni: il trattato, di 54 carte densamente impresse, è appesantito da frequenti rinvii ad auctoritates del passato e lo stile è così retorico e argomentativo che non ci si stupisce affatto se non venne più riedito. L'operazione si chiuse infatti con la traduzione latina, su richiesta di colleghi e dotti «quoniam, ut aiunt, vulgares sermones qui ad indoctos pertinent legere dedignantur».⁷⁷ Sembra insomma che l'Italia fosse piuttosto incapace, nei primi cinquant'anni dall'avvento della stampa, di sfruttare appieno le potenzialità divulgative del mezzo, salvo poi ribaltare completamente la situazione nel secolo successivo, quando anche il volgare italiano trionfò in tipografia.⁷⁸

Anche se non mancano neppure nella penisola i primi tentativi che andrebbero studiati in continuità con quelli più noti del XVI secolo e nei quali il *regimen* sconfinava nel genere ancora più pratico del ricettario, che in Italia avrà straordinaria fortuna. È il caso del *Consiglio per preservar della peste* del medico padovano Antonio Cermisone, che uscì alla metà degli anni Settanta e nel decennio successivo con il titolo di *Ricette contro la pestilenza* a Napoli, Roma e Milano in quattro edizioni.⁷⁹ Nel 1441 Cermisone era già morto, quindi l'operazione di trarre dai suoi scritti l'operetta in volgare deve ascrivere all'iniziativa di qualcuno animato dall'intento di spiegare al pubblico più vasto possibile come «sanare dala pestelentia senza

⁷⁵ ISTC ip00363000 ([Augsburg 1472-74]), ip00363300 ([Augsburg 1482]), ip00363600 ([Reutlingen 1482]), ip00363400 ([Bamberg 1482-85?]), e in basso tedesco ip00364000, ([Cologne 1488-1500]), ip00363500 ([Ulm 1490]). Il genere è trattato in *pendant* ad altre produzioni 'emergenziali' su foglio volante in Marr, «Kriege und Seuchen». Della produzione tedesca su foglio volante disponiamo ora del prezioso Eisermann, *VE15: Verzeichniss der typographischen Einblattdrucke*, inglobato in ISTC.

⁷⁶ [Bologna, after 5 Dec. 1478], ISTC im00197000, si veda la prefazione dell'autore.

⁷⁷ [Bologna, after 31 Dec. 1479], ISTC im00196000, cf. *Prohemium*.

⁷⁸ Per quanto riguarda le pubblicazioni per peste si veda appunto Cohn, *Cultures of Plague*.

⁷⁹ Su Cermisone, già citato per i suoi *Consilia*, cf. DBI, s.v. (F. Di Trocchio); le edizioni incunabile sono ISTC ic00401000 ([Napoli 1475-76]), ic00401500 ([Roma 1478]), ic00404500 ([Milano 1479-80]), ic00405000 ([Milano 1483-84]). Cohn, *Cultures of Plague*, 52, ignora le edizioni del XV secolo, concentrandosi su quelle del 1512 e 1555.

medico».⁸⁰ Probabilmente il curatore fu un professionista, e infatti non disdegnavano di leggerlo in volgare neppure i medici: almeno uno fra i rari esemplari superstiti reca in fine un'accurata descrizione coeva dell'intervento curativo praticato su un malato, in latino.⁸¹ Ma il *Consiglio* aveva certamente tutti i requisiti, testuali e paratestuali per una diffusione che andasse ben oltre i circoli professionali: opuscolo in-4° dalle 6 alle 8 carte, fatto di brevi frasi impresse su pagine molto ariose, che l'esiguo numero di copie giunteci (solo 6 su 4 edizioni) fa presumere di essere stato letto e consumato parecchio, e infine selezionato da collezionisti.⁸²

6 Libri di *materia medica*

Fra i titoli che ricadono nell'ambito della medicina pratica una fetta considerevole è rappresentata da quelli che trattano di farmacopea a vari livelli e soprattutto di *materia medica*, ovvero delle proprietà terapeutiche delle sostanze dei tre regni naturali, e in particolare di quello vegetale, che fin dall'antichità fu la fonte per eccellenza delle materie prime manipolate per produrre rimedi medicinali.⁸³

Le percentuali confermano ancora una volta il ruolo leader di tre paesi europei - Italia, Germania e Francia - con il consueto scarso investimento della prima nei testi in volgare [fig. 6].

Per quanto attiene la prima produzione a stampa dei libri di *materia medica* è senz'altro condivisibile l'ottimismo di Elizabeth Eisenstein nel valutare l'impatto della *printing revolution*.⁸⁴ Tuttavia, ancora una volta la produzione incunabolistica nel settore è stata piuttosto sottovalutata, perché la storia di questo genere scientifico è stata scritta per lo più da botanici che tendevano a valorizzare la produzione a stampa dal 1530 in poi, quando erano ormai stati corretti alcuni errori di identificazione e di rappresentazione delle piante e ci si avviava a dare le basi della disciplina botanica.⁸⁵ In realtà le edizioni incunabile costituirono la premessa ineludibile del pro-

⁸⁰ ISTC ic00401000.

⁸¹ ISTC ic00405000, esemplare della Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano riprodotto in <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02005476>.

⁸² Ben 4 copie su 6 (ora in British Library, Glasgow University Library, Harvard Countway Library of Medicine, Boston), non presentano alcuna traccia d'uso, suggerendo che gli esemplari siano stati reperiti nel mercato antiquario con attenzione prettamente bibliofila.

⁸³ Stannard, «The Herbal as a Medical Document».

⁸⁴ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*.

⁸⁵ Ineludibile resta comunque Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution. A Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470-670*, ora nell'edizione italiana *Erbari: origine ed evoluzione, 1470-1670* arricchito di un saggio di Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi.

gresso delle conoscenze legate alla *materia medica*, perché diedero l'occasione per confronti, sperimentazioni e attualizzazioni di quelle conoscenze sia a livello professionale che in una dimensione più dimessa e quotidiana, stimolando l'interesse diffuso per le revisioni che verranno nel Cinquecento.⁸⁶

Fra i classici i prototipografi proposero il monumentale *De Materia medica* di Dioscoride (I sec. d.C.), che avrà una straordinaria influenza dal pieno Rinascimento in poi lungo tutta l'età moderna, prima dal punto di vista farmacologico e poi botanico.⁸⁷ Pubblicato a Colle Val d'Elsa nel 1478, in traduzione latina, in-folio e privo di illustrazioni, l'edizione era la rielaborazione di un codice prodotto nell'Italia del X secolo: la riorganizzazione del contenuto in forma alfabetica lo fece diventare il primo *reference work* di carattere farmaceutico.⁸⁸ Tuttavia, oltre a non essere ripubblicato, nel 1499 fu soppiantato dall'edizione manuziana del Dioscoride greco che ne rivoluzionò completamente la tradizione testuale e lo preparò alla fortuna cinquecentesca nelle lingue europee.⁸⁹

Più che da Dioscoride, il panorama del secondo Quattrocento fu dominato da molti titoli tedeschi che riprendevano la tradizione manoscritta medievale. Un'opera riedita sei volte fu il *Buch der Natur* (Augsburg 1475), volgarizzazione di fonti più antiche realizzata intorno a metà Trecento da Konrad von Megenberg (1309-1374).⁹⁰ La stampa in-folio fu corredata da un primo tentativo di illustrazione rappresentato da una silografia a piena pagina posta in apertura a ciascuna sezione: il corpo umano, i cieli con i quattro elementi, gli animali di terra, i volatili, gli esseri mostruosi, animali marini, insetti, le piante coltivate, le piante selvatiche.⁹¹ I regni naturali e le loro proprietà erano i protagonisti del testo ma le raffigurazioni collettive non instauravano una corrispondenza univoca fra testo e immagine.

Il primo erbario interamente illustrato a silografia uscì in Italia, su iniziativa di Giovanni Filippo De Lignamine, messinese di nobili natali e dalle frequentazioni umanistiche che nel 1470 si trasferì a Roma

86 Elliott in «The World of Renaissance Herbals» spiega anche come l'età d'oro degli erbari giunga sino alla metà del XVII sec., per essere poi soppiantati, anche nei frontespizi, dalla compiuta scienza 'botanica' e da allora relegati ad una fruizione più popolare.

87 Stannard, *Herbs and Herbalism in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*.

88 Colle Val d'Elsa, Johannes de Medemblick, July 1478, ISTC id00261000. Funk, «The First Printed Latin Editions of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*».

89 ISTC id00260000: Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, post 8 July 1499.

90 Spyra, *Das 'Buch der Natur' Konrads von Megenberg*.

91 ISTC ic00842000 (Augsburg 1475), ic00843000 (Augsburg 1478), ic00844000 (Augsburg 1481), ic00844500 (Augsburg 1482), ic00845000 (Augsburg 1482), ic00846000 (Augsburg 1499); sopravvivono a tutt'oggi più di 80 manoscritti e frammenti dell'opera, in due redazioni varianti. Spyra, *Das 'Buch der Natur' Konrads von Megenberg* mette a confronto 30 manoscritti illustrati con le edizioni incunabile.

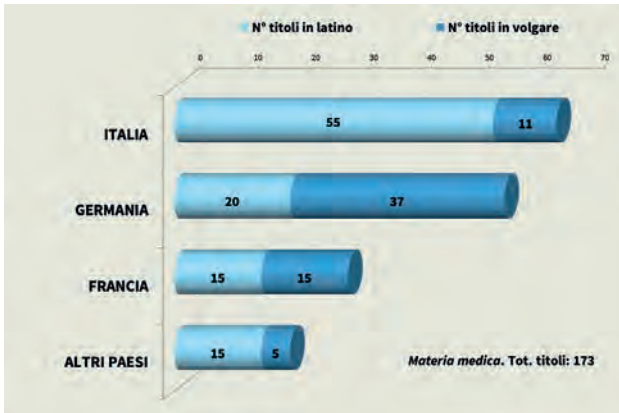


Figura 6 Produzione di incunabili di *materia medica* in latino e in volgare nei tre principali centri tipografici

dove avviò un'attività editoriale particolarmente impegnata sul versante medico-scientifico.⁹² A fine 1482-inizio 1483, Lignamine diede alla luce l'*Herbarium Apulei*, servendosi di un manoscritto dello *Pseudo Apuleio Platónico* del IX secolo, a sua volta copia di testi di medicina greca assemblati dalla scuola Salernitana intorno al IV secolo d.C. e molto popolari lungo tutto il Medioevo.⁹³ Si tratta di un in-4° corredato di circa 130 silografie, una per ciascun capitolo che descrive le proprietà di una pianta, con cui, pur nei limiti di una raffigurazione stilizzata e rudimentale, Lignamine cercava per la prima volta di far corrispondere al testo un'immagine. Ma l'impresa che ambiva al successo editoriale non era stata calcolata bene e l'*Herbarium* non fu più stampato nel corso del Quattrocento. L'insuccesso si deve probabilmente al fatto che il trattato era in latino, quindi rivolto innanzitutto ad un pubblico di professionisti che però erano assuefatti a ben più sofisticate riproduzioni naturalistiche dal vivo. E infatti in Italia a differenza che altrove continuò ancora intensa la produzione di erbari manoscritti nel secondo Quattrocento, accanto a erbari con piante agglutinate o impresse ad inchiostro, in grado di soddisfare meglio della stampa le richieste di un pubblico medio-alto.⁹⁴

⁹² DBI, s.v. (C. Alaimo).

⁹³ ISTC ih00058000; Olariu, «The Misfortune of Philippus de Lignamine's Herbal».

⁹⁴ L'osservazione, corredata della citazione di molti manoscritti, è di Olariu, che imputa però la ricerca italiana di perfezionismo all'adesione allo scetticismo di Plinio e Galeno sulla possibilità di una riproduzione fedele di forme e colori della natura, «The Misfortune of Philippus de Lignamine's Herbal», 45-6, 54-8.

In Germania, invece, grazie al volgare, i primi libri di *materia medica* erano accessibili ad un pubblico tendenzialmente ampio e più disposto a soprassedere sulla qualità delle silografie, che nel frattempo comunque miglioravano il loro grado di aderenza alla realtà. Particolarmente prolifico nel settore fu Peter Schöffer (1425-1503), copista e stampatore raffinato, al cui nome sono legate diverse fortunate iniziative editoriali di testi di *materia medica*. Pubblicò a Magonza nel 1484 l'*Herbarius latinus (with German synonyms)* detto anche *Herbarius Moguntinus*, un in-4° illustrato con 150 silografie, attribuendolo ad Arnaldo di Villanova - in realtà un assemblaggio di fonti antiche e medievali che descrivevano piante originarie dell'area tedesca o ivi naturalizzate, disposte in ordine alfabetico. Benché in latino, l'edizione forniva almeno i sinonimi del nome delle piante in lingua tedesca, come poi edizioni successive li fornirono in olandese e in francese - nomenclatura plurilingue fondamentale per la consultazione - ma mai in italiano.⁹⁵ Nel 1491, a Vicenza, Achates riproponeva il testo dell'*Herbarius Moguntinus* quasi identico, compresa la falsa attribuzione ad Arnaldo di Villanova, ma senza sinonimi in italiano - l'*Herbarius latinus (without synonyms)*, anch'esso illustrato con 150 silografie, ma diverse rispetto all'edizione Schöffer.⁹⁶

Solo un anno dopo il primo erbario, nel 1485, Peter Schöffer puntò ad un'opera più ambiziosa, il *Gart der Gesundheit* curato da Johann von Cube (o Johannes Wonnecke von Kaub), un in-folio che descriveva in lingua volgare più del doppio delle piante rispetto all'*Herbarius latinus*, oltre che alcune sostanze animali e minerali, illustrato con più eleganti silografie a piena pagina (379).⁹⁷ Il successo fu straordinario e testimoniato da ben 12 edizioni successive, fra plagii e pubblicazioni regolari.⁹⁸ Pochi anni dopo vide la luce, sempre in Germania, un'altra pietra miliare dell'editoria botanica, questa volta in latino per un pubblico anche europeo: Jacob Meydenbach fece uscire a Magonza l'anonimo *Hortus sanitatis* (1491), una traduzione latina con varianti del *Gart der Gesundheit*: sempre in-folio e ornato di illustrazioni più piccole, che però ora superavano il migliaio, ebbe

95 *Herbarius latinus (with German synonyms)*: ISTC ih00062000 (Mainz 1484) e ih00063000 (Speyer 1484); *Herbarius latinus (with Dutch synonyms)*: ih00059000 ([Louvain after Feb. 1486]) e ih00060000 ([Louvain 1486]); *Herbarius latinus (with French synonyms)*: ih00061000 ([Paris about 1486]).

96 ISTC ih00068000; ripubblicato, sempre senza sinonimi, a Venezia nel 1497 (ih00068500), e di nuovo nella città lagunare nel 1499 (ih00069000).

97 Keil, «Johann Wonnecke von Kaub (Johannes de Cuba)».

98 ISTC ig00097000 (Mainz 1485), ig00098000 (Augsburg 1485), ig00098500 ([Augsburg about 1485-86]), ig00099000 ([Strasbourg about 1485-86]), ISTC ig00100000 (Augsburg 1486), ISTC ig00102000 (Augsburg 1487), ISTC ig00103000 (Ulm 1487), ISTC ig00104000 (Augsburg 1488), ISTC ig00105000 (Augsburg 1493), ISTC ig00106500 ([Basel about 1487-90]), ISTC ig00108000 ([Strasbourg about 1485-89]), ISTC ig00109000 (in basso tedesco, Lübeck 1492), ISTC ig00107000 (Augsburg 1499).

tre riedizioni e una traduzione francese.⁹⁹ Mentre titoli come l'*Hortus sanitatis* venivano letti e usati anche da medici e specialisti italiani (e del resto d'Europa), bisognerà aspettare il secolo successivo perché l'Italia produca illustrazioni originali delle piante ritratte dal vivo a corredo di una *materia medica* in italiano.¹⁰⁰

Lo studio delle tracce di lettura e d'uso sui libri di *materia medica* sopravvissuti è particolarmente rivelatore, perché, insieme ai ricettari che vedremo a breve, sono fra i libri più postillati, quindi in grado di rivelare meglio le modalità di approccio al testo e all'oggetto libro da parte del lettore/fruitoro. I due generi medico-scientifici hanno fra loro anche un legame inscindibile, editoriale e di storia di esemplare: nel testo di molte edizioni ricette medicinali corredano e scandiscono le descrizioni dei regni naturali e delle proprietà terapeutiche connesse ai costituenti; spesso poi accade che esemplari delle due tipologie librerie si trovino rilegati in un solo volume miscelaneo, oppure che i libri di *materia medica* presentino in apertura o legate in fine carte supplementari con ricette medicinali manoscritte da qualche lettore. Emblematico di questo profondo legame fra i due generi è un esemplare dell'*Hortus sanitatis* ora al Royal College of Physicians di Londra, il cui lettore cinquecentesco incolla, in corrispondenza di alcune varietà vegetali, cartigli ritagliati da un'edizione svizzera dei *Segreti medicinali* di Alessio Piemontese (alias Girolamo Ruscelli).¹⁰¹

Anche se retaggio di conoscenze antiche e medievali ancora da verificare e sistematizzare, le descrizioni dei regni naturali e in particolare di quello vegetale stimolarono una partecipazione molto attiva nei lettori fino almeno ai primi decenni del XVIII secolo.¹⁰² Anzi,

99 ISTD ih00486000, ih00487000 ([Strasbourg 1497]), ih00488000 ([Strasbourg 1497]); ih00490000 (*Le jardin de santé*, Paris [1499 and 1501/02]). Un'edizione veneziana comparve, senza data, dopo il 1500, cf. ISTD ih00489500. Sui 'Kräutenbücher', ovvero gli erbari tedeschi, si veda ora Baumann B., Baumann H., *Die mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln*.

100 Saranno i *Commentari* a Dioscoride del medico e botanico Pietro Andrea Mattioli a lanciare con successo la produzione a stampa in volgare, vedi Pesenti, «Il 'Dioscoride' di Pier Andrea Mattioli e l'editoria botanica»; Ferri, *Pietro Andrea Mattioli (Siena 1501-Trento 1578)* e Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

101 ISTD ih00489000 ([Strasbourg, about 1507]), collocazione 1a(5); alle cc. k1r, p6r, x4r si trovano ritagli tratti dall'edizione *D. Alexii Pedemontani de secretis libri sex... Ex Italico in Latinum*, Basileae 1560.

102 Il database *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI), ideato da Cristina Dondi e arricchito negli ultimi anni anche grazie al suo ERC-Project 15cBOOKTRADE, permette di collocare nel tempo e nello spazio le tracce d'uso di un testo a stampa, consentendo quindi un'elaborazione dei dati che tenga conto dei due parametri. Si è così potuto stabilire che negli incunaboli di *materia medica* gli interventi manoscritti risalenti al XVI e XVII secolo sono quantitativamente più frequenti ed estesi, per poi decrescere e scomparire nei primi decenni del XVIII secolo, quando quei libri sembrano trasformarsi da testi vivi e di consultazione quotidiana in oggetti di interesse prettamente antiquario.

proprio il fatto che molti incunaboli di *materia medica* siano veicolo di conoscenze incomplete o superate fu di stimolo al lettore per intervenire sul testo, fosse egli medico, speciale, ma anche semplicemente un individuo scarsamente letterato ma interessato a conoscerne e usare le potenzialità terapeutiche. Il fruitore che si avvicinava ai loro testi e alle loro silografie confrontava a questi il personale bagaglio di conoscenze, frutto talvolta di studio (se c'era stato), sempre della propria esperienza diretta. E le dimensioni dell'oggetto-libro - ora voluminoso in-folio, ora più maneggevole in-4° - si prestavano bene a fissare su di esso i risultati di questo confronto.¹⁰³ Grazie al database partecipato *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI), si potranno presto fare anche elaborazioni quantitative sulle tipologie di interventi dei lettori antichi.¹⁰⁴ Per ora ci limitiamo a dare un esempio che illustri le potenzialità informative di una rilevazione dei dati di fruizione su libri di *materia medica*.

L'integrazione di una medesima pianta accomuna tre esemplari di edizioni differenti e tre lettori/fruitori con livelli di acculturazione molto diversi. Un decimo delle copie attualmente censite dell'*Hortus Sanitatis* impresso a Strasburgo nel 1497 si trova ora in Italia, a dimostrazione di come il mercato tedesco sopperi in materia anche le esigenze di altri paesi europei.¹⁰⁵ Fra queste copie, un esemplare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana è estensivamente annotato da una mano primo cinquecentesca.¹⁰⁶ Benché il postillatore sia anonimo, i dialettalismi di cui è disseminato il suo latino, talvolta declinato in un *pastiche* italianizzante, e insieme alcuni riferimenti ad abitudini di area veneto-veneziana, dimostrano che si tratta di un lettore veneziano o quantomeno veneto. Commenti marginali, ricette di sua sperimentazione o suggeritegli da conoscenti e annotate sui margini e soprattutto su 16 pagine fittamente manoscritte legate alla fine del volume, i dosaggi delle sostanze talvolta espressi con simbologia professionale, permettono di stabilire che si tratta di uno speciale. Più di qualche volta l'anonimo speciale corregge le silografie con armoniosi disegni a penna e talvolta ritrae ex novo piante non incluse

103 Grazie alle dimensioni, di questo genere medico-scientifico si sono preservate molte più copie rispetto ad esempio agli opuscoli o ai fogli volanti di *regimina*, più fragili anche come supporto per osservazioni dei lettori.

104 Cf. <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/reading-practices/> e <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/distribution-use/>. Ricercatori e catalogatori rilevano metodicamente gli interventi dei lettori, li contestualizzano geograficamente e cronologicamente: dalle più consuete sottolineature e commenti marginali alle integrazioni al testo, ai supplementi (testi e disegni), correzioni, interventi di censura e autocensura, appunti di lezioni accademiche, timbri, legature, ecc.

105 Il dato è ricavabile dall'opzione di *Advanced search* in https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.

106 Inc. 0333, ISTC ih00487000, cf. <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02013034>.

nell'*Hortus*. Un'integrazione in particolare lo accomuna ad un lettore veneto di ben più basso livello culturale che interviene raramente sulla copia di un *Herbarius Latinus (without synonyms)* pubblicato a Vicenza da Achates nel 1491.¹⁰⁷ Entrambi aggiungono infatti, ciascuno sul proprio esemplare, il disegno e la descrizione della '*Lunaria grassola*' volgarmente detta Moneta del Papa, pianta erbacea che mancava sia nell'*Hortus Sanitatis* che nell'*Herbarius Latinus* - ma che si troverà nel Dioscorides del XVI secolo sotto il nome di *Elatine* o *Nummolaria* [figg. 7-8].¹⁰⁸

Colpisce molto la conoscenza naturalistica condivisa dai due anonimi lettori, nonostante lo scarto culturale: lo speciale veneziano, accanto all'erba disegnata con tratto sicuro e stilizzato aggiunge una descrizione latina articolata delle caratteristiche della *lunaria* e dà una ricetta che ha un «effectum mirabile». L'altro lettore si limita a scrivere accanto al suo un disegno un po' naïf ma dal vivo, che la «Lunaria M.[=minore] se troua j[n] fosse e loçi [=luoghi?] auastrini [corretto da altra mano in: *aquastrini* per *acquittrini*]». Fatto molto importante è inoltre che un libro latino come l'*Herbarius Latinus* sia letto e addirittura integrato da qualcuno che ha difficoltà a padroneggiare persino la lingua materna: evidentemente, così come non bisogna dare per scontate facoltà di divulgazione scientifica a tutti i testi in volgare, non necessariamente un testo in latino era impenetrabile ai non-*litterati*. Anche i livelli più elementari di istruzione si acquisivano infatti esercitandosi su preghiere e brevi testi latini, le funzioni religiose cui un individuo partecipava erano in latino, ragion per cui una certa dimestichezza con la lingua latina doveva essere più diffusa di quanto siamo portati a credere.¹⁰⁹ Se a ciò si aggiunge un libro come l'*Herbarius Latinus* con testi essenziali e dalla struttura ripetitiva (prima la descrizione di pianta e qualità, poi gli scopi terapeutici con qualche ricetta), corredati sempre da un'immagine esemplificativa per quanto stilizzata della pianta, si può capire come anche persone scarsamente alfabetizzate potessero accedere ai contenuti. L'integrazione della medesima *Lunaria* si trova sull'esemplare di un altro *Herbarius Latinus (with German synonyms)* ora a Vienna, fatta da un lettore germanofono contemporaneo ai precedenti, che integra il testo in latino con grafia gotica bastarda.¹¹⁰ Probabilmente

107 Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Inc. G 048, ISTC ih00068000, cf. <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02010600>. Si tratta di uno dei pochi interventi manoscritti dell'anonimo.

108 Basti consultare una delle numerose edizioni del XVI secolo - italiane o latine - curate da Pietro Andrea Mattioli, cf. *supra* la relativa bibliografia.

109 Lucchi, «La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino» e «Nuove ricerche sul Babuino»; Dondi in questo volume.

110 ISTC ih00066000, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Ink 34-18 Part 3, cf. <https://data.cerl.org/mei/02108046>. Non vi è online la riproduzione dell'esemplare, il catalogatore rileva a c. 86v "[a] section on the use of Lunaria (current, 16th century)".

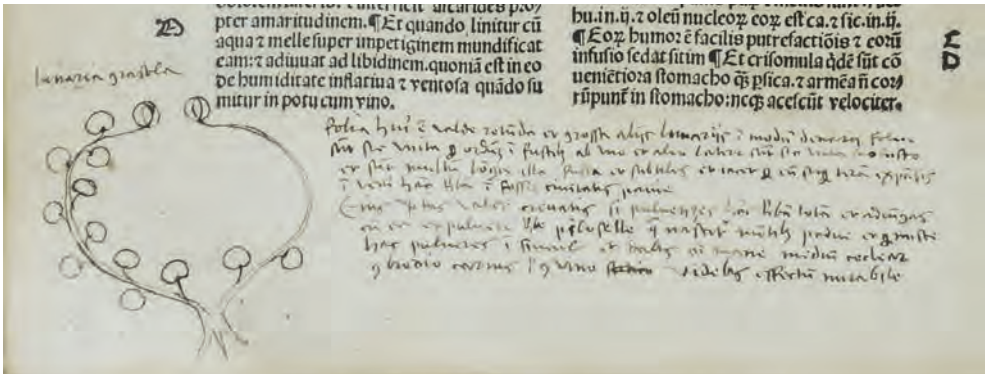


Figura 7 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 333, *Hortus sanitatis*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, not after 21 Oct. 1497], c. [55]v

il lettore era un medico, che aggiunse all'esemplare in suo possesso 19 carte scritte di suo pugno in cui organizzava alfabeticamente per patologia il contenuto dell'*Herbarius*, con rinvio al capitolo della/le piante che la curano.

Le tre prese in esame sono tracce di vita quotidiana che danno i reali confini della distribuzione delle conoscenze di *materia medica*: se l'edizione rappresenta le conoscenze dei regni naturali della tradizione manoscritta approdata alla stampa, gli interventi dei lettori contemporanei svelano quale fosse lo stadio effettivo delle conoscenze e degli usi diffusi. Certamente l'uso medicinale della *lanarina* doveva essere familiare a tutti e tre i lettori dal background così diverso, tanto da indurli ad aggiungerlo ad un libro a stampa. La pubblicazione fu un'occasione di verifica, confronto e perfezionamento delle conoscenze non solo a livello dei professionisti d'eccezione come Mattioli che nel secolo successivo correggeranno la tradizione manoscritta, ma anche al livello inferiore del professionista locale - medico e speciale anonimi - come della persona più comune e illetterata. Il libro di *materia medica* era pretesto di scrittura, oggetto di riscrittura e talvolta anche album parlante per la raccolta di specimen vegetali, strumento per costruire un personale *hortus siccus*, come suggerisce un certo numero di esemplari finora rintracciati che vennero utilizzati per essiccare erbe fra le pagine.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ London, Linnean Society Library, BL 783; si veda anche il post di Andrea van Leerdam consultabile all'indirizzo <http://bc.library.uu.nl/densely-annotated-and-richly-illustrated-famous-herbal-dutch-translation>.



Figura 8 Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Inc. G 048, *Herbarius latinus (without synonyms)*. Vicenza: Leonardus Achatas de Basilea and Guilielmus de Papia, 27 Oct. 1491, c. 12v. © Biblioteca Correr-Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia

Studi sistematici sugli esemplari, attualmente in corso o che si stanno per avviare, avranno molto da dire sul lato della fruizione della *materia medica* e del contributo che anche le centinaia di fruitori marginali diedero al rinnovamento delle conoscenze medico-farmacologiche.¹¹²

¹¹² Diverse sono ora le ricerche basate anche sull'esame degli interventi manoscritti su copie di titoli di botanica, come quella in corso di Julia Heideklang, «Botanics in the Making (1500-1700): Communication and Construction of the Botanical Science in Early Modern Europe». Prevede un'estensione del *Material Evidence in Incunabula* anche agli esemplari del XVI e XVII secolo, ricongiungendo così la ricerca sul XV secolo con quella del pieno Rinascimento il progetto *MAT-MED in Transit: the Transforming Knowledge of Healing Plants*, di chi scrive, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow, Università Ca' Foscari (H2020-MSCA-IF-2018-GF, G.A. 844886, ott. 2019-sett. 2022).

7 Ricettari, vademecum e medicina in versi: la medicina domestica

Nel secondo Quattrocento le prime stampe di farmacopea incarnarono una duplice funzione: raramente disciplinatrice, più spesso divulgatrice.

Le avvisaglie delle potenzialità disciplinatrici del mezzo tipografico in materia medico-farmaceutica si manifestarono per la prima volta in Italia. Nel 1498 venne pubblicata a Firenze una farmacopea ufficiale alla quale gli speciali dovevano attenersi, inaugurando una tradizione a stampa che si affermò poi nel resto d'Italia e in Europa. Era il *Nuovo ricettario composto dal Collegio dei dottori di Firenze* curato dal medico Girolamo Dal Pozzo Toscanelli, per l'occasione scritta in volgare al fine di garantire la più ampia ricezione.¹¹³ Le farmacopee ufficiali erano veri e propri codici che elencavano le molte sostanze che le botteghe medicinali erano tenute a conservare in condizioni ottimali - a pena di multe comminate in occasione dei controlli periodici - e soprattutto dettavano la regola di quali rimedi gli speciali potessero manipolare e come, ne prescrivevano ingredienti, dosi e modalità di composizione. Con le farmacopee ufficiali si codificò anche la retorica parenetica con cui venivano delineati i tratti del perfetto speciale, suggerite le letture che questi avrebbe dovuto fare e la deontologia del mestiere, naturalmente dopo aver stigmatizzato l'ignoranza della categoria, che apre appunto anche il proemio del *Nuovo ricettario*.¹¹⁴

Ma fortunatamente nei primi cinquant'anni di storia della stampa la maggior parte di pubblicazioni attinenti la farmacopea esplicò soprattutto le potenzialità divulgative della nuova tecnologia. Ben lontani dai toni un po' sprezzanti del *Nuovo ricettario*, altri titoli in cui la farmacopea si declinava nella forma del ricettario non prescrittivo si imposero in Francia, in Germania e anche in Italia, rivolti sì ai professionisti ma programmaticamente anche all'uomo comune e addirittura 'ai poveri'. Titoli che possiamo considerare nell'insieme un preludio ai cosiddetti *libri di segreti* che trionferanno nell'editoria cinquecentesca.¹¹⁵

Si contano oltre venti edizioni incunabile del *Von den ausgebrannten Wassern* (Delle acque ardenti) uscito per lo più ad Augsburg dal 1476, e undici edizioni delle *Eaux artificielles* impresse dal 1483 quasi

¹¹³ ISTC ir00190600. Per l'Italia lo studio più esaustivo resta Corradi, «Le prime farmacopee italiane ed in particolare dei ricettari fiorentini», monografia degli *Annali universali di medicina*, disponibile anche nell'edizione Milano 1987. Una versione molto parziale dell'opera, bibliograficamente aggiornata, è stata edita a Milano nel 1992.

¹¹⁴ Sulla funzione delle farmacopee ufficiali si veda Minuzzi, *Sul filo dei segreti*, cap. «Farmacopee ufficiali a confronto».

¹¹⁵ Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*; Leong, Rankin, *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science*.

tutte fra Parigi e Lione, opere entrambe che godettero di straordinaria fortuna nel Cinquecento e oltre. La prima è attribuita al medico viennese Michael Puff (1400 ca.-1473),¹¹⁶ mentre le *Eaux artificielles* sono frutto di un anonimo raccoglitore.¹¹⁷ Entrambe illustrano le proprietà terapeutiche di acque distillate da erbe e piante e costituiscono due fra gli esempi più interessanti di nozioni di farmacopea destinate anche a fasce popolari di fruitori.

Sul cadere del secolo comparvero in Germania anche brevi manuali in volgare dal taglio estremamente pratico, a metà tra farmacopea, ricettario e vademecum medico: Hieronymus Brunschwig descriveva le procedure di una corretta distillazione nel suo *Kleines Destillierbuch*, un altro medico contemporaneo, Johannes Tollat von Vochenberg nel suo *Büchlein der Arznei* (Piccolo libro di medicina) insegnava ai poveri della città e della campagna - ritenendoli già di per sé ottimi conoscitori della flora locale - a comporre rimedi vegetali in proprio.¹¹⁸ Di farmacopea applicata alla chirurgia trattava l'*Arzneibuch* di Ortolf, il chirurgo di Würzburg del XIII sec. già incontrato per una falsa attribuzione, guadagnata proprio grazie alla fortuna di questo titolo. A coronamento di una fitta tradizione manoscritta, dalla princeps del 1477 l'*Arzneibuch* ebbe nove edizioni, in-folio e poi in-4°, in tedesco e in basso tedesco.¹¹⁹ Sempre la Germania colse la lezione più pratica che si poteva ricavare dalle opere dell'archiatra catalano Arnaldo di Villanova: fece uscire 14 edizioni, delle quali ben 12 erano la traduzione in tedesco del trattato di conservazione *De vinis*, il *Von Bewahrung und Bereitung der Weine*, la prima opera a stampa sul vino, trattato come alimento ma anche come liquido di soluzione ideale per i principi attivi delle sostanze medicamentose.¹²⁰ Era un opuscolo dalle 12 alle 20 carte dal taglio molto pratico, dapprima in-folio e senza illustrazioni, verso fine secolo in-4° e con silografie naïf ripetute a scopo puramente ornamentale. Oltre a trattare

116 Pogliani, *Le tradizioni delle 'acque ardenti' di Michael Puff aus Schrick*.

117 Hillard, *Traité des eaux artificielles*.

118 ISTC ib01227000 (Strasbourg 1500), cf. Taape, «Distilling Reliable Remedies». ISTC registra cinque edizioni del *Büchlein* dal 1497 a fine secolo, pubblicate a Memmingen, Augusta e Strasburgo: ISTC it00384300, ISTC it00384400, ISTC it00384410, ISTC it00384450, ISTC it00384500.

119 Si contano almeno circa 200 manoscritti, cf. Keil, «The Textual Transmission of the *Codex Berleburg*», 26 nota 19; per le edizioni incunabile cf. ISTC io00108000, io00109000, io00110000, io00111000, io00111500, io00111700, io00112000, io00112100, io00112200. Si veda anche la recente traduzione realizzata da Ortrun Riha, *Mittelalterliche Heilkunst*.

120 Fra il 1478 ed il 1500: ISTC ia01080000, ia01081000, ia01081200, ia01081300, ia01081500, ia01081700, ia01082010, ia01082000, ia01082020, ia01082030, ia01082040, ia01082045. Tradotto da Wilhelm von Hirnkofen, il *De vinis* in realtà è la sintesi del testo di Villanova e di un trattatello coevo anonimo, cf. Sigerist, «A Fifteenth-century Treatise on Wine»; Worstbrock, «Wilhelm von Hirnkofen gen. Rennwart».

del vino nell'ambito del regime dietetico, insegnava a produrre vini medicati con il ricorso a sostanze naturali di vario tipo, vegetali e minerali e con processi alchemici.

Ma anche l'Italia si distinse nella pubblicazione di testi a cavallo fra *materia medica* e le collezioni di ricette, soprattutto grazie al fortunatissimo *Liber aggregationis seu Liber secretorum de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium quorundam*. In-4° piuttosto sottile, dalle 20 alle 50 carte, privo di illustrazioni, descriveva con frasi brevi e scarse le proprietà terapeutiche di alcune piante, minerali e animali, fornendo indicazioni per la preparazione in proprio di ricette molto semplici; un indice alfabetico per scopo terapeutico riorganizzava il contenuto del libretto agevolandone la consultazione. Era una compilazione ('aggregatio') di testi di provenienze diverse, solo nel Quattrocento attribuiti ad Alberto Magno per il richiamo esercitato dalla personalità del filosofo, teologo e uomo di scienza tedesco del Duecento.¹²¹ Proprio allora il *Liber aggregationis* cominciò a circolare manoscritto in latino, precocemente in traduzione inglese e francese, e dal tardo XIV secolo anche in italiano e in tedesco. Dall'avvento della stampa fino all'alba del XVIII secolo si contano oltre 120 edizioni, delle quali un'ottantina nelle lingue volgari.¹²² Pubblicato per la prima volta nella Strasburgo allora tedesca nel 1475, presto uscì anche a Ferrara (1477), per poi conoscere a poco a poco un raggio di diffusione europeo: ISTC conta 54 edizioni incunabile fra le italiane (21), tedesche (11), francesi (10) e di altri paesi - fra cui Belgio, Spagna, Austria, Svizzera e Inghilterra. Caso singolare e sorprendente, solamente in Italia venne quasi sempre edito in volgare (ben 10 edizioni sulle 11 totali); per il resto, contrariamente ai titoli fin qui incontrati, le edizioni quattrocentesche degli altri paesi europei furono in latino.¹²³

Quella dei ricettari fu senz'altro una vocazione tipicamente italiana, in cui rientra il *Thesaurus pauperum* di Petrus Hispanus ovvero del portoghese Pietro di Giuliano (1210 ca.-1277) divenuto papa Giovanni XXI nel 1276.¹²⁴ Pubblicato per la prima volta a Firenze nel 1492, il testo si proponeva come un distillato di conoscenze medicinali confezionato per dare anche a quanti non potevano ricorrere ad un medico la possibilità di produrre da sé i farmaci utilizzando le sostanze naturali (vegetali, animali e minerali) che Dio ha creato e messo a disposizione. Delle sei edizioni del XV secolo ben 5 sono in

121 Draelants, *Le "Liber de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium"*.

122 Draelants, *Le "Liber de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium"*, 10-11.

123 L'unica altra edizione in volgare è quella in catalano comparsa a Barcellona nel 1499. Le varie edizioni si possono scorrere in ISTC ricercando il titolo latino.

124 Si veda l'introduzione di Stefano Rapisarda all'edizione critica di Petrus Hispanus, *Il "Thesaurus pauperum" in volgare siciliano e, con qualche cautela, l'introduzione di Luca Pesante alla traduzione italiana de Il Tesoro dei poveri*.

italiano, e una solamente in latino.¹²⁵ Gli esemplari postillati dei ricettari italiani confermano una ricezione amplissima anche verso il basso: li possedevano medici ma anche moltissime persone comuni alla ricerca di soluzioni per disturbi da cui erano afflitti (un possessore sottolinea e raccoglie tutti i rimedi consigliati per la gotta, un altro per problemi di milza, mal di denti, ecc.), pronti ad aggiungere ricette provate personalmente o da conoscenti, a riorganizzare il contenuto dei testi per personalizzarlo.

Nell'insieme, gli esemplari postillati di ricettari e libri di *materia medica* costituiscono un potente squarcio nella dimensione domestica della cura di prima età moderna, in cui non mancava neppure il momento poetico-ricreativo della medicina in versi nelle lingue volgari.¹²⁶ Oltre al *regimen* di Jacobi comparso per la prima volta nel 1476 in versi francesi,¹²⁷ diversi furono i titoli tedeschi: l'anonimo *Büchlein von der Speise des Menschen* ([Memmingen 1495]),¹²⁸ il *Versehung des Leibes* (Augsburg 1491) e il *Contra pestem Regiment* (Strasbourg 1500) dell'innografo svizzero Heinrich von Laufenberg,¹²⁹ i *Pestregiment* su foglio volante del medico Hans Andree di Geislingen an der Steige nel sud della Germania.¹³⁰ In Italia il medico Battista Caracino mise in versi la *Philosomia degli uomini* dall'opera di Aldobrandino da Siena,¹³¹ ma un caso ancora più eclatante e non ancora studiato dagli storici della medicina è il *Libro tertio d'Almansore overo Cibaldone*, un *regimen* in terzine che diventa poesia didascalica. Il *Cibaldone* (nel senso di Zibaldone) è un poemetto anonimo elaborato in area veneta nella seconda metà del XV secolo a partire dal volgare fiorentino del *Liber medicinalis ad Almansorem regem*, e in particolare dal terzo libro che trattava delle virtù dei cibi e più brevemente degli altri non-naturali atti a preservare la salute dell'individuo (aria, moto, evacuazione, passioni, sonno).¹³² Fra il 1472 e il

125 ISTC ij00242000 ([Firenze 1492]); ij00243000 (Venezia 1494); ij00244000 ([Firenze 1497]); ij00245000 (Venezia 1500) in-8°; ij00246000 (Venezia 1500) in-4°; fu riedito nel XVI sec.: [1510], 1518, 1531-32, 1543. L'edizione latina è in-folio, impressa ad Anversa (ij00241000, Thierry Martens, 22 May 1497).

126 In latino e con raggio di distribuzione molto diverso, oltre al notissimo *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* c'è anche una piccola produzione in versi meno nota, di autori contemporanei: Baptista Fiera, *Coena, sive De cibarium virtutibus* (if00167000); Johannes Derrames, *Carmina de conditionibus medicinarum solutarum* (id00141000).

127 *Regime de l'epidemie* [French verse], ISTC ij00013900.

128 ISTC ib01271500 del quale sono censiti solo 4 esemplari.

129 ISTC ih00013000 e ih00012000. Menge, *Das 'Regimen' Heinrich Laufenbergs*.

130 *Pestregiment 'Vil menschen weren der pestelentz frey'*, ISTC ia00690000 ([Augsburg 1472]) e ia00690100 ([Augsburg 1476-78]).

131 ISTC ia00368700 ([Firenze 1489]), ia00368800 ([Firenze 1492]) ia00368900 ([Firenze 1492-1500]), ia00369000 ([Roma 1500]).

132 Il *Liber medicinalis* era la traduzione latina dell'enciclopedia medica in 10 libri conclusa nel 908 dal filosofo e alchimista persiano Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakaryā

1500 il *Cibaldone* ebbe ben 14 edizioni italiane, ora testimoniate solo in una trentina di esemplari, data l'esile consistenza dell'operetta (dalle 20 alle 6 carte) e la diffusione che conobbe.¹³³

Nei giro di trent'anni l'aspetto delle edizioni cambiò molto: dall'elegante in-folio con le terzine a colonna unica che campeggia fra ampi margini bianchi, al più ridotto formato 4° con testo compattato su due colonne e rudimentali silografie. Anche gli esemplari sono all'insegna della varietà assoluta: dalla rifinitura lussuosa con iniziali e paraffi vergati a mano e stemma del possessore in calce alla prima carta [fig. 9], fino all'esemplare smarginato e liso dall'aspetto assai popolare e con note marginali naïf, o del tutto privo di annotazioni ma così consumato da far pensare di essere stato sfogliato e letto (magari ad alta voce) parecchie volte per il piacere di molti. Anche Leonardo da Vinci possedeva una copia del *Cibaldone*,¹³⁴ e i pochi esemplari superstiti mostrano lettori che variano dal medico – che estrae concetti chiave in latino nonostante il testo sia in italiano – all'uomo qualunque, che portando l'attenzione sulle qualità alimentari della coda vaccina notava, senza la minima competenza medica: «et ingrassa le donne e falle piagnere» [fig. 10].¹³⁵

D'altro canto l'opuscolo aveva un costo assai contenuto: il 3 aprile 1487 il libraio Francesco de Madiis ne vendeva una copia a Venezia per soli 4 soldi, il prezzo di un libretto di grammatica elementare (come le *Regole del Guarino*) o di un *offizietto della Madonna*, un best-seller fra i testi devozionali [fig. 11].¹³⁶ E, per dare un'idea del valore d'acquisto di 4 soldi dell'epoca, si tenga conto che il corrispettivo poteva essere un bel pollo oppure un'anguilla eccellente, che persino un apprendista manovale poteva permettersi, percependo un salario giornaliero che variava dai 12 ai 17 soldi.¹³⁷

La stampa a caratteri mobili diede a molti più individui che in passato la possibilità di avvicinarsi a testi medico-scientifici che, per quanto elementari oppure veicoli di contenuti da aggiornare, davano loro strumenti per decodificare il libro della natura e, più concretamente, per manipolare in proprio rimedi medicinali utili a prevenire e curare disturbi di vario genere. La *printing revolution* nutrì la di-

ar-Razi (Mohammed Rhasis), il *Kitāb*, che lo rese famoso in tutto il mondo islamico e poi in Europa. Una preziosa analisi linguistica del *Cibaldone* è di Rosa Piro, «Il lessico medico dalla prosa alla poesia» che ha curato anche l'edizione critica dell'intero *Almansore: volgarizzamento fiorentino del XIV secolo*.

133 Si cerchi in ISTC semplicemente con *Cibaldone*.

134 Marani, Piazza, *Il Codice di Leonardo da Vinci nel Castello Sforzesco*, 89 e Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution, 1450-1500*, 100-1.

135 Quasi tutti gli esemplari sono ora descritti nella base dati MEI.

136 Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century Italy*.

137 Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution, 1450-1500*, 81-2. Sul De Madiis si veda Dondi, Harris, «Best Selling Titles and Books of Hours in a Venetian Bookshop».

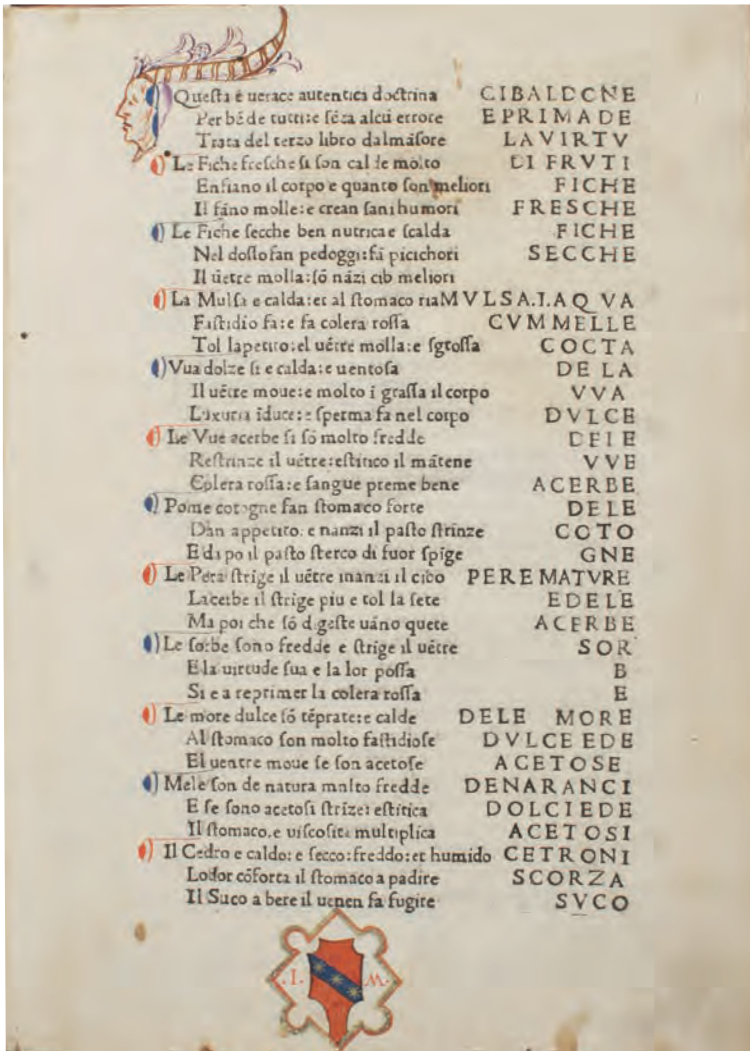
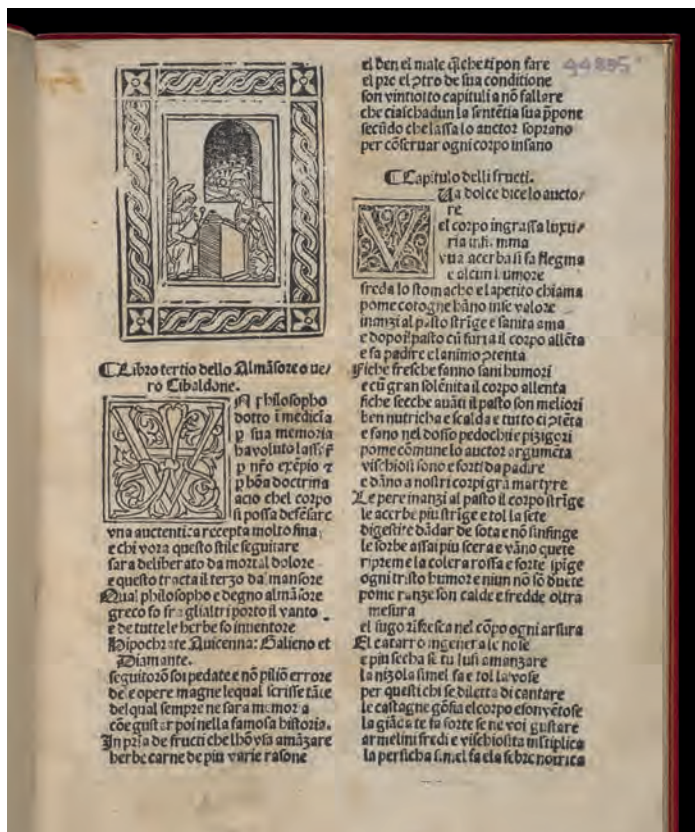


Figura 9 Esemplare del *Cibaldone*. © Comune di Milano – tutti i diritti di legge riservati

mensione domestica della cura e contribuì a creare pazienti sempre più consapevoli delle proprie scelte di fronte alla pluralità di offerta terapeutica (medici con condotta, speciali, empirici, ecc.), pazienti confidenti nelle nozioni che avevano acquisito e curiosi di nuove.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Illuminante la sintesi, con ulteriori ricerche, di Sandra Cavallo, «Domestic Culture of Health in Early Modern Europe».



Dole ioubu **C**ornole e calde: e seche de natura
Restringe il corpo: e poco lassa gire
Et al stomacho e dure da padire.
attucha si e fredda in sua natura
Al stomacho il calor fa abassare
La sperma sema: e fa molto s̄soniare:
La enditia si ha fredda sua natura

Capitulo del pesce.
Pescē frecho si e freddo
et humido
et al stomacho e duro da
pedire
sangue stematico e sede
fa venire
Humido il corpo fa e si fa sperma
ali frechi z al fianco molto offende
Li fongi son piū rei che le tartusse
alcuna fiada l'bo mo affoga z occide
humoz viscosi san ch'altrui i cōquide
Li sparisi son caldi e humidi
et sperma fano el homo riscalda
e ale rene ancora sono cosa calda
Genebre e caldo e secco nel secondo
ze bono ala ouina e ala ranella
la petra rompe e molto la flagella

*grombas
sicalba*

Megma nel sangue fa poco nutrifse
La coda e calda & al stomacho noce
E fa fastidio o sia dura o sia tenera
Colera rossa anchora assai ingroza

*El ingroza el stomaco
et fa le pizgocchie*

Figura 10 Carte tratte da diversi esemplari del Cibaldone

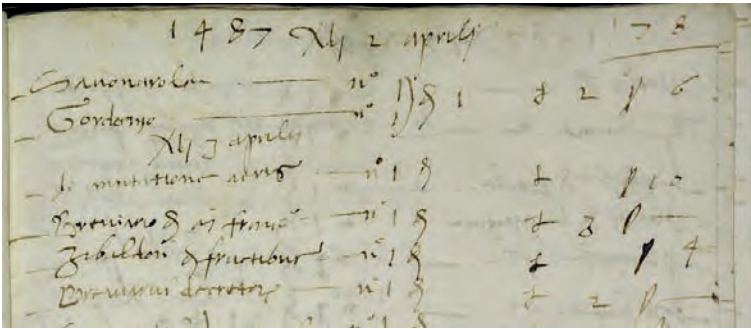


Figura 11 Francesco De Madiis, c. 1487: «Zibaldon de fructibus n° 1 [copia] Ducati — Lire — Soldi 4»

Nozioni di medicina preventiva (i *regimina*) e curativa (ricettari e libri di *materia medica*) cadevano sul terreno fertile di famiglie da generazioni abituate a servirsi della natura locale per gestire la propria salute e quella dei congiunti, e quindi interessate a scoprire le potenzialità dei regni naturali che ancora non conoscevano. Nella città che vide trionfare la produzione a stampa, nella Venezia del Cinquecento, molti fra questi curiosi della natura – professionisti ma soprattutto non professionisti – si spingeranno fino a fare delle proprie ricette domestiche una piccola attività commerciale a conduzione familiare, quella dei *segreti medicinali*, autorizzati dal locale ufficio di Sanità e talvolta anche protetti dal privilegio che spettava ad un'invenzione.¹³⁹ Ma le radici di questo fenomeno affondano indubbiamente nel Quattrocento.

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¹³⁹ Minuzzi, *Sul filo dei segreti*.

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- Ortolff von Bay(e)rlandt, *Arzneibuch* [German]. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 18 Mar. 1482. Folio. GW M28457; ISTC io00111500
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Binding Waste as Book History

Patterns of Survival Among the Early Mainz Donatus Editions

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Abstract In this article the Author examines binding waste made from the earliest editions of Donatus' *Ars minor* (a Latin grammar printed in Mainz during the 1450s and '60s) to contextualize his earlier conclusions regarding at least 15 copies of the Gutenberg Bible known only from fragments, which bookbinders across Europe recycled for waste material during the later sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. The binding contexts for the Donatus fragments, by contrast, date mainly to the fifteenth century. This testifies to the fact that the Bibles retained their usefulness much longer than the school-books did, and suggests that the functional life spans of various genres of books are measurable, and this can be better understood through similar studies of binding waste in context.

Keywords Donatus. *Ars minor*. Binding waste. Fragments. Printing. Incunabula. Book-binding. Mainz. Gutenberg Bible. Johann Gutenberg. Book history.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Patterns of Survival Among the Gutenberg Bibles. – 3 Patterns of Survival Among the Early Mainz *Donatus* Editions. – 4 Binding Contexts for Mainz editions of Donatus, *Ars minor* (DK Types). – 5 Binding Contexts for Mainz editions of Donatus, *Ars minor* (B42 Types). – 6 Conclusion.



Dedicated to Stephen Ferguson,
who has brought so much book history
to Princeton University.

1 Introduction

Binding waste is the paper or vellum that bookbinders of past centuries recycled from obsolete books for use as the external coverings, internal linings, or sewing supports of newer books. Such recycling was the norm in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, and virtually no book, once it fell out of use, was immune to serving as raw material for the binding of another book. Numerous discoveries of cuttings from magnificent medieval manuscripts pasted within later bindings show that early modern binders saw these older books as little more than useful scrap parchment. Whereas the practice of repurposing older books as binding waste continued for three centuries into the period of the printing press, peaking in the seventeenth century, it began to be abandoned gradually during the eighteenth century in the wake of the emerging antiquarian interest in notable manuscript or typographic fragments as historical objects.

As this case study will demonstrate, the recycling of early printed fragments as waste material for subsequent bindings can provide important chronological and geographical evidence for the history of books – provided that the contexts in which the fragments were discovered are recorded for posterity. Just as an individual binding context can provide evidence for when and where a particular copy of a book was discarded as binding waste, so too a survey of multiple binding contexts, considered in their totality, can lead to broader conclusions regarding the dissemination, use, and demise of whole editions or genres of early books.

The principal goal of my book, *Editio princeps: A History of the Gutenberg Bible*, published in 2017, was to expand the current state of knowledge concerning the original distribution, early use, and subsequent survival of Europe's first substantial typographic publication.¹ Just as important documentary discoveries shed new light on the histories of the more or less intact copies, equally useful historical insights came from renewed scrutiny of the dozens of 'mere fragments' of Gutenberg Bibles, that is, the last remains of copies that had been recycled as binding waste.² Careful examination of the distinc-

1 White, *Editio princeps*. The present article is part of the Author's ongoing research on the survival and provenance of all specimens of early Mainz printing.

2 The first bibliographer to articulate the value of binding fragments as evidence for dating and localizing their host books was Cambridge University Librarian Henry Bradshaw (1831-1886); cf. his *List of the Founts of Type*, 7: "Many specimens of early printing have been recovered from the bindings of other books; and these sometimes afford

tive styles of rubrication shared by many of the fragments led to the definition of fifteen otherwise lost Bibles. These fragmentary copies attest to previously unrecorded points of distribution across Europe and offer datable evidence of the edition's decline in usefulness prior to its resurrection as an object of historical study.³

Every worthwhile bibliographical project should have a practical application, such as a hypothesis that can be tested or a methodology that can be utilised in research on similar topics. It is now possible to contextualize the Gutenberg Bible's afterlife as binding waste by means of a parallel investigation of binding fragments made from the Latin grammars by Aelius Donatus, known as the *Ars minor*, that were printed repeatedly in Mainz during the 1450s and '60s, either in the Gothic textura types of the 42-Line Bible or the similar but larger font known as the 'Donatus-und-Kalender' (DK) types. The latter typeface, probably the earliest of all, first appeared ca. 1452-53 in the fragmentary *Sibyllenbuch*, discovered in Mainz in 1892 in a binding context that regrettably was never recorded.⁴ When examined more closely, the heretofore under-utilised evidence of the survival contexts that have been recorded for the Donatus fragments reveals that the use, neglect, and destruction of early printed books, far from being haphazard, followed surprisingly consistent patterns. The differences between these patterns, corresponding to distinct functional genres, are highly instructive.⁵

2 Patterns of Survival Among the Gutenberg Bibles

About 100 copies of the Gutenberg Bible have disappeared without a trace. Although the Reformation and warfare presented serious perils, doubtless causing much destruction, most of the copies would have entered institutional libraries at an early date, and should have been relatively well protected, as well protected as any other book not specifically imperilled by ecclesiastical or temporal authorities. The main reason that they were *not* preserved was that the book's historical significance had been long forgotten; none of the copies would have been singled out for special protection. Moreover, although we have had no

a very valuable evidence as to their history. Such fragments in the binder's hands are either sheets of books which have been used up and thrown away, and may be called binder's waste; or else they are spoiled sheets or unused proofs from a printer's office, and may be called printer's waste".

³ Needham, "Fragments in Books", 85-110, remains an essential orientation to the study of binding waste as historical evidence.

⁴ De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence*, 1, no. 1, given to the Gutenberg-Museum in 1903.

⁵ A parallel study is Hellinga, "Fragments Found in Bindings", 204-29 and 467-75.

shortage of wars and disasters since the eighteenth century, none of the Gutenberg Bibles, discovered during or since that century, were lost all over again. Thus, the fatal factor in the loss of the 100 copies was the intervening time spent in a state of neglect.

For books, the opposites of neglect are use and care. Signs of religious or scholarly use and care during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as illumination, annotation, marks for liturgical reading, and new bindings, appear in all of the surviving Gutenberg Bibles, but we see a striking lack of such marking, annotation, and rebinding from the seventeenth century (eighteenth-century and later additions always reflect antiquarian interest). The latest evidence of a Gutenberg Bible's use in worship is a pair of liturgical notes added to the copy at the University of Texas, apparently while it was being used at an unidentified Jesuit College in the Low Countries. Moreover, the Texas copy clearly was still considered well worth protecting when it received two new expensive calfskin bindings, one of which is dated '1600'.⁶ In contrast, during the 1590s and early 1600s choristers of the Church of Heilig Kreuz in Offenburg defaced the Gutenberg Bible now in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart with their personal graffiti.⁷ This suggests that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Bible remained within the church but had outlived its usefulness in worship.

The most telling evidence of the non-use of books is their destruction. At least fifteen copies of the Gutenberg Bible fell into inglorious servitude as wrappers, pastedowns, spine liners, or quire guards in bookbindings. The contexts in which such binding waste came to light suggests that copies of the Gutenberg Bible met their ultimate demise in the vicinities of Paderborn, Strasbourg, Vienna, and London, while their survivals in datable bindings include an incunable of 1497 found at Eichstätt; an imprint of 1559 bound at Zürich; a book bound ca. 1575 for the Benedictines of Murbach; a Psalter of 1581 first recorded in Cologne; an imprint of 1615 bound at Durlach near Karlsruhe; a Lutheran work of 1622 bound at Leipzig; a series of wrappers for documents, ending in 1626, preserved in the Swedish national archives, derived from a Bible used at Vadstena; a Hungarian church manual bound at Esztergom in the 1640s; a book of 1668 at Freiburg im Breisgau; and an archival document of 1712 discovered in Mainz.⁸ Several of these locations, most notably those in Sweden and Hungary, were not otherwise known to have been homes to Gutenberg Bibles.

A final lost copy is defined by the rubrication style of the beautifully illuminated vellum bifolium at the Museo Correr in Venice, purchased by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna in 1859 from the bookseller

⁶ White, *Editio princeps*, 210-9.

⁷ White, *Editio princeps*, 170-5; cf. Needham, "The Late Use of Incunables", 46-8.

⁸ White, *Editio princeps*, 318-33, census V50-V64.

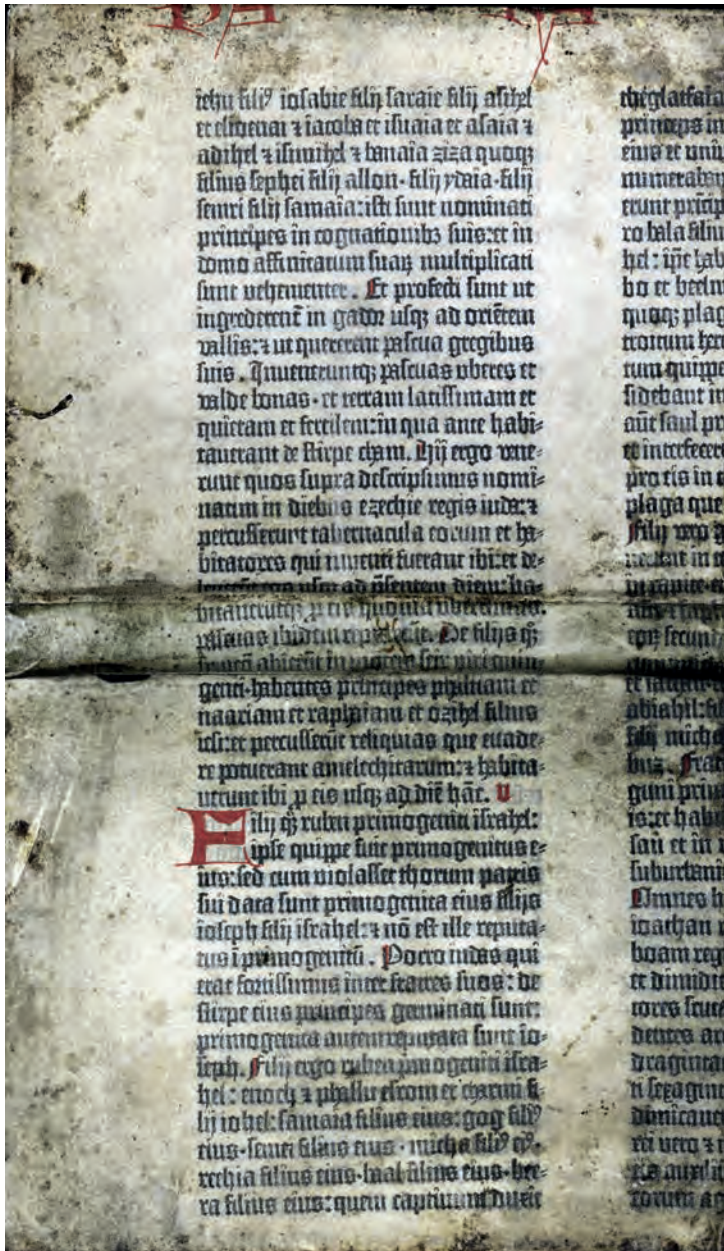


Figure 1 *Biblia latina*. 42 lines ('Gutenberg Bible'). [Mainz: Johann Gutenberg and Johann Fust, ca. 1455]. Vellum fragment of f. I:195 (I Chronicles 5), used as binding waste on a book printed in Cöthen in 1666.

Princeton University Library, Special Collections

Theodor Oswald Weigel in Leipzig. In 1819, three additional leaves with identical, but less elaborate, rubrication had been discovered on two bindings in Dresden. Although its illumination style appears to be Lower Rhenish, this lost Bible almost certainly had travelled more than 500 km to the east by the mid-seventeenth century. Crucial context for its whereabouts at the time of its demise is provided by a fragment that came to light in 2016, now at Princeton University, which survives *in situ*, still serving as the cover of the *Erneuerte und verbesserte Landes- und Procesz-Ordnung* for Sachsen-Anhalt, a quarto manual for litigation printed at Cöthen in 1666 [fig. 1]. It was owned and inscribed by the noted jurist Adam Cortrejus, who earned his doctorate at Jena in 1666, long resided in Halle, and died at Magdeburg in 1706. The usefulness of this little book was limited to the region of Sachsen-Anhalt, which must have been the final location of the otherwise lost Gutenberg Bible that provided its binding.⁹

Just as the localisations of fragment groups offer important evidence for the edition's initial dissemination, the publication dates of their host volumes offer *termini post quem* for the Bible's use as binding waste. Although any particular book used as binding waste may well have been cut apart somewhat earlier, and obviously a book may be bound or rebound at any point long after its publication, the clustering of these datable bindings offers a clear indication of when the Gutenberg Bible's value finally reached its nadir. The *termini post quem* provided by the imprints bound within these fragments range from 1497 to 1712. In the case of the earliest outlier – the Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zaninis, 22 March 1497, at the Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg, bound in a medieval manuscript leaf – the presence of the printed fragment is probably the result of a much later reinforcement of the contemporary binding. On the other hand, the 1712 *terminus*, on a document found in Mainz, is surprisingly late, but it requires no special explanation. The nine other known binding contexts are all datable between 1559 and 1668. Clearly, the latter half of the sixteenth century and the entirety of the seventeenth were the dark ages for the Gutenberg Bible. This aligns perfectly with the fortunes of the 48 integral copies, which exhibit a significant decline in use during the sixteenth century and nearly complete neglect during the seventeenth century.

As I will demonstrate in a forthcoming study, similar data result from a survey of binding fragments made from other Mainz imprints of the 1450s that clearly had been intended as enduring books. At least five fragments of the *Psalterium cum canticis*, published by Fust and Schoeffer in Mainz on 14 August 1457, have emerged from known binding contexts, each of which is datable from the end of the six-

⁹ White, *Editio princeps*, 220-3; 327-9, census V55.

teenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth. Two fragments of Fust and Schoeffer's *Canon missae* (ca. 1458) have known binding contexts, one used as a document wrapper from 1556 and another for documents dated 1575-1620. Four bindings incorporating fragments from copies of the *Psalterium Benedictinum* (29 August 1459) have datable contexts: an imprint dated 1581; accounts from 1557 to 1567; a manuscript dated 1666; and an edition recorded without further specification as Heinrich Bocer's *Disputationes*, probably printed no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. Similarly, two vellum fragments of Fust and Schoeffer's edition of Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (6 October 1459) were found in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century binding contexts, respectively. Without exception, the binding contexts of fragments from these enduring folio editions run closely parallel to those of the Gutenberg Bible: the books they once belonged to were used for roughly a century before they fell into such disuse that no one cared whether or not their vellum was harvested by bookbinders.¹⁰

It must be noted that several apparent exceptions to this general pattern of survival among the early printing endeavours in Mainz actually belong to a different category of evidence. One example, as I discovered in 2014, is the so-called proof-sheet of the Gutenberg Bible at the University of Indiana's Lilly Library. It is actually an unfinished replacement sheet. This printed bifolium, never part of a functional Bible, was formerly bound at the end of the 1459 *Duranti* now at the Bavarian State Library in Munich, itself a copy made up mainly from paper proof sheets for that edition; it was almost certainly bound up in Mainz toward the end of 1459 at the behest of the printers themselves, the most likely suppliers of its printed endsheet.¹¹ A similar case is the British Library's pair of vellum specimens from the 1459 Psalter, each a cancelled proof of f. 51, omitting three lines of text, both found in the same binding of Fust and Schoeffer's edition of Clement V, *Constitutiones* (25 June 1460).¹² This is symptomatic of all specimens of printed waste from early Mainz editions discov-

10 Binding fragments of the 36-Line Bible, printed in Bamberg not after 1461, show a similar pattern of survival. In White, "The Bad Wildungen Fragments", 79-91, analysis of their rubrication styles and provenance evidence defined seven otherwise lost vellum copies that were recycled for bindings mainly during the later sixteenth century through the end of the seventeenth century.

11 White, *Editio princeps*, 55 and 341. Other books finished by the 'Durandus Binder' include Fust and Schoeffer's Bible of 1462, ex-Mainz Jesuits, now at the Gutenberg-Museum, which preserves an unused vellum leaf from the same Bible edition as a pastedown; and a copy of Fust and Schoeffer's 1465 edition of Boniface VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium*, preserved at the Episcopal Seminary Library in Trier, which was bound with two unused paper 'replacement' leaves of the 42-Line Bible.

12 De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 59, no. 55.15; an identical fragment is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

ered within fifteenth-century bindings: upon closer inspection they turn out not to be the last remains of prematurely discarded books, but rather the immediately dispensable proofs, damaged sheets, misprints, or odd lots from books that never were.

In terms of their shared fate as parts of bindings, examples of printer's waste behave in much the same way as true ephemera. A notable example of the latter category is the unique paper broadside known as the *Blood-Letting Calendar* for 1457, discovered in the municipal archives of Mainz in 1803, and now preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Printed with the DK types during the final weeks of 1456, this Latin text listed the astrologically propitious days for phlebotomies and purgatives throughout the coming year of 1457. Only the upper half of the sheet survives. This loss presumably occurred in 1458, when the now-obsolete calendar was repurposed as a wrapper for a register of receipts compiled by Johannes Kess, vicar of the church of St Gangolf in Mainz, which was inscribed with the date "1457-1458" on the verso of the fragment.¹³ This presumably contemporary inscription would make the *Blood-Letting Calendar* the earliest surviving instance of European typography used as binding waste within a recorded context.

3 Patterns of Survival Among the Early Mainz Donatus Editions

The *Ars minor* of Aelius Donatus was the essential book for teaching introductory Latin grammar throughout much of medieval Europe. The territory that was host to its greatest fifteenth-century popularity coincided very closely with that of the Gutenberg Bible, with its heaviest concentration within the Holy Roman Empire, represented by modern-day Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, but with far less currency in France, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, England, or the rest of Central Europe.

Numerous editions of the Donatus were printed in Mainz during the 1450 and '60s, each consisting of roughly a dozen vellum leaves in Median or Chancery folio format.¹⁴ The prevailing analysis of the surviving fragments identifies 33 editions printed with the 42-Line

¹³ De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 11-12, no. 21.

¹⁴ ISTC, which mistakenly identifies the format of the folio Mainz Donatus editions as 'quarto', along with GW, assigns the anonymous DK-type editions to '[Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible]', although the 36-Line Bible, according to the best evidence, was printed in Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister, not after 1461, with a recasting of the earlier DK typeface. These Donatus editions are reassigned here to the only available candidate who was printing in Mainz ca. 1452-58: '[Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg)]'.



Figure 2 Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor* (33 lines). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1466], f. 11, used as binding waste in Horace, *Opera*. Venice: Johannes de Gregoriis, de Forlivo, et Socii, 17 May 1483. Princeton University Library, Special Collections

Bible types and 28 editions printed with the larger DK types.¹⁵ It must be noted that not a single specimen has survived intact; everything we know about the early Mainz Donatus editions comes from binding waste. Thus, many writers have commented that the Donatus genre was ‘used to death’ or ‘read to pieces’, even though its material was the same durable vellum as that of the great Bibles, Psalters, and law books, which so often survive intact.¹⁶ The printed Donatuses almost certainly were intended to be sold in quantities to monastic or cathedral schools, that is, generally not to individuals. Given that the usefulness of a Donatus to an individual schoolboy was brief, copies presumably were retained by the schoolmasters and passed on to upcoming students over as many semesters as they could withstand the wear and tear. As will be demonstrated below, the available evidence suggests that by the end of the fifteenth century, most of the Mainz Donatuses were no longer in use. Moreover, as these old, used schoolbooks were of no interest to libraries, their only residual value was as waste material for bookbindings.

When early printed binding waste is discovered, it is often removed from its context so that its typographic features can be studied more thoroughly. Too often, the fragment’s original binding context is compromised, ruined, or even, as with the *Sibyllenbuch*, left unrecorded. In fact, only one of the several dozens of specimens of a Donatus printed in Mainz has been preserved within its host binding [fig. 2]. Discovered in August 2017 and acquired by Princeton University Library, it underwent minor conservation but was left *in situ* for posterity. Fortunately, thanks mainly to the consistently scientific approach applied by Paul Schwenke, Director of Berlin’s Royal Library from 1899 until his death in 1921, roughly datable binding contexts were recorded for 32 of the Mainz Donatus specimens, representing just over half of the identified editions printed before the end of the 1460s. However, to date, no one has analysed this evidence as a whole. Thus, the following list summarises the recorded survival contexts for 16 Donatuses printed with the DK types and 16 editions printed with the B42 types.

15 *Die Datenbank der Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (cited here as ‘GW’), nos. 08674-08722, with 12 interpolated entries (in April 2019), available online at <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>. A helpful overview of the tentative chronology of early Mainz printing is Geldner, “Die Ersten typographischen Drucke”, 148-84, esp. 155-68.

16 An early observer of this phenomenon was William Beloe, who wrote in *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, 367, that no copy of the Mainz Donatus ever “escaped the war of thumbs and the wreck of time”.

4 Binding Contexts for Mainz editions of Donatus, *Ars minor* (DK Types)

GW 8676 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1454], ff. 6, 9

Location Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.

Binding Petrus Lombardus, *Super primo libro Sententiarum*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 29 Nov. 1489.

Provenance Philippus Fürst of Miltenburg (?); Kloster Seligenstadt.¹⁷

GW 8677 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 5

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1487.

Provenance Strasbourg (?) binding.¹⁸

GW 8678 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1453-54], ff. 5, 10

Location Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Binding Manuscript account book, dated 1492.

Provenance "Heyderszheim" [Hattersheim am Main], inscription.¹⁹

GW 8679 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1454], ff. 4+9, 5+8

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*. Strasbourg: [Martin Flach], 1488.

Provenance Ludwig (?) Hahn, pastor in Lengendorf; Heiligenstadt.²⁰

GW 8680 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], ff. 1, 14

Location Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Binding Guillelmus Alvernus, *De fide et legibus* [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, n. a. 1476].

Provenance Augsburg binding (Kyriss 76).²¹

GW 8682 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 4

Location London, private collection.

Binding *Breviarium Eystettense*. Basel: Michael Furter, 1497 (purchased by the British Library in 1933; the pastedown fragment had been removed by 1920).

Provenance Dinkelsbühl Capuchins, inscription.²²

¹⁷ Schwenke, "Neue Donatfragmente", 261-2.

¹⁸ Schwenke, "Neue Donatstücke", 70-5.

¹⁹ De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 3, no. 4.

²⁰ Schwenke, "Neue Donatstücke", 70-5.

²¹ Schwenke, "Weitere Donatbruchstücke", 270.

²² Bosanquet, "A New Donatus Fragment", 5. I thank the current owner for providing additional information.

GW 0868220N (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 2

Location Mainz, Gutenberg-Museum/Stadtbibliothek.

Binding: Georg Rollenhagen, *Froschmäuseler*. Magdeburg: Emeran Kirchner, 1618.

Provenance Mainz (?).²³

GW 8683 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 3

Location Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Binding CLM 24 510 (manuscript, sixteenth century).

Provenance Scheyern, Benedictines.²⁴

GW 8684 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 5

Location Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek.

Binding Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Epistolae familiares*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 16 Sept. 1481.

Provenance Karlsruhe region (?).²⁵

GW 8685 (27 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1455-57], f. 6

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding An unidentified large-format incunable from Erfurt.

Provenance Erfurt.²⁶

GW 8688 (28 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1456-58], ff. 4+9

Location Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Binding Paulus Venetus, *Expositio librorum naturalium Aristotelis*. Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, 17 July 1476.

Provenance Salzburg binding; Salzburg, Hofbibliothek.²⁷

GW 8690 (28 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1457-58;

or [Bamberg: Printer of the 36-Line Bible (Albrecht Pfister?), ca. 1459-63], f. 10

Location Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek.

Binding Sammelband of works ca. 1486-1504, including the unique Donatus, *Rudimenta grammatices*. Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 30 May 1492.

Provenance Augsburg, Sankt-Anna Kollegium, but written outside of the city (?).²⁸

GW 0869010N (29 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1454-56], ff. 2+11

Location Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek.

Binding Otto von Passau, *Die vierundzwanzig Alten*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1483]; binding by Ambrosius Keller of Augsburg.

²³ Presser, "Weitere Donatfragmente", 54, no. 2.

²⁴ Schwenke, *Die Donat- und Kalender-Type*, 19, no. 8.

²⁵ Schwenke, "Donatstudien III. Karlsruher Bruchstücke", 112-3.

²⁶ Schwenke, "Neue Denkmäler", 62-3.

²⁷ Schwenke, "Weitere Donatstudien", 452-4.

²⁸ Schwenke, "Neue Donatfragmente", 262.

Provenance Augsburg; Heinrich Meiger, Offenburg (fifteenth century), inscription.²⁹

GW 8692 (30 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1456-58], ff. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12

Location Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek.

Binding Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae* [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1476].

Provenance Freiburg im Breisgau, Sankt Agnes-Kloster (Dominican nuns).³⁰

GW 8694 (30 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1456-58], ff. 3+10

Location Prague, Augustinians of St. Thomas.

Binding *Breviarium Pataviense*. Passau: [Benedictus Mayr], 6 Aug. 1481.

Provenance Diocese of Passau (?); Prague, Augustinians of St Thomas.³¹

GW 8697 (30 lines). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg), ca. 1456-58], ff. 1+14

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding “De la couture de deux cahiers d’un incunable de la Gymnasialbibliothek de Heiligenstadt, relié à Erfurt” (De Ricci).

Provenance Bound in Erfurt.³²

5 Binding Contexts for Mainz editions of Donatus, *Ars minor* (B42 Types)

GW 8699 (26 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer? (42-Line Bible types), not before 1457], ff. 1-2)

Location Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket.

Binding Sammelband with Baldus de Ubaldis, *Margarita*. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499.

Provenance Donated by Johan Joakim Sjöcrona, 1873.³³

GW 8700 (26 lines, initials unknown). [Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer? (42-Line Bible types), ca. 1457], f. 4

Location Mainz Gutenberg-Museum.

Binding Sammelband of Cologne imprints up to 1502.

Provenance Cologne (?); obtained from a private collection in Munich, 1905.³⁴

GW 8703 (26 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), not before 1457], ff. 15+16

Location St Petersburg, Academy Library.

²⁹ Sack, “Unbekannte Donate”, coll. 1472-93.

³⁰ Kattermann, “Neue Karlsruher Bruchstücke”, 69-78.

³¹ Collijn, “Fragmente eines 30-zeiligen Donats”, 62-8. The host binding, the 1481 *Breviarium Pataviense*, appears no longer to be in Prague.

³² Schwenke, “Weitere Donatbruchstücke”, 272-3. Cf. De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 5, no. 9.

³³ Collijn, “Nyfunnet Fragment af en 26-radig Donat”, 185-90.

³⁴ Schwenke, “Neue Donatfunde. 1”, 531.

Binding Formerly Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 635, *Tractatus varii Concilii contra schismaticos*, a fifteenth-century paper quarto manuscript that also preserved two narrow strips of f. 17; the binding was ‘conserved’ in 1969 with the result that the ink offset of the Donatus fragment in St Petersburg is no longer preserved.

Provenance Mainz, Benedictines of Sankt Jakob.³⁵

GW 8703 (26 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), not before 1457], ff. 14v+17r

Location unknown.

Binding Formerly Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, St Bonaventura, *Opuscula*. [Strasbourg: Printer of the Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1495 (2 vols.); with ink offset in both volumes from ff. 14v+17r and 15v+16r (part of the bifolium in St Petersburg).

Provenance Mainz, Jesuit College.³⁶

GW 8704 (26 lines, initial space, not rubricated). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1457], f. 13

Location Chicago, Newberry Library.

Binding Adam Reisner, *Jerusalem, die alte Hauptstat der Jüden*. Frankfurt am Main: [Georg Raben, Sigmund Feyrabend, and Weygand Hanen’s heirs], 1563, in a sixteenth-century blind-stamped pigskin binding with a roll stamped “NP 1550” (not the copy now at the Newberry Library).

Provenance Frankfurt am Main (?).³⁷

GW 870430N (35 [not 33] lines, no initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types, 1st state (Johann Gutenberg?), ca. 1453-54], ff. 5+6

Location Kraków, Jagiellonian University Library.

Binding MS 1944, a Sammelband of eight manuscripts, ca. 1470-73.

Provenance Written at the University of Leipzig by Jacobus Tham of Stockhayn, who signed the colophon of the *Proverbia Senecae* in 1472; others are dated 1473.³⁸

GW 8705 (33 lines, no initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1455-56], ff. 1+12, 2+11

Location Mainz, Gutenberg-Museum.

Binding *Catholische Bibell, Das ist, Alle bücher der H. Schrifft*. Johann Dietenberger, ed. Cologne: Heirs of Johann Quentell, 1564.

³⁵ Presser, “Neue Donatfragmente”, 47-62. Cf. De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 41, no. 45 (Count Razoumovsky); I thank Annelen Ottermann for providing clarification.

³⁶ Staub, Wiebelt, “Neue Funde eines 26zeiligen Donats”, 106-12.

³⁷ Zedler, “Ein neu aufgefundenener [...] Donat”, 72; Zedler’s date “1583” for the imprint is incorrect; cf. Maggs Bros, *Bibliotheca Incunabulorum*, no. 1, which described Reisner’s *Jerusalem* (1563) bearing a “contemporary German binding of wooden boards covered with pigskin, the sides decorated with roll-stamped borders including one of allegorical figures (Fides-Spes-Charitas-Justicia-Fortitudo-Paciencia) signed ‘NP 1550’”.

³⁸ Lewicka-Kamińska, “Nowo odnaleziony w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej fragment Donata”, 5-8. I thank Paul Needham for confirming my suggestion that this edition (which we inspected together in March 2015) must have had 35 lines per page, not 33 (as calculated by Lewicka-Kamińska).

Provenance Daniel Brendel von Homburg, Archbishop-Elector of Mainz (1522-1582).³⁹

GW 8707 (33 lines, initials unknown). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1455-56], ff. 4+9

Location Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek.

Binding *Biblia latina*. Ulm: Johann Zainer, 29 Jan. 1480.

Provenance Contemporary Ulm binding, from the Benediktinerkloster in Irsee.⁴⁰

GW 8709 (33 lines, initials unknown). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1466], f. 11 (fragment 1)

Location Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek.

Binding Nicolaus de Blony. *De sacramentis*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss], 21 Oct. 1486.

Provenance Butzbach, Sankt Marcus.⁴¹

GW 8709 (33 lines, initials unknown). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1466], f. 11 (fragment 2)

Location Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek.

Binding *Summa rudium*. Reutlingen: Johann Otmar, 1487.

Provenance Butzbach, Sankt Marcus.⁴²

GW 8713 (33 lines, no initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types, 1st state (Johann Gutenberg?), ca. 1453-54], ff. 4+7

Location Princeton, Scheide Library.

Binding St Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*. Basel: Michael Wenssler [and Bernhard Richel], 25 Mar. 1479, 'Spruchband' binding, sold by Maggs Bros. London, 1933; now Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

Provenance Seitenstetten (Austria), Benedictines.⁴³

GW 8714 (33 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), not before 1457], ff. 1+12

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding Trier, Stadtbibliothek, *Gemma vocabulorum* [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1493]. Bound with: Johannes de Garlandia, *Composita verborum*. Strasbourg: [Johann Prüss], 1490; with offset of the Donatus, f. 12v, on the front inner board.

Provenance Wolfgang Maylborgh; Johann Kleren of Neumagen; Trier, Benedictines of Sankt-Maximin.⁴⁴

³⁹ Presser, "Neue Donatfragmente", 47-62.

⁴⁰ Zedler, "Die sogenannten Gutenbergbibel", 111, Tafel 8. For the binding, cf. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. *Gold und Bucher lieb ich sehr*, 180, no. 60 (by Helmut Zäh).

⁴¹ Schwenke, "Neue Donatfunde", 532; the Giessen fragments are typographically very similar to the Princeton fragment (GW 0871750N), which has a 'Psalter' initial, and may date to the 1460s.

⁴² Schwenke, "Neue Donatfunde", 532.

⁴³ Zedler, "Ein neuer [...] Donat", 26-30; for the binding, cf. Holter, "Mit Spruchbändern verzierte Bucheinbände", 263.

⁴⁴ Schwenke, "Neue Denkmäler", 65-9.

GW 8715 (33 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), not before 1457], f. 1

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Binding Sammelband of Pforzheim, Speyer, and Cologne imprints up to 1508.

Provenance Ochsenhausen Abbey.⁴⁵

GW 0871750N (33 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types (Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer?), ca. 1466], f. 11

Location Princeton University Library.

Binding Horace, *Opera*, with commentary by Cristoforo Landino. Venice: Johannes de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, et Socii, 17 May 1483 (the fragments remain *in situ*).

Provenance Johann Ogier Faust von Aschaffenburg (1577-1631), Frankfurt am Main.⁴⁶

GW 8718 (35 lines, Psalter initials). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, [not before 1467], f. 5

Location Cambridge, University Library.

Binding Trier, Stadtbibliothek, St Ambrosius, *De Officiis* [Cologne: Ulrich Zel, ca. 1470-72], with ink offset of this leaf; Trier's recorded specimen of f. 4 is missing.

Provenance Trier, Carthusians of St. Alban.⁴⁷

GW 8721 (35 lines, Psalter initials). [Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, after 1466], f. 8

Location Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz; destroyed.

Binding *Sermones Thesauri Novi de temporibus* (sometimes attributed to Petrus de Palude), Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1483.

Provenance Unknown; copy destroyed in World War II.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Schwenke, "Neue Donatfunde", 530-1.

⁴⁶ The misprint "audiuntur" (for *audiuntor*) in line 24 matches that in the fragment of GW 8718 in Paris, which bears Peter Schoeffer's colophon, datable after Johann Fust's death in 1466; cf. White, "Princeton Acquires Hidden Gutenbergian Donatus Leaf", at <https://blogs.princeton.edu/notabilia/>.

⁴⁷ De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné*, 40, no. 43.4, identified as the Cambridge leaf in 1927.

⁴⁸ Schwenke, "Neue Donatfragmente", 263.

Of the 32 Donatus fragments from recorded binding contexts listed above, assuming no unusually long delays before the host volumes were bound, 25 were found in bindings of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Among the seven later binding contexts, three fall before 1508, while one host manuscript was described simply as ‘sixteenth century’ (it is entered as ‘1550’ on our timeline, [fig. 3]); thus, as many as 29 of the 32 decisions to recycle a Mainz Donatus as binding waste may have preceded the Reformation. Only three of the contexts must be substantially later: two of the fragments survive on imprints from 1563 and 1564, respectively, leaving only one true outlier from 1618. This is compelling new evidence that whereas the Gutenberg Bibles, on average, were used for a century and a half before they were forgotten or discarded (appearing in bindings mainly from 1559 to 1668), the Donatuses were able to last on average only about 40 years. We might have guessed that this was true, but now we have good evidence that it is true.

To answer the question of ‘why’ the Donatus and Bible editions printed in Mainz fell into obscurity at such different times is not necessarily straightforward, and may require more than one approach to the evidence. In the case of the Gutenberg Bibles, it appears that the physical volumes, especially the vellum ones, were sufficiently durable to serve their intended purposes over long periods, and so the decline in their use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be understood as a direct outcome of external historical factors, such as, but not limited to, the widespread abandonment of the Latin scriptures during the Reformation. By contrast, in the case of the Donatus, external historical factors are hardly ever considered: it is taken for granted that the vellum schoolbooks simply could not hold up to the handling they received. Indeed, those copies that perished were quickly replaced: during the four decades in which so many of the specimens from Mainz were falling victim to the binder’s knife, presses in more than thirty other towns were printing at least 350 new editions. Only during the sixteenth century did the popularity of the Donatus begin to wane.

⁴⁹ Hellinga, “Fragments Found in Bindings”, 467-75 (appendix), derives similar results from her survey of 46 binding contexts for Dutch schoolbook fragments. The predominance of fifteenth-century *termini* within both the Dutch and Mainz Donatus fragment samples is highly suggestive. Although it is possible that certain host-incunables were already centuries old when they were bound in centuries-old Donatus leaves, there is no reason to suppose that such delays in use were common. Nor would this explain the fact that many fewer incunables were bound in fragments from large fifteenth-century church books, or why seventeenth-century *termini* are so common among the bindings that utilise such fragments. Clearly, whereas the publication date of a single bound book cannot be used to identify the moment at which a particular specimen of binding waste was utilised, the consistency of the larger body of evidence provides reliable insights.

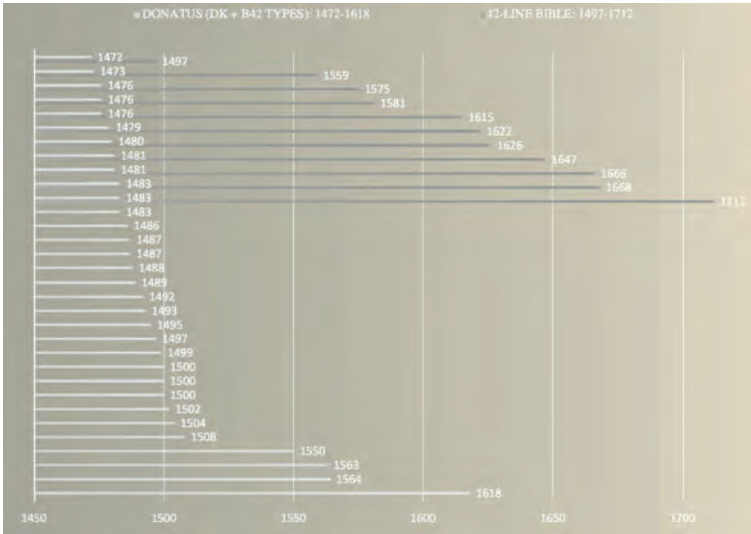


Figure 3 Timeline of *termini post-quem* for binding waste utilising fragments of the Gutenberg Bible and early Mainz Donatus editions

Figure 4 Earliest known locations of fragments from early Mainz Donatus editions

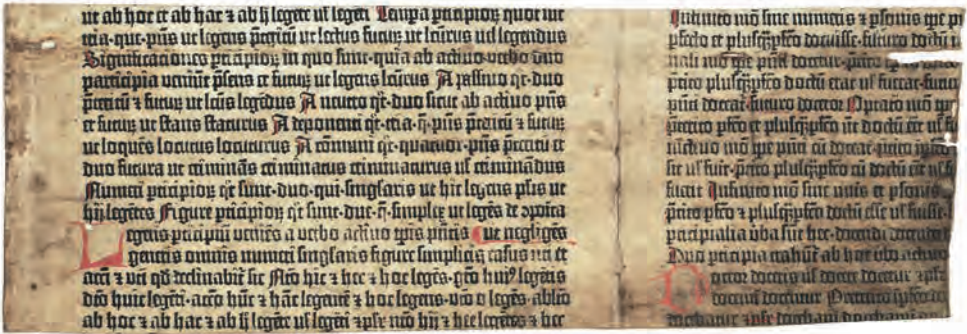


Figure 5 Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor* (33 lines). [Mainz: 42-Line Bible types, 1st state (Johann Gutenberg?), ca. 1453-54], ff. 4+7. Scheide Library, Special Collections. Princeton University Library

The 32 datable Donatus bindings also provide valuable evidence of their geographical dissemination. Their early locations are impressively far-flung (fig. 4), ranging from the Rhine River valley eastward across Germany as far north as Leipzig, and into Austria as far as Seitenstetten, some 600 km to the southeast. The latter context is attested by the binding that preserved the important fragment in the Scheide Library (fig. 5), printed ca. 1453-54 with the earliest state of the 42-Line Bible types. Aside from two fragments discovered in Trier, none was found very far to the west of the Rhine, and the absence of examples from France, which only later produced a few Donatus editions, and the Low Countries, a region that was busy printing its own schoolbooks, is striking.⁵⁰ We can see a similar eastward trajectory among the survivals of the Gutenberg Bible, as represented both by the bound volumes and the localised binding waste.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Hellinga, “Fragments Found in Bindings”, 227, defines a similar geographic ‘corridor’ for the printing of later fifteenth-century editions of the Donatus, *Ars minor*.

⁵¹ Ink offset from another Donatus fragment, possibly printed with either the DK types or the B42 types, survives in the fifteenth-century Hs. 115a at the Stadtbibliothek in Mainz, a Sammelband of theological works that includes manuscripts completed by Marcellus Geist (d. 1469), later held by the library of the Carthusians of Mainz; cf. List, Powitz, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, 1: 198-200.

6 Conclusion

Although the survival of early printed materials as binding waste does not follow predictable rules, it is not entirely up to chance. While some universally admired works, including many editions of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, seem to have entirely avoided such a fate, others were prone to such use, because their subjects or functions rendered them dispensable. Before a printed book or broadside could serve its secondary purpose in a binding, it had to be considered all but useless, and it had to be available in a certain place at a given time. As a growing body of data now indicates, truly ephemeral printing was apt to show up within bindings almost immediately, often in or near the place of printing. Books intended to provide enduring reading material have longer lives that are measurable not only by their internal signs of continued use, but also by their eventual fall from utility as books, as documented by their use as binding waste. Similarly, their wider geographical dissemination is charted not only by localised evidence of ownership, but also by the contexts in which they were converted into binding waste. Finally, the intermediate functionality of the *Donatus* placed it in a special category: it was neither truly ephemeral, having been printed on expensive, durable vellum, sometimes with ornamental initials; nor was it a truly enduring book, as few literate adults would need it again in later life, which is why not a single copy has been preserved intact in a library. Ultimately, the evidence of binding waste shows, consistently, that the typical life-span of such books likewise was of intermediate duration, neither ephemeral nor enduring - no longer, in the end, than the waning tenure of the *Ars minor* itself.

Given the evidentiary value of the Gutenberg Bible and Mainz *Donatus* fragments that Princeton University acquired in 2017, both of which are still preserved as integral parts of their host bindings, a pairing that is unique in the world, this article must conclude with the urgent plea that any very early printed binding waste that comes to light in the future likewise will be left *in situ*, that its context will be recorded in detail, and that the specimen will be incorporated not only into the study of typography, but also into broader studies of reading, binding, librarianship, and collecting: book history as human history.

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- Garlandia, Johannes de, *Composita verborum*. Strasbourg: [Johann Prüss], 1490. 4°. GW M13723; ISTC ig00078000
- Guillelmus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis, *De fide et legibus*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, not after 1476]. Folio. GW 11863; ISTC ig00711000
- Herolt, Johannes, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1487. Folio. GW 12362; ISTC ih00113900
- Herolt, Johannes, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*. Strasbourg: [Martin Flach], 1488. Folio. GW 12364; ISTC ih00114000

- Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, *Opera*, with commentary by Cristoforo Landino. Venice: Johannes de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, et Socii, 17 May 1483. Folio. GW 13459; ISTC ih00448000
- Missale. Canon missae*. [Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, ca. 1458]. Folio. GW M23863; ISTC im00736000
- Nicolaus de Blony, *De sacramentis*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss], 21 Oct. 1486. Folio. GW M26309; ISTC in00081000
- Otto von Passau, *Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1483]. Folio. GW M28510; ISTC io00121500
- Paulus Venetus, *Expositio librorum naturalium Aristotelis*. Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, 17 July 1476. Folio. GW M30374; ISTC ip00211000
- Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri IV*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 29 Nov. 1489. Folio. GW M32586; ISTC ip00492000
- Petrus de Palude [attributed], *Sermones Thesauri novi de tempore*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1483. Folio. GW M41792; ISTC ip00519000
- Pius II, Pont. Max. (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini), *Epistolae familiares. De Duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia* (etc.). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 16 Sept. 1481. Folio. GW M33692; ISTC ip00717000
- Psalterium*. With canticles, hymns, capitula, preces maiores and minores, [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 Aug. 1457. Folio. GW M36179; ISTC ip01036000
- Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 Aug. 1459]. Folio. GW M36286; ISTC ip01062000
- Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae*. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1476]. Folio. GW M36924; ISTC ir00009000
- Sibyllenbuch* (also known as Fragment vom 'Weltgericht'). [Mainz: DK types (Johann Gutenberg?), ca. 1452-53]. 4°. GW M41981; ISTC is00492500
- Summa rudium*. Reutlingen: Johann Otmar, 1487. Folio. GW M44435; ISTC is00862000
- Ubaldis, Baldus de, *Margarita* (Repertorium super Innocentio IV). Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 11 May 1499. Folio. GW M48659; ISTC iu00032500
- Valerius Maximus, Gaius, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 22 Mar. 1497. Folio. GW M49194; ISTC iv00042000
- Vocabularius: *Gemma vocabulorum*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1493]. 4°. GW M51188; ISTC iv00332180

Printing in Greek Before Aldus Manutius

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Abstract The present paper examines the history, circulation and use of the earliest Greek books ever printed (1471-1488). In particular, it focuses on the publishing enterprises of Bonus Accursius in Milan, who issued the first complete set of books to learn Greek, and of Laonicus & Alexander, the first Greeks to actively engage with the art of printing, who operated out of Venice but clearly had a double readership in mind: West-erners and, for the first time, the Greek communities of Venice and elsewhere.

Keywords Early Greek printing. Incunabula. Emanuel Chrysoloras. Constantinus Lascaris. Johannes Crastonus. Bonus Accursius. Laonicus & Alexander. Aldus Manutius. Erote mata. Psalterium. Aesopus.

Summary 1 The Aldus Bias. – 2 Pre-Aldine Editions: Early Period. – 2.1 Grammars. – 2.2 Dictionaries. – 2.3 Grammatical Pamphlets. – 2.4 Liturgy. – 2.5 Literature. – 3 Printing Endeavours. – 4 De Madiis. – 5 Trade. – 6 Learning Greek: Annotations and Use.

In memoriam: Marina Magrini

1 The Aldus Bias

Over the years, and particularly in the wake of the 2015 celebrations for the quincentenary of his death, Aldus Manutius (c. 1450-1515) has been variously credited with the most amusing and astonishing list of accomplishments. A few examples: Aldus invented punctuation – all of it, apparently; Aldus invented graphic novels; in a string of logical fallacies, Aldus invented the octavo format; consequently, books became cheaper; consequently, Aldus made



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books affordable to all. In short, it has been summarised, “Aldus invented the *modern book*”, whatever that means. I do not make these claims up, and though they do not come from specialists, they are symptomatic of how pernicious a number of overstatements, when not outright misconceptions, can be, turning Aldus Manutius into some sort of a Renaissance version of Chuck Norris.¹

This is not to say, of course, that Manutius was not a remarkable typographer, or that he was not endowed with great inventiveness. Indeed he was, and the fact that other printers began counterfeiting his editions should offer sufficient evidence in this direction: but his figure should be placed into context, and, to a certain extent, scaled down to the right proportions. When it comes, more specifically, to

1 It is not uncommon, today, in Italy but also elsewhere, to find Manutius being credited with virtually all major developments in early printing after Gutenberg. “L’invenzione del corsivo non è l’unica cosa di Aldo. Aldo inventa anche, per esempio, la punteggiatura, che prima non esisteva”: Guido Beltramini, curator of the exhibition *Aldo Manuzio: il Rinascimento di Venezia*, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice, March-June 2016, interview: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPpQVWdDxOU> (2019-01-29). “Aldo Manuzio è il genio che inventa la figura dell’editore moderno. Prima di lui gli stampatori erano solo artigiani attenti al guadagno immediato, che riempivano i testi di errori”: Alessandro Marzo Magno, *L’Alba dei Libri*, inside front cover. Quite instructive on many of the most common misconceptions about Aldus is a video produced by a Venice-based tour guide, Walter Fano: among other things, the *Hyperotomachia Poliphili* is “da molti considerato il primo graphic novel della storia”. Further, “fu sempre Manuzio ad utilizzare per la prima volta la stampa in 8°, che rese i libri più piccoli, quindi maneggevoli, leggeri, facilmente trasportabili [...] quasi tascabili, ma, soprattutto, meno costosi, quindi accessibili a una fascia di popolazione ben più ampia rispetto a prima” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dVxG-HGceeQ&t>) (2019-02-09). Finally, ‘con más ligereza que culpa’, a line from the project summary of a scholar whom I shall leave unnamed: “Not just the inventor of the italic type and the octavo for literature, he also invented the myths that defined his enterprise and for the first time distinguished the learned publisher from the laboring printer”. All these magniloquent statements are, at best, imprecise; at worst, completely *false*. Despite the undoubtedly commendable efforts to promote Aldus Manutius’ endeavours among larger audiences through research projects, exhibitions, popular history and the Internet, there is a fundamental flaw when, in order to make early printing more accessible, one ends up patently oversimplifying it. Oversimplification inevitably leads to banalisation (see, for instance, the wild and, in a number of instances, completely inappropriate use of ‘invention’ and ‘inventor’, with reference to Aldus) and, occasionally, to plain historical distortion. Not dissimilar from the algorithm of a search engine that ranks results based on popularity alone, Aldus’ own reputation among his contemporaries – deserved, but certainly not as huge as it is today – has led, in recent years, to a very nefarious phenomenon of confirmation bias, effectively hoisting him up, after Gutenberg, as the one-man show of Renaissance printing. The consequences of this bias are clearly visible: the memory of dozens, if not hundreds, of less-known but nonetheless crucial players of early typography (printers, publishers, editors and type designers), the real pioneers who actually brought forward many of these developments, or at least laid their foundations, is almost completely discarded, and, even worse, the complexity of the collective effort that led to the creation of the modern book is reassuringly flattened down to the work of a single *Übermensch*. The question of what led to the development of the ‘Aldus bias’ would deserve further consideration, possibly in a separate article. For an accurate list of Aldus’ actual accomplishments, see Harris, “Aldus”.

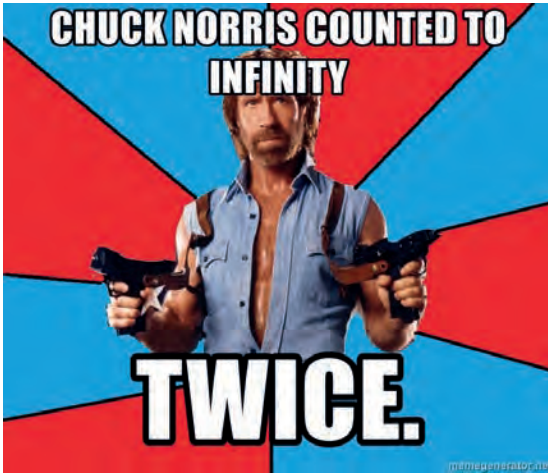


Figure 1 Chuck Norris fact

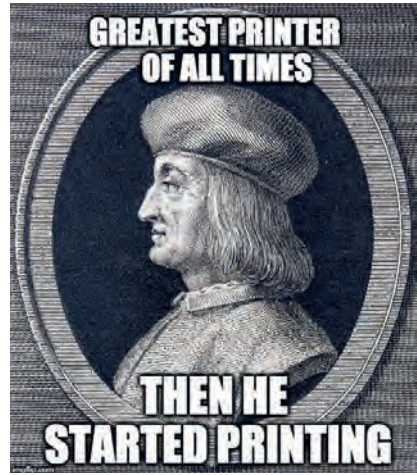


Figure 2 Aldus Manutius fact

Greek printing, however, Aldus' editorial, technical and aesthetic contributions are surely outstanding, despite Proctor's disapproval of the "wiry thinness and nerveless imbecility" of his Greek types.² On this, however, I agree with Nicolas Barker: "his success created a European market for Greek texts. His own programme [...] converted the publishing of Greek from an occasional to a regular part of the book trade. In turn [...] this stabilized the shape of Greek letters, not only as printed but also as written".³ For all these reasons, right *and* wrong, Manutius and his Greek production have been the object of so much examination, that little attention has been given to those who paved the way before him. This paper thus examines the production of Greek *before* Aldus, and, most importantly, its circulation and use. I wish I had the time here to address some typographical issues too, since this is a period of extreme technical and aesthetic experimentation, but this would require more space, and it will thus have to be discussed on a separate occasion.

It is useful to break down the pre-Aldine production of Greek books into two distinct periods. A first, early period, running from 1471 to 1488, and a second, intermediate period, running from 1488-89, when the first complete edition of Homer, wholly in Greek and without commentary (i.e. for advanced readers) was issued in Florence, to

² Proctor, *Printing of Greek*, 17.

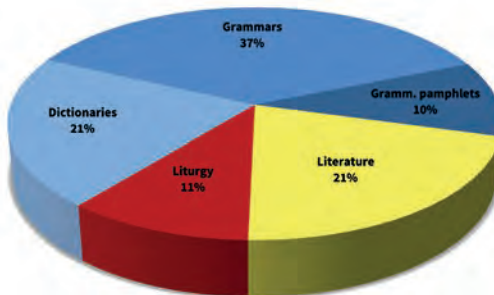
³ Barker, *Aldus Manutius*, 2.

1496, when the magnificent experiment of the Greek press founded by Janus Lascaris and Franciscus de Alopa, also in Florence, came to an end. If until the publication of the Florence Homer the production of Greek books had consisted almost exclusively of texts clearly intended for beginners, from that moment the publication of advanced Greek literature without Latin translation became increasingly widespread. This intermediate period, and, with it, the experimental years of early Greek printing, was already declining when Aldus Manutius opened shop, in Venice, in 1495.

2 Pre-Aldine Editions: Early Period

In this paper I focus on the early period (1471-1488). The texts that were published in this period are ten, in nineteen distinct editions that survive today in just under five hundred copies.⁴ All but one of these editions were produced in Italy, and more specifically in Northern Italy. Interestingly, though, it is still largely a non-Venetian production: only four editions were issued in Venice, with the remaining being produced in Milan (8), by far the capital of early Greek printing, Vicenza (3), Brescia (1), Parma (1) and Florence (1). Thematically, these nineteen editions can be divided into five categories: grammars (7), dictionaries (4), grammatical pamphlets (2),⁵ liturgy (2) and literature (3). The chart below represents the breakdown of such categories, though it is essential to bear in mind that these texts all remained, primarily, educational tools.

Chart 1 Categories of printed Greek texts 1471-88



⁴ At present, out of 494 known surviving copies, I have examined 149 in detail, while data has already been gathered on approximately 160 more copies, in the process of being inserted in Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI).

⁵ Among grammars, I further distinguish these texts as grammatical pamphlets: very short texts that offer additional, advanced, and very limited information on technical aspects of the Greek grammar.

2.1 Grammars

Emanuel Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*

[Venice: Adam de Ambergau, c. 1471]. 4°. GW 6701; ISTC ic00492000

[Vicenza: Johannes de Reno, 1477].⁶ 4°. GW 6696; ISTC ic00493000

[Parma: Printer of Hieronymus, 'Epistolae', c. 1481]. 4°. GW 6697; ISTC ic00493500

Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus [and Dionysius Bertochus], 5 Feb. 1484. 4°. GW 6698; ISTC ic00494000

[Florence: n.pr., about 1488-94].⁷ 8°. GW 669310N; ISTC ic00489500

Constantinus Lascaris, *Erotemata*

Milan: Dionysius Paravisinus, 30 Jan. 1476. 4°. GW M17102; ISTC il00065000

Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 29 Sept. 1480. 4°. GW M17096; ISTC il00066000

The two most popular grammars, by Emanuel Chrysoloras and Constantinus Lascaris, were especially written in the 15th century by Byzantine scholars to help Westerners approach the Greek language. *Erotemata* means 'questions', and the term represents the way in which these texts were organised, that is, Question: 'How many declensions are there in Greek?'; Answer: 'In Greek there are ten declensions';⁸ Question: 'How many conjugations?' and so on, in a fashion not too dissimilar from today's 'frequently asked questions' or 'FAQ'. Chrysoloras' grammar was simpler and thus more popular, and by 1488 it had already been published at least four times. Lascaris' text was more advanced, and consequently it took a while longer to gain in popularity.

2.2 Dictionaries

Johannes Crastonus, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*

[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [not after 28 Mar. 1478]. Folio. GW 7812; ISTC ic00958000

Vicenza: Dionysius Bertochus, 10 Nov. 1483. Folio. GW 7816; ISTC ic00962000

Johannes Crastonus, *Lexicon Latino-Graecum (Vocabulista)*

[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [about 1480]. 8°. GW 7813; ISTC ic00959000

[Vicenza: Dionysius Bertochus, about 1483]. 4°. GW 7817; ISTC ic00963000

⁶ On this edition cf. the forthcoming article by Della Rocca de Candal, Kokkonas, Olococo in *Thesaurismata*, 48, [2019 for] 2018, confirming, among other things, the attribution to Johannes de Reno and pushing forward the publication date to 1477.

⁷ This undated edition, currently known to survive in only two copies, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Inc. 611 (MEI 02127812) and Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Inc. G. VII. 2 (MEI 02126544), was ascribed by Barker to Florence c. 1488-94 based on the watermarks in the Florence copy. Cf. Barker, *Aldus Manutius*, 37 fn. 20.

⁸ It is useful to bear in mind that, by opting for a genitive rather than a nominative-based system, Chrysoloras had already dropped the number of declensions down from the original fifty-six (!).

Essential tools to approach the language were of course Greek to Latin dictionaries and vice versa and, since for obvious reasons these were not typical of the Byzantine tradition, they were especially produced with Western learners in mind. The first to take up this task, on behalf of Bonus Accursius, on whom more to follow, was the Carmelite Johannes Crastonus (c. 1415-after 1497) of Piacenza, unsung hero of early Greek editing, tirelessly active throughout the second half of the 15th century. The Latin to Greek dictionary, commonly referred to as *Vocabulista*, is of particular interest, since it shows how, during the Renaissance, being able to read Greek was clearly not sufficient: as a living language, learners were also expected to learn to *write* and *speak* in Greek. It is probably not by coincidence that the first edition of the *Vocabulista* (c. 1480), in particular, was printed in octavo, a rather unusual format, particularly for early Greek editions, suggesting a more portable use.

2.3 Grammatical Pamphlets

Saxolus Pratensis, *De accentibus [...] et formatione praeteritorum graecorum* [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1480]. 8°. GW M40738; ISTC is00300500

Coniugationes verborum graecorum barytonorum
Deventer: [Richardus Pafraet, before 12 Dec. 1488]. 4°. GW 11016; ISTC ic00826850

Two small grammatical pamphlets were also published, but of rather different nature. The first, Saxolus Pratensis, on Greek accents, is occasionally found bound with Accursius' *Vocabulista*, suggesting that they were probably intended for joint circulation, again, as a portable aid to Greek writing. The second pamphlet is a basic explanation of the system of Greek verbs, particularly remarkable because it may be the only 15th century Greek book produced outside Northern Italy, and more specifically in Deventer, in the Netherlands. The few surviving copies are almost exclusively found in small cities of Northern and Western Germany, many of which had ties with the Hanseatic League. The copy now in Manchester JRUL, interestingly, shows early English provenance, probably from Lincolnshire, though this should not necessarily be taken as evidence of bulk trade.



Figure 3 Current distribution of Deventer 1488 edition *Coniugationes verborum graecorum*

2.4 Liturgy

Psalterium

Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 20 Sept. 1481. 4°. GW M36246; ISTD ip01035000

Venice: [Laonicus and] Alexander, 15 Nov. 1486. 4°. GW M36247; ISTD ip01034000

As already in Byzantium, the Psalter served a double function, liturgical and educational. Since the Latin version was often known by heart by anyone wishing to learn Greek, the Psalter was a perfect tool to practice on both Greek grammar and vocabulary.

2.5 Literature

Pseudo-Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia* (Battle of Frogs and Mice)

[Brescia: Thomas Ferrandus, about 1474]. 4°. GW 12900; ISTD ih00300800

Venice: Laonicus [and Alexander], 22 Apr. 1486. 4°. GW 12901; ISTD ih00301000

Aesopus, *Vita et Fabulae*

[Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [about 1478]. 4°. GW 313; ISTD ia00098000

Theocritus, *Idyllia* (add: Hesiodus, *Opera et Dies*)

[Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1480]. 4°. GW M45823; ISTD it00143000

These are texts that were also used as educational tools, and indeed they were already part of the Byzantine curriculum. Aesop and the *Batrachomyomachia* had both been, for centuries, popular texts among beginners. On Theocritus and Hesiod, clearly more advanced, see below.

3 Printing Endeavours

Though initial experiments in the early period of Greek printing are fairly erratic, there are nonetheless at least two discernible attempts at producing sets. The first and most important was issued in Milan by the humanist Bonus Accursius of Pisa (c. 1430-after 1480), between c. 1478 and 1481. In 1475 Accursius, aided by his financial backer Francesco della Torre, had purchased six cases of Greek manuscripts from his teacher Andronicus Callistus (1400-1486), who was heading to Northern Europe and needed funds for the journey, thus explaining the timing of Accursius' printing operation.⁹ Accursius eventually published the following seven editions in Greek:

- Aesopus, *Vita et Fabulae* [c. 1478]
- J. Crastonus, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* [not after 28 Mar. 1478]
- J. Crastonus, *Lexicon Latino-Graecum (Vocabulista)* [c. 1480]
- Saxolus Pratensis, *De accentibus ac diphthongis et formatione praeteritorum graecorum*, [c. 1480]
- C. Lascaris, *Erotemata*, 29 Sept. 1480
- Theocritus, *Idyllia* (add: Hesiodus, *Opera et Dies*), [c. 1480]
- *Psalterium*, 20 Sept. 1481

It does not take an expert to see that Accursius' plan was to create the first Greek 'reading list', inclusive of all the appropriate learning tools: one grammar (bilingual) and two dictionaries, accompanied by one elementary text, Aesop,¹⁰ one intermediate text, the *Psalterium* (also bilingual), and, finally, Theocritus with Hesiod. This latter publication is of course the most ambitious, and clearly intended for advanced students, in that it is the only one without Latin translation, not to mention the complexity of the text. We know that Poliziano lectured on Theocritus in Florence in 1482, and used Accursius' edition as textbook.¹¹ Particularly interesting, though, is the fact that Theocritus' *Idyllia* are followed by Hesiod's *Opera et Dies*.¹² The current statistics at my disposal on this edition are unequivocal: 75% of copies show evidence of use, but half of these in Hesiod only, suggesting that readers were substantially less interested in Theocritus, or, possibly, that they found it too hard to read. The text of the *Opera et Dies*, incidentally, escapes easy categorisation: it is a poem that re-

⁹ Botley, *Learning Greek*, 18.

¹⁰ The edition comprises three parts: Greek only, Latin only, and a selection of fables in Greek and Latin side by side. It is not uncommon, today, to find copies with only one or two parts, suggesting that the edition might have been intended for modular circulation.

¹¹ Botley, *Learning Greek*, 103.

¹² In Accursius' intentions Theocritus must have been the main of the two texts, but the bookseller de Madiis always refers to copies of this edition as 'Esiodo Theocrito', reverting the order of precedence, despite the continuous foliation.

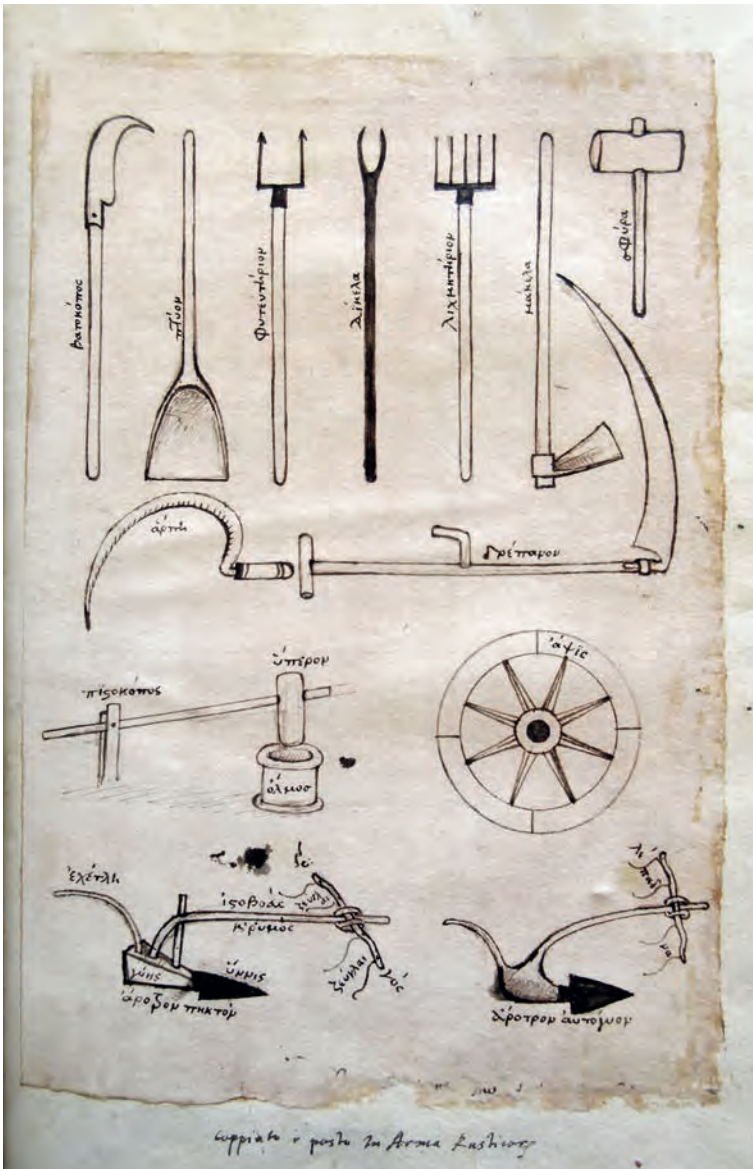


Figure 4 Theocritus, *Idyllia*. Add: Hesiodus, *Opera et Dies*. [c. 1480]. Husbandry tools. 4°. GW M45823; ITC it00143000; MEI 02127813. Prague, National Library, XLII. E. 19

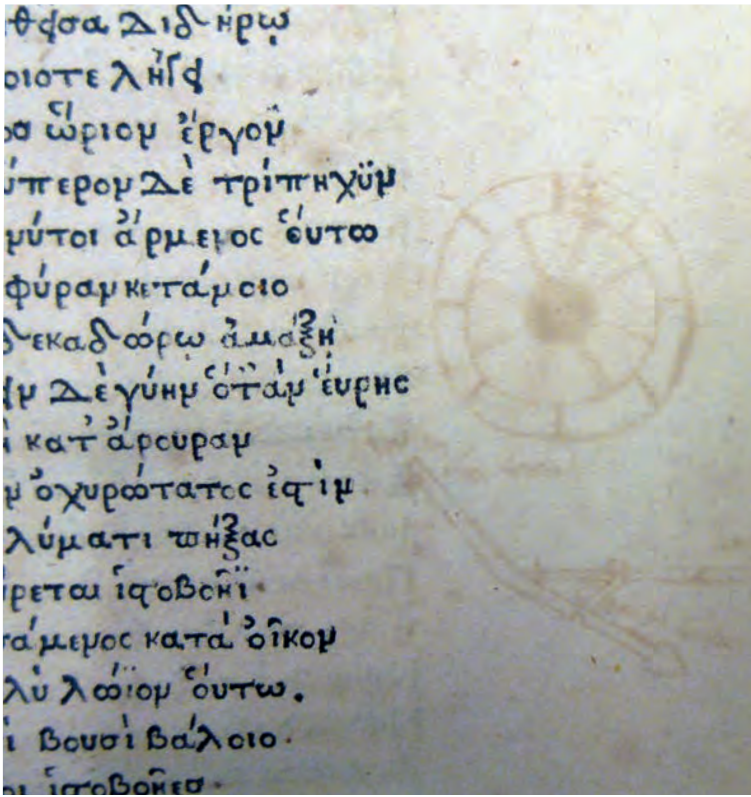


Figure 5 Theocritus, *Idyllia*. Add: Hesiodus, *Opera et Dies*. [c. 1480]. Husbandry tools. 4°. GW M45823; ISTC it00143000; MEI 02018625. Athens, National Library, ΕΦ. 12164

flects the austere pessimism of a Great-Depression-style Greek agrarian crisis of the 7th century B.C., but it also blends in a bizarre selection of recommendations dispensed by Hesiod to his brother – a brother whom, judging by the text, the poet clearly did not hold in much esteem. However that may be, interspersed between high advice on how to properly worship the gods and base guidance such as “μηδ’ ἄντ’ ἠελίου τετραμμένος ὀρθός ὀμιχεῖν” (‘do not urinate while facing the sun’),¹³ we find a number of references to the most various and obscure husbandry tools. I was very pleased to find, in at least two copies (Prague NL and Athens NL), hand-drawn explanatory sketches of such tools with Greek technical terminology.¹⁴

¹³ *Hesiodii Carmina*, 90 (720).

¹⁴ Prague, National Library, XLII. E. 19 (MEI 02127813); Athens, National Library, ΕΦ. 12164 (MEI 02018625). The similarity of the drawings may suggest an interconnec-

4 De Madiis

A number of these editions appear in the ledger of the Venetian bookseller Franciscus de Madiis. As a matter of fact, the period covered by the ledger (17 May 1484 to 23 January 1488) could not be better, since 1488, when it comes to an end, coincides with the end of what we may identify as the early period of Greek printing. De Madiis' ledger offers a spectacular wealth of information on early Greek printing. For instance, we learn that he sold a total of 7 Greek works in 116 copies, and that almost half of these were copies of Chrysoloras. For some of these works we know the exact edition, as is the case with at least three of Accursius' imprints; for others, we can make educated guesses.

Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* (48 copies) – Venice: P. de Pasqualibus [and D. Bertochus], 5 Feb. 1484 – **almost certain**
Crastonus' *Lexicon* (31 copies) – Milan c. 1478 or Vicenza 1483 edition
Theocritus (10 copies) – [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1480] – **certain**
Psalterium (10 copies) – Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 20 Sept. 1481 – **certain**
Lascaris' *Erotemata* (9 copies) – Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 29 Sept. 1480 – **almost certain**
Crastonus' *Vocabulista* (5 copies) – Milan c. 1480 or Vicenza c. 1483 edition
Aesopus (3 copies) – [Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [about 1478] – **certain**

The only titles that do not make an appearance in this list are the three minor texts: the *Batrachomyomachia*, Saxolus' *De accentibus*, and the Deventer *Coniugationes verborum graecorum*, which of course was printed shortly after the end date of de Madiis' ledger. Conversely, all the major Greek titles published before 1488 feature in the ledger, though the identification of the exact edition is not always straightforward. Three can be identified with relative ease: Aesop, Theocritus, and the *Psalterium*, all from Bonus Accursius' Milanese set. The first two were printed only once, making the identification certain. The *Psalterium* was indeed published a second time on 15 November 1486 in Venice by Laonicus & Alexander, but by that date de Madiis had already sold 7 out of 10 copies, so it is most likely that the remaining three were also part of Accursius' print-run. Laonicus & Alexander are two fascinating characters. They set up the earliest press owned and run by Greeks, publishing two books, both in 1486, and with a most peculiar typeface. If the average number of sorts produced per early Greek type-case ranged between approximately 60-240, they managed to produce in excess of

tion between the two copies. I recently came across another set of drawings in a copy of the 1495-96 Aldine edition of Hesiod.

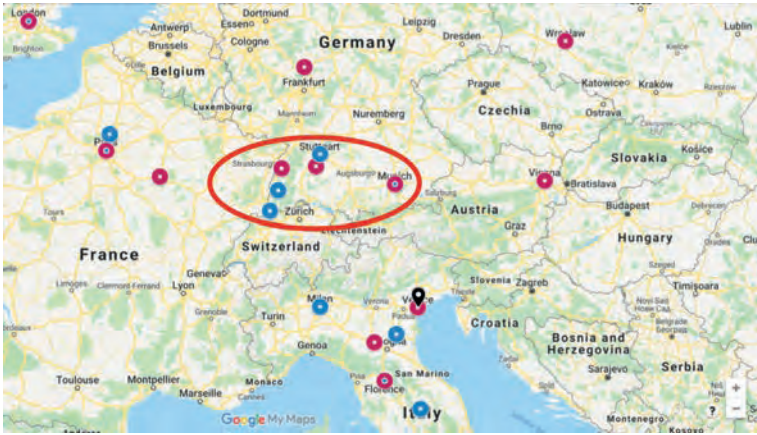


Figure 6 Current distribution of Laonicus & Alexander editions (*Batrachomyomachia* in red, *Psalterium* in blue)

1,300.¹⁵ They printed the *Batrachomyomachia* and the *Psalterium*, though it appears that they intended to print more. According to Proctor, the *Batrachomyomachia* was probably “a trial or specimen, intended to test the type and the method of printing in two colours, preparatory to the issue of a series of service-books, beginning with the Psalter, for which red and black printing would be indispensable. Of this series, if it were in truth ever projected, only the Psalter was completed”.¹⁶ Incidentally, the fact that de Madiis did *not* sell a single copy of any edition of the *Batrachomyomachia* buttresses the impression that Laonicus & Alexander relied on other channels to market their books. Aside from the predictable copies found in Italy and in large international collections, the fact that a concentration of them is today found in Southern Germany, and in small centres of the German Upper Rhine Valley in particular,¹⁷ suggests that whoever sold their books probably had trading links in the area. Interestingly, however, some copies display unusual early provenances, including one from Portugal.¹⁸

¹⁵ Needless to say, the number of punches and matrixes actually produced must have been somewhat smaller, and this staggeringly high number of sorts was obtained by means of excision of accents and breathings, a fairly common practice among early cutters of Greek types.

¹⁶ Proctor, *Printing of Greek*, 74.

¹⁷ For this area, copies are currently found in Basel, Freiburg, Offenburg, Stuttgart and Tübingen.

¹⁸ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, VI.18.48 (MEI 02127798).

5 Trade

Initial considerations on trade and circulation can rely on approximately 30% of all known surviving copies, therefore these figures should be taken with a pinch of salt, but they are already quite revealing. The first element is that, of all the copies currently examined, only one bears unequivocal marks of early Milanese provenance,¹⁹ a highly unexpected result, in light of the substantial role of Milan in the earliest production of Greek books, possibly ascribable to a looser practice of ownership inscriptions in Milan, or to the fact that these editions were primarily intended for export. The second element is, on the contrary, a remarkably high number of early provenances from Florence and Tuscany in general. A large number of early Greek editions, particularly those from Milan, bear evidence from this area, suggesting that there clearly was high demand and a strong trading link, not implausible in light of Accursius' background and teaching history in Tuscany.

6 Learning Greek: Annotations and Use

It is also important to understand how many copies show extensive signs of use, and how many, on the contrary, appear to have been abandoned halfway through. Bearing in mind the same overall figures as above, I've here intentionally left out editions that survive in too few copies, pamphlets, and dictionaries, since all of these categories may produce misleading results. This said, the average number of 'giver-uppers' is 42.5% among beginners' editions against 34% among Greek-only (i.e. advanced) editions. Vice versa, it is clear that readers of Greek-only books engaged substantially more with the text, leaving extensive annotations behind, often in Greek, than those reading texts for beginners, in either Latin or Greek. This information may of course have many interpretations, but it seems to suggest that Greek-only books were more likely used under the guidance of a teacher, whereas bilingual editions might also have been purchased by over-optimistic individuals.

¹⁹ Cambridge, University Library, BSS.130.A81 (MEI 00561637). A copy of Accursius' 1481 *Psalterium*, it first belonged to the humanist Giulio Emilio Ferrario (c. 1452-1513), who then bequeathed his books to San Francesco Grande (behind the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio), one of the largest and wealthiest convents in Milan, eventually demolished in 1806 and replaced by the Caserma dei Veliti Reali, later known as Caserma Garibaldi, and acquired in 2015 by the Università Cattolica to expand its campus. The book had however left the library of San Francesco Grande at some point during the early 18th century, since, before reaching England in the 19th century, it had belonged to Count Carlo Archinto (1670-1732).

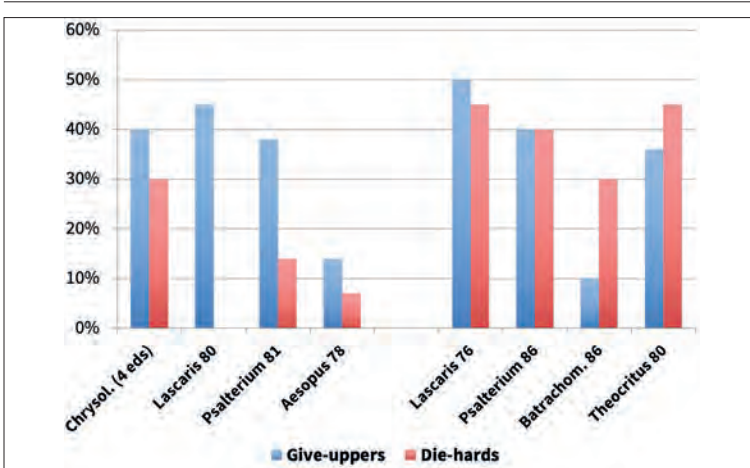


Chart 2 Greek-Latin editions (left), Greek-only editions (right); quitters (blue) against readers who read the whole text (red)

Another question worth trying to answer is whether these books were used in classrooms or not. It is clear that Greek teachers adopted the grammars that most suited their teaching needs, and indeed several of these were already available by 1470, at least in manuscript form. But it would be interesting to understand the extent to which their choices were then affected by the availability of *printed* grammars. With regards to these, there is scattered evidence, mostly in letters, that teachers would select and occasionally even provide schoolbooks for their pupils, though mostly at a slightly later date.²⁰ Although this investigation is still ongoing, the current impression is that the majority of copies of the earliest production of Greek books were *not* yet used in classrooms. Two elements point in this direction. The first is that the vast majority of de Madiis' sales are individual copies, there are no bulk sales and no apparent clusters of purchases, which however do occur with other titles listed in his ledger. The second is that the percentage of 'give-uppers', particularly among readers of grammars and the Psalters, is so remarkably high (almost 50%) that, had teachers been more frequently involved, one would expect, the number of quitters should have been somehow more contained.

²⁰ In 1500, Daniele Clario, an Italian who taught Greek in Ragusa (Dubrovnik), ordered copies of the Aldine editions of Gaza and Lascaris for academic purposes; in 1501, Erasmus switched from Lascaris' to Gaza's grammar because cheap printed copies of the latter had become available on the market; upon his arrival in Paris, in 1508, Girolamo Aleandro wrote to Manutius that he had encouraged his students to use Manutius' Lascaris, but they preferred to use the 1507 Paris-printed Gourmont Chrysoloras. Botley, *Learning Greek*, 10 and 20-1.



Figure 7 Vienna, ÖNB,
3. H. 60 (MEI: 02121018)

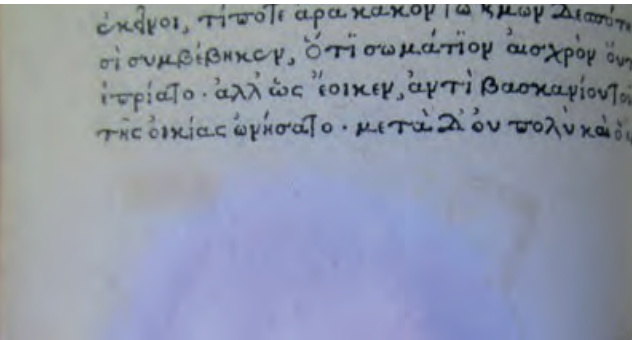


Figure 8 Cambridge,
Trinity College, Wren
Library, Grylls 3.348
(MEI: 02126024)

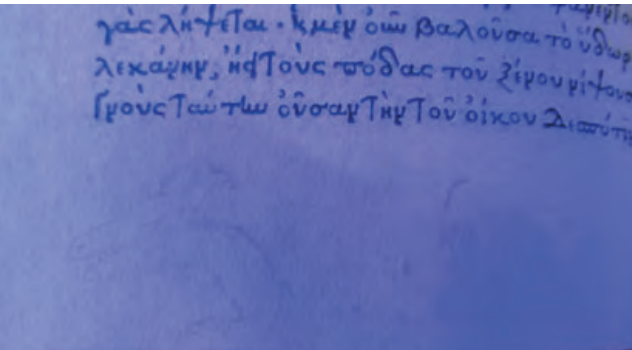


Figure 9 Cambridge,
Trinity College, Wren
Library, Grylls 3.348
(MEI: 02126024)

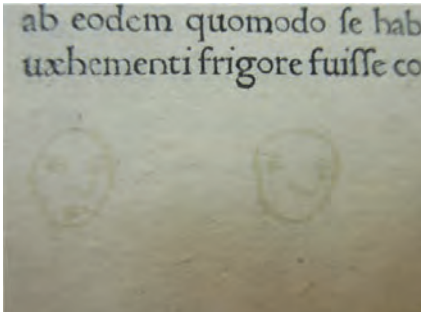


Figure 10 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. K.4.9b. (MEI: 00203515)



Figure 11 Paris, BNF, RES-Yc-129 (MEI: 02127819)

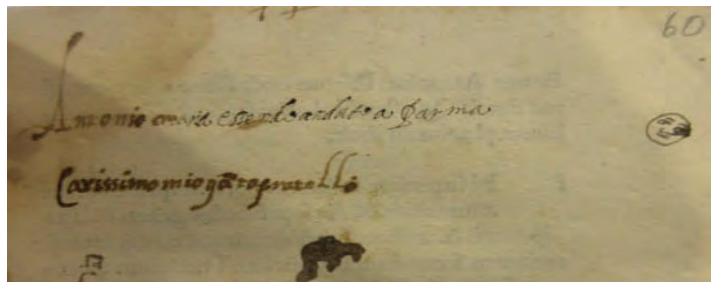


Figure 12 Genoa, University Library, D. II. 14 (MEI: 02126528)

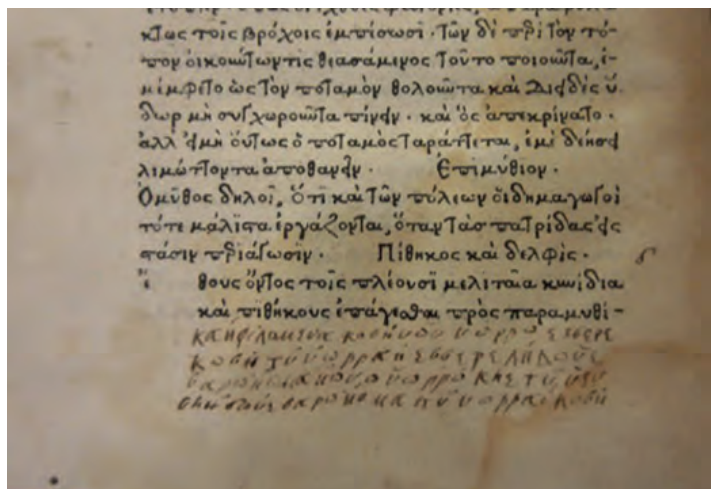


Figure 13 Genoa, University Library, D. II. 14 (MEI: 02126528)

I will conclude with some scattered evidence of what happens when a book ends up in the wrong hands, that is, children's hands (dogs, rats and other pests I shall discuss elsewhere). These traces are rare, often washed, but lively nonetheless. With one exception,²¹ all instances concentrate in copies of Aesop, suggesting that this remained the text most used when it came to teaching Greek – successfully or less so – to the youngest pupils, more so than grammars.²² Human and zoomorphic figures, as well as faces – possibly those of the pupils' own teachers – appear to be the common contributions of not-too-dedicated students, but one also finds random personal notes such as *Carissimo mio gatto pratello* ('My dearest cat Pratello'), as well as secret messages in Italian but using the Greek alphabet.

Acknowledgements

This paper presents the current results of a research that I have been conducting over the past two years on the circulation and use of the earliest Greek editions. I would like to take the opportunity to thank Cristina Dondi for these absolutely wonderful years working on the ERC-funded 15cBOOKTRADE project. I would also like to thank the other members of the 15cBOOKTRADE team, namely Birgit Mikus, Sabrina Minuzzi, Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni and Matilde Malaspina, as well as all the colleagues and librarians who have supported my ongoing research. Without their invaluable help, this work would simply not exist. I also wish to thank Maria Georgopoulou and Irini Solomonidi of the Gennadius Library, who helped me set up a great collaboration with many Greek libraries. Finally, I owe a great thanks to the Laskaris Foundation that generously sponsored part of my work and also provided generous support for the *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500* exhibition.

²¹ Vienna, ÖNB, 3. H. 60 (MEI 02121018).

²² Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Grylls 3.348 (MEI 02126024); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. K 4.9b. (MEI 00203515); Paris, BNF, RES-Yc-129 (MEI 02127819); Genoa, University Library, D. II. 14 (MEI 02126528).

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Not Wanderers but Faithful Companions

A Brief Overview on the Hebrew Incunabula Held in Italian Libraries

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Abstract The late 15th century became a time of dramatic changes in the Hebrew book-making as well. The Hebraica team of the 15cBOOKTRADE project prepared a thorough description of the extant copies of the Hebrew incunabula kept in the libraries of Europe and Israel. Notes of ownership, deeds of sale, personal remarks, institutional stamps, signatures of censors – all of them provide a rich picture of the distribution and use of Hebrew printed books throughout Europe (and also their ways from Europe to North Africa and the Middle East). Among a few hundreds of the checked volumes some were printed in Italy and remained there all the centuries since then; others were printed in Portugal and soon made their way to the Ottoman lands and from there to Yemen or Persia. Although the survey is not complete yet, since some important collections such as Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana still need to be included in the MEI database, the main results can enrich our knowledge on certain rabbis and scholars or provide interesting evidence of communal life, literacy, trade, the role of women and of the books in private possession.

Keywords Hebrew incunabula. Provenance research. Book trade. Libraries. Book-making.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 A Quantitative and Thematic Overview. – 3 The Owners. – 3.1 Some Notable Cases. – 3.2 Jewish Collectors and Professions. – 3.3 Women as Owners. – 3.4 Prices. – 3.5 Censorship. – 4 Conclusions.



1 Introduction

In the culturally tumultuous 15th century, in addition to printing in Latin characters and in many ways strictly connected with and influenced by it, Hebrew printing with movable types also emerged.¹ This took place in Italy at the beginning of the 1570s,² only a few years after the first Latin book had been printed in the Italian peninsula³ and just two decades after Gutenberg's Bible. Several Hebrew printers rapidly appeared in Italy, Portugal, Spain (and also Constantinople) and threw themselves enthusiastically into the new art.

My research for the 15cBOOKTRADE project has focused on Hebrew incunabula held in Italian libraries. It was exciting for me to work close to the cities or villages in which these beautiful books had been produced so long ago. However, since these incunabula were mostly printed in Italy, were purchased and used in local Italian communities and are nowadays still held in Italian libraries, my survey is perhaps less expansive when compared to the study of other collections, from the perspective of the journeys the books underwent after they came off the printing press. This is partly due to the fact that they came into the possession of the institutions that possess them now at a relatively early stage of their history, and for many of them no relocation or displacement has taken place in the last two centuries. Nevertheless, this does not diminish their interest: I have come across great collectors exchanging books; books that circulated within the community and its members; incunabula that were confiscated and then given back to their former libraries.⁴ The most striking aspect of the books, however, is the great number of notes we can still find and read in these volumes. In fact, we can find not only ownership inscriptions but also very personal annota-

1 For a general overview, cf. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, chapters I-IV; more detailed works are Friedberg, *History of Hebrew Typography* and the articles written by Peretz Tishby for the journals *Kiryat Sefer* and *Ohev Sefer*.

2 The first book in Hebrew types carrying a colophon appeared in Reggio Calabria, Southern Italy, on 26 February 1475 (the original Hebrew date in the colophon: 10 Adar 5235): it was Rashi's commentary on Torah and was printed by Abraham ben Garton for the local Jewish community of rich silk merchants (Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, 24): Solomon ben Isaac [or Rashi], *Perush ha-Torah*. Reggio Calabria: Abraham ben Garton, 17 Feb. 1475. Folio. GW M41207; ISTC is00625180; MEI 02125619.

3 Lactantius, *De divinis institutionibus*, printed on October 29 in Subiaco by Sweeney and Pannartz, the two monks who first brought the new technology to Italy.

4 This is the case of the copy of Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim*, held in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, shelfmark: ms 2472; Moses Maimonides, *Moreh Nevukhim*. [Italy: Printer of the Moreh Hanevukhim, about 1473-75]. 4°. GW M2004010; ISTC im00079800; MEI 0212996; this incunabulum was confiscated by Napoleon in 1796, sent to Paris and then kept there until 1815. With the fall of Napoleon, it was returned to the library of the Canonici Regolari Lateranensi del SS. Salvatore (Bologna), to whom it had belonged before 1796. Cf. Miani, "I manoscritti della Biblioteca del SS. Salvatore", 396.

tions (notes about family members or other books possessed), sales contracts, Jewish self-censorship and so on. The real value of these copies, therefore, lies not so much in the movements they have undergone but in the variety of notes and information that we can still find and extract from them.

2 A Quantitative and Thematic Overview

In order to offer an overview of my work, it will be useful to provide some figures: the incunabula I catalogued amounted to 231, and they are held in 13 Italian libraries [tab. 1].

Table 1 Libraries and incunables checked*

Parma - Biblioteca Palatina	88
Piacenza - Biblioteca Comunale Passerini-Landi	31
Torino - Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria	29
Roma - Biblioteca Casanatense	24
Firenze - Biblioteca Nazionale	11
Napoli - Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III"	11
Firenze - Biblioteca Laurenziana	10
Milano - Biblioteca Ambrosiana	8
Modena - Biblioteca Estense	8
Bologna - Biblioteca Universitaria	5
Bologna - Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio	2
Ferrara - Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea	2
Milano - Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense	2

* In two cases – Biblioteca Palatina (Parma) and Biblioteca Universitaria (Bologna) – the numbers provided in this table do not represent the actual number of Hebrew incunabula the two libraries hold: in fact, 3 incunabula of the Biblioteca Palatina and 1 of the Biblioteca Universitaria are still to be catalogued in MEI.

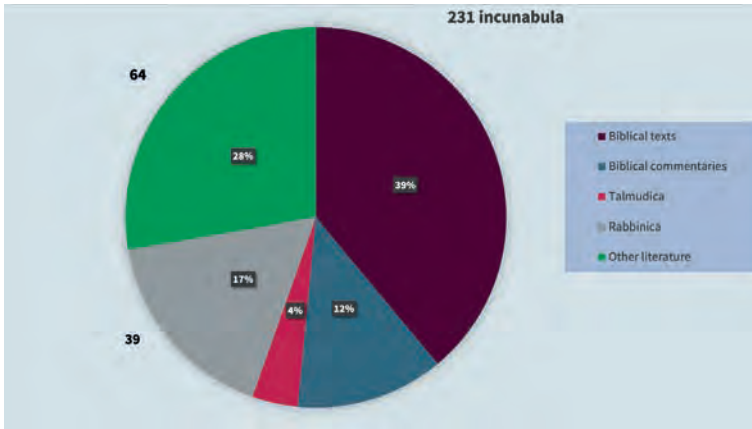


Figure 1 Chart of the distribution of incunabula by content

The largest Italian collection of those I visited is the one kept in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma: we calculated that circa 91 copies are held here.⁵ The figure is approximate since fragmentary sheets are also included in the total, though it is not always clear whether they belonged to incunabula or to later editions. The size of the collection is due to the greatest Italian collector of Hebrew incunabula, the renowned scholar and professor of Semitic languages Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi (1742-1831),⁶ who is responsible also for the second largest Italian collection,⁷ held in Biblioteca Comunale Passerini-Landi, Piacenza. In fact, all but one of the 31 incunabula held in Piacenza had originally been donated by De Rossi to the bibliophile

⁵ Of the 91 incunabula surveyed by Tamani (“Inventario degli incunaboli ebraici della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma”), I have catalogued, up to the present, 88 copies, meaning 3 remain to be inserted in MEI. It should be pointed out, however, for the sake of completeness, that among the books listed by Tamani, some are missing (probably stolen before the 1974 inventory), while others, as mentioned, are probably post-1500 editions.

⁶ There is an impressive bibliography on De Rossi; here, for convenience, it is sufficient to refer to the entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, in its online version: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/de-rossi-giovanni-bernardo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/de-rossi-giovanni-bernardo_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (2019-11-07).

⁷ Strictly speaking, if we consider only the libraries in the territory of the Italian State, the statement is correct. But if we take into account also other libraries within the confines of the Italian peninsula, we should mention the Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, which had still to be included in my research: given its 67 incunabula, the Biblioteca Vaticana should be listed as the second most significant library.

Ferdinando Landi (1778-1853),⁸ who then bequeathed all his books to the town's public library.⁹

In terms of the typology of the 231 incunabula, they can be divided on the basis of their content [fig. 1]:

- 119 incunabula are (or are about) Biblical texts: they contain either the whole Bible or specific Biblical books. Among the latter, 45 present the text along with commentaries (such as those of Rashi, Levi ben Gershon, David Kimhi) and 29 consist only of commentaries on parts or books of the Bible;
- 39 incunabula represent what Offenberg calls “Rabbinica”,¹⁰ that is to say books on laws, precepts, codifications, such as Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'a Turim* (Four Orders of the Code of Law), Moses de Coucy's *Sefer mizvot gadol* (Great Book of Precepts), Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (The Repetition of the Torah).

Nine books contain Talmudic texts or treatises. Although Offenberg includes the Talmudic books within the “Rabbinica” group, I prefer to consider them as a separate section so as to give a better overview of the order of the incunabula according to the main traditional Jewish fields.

Finally, 64 are incunabula dealing with “other literature” (again following Offenberg's definition).¹¹ Here we have books on liturgy (*mahzor*, *siddur*, that is to say prayer books), medicine (Avicenna's *Canon*), mathematics (the astronomical tables of Mordecai Finzi), linguistics – for example Kimhi's dictionary *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (Book of Roots) or the *'Arukh* ([Book] Arranged, the Talmudic dictionary composed by Nathan ben Jehiel), philosophy (Maimonides' *Moreh ha-Nevukhim*, Guide for the Perplexed), literature (for instance, the poetical compositions of Immanuel ben Solomon in his *Sefer ha-Mahbarot*, Book of Poems), history (*Sefer Josippon*, Book of Joseph).¹²

In the light of this brief summary, it is easy to see that books related to the Bible (Bibles, Biblical books, commentaries on parts of the Bible) survive in the highest number, more than half the total amount. Offenberg suggests that (at least some) Biblical books “were soon acquired by Christian Hebraists and therefore stood a better chance of

⁸ Cf. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-landi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-landi_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

⁹ Cf. the catalogue written, once again, by Giuliano Tamani (“Inventario degli incunabuli ebraici della Biblioteca Comunale di Piacenza”).

¹⁰ Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula*, XXVIII. Adriaan K. Offenberg has studied extensively the distribution of Hebrew incunabula in world libraries; his work, alongside ISTC, remains a fundamental reference and an invaluable tool for every scholar in this field.

¹¹ Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula*, XXVIII.

¹² Josephus Flavius was erroneously considered to be the author of this pseudohistorical work.

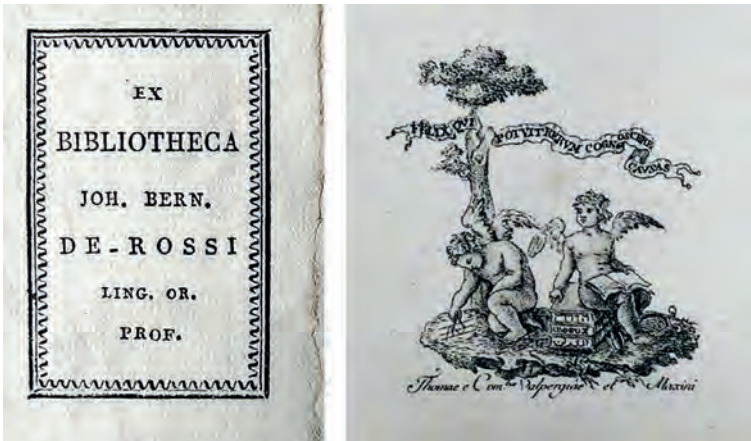


Figure 2 Ex-libris of De Rossi (left) and Valperga di Caluso (right)

surviving”.¹³ Other reasons include the printing of certain editions in a larger number of copies; the natural wear and tear of the most widely used books that the less used were spared; religious persecutions that affected some categories more than others (for instance, Talmudic books suffered severe censorship or were sadly burnt in the 16th century); or even the care that was taken of them because of their high reputation.¹⁴ Finally, it may just have been a matter of taste or the habit of the owners that helped to preserve some books.

And so we come to the central question: who are the owners?

3 The Owners

First of all, we can make a rough division between Jewish and Christian owners. In the incunabula I checked, Christian owners seldom appear before the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Jewish owners are not usually present in the last phases of their history. Based on this observation, we can maintain that Hebrew incunabula circulated among Jews in the earliest centuries of their existence and, after that, for reasons that are still unclear (perhaps because the exacerbation of censorship on Hebrew books made circumstances more difficult for Jewish collectors), there is a prevalence of Chris-

¹³ Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula*, XXVII.

¹⁴ See, again, Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula*, XXVII.

tian owners. Unfortunately, no traces or documents – sale deeds, donations, requisitions and so on – have survived to shed any light on the crucial transition from Jewish to Christian hands.

As for the Christian – or non-Jewish – owners, renowned names (or indeed any names at all) are few and far between, apart from some well known collectors, such as De Rossi, mentioned above, or Tommaso Valperga di Caluso (1737-1815),¹⁵ an intellectual and polymath from Piedmont [fig. 2]: the latter's collection of incunabula (14 books) was donated to the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin probably at the beginning of the 19th century and is now the core of the incunabula collection there.

We should also mention Angelo Maria d'Elci, a Florentine nobleman,¹⁶ who donated his books (10) to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand III, who created a special section for them in the Laurenziana Library, where they are still kept today.

It is noteworthy that monasteries or other ecclesiastical institutions, in which appear frequently as owners of Latin incunabula, are found only sporadically as owners of Hebrew incunabula.

Thus, for understandable reasons, Jewish owners form the vast majority. Palaeographical and onomastic analysis have shown that they are generally either of Italian origin or were living in Italy at the time they wrote in the volumes.

3.1 Some Notable Cases

It is worth mentioning the Piedmontese situation: within the books kept in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Turin we are given a glimpse into the life of local Piedmontese Jewish communities. In contrast to other Italian communities, those residing in Piedmont seem very well established in the territory and rather active: commerce, moneylending (in the surviving copies we find notes of accounts and loans to local non-Jews as well), as well as other forms of trade or exchange frequently occurred among the members of the community. Among the goods that they lent or traded there were also, of course, books: we find one incunabula edition,¹⁷ for example, that, over the decades and indeed centuries, passed between members of two families, the Diena and the Colon [fig. 3]. Every owner left his signature in the books; no fewer than 3 Colon and 2 Diena can be found among them.

15 Cf. <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/valperga-di-caluso-tommaso>.

16 Cf. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pannocchieschi-d-elci-angelo-maria_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pannocchieschi-d-elci-angelo-maria_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

17 The *Mahazor* printed by the Soncinos in 1485, shelfmark: XV.IV.83; *Mahazor*. Soncino and Casal Maggiore: Sons of Israel Nathan Soncino, between 10 Sept. and 9 Oct. 1485 and 21 and 29 Aug. 1486. Folio. GW M19921; ISTC im00007850; MEI 02123154.

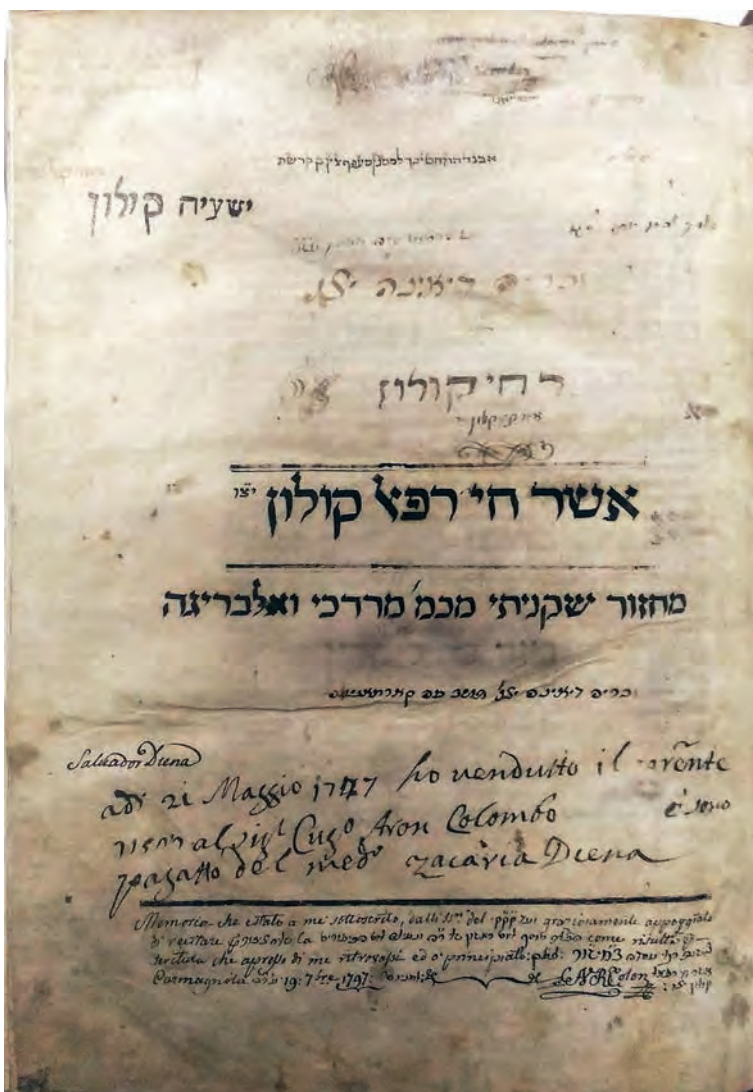


Figure 3 F. alef1r of the Mahazor kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin (shelfmark: XV.IV.83) with signatures or notes of various owners from the Dena and Colon families

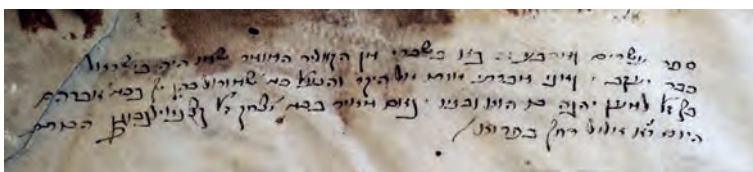


Figure 4 First folio of the copy of the Soncino's Bible (Naples, 1492), now held in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1297/1298), with sales contract written by the very Meir Katzenellenbogen hand

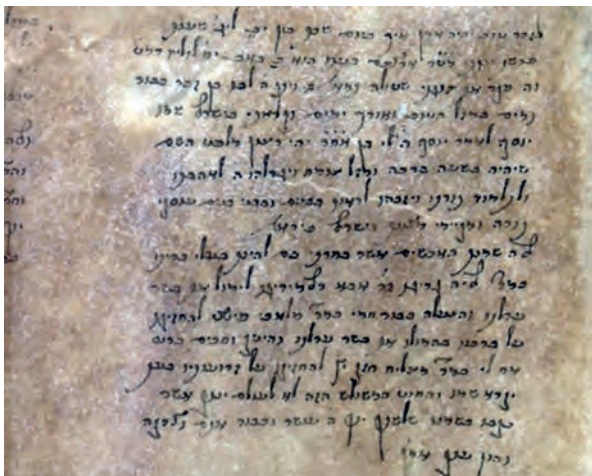


Figure 5 Record of the birth of his son Joseph, written by an anonymous father, with a note about his circumcision in which the name of *Elia Grego figlio di Aba Delmedigo* (Elijah the Greek son of Aba Delmedigo) appears. Front flyleaf, verso, of the copy of Maimonides' *Mishnayot* (Naples, 1492), kept in Parma (shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1396)

Apart from these Piedmontese exceptions, we usually find many names of Jews who signed their books, although most of them are not otherwise known (despite the fact that they sometimes bear renowned family names, still common among Italian Jewry).

However, it is also the case that very well-known individuals can also be found. For instance, on the first folio of a beautiful Soncino Bible printed in Naples in 1492 and now held at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma,¹⁸ we find the signature of Meir Katzenellenbogen, the great rabbi of Ashkenazi descent who lived in Padua in the 16th century.¹⁹ He appears as a seller in a contract written by himself in Ashkenazi-Italian Hebrew script, in which he registered the sale of the book to Samuel Cohen [fig. 4]. He writes: “I sold this [Bible] to Samuel Cohen [...] Word (or ‘affirmation’) of Meir ben Itzhak Katzenellenbogen, who is writing this on 11 Elul 5298 [17 August 1538] in Padua”. The name of this rabbi has especially ominous overtones in Venice. In this city, in the middle of the 16th century, Meir involuntarily started a series of events that led to one of the greatest disasters in the history of Hebrew printing. He had agreed to publish an edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, with his own commentaries, with a Venetian printer, Alvise Bragadini

18 *Torah, Neviim, Ketuvim*. [Naples: Joshua Solomon Soncino, about 1492]. Folio. GW 4199; ISTC ib00525520; MEI 02125656; the incunable was divided and bound separately into two volumes: the first (shelfmark St. De Rossi 1297) ends with Kings, the second (shelfmark St. De Rossi 1298) begins with Isaiah.

19 See, as a summary reference, the entry in the digital edition of the 1906 Jewish Encyclopedia: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9238-katzenellenbogen> (2019-11-07).

(d. 1575), a Christian who used to print Hebrew books. But the book was soon plagiarised by another Venetian printer, Marcantonio Giustiniani (d. 1571), in a cheaper edition. Meir, obviously upset by this piracy, asked Moses Isserles of Krakow, the most important authority at the time for Ashkenazi Judaism, to adjudicate in the case. Moses banned the pirated edition and forbade any Jew from buying a copy. However, Giustiniani did not give way, and an intense legal dispute ensued, with Giustiniani trying to discredit Bragadin's work by accusing him of publishing books (especially the Talmud) that contained offensive sentences towards Christians. These rumours unfortunately came to the attention of the Holy See: on August 12, 1553, Pope Julius III issued a bull commanding the confiscation and destruction of every copy of the Talmud, Palestinian or Babylonian alike. This ended with the burning of the Talmud (*il rogo del Talmud*, as the episode is commonly known in Italian) in Rome, in Campo de' Fiori, on September 9, 1553, and in Venice, in St Mark's Square, on October 21 of the same year.²⁰

Among other well-known names that appear in these incunabula it is worth mentioning Elia Del Medigo,²¹ the great Jewish scholar and philosopher of the early Renaissance: he is mentioned as one of the participants in a circumcision ceremony in the note written by an anonymous father, on his Mishnah copy,²² about the birth of his son [fig. 5].

In this connection, it is important to remember that a book could function as a kind of diary or register, in which the owners noted the most diverse information: from food recipes [fig. 6] to loans that needed to be repaid [fig. 7], as well as – as we have just seen – the more frequent occurrence of notes on the birth of children [fig. 8].

3.2 Jewish Collectors and Professions

We do not find important collectors of books among Jewish Italian owners, except for Rafael Eliezer from Trastevere. This Jew, who lived in Rome in the 16th century, wrote a list of the books he owned on the last folio verso of his copy of Nahmanides' *Perush ha-Torah* (Commentary on the Torah)²³ [fig. 9]. We count 42 titles: they are mainly

²⁰ Cf. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, chapter XI, in particular 254-69.

²¹ Cf. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elia-del-medigo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (2019-11-07).

²² *Mishnayot* with Maimonides' commentary, printed in Naples in 1492 by Joshua Soncino and now held in Parma, shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1396; *Mishnayot* (Comm: Maimonides). Naples: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 8 May 1492. Median folio. GW M23779; ISTC im00624700; MEI 02123770.

²³ Now held at the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna, shelfmark: A.V.KK.IV.10; Moses ben Nahman, *Perush ha-Torah*. [Rome: Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome, 1469-73]. Folio. GW M25518; ISTC im00866140; MEI 02122013.

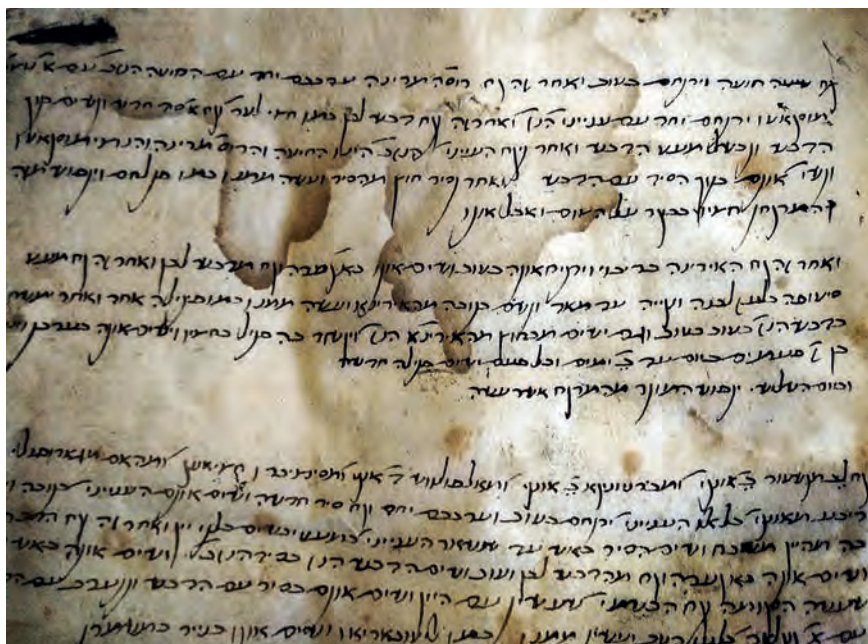


Figure 6 A recipe written on the second front flyleaf, recto, of Rashi's *Perush ha-Torah* copy (Soncino [?], 1487), now held in Parma (shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1179)

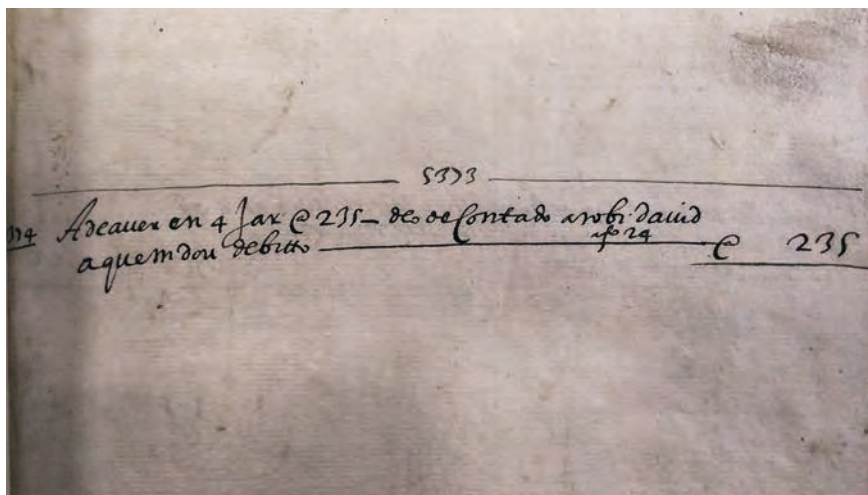


Figure 7 The recording of a loan (the lender was likely of galician origin) on the verso of the back blank sheet of the copy of *Nevi'im Aharonim* with commentary of David Kimhi (Soncino [?], 1485 [?]), kept in Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (shelfmark: AM.N.1V.4)

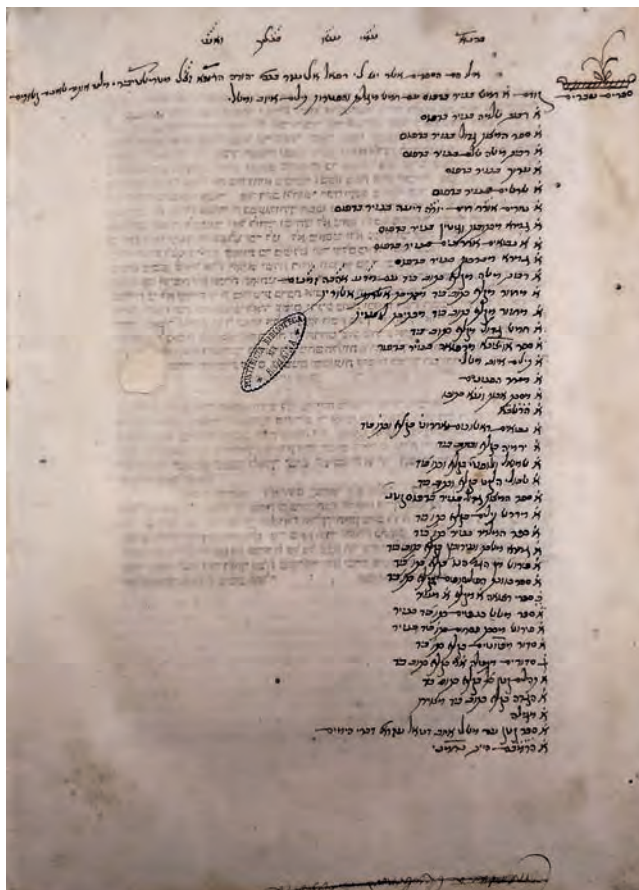
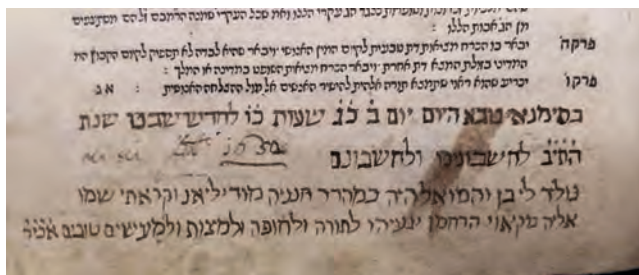


Figure 8 Record of the birth of his son Elijah, written by Ephraim Maccavi (he also spelled his family name as Maccabi), with two dates provided: the Hebrew one in Hebrew characters and the corresponding Christian one in Italian and Latin characters. F. [2] of the copy of Joseph Albo's *Ikkarim* (Soncino, 1485), kept in Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (shelfmark: A.V.B.VII.39)

Figure 9 List of the books owned by Rafael Eliezer from Trastevere, written by himself on the last folio verso of his copy of Nahmanides' *Perush ha-Torah* (Rome, 1469-1473 [?]), now kept in Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (shelfmark: A.V.KK.IV.10)

Biblical or Talmudic texts (*Prophets, Psalms, Pentateuch*, gemara of some Talmudic tractates) but we also find prayer books (*mahzorim* and *siddurim*) and linguistic works (the *'Arukh* of Nathan ben Jehiel and the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of David Kimhi). Very interestingly, after (almost) every book title he specified whether the volume was printed or manuscript, on parchment or on paper. He listed all these books after stating, at the top of the page, that those that followed were the books he had, without taking into account the volumes 'which were not bound before'. We know something about his background: from his patronymic - 'son of Judah ha-rofe', that is to say 'Judah the doctor' - it is evident that his family was well educated.

In this last respect, it is usually difficult to identify the social status or the profession of the Jewish owners: apart from some titles ("son of the honourable, our teacher and our master, the rabbi..."), which could help us in assessing at least the cultural standing of the owner's ancestor(s), the signatures or ownership annotations do not provide us with valuable details about the socio-economic level to which the owners belonged.

3.3 Women as Owners

The role women played at the very beginning of the history of Hebrew printing is already quite well-known: two Jewish women were, in fact, directly involved as printers of Hebrew books, namely Estellina Conat, wife of Abraham Conat, and Devorah, wife of Meshullam Cuzi.²⁴ But we also find Jewish women who owned books or sold them on their husbands' behalf. For instance, Rosetta, daughter of Ephraim from Frascati, owned a book containing *Torah, Megillot, Haftarot* and signed it with her name and patronymic [fig. 10].²⁵

Another woman, Stella, wife of Jekutiel, sold in 1508 a copy of the *Perush ha-Torah* (Commentary on Torah, composed by Levi ben Gershon) on her husband's behalf, and this is recorded in the sale deed

24 Estellina printed the *Behinat Olam* of Jedaiah Hapenini ben Abraham Bedarshi probably in 1474, stating in the colophon "I, Estellina, the wife of my lord, my husband, the honoured Abraham Conat, [...] wrote [i.e. 'printed'] this epistle of Behinat Olam with the help of the young Jacob Levi from Provence, from Tarascon". Devorah brought to completion, together with her sons, the work of her husband, who had died suddenly before his *Arba'ah Turim* was finished (cf. Heller, *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book*, 123 and Nissim, *I primordi della stampa ebraica*, 17-18).

25 The note simply says "Lady Rosetta [but it could also read 'Rosanna', as the writing is unclear], daughter of Ephraim from Frascati, wife of Menahem from Modiglian[a?]". There is no date, but, palaeographically, it is possible to date the note to the 17th century. The book is now in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, shelfmark: Vol.Inc. 1961; *Torah, Megillot, Haftarot*. [Hijar: Eliezer ben Alantansi, 1487-88?]. Folio. GW M30628; ISTC ib00525600; MEI 02122606.

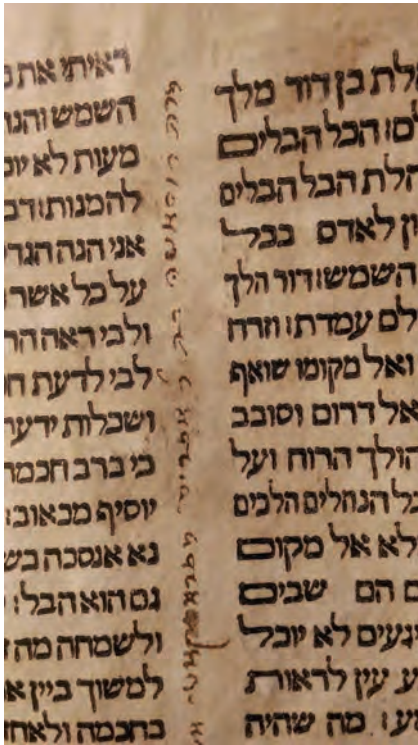


Figure 10 Signature of Rosetta, daughter Ephraim of Frascati, on f. [3]v of her copy of *Torah, Megillot, Haftarat* (Hijar, 1487-1488 [?]) and now held, incomplete, in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome (shelfmark: Vol.Inc. 1961)

Figure 11 Sale deed on the last folio verso of a copy of Levi ben Gershom's *Perush ha-Torah* (Mantua, 1475-1476 [?]), now held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin, shelfmark: XV.III.57), with Stella acting as seller on her husband's behalf and Dolce, another woman, as intermediary

written on the last folio verso of the volume.²⁶ The contract states that Stella, who signed the book on the first folio and is mentioned here as *meret markishiana* (lady from Marche),²⁷ is selling the book “with the permission, agreement and support of Jekutiel, her husband”. It

26 Now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin, shelfmark: XV.III.57; Levi ben Gershom, *Perush ha-Torah*. [Mantua]: Abraham Conat and Abraham Jedidiah, [1475-76]. Median folio. GW M18044; ISTD i00189700; MEI 02122979.

27 Strictly speaking, we have one woman named Stella who signed the book on the very first leaves, and another one, mentioned generically as “lady from Marche”, in the contract at the end of the book. Palaeographically, again, I am quite certain that Stella lived at the beginning of the 16th century and is thus identifiable with the woman of the deed sale.

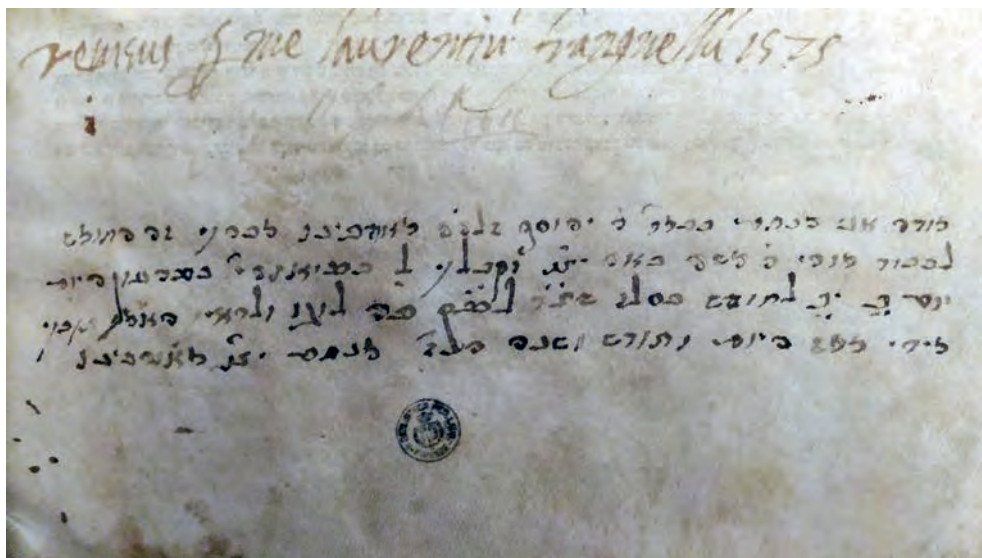


Figure 12 Sale deed in which the seller, Menaheem of Urbino, states that he received for this book 30 fiorini from Moshe Ber. Last folio verso of the copy of *Torah* with commentary of Rashi (Bologna, 1482) now held in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze (shelfmark: D'Elci 654)

Figure 13 Sale deed in which the buyer, Shelomoh Shatby, notes he paid 3 silver carlini for this book, a copy of David Kimhi's *Perush 'al Neviim Aharonim* (Guadalajara, 1481-1482), now held in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1180)

is worth pointing out also that Stella sold her book “with the mediation of lady Dolce”: thus not only was the owner a woman, but another woman concluded the sale [fig. 11].

3.4 Prices

The sales contracts I found usually mention the two parties involved in the transaction, the title/content of the book, the place where the sale took place, and, sometimes, the witness(es) and the prices. It is interesting to read the amounts paid for the books, because this can give us an idea of the value of incunabula in comparison with the cost of living.

As mentioned above, it is not usual to indicate the price paid for a book, yet there are some examples of this.

For instance, a copy of Kimhi's *Perush 'al Nevi'im Aharonim* (Commentary on Former Prophets), printed in Spain, was bought by Shelomoh Shatby in the year 1496 – according to the owner's note – “for the sum of 3 silver carlini” [fig. 12].²⁸ In a sale deed registered in an incunable held in the Laurenziana Library in Florence²⁹ we read that the book was sold in 1633 for 30 florins: “I, Menahem [...] of Urbino sold this Pentateuch to Moses Ber and I received 30 fiorini as payment” [fig. 13].

3.5 Censorship

Under the category of ‘owners’, we should also mention the censors, in line with MEI criteria. The phenomenon of censorship was a plague that affected Hebrew books in particular during the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th; it is well represented in the incunabula I checked: at least 99 copies out of 231 carry either censorship interventions [fig. 14] or just the censor's note – the signature with the date, sometimes also with the place and additional details about the censor's work [fig. 15].

Usually traces of censorship (words, sentences, paragraphs erased or struck through with ink) can be found in incunabula with commentaries on the Bible and in other types of works (rabbinical, literary, philosophical and so on) rather than in incunabula containing

28 The incunable is now held in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1180; David Kimhi, *Perush al Nevi'im Aharonim*. Guadalajara: Solomon Alkabiz, between 25 Aug. 1481 and 4 Jan. 1482. Folio. GW 8170; ISTC id00102710; MEI 02124848.

29 It is a beautiful copy of the Torah, with commentary of Rashi, printed in Bologna in 1482 (shelfmark: D'Elci 654; *Torah* (Comm: Solomon ben Isaac). Bologna: Abraham ben Hayyim, for Joseph Caravita, 26 Jan. 1482. Folio. GW M30624; ISTC ib00525570; MEI 02122135).

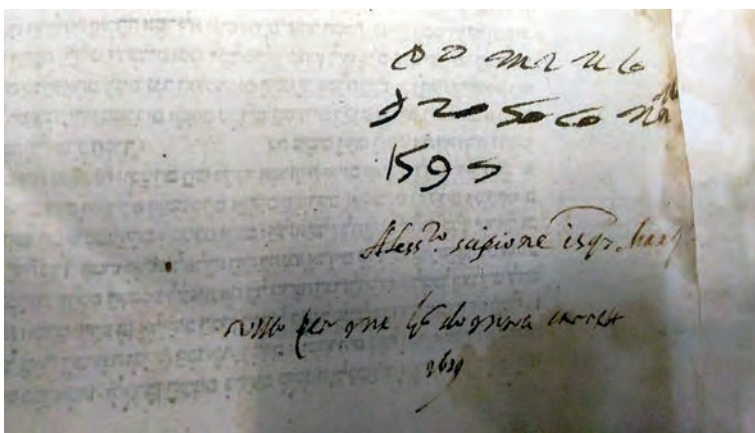


Figure 14 An example of censorship on a folio of a *Mishnah* with commentary by Maimonides (Naples, 1492) kept in the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna (shelfmark: 4.LL.II.10). This incunable in particular is heavily affected by censor's interventions

Figure 15 Three censors' signatures (Domenico Irosolimitano, Alessandro Scipione, Giovanni Dominico Carretto), with dates of their interventions, in the last folio verso of a copy of the *Hagiographa* (Naples, 1487) kept in the Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Modena (shelfmark: alfa.&.5.27)

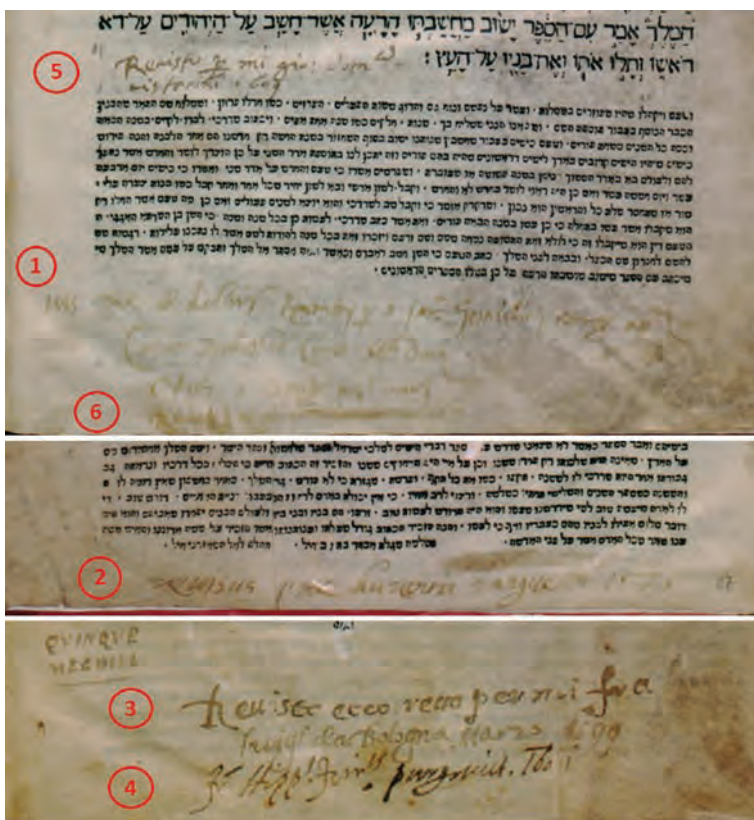


Figure 16 Details of the last two folios – verso of the second to last and recto/verso of the last – of Megillot with Commentaries by Rashi and Abraham ibn Ezra (Bologna, 1482 [?], kept in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1362), with the signatures/notes of the six censors who examined the incunable: 1) Jacobus Geraldini, 1555; 2) Lorenzo Franguello, 1575; 3) Luigi da Bologna, 1599; 4) Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601; 5) Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1609; 6) Giovanni Dominic Carretto, 1619

just the Biblical texts. In the latter, signs of censorship are almost entirely absent.

On average, a book is read/censored by one or two censors, but of ten more censors are involved: a copy held in the Palatina (Parma), the *Megillot* with the commentaries of Rashi and Abraham Ibn Ezra,³⁰ contains the signatures or notes of six different censors [fig. 16]!

30 Shelfmark: St. De Rossi 1362: *Megillot* (Comm: Solomon ben Isaac and Abraham ibn Ezra). [Bologna: Abraham ben Hayyim, about 1482]. Folio. GW 12115/10N; ISTC ib00525980; MEI 02123817.

Since censors did travel across Italy – mainly in the Papal States – it is not always easy to link one censor’s signature to a precise location, unless the place is specifically mentioned. Nevertheless, some censors operated in one or two cities and in a restricted period of time, so their signatures, even without the mention of a location, can give us an idea of where that particular book could have been at that point in time.³¹

4 Conclusions

To conclude this overview of my work, I would add that there are still paths of research that it would be interesting to explore but that I only marginally touched upon in my study because the picture was not yet complete (many incunabula among those preserved in Italian libraries still have to be catalogued in MEI): one such path, for example, could be the analysis of the percentage of books printed in the Iberian Peninsula now preserved in Italy (so far, about 10% of those I studied, 25 out of 231). This could provide insights on the trade and movement of volumes in the Mediterranean area after certain events of far-reaching importance occurred, such as the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1496.

But in a narrower sense, considering in particular the field of Jewish studies, it is definitely desirable to continue this project. In fact, the analysis of data gathered from Hebrew incunabula not only fulfils the aims of MEI within the more general context of early European printing, but is also greatly improving our knowledge of the cultural and social life of Italian Jewish communities over the centuries.

What my colleagues and I have done while working on these incunabula had been almost completely neglected in previous researches in Jewish studies: that is, the extraction of a great treasure of information buried in books that had hitherto been studied only as texts, as *incunabula*, as *editions*, and almost never as invaluable *carriers* of historical data. I therefore firmly believe that a great debt of gratitude is due to the 15cBOOKTRADE programme for the ‘Jewish serendipity’ it uncovered and for the new field of research it opened, in the hope that there will be a future for the project.

31 This is, for instance, the case of Alessandro Scipione, who probably worked as a censor only for the Gonzagas in 1597 (cf. his page, among MEI owners, at the URL <https://data.cerl.org/owners/00018010>).

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Hebrew Incunabula in the National Library of Israel as a Source for Early Modern Book History in Europe and Beyond

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Abstract Hebrew incunabula from the collection of the National Library of Israel contain a vast amount of manuscript annotations, many of them of historical, philological, linguistic, and palaeographical interest. The paper presents a few examples of owners' notes that shed light on the history of books in early modern Jewish communities. From the book owned by the well-known rabbi Moses Alashkar, to a reference to the participation of rabbi Mordecai Dato in a family ceremony, and the extensive glosses of Samuel Lerma, to the joyful message of an unnamed Jew whose daughter had been released from captivity. Such material is a valuable resource for research on the distribution and use of early Hebrew printed books in Europe and beyond.

Keywords Hebrew incunabula. Early modern book history. Notes of ownership. Deeds of sale. Handwritten inscriptions. National Library of Israel.

Summary 1 Hebrew Incunabula. – 2 National Library of Israel. – 3 From Portugal to Yemen: Copy Owned by Moses Alashkar. – 4 Multiple Notes of Ownership. – 5 Mordecai Dato in a Family History. – 6 Glosses of Samuel Lerma. – 7 On Release from Confinement. – 8 Conclusion.



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1 Hebrew Incunabula¹

The art of printing reached the Jewish world already within a generation after Gutenberg's epochal invention. The first dated Hebrew incunabulum was printed in 1475 in Reggio di Calabria; however, a few years earlier several Hebrew books had appeared in print without indication of date. Although these pioneering editions make up a considerable group of books, perhaps too many to make it difficult to see them as just "a series of experiments",² the first appearance of a date in the 1475 book can be seen as a landmark for Hebrew printing. The first two dated incunabula belonging to the Sephardic (Spanish) as well as the Ashkenazi (Franco-German) traditions appeared, both in Italy, in 1475, and even the first attempt to use Hebrew characters in a Latin incunabulum is found in an anti-Jewish treatise by Petrus Nigri published in Esslingen in the same year.³

Although, within Christian Europe, the use of Hebrew letters in fifteenth-century printing can be traced as far north as the Netherlands,⁴ all currently known Hebrew incunabula were printed in Southern Europe: in Italy, in the Iberian peninsula before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497, and one book in Ottoman Constantinople printed by Jews expelled from Spain. Early Hebrew printing is a well-known subject of historical and bibliographical research,⁵ but the further history of the surviving copies of Hebrew incunabula in the early modern period deserves its own investigation.

This paper presents examples of manuscript inscriptions found in the Hebrew incunabula kept in the National Library of Israel (NLI) in Jerusalem. A colourful collection of personal names and geographical places, book prices and historical events, textual glosses and marginal translations enrich our knowledge of the distribution and use of early modern books. We can see that some Hebrew incunabula were

¹ This article is the result of research carried out within the framework of the 15cBOOKTRADE project (University of Oxford) led by Cristina Dondi. The findings are recorded in the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database hosted and maintained by the Consortium of European Research Libraries. We would like to thank Dr Ilana Tahan, Lead Curator Hebrew and Christian Orient Collections, The British Library, for her revision of the English translation of the handwritten notes in incunabula, which have been transcribed and translated from Hebrew by the Author of the article.

² Iakerson, "That Pivotal Year", 71.

³ Iakerson, "That Pivotal Year", 83-5. Nigri, Petrus, *Contra perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus veri Messiae*. Esslingen: Conrad Fyner, 6 June 1475. Folio and 4^o. 50 leaves. GW M27101; ISTC in00257000.

⁴ Offenberg, *A Choice of Corals*, 166-82.

⁵ A summary description of the incunabula held in public libraries is given by Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula*. Detailed catalogue descriptions can be found in, for example, Iakerson, *Catalogue of Hebrew Incunabula*.

printed in Italy and stayed there for almost half a millennium, while others only a few decades after being printed found their way from Portugal to the Levant. Some books circulated in Europe and some arrived as far afield as Persia or Yemen.

2 National Library of Israel

The National Library of Israel is a rather young institution: it was established in Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century. Since 1892 it accumulated both new and rare books published in various parts of the Jewish world. Over the years its collection of Hebrew incunabula became one of the most important in the world.⁶ Today the vast majority of the Hebrew books printed in the fifteenth century are represented by at least one copy in Jerusalem; some of them are unique or extremely rare editions.⁷ Altogether there are approximately two hundred volumes, including fragmentary copies. Among the main donors, we can mention the German Jewish businessman and publisher Salman Schocken who donated his numerous incunabula in the 1930s. The latest acquisition of the library is the main part of the Valmadonna collection, the largest private assortment of Hebrew manuscripts and printed books, among which there are some important incunabula; it was purchased in 2016.

The recent history of the NLI Hebrew incunabula was described in an article about the creation of this collection.⁸ Its multiple sources explain the richness and diversity of the records of ownership throughout the centuries which are found in the volumes. A number of notes written in early modern times can also shed some light on these books' long history.

3 From Portugal to Yemen: Copy Owned by Moses Alashkar

An example of a Hebrew incunabulum with a remarkable history is a copy of the Former Prophets printed in three volumes in 1494 in Leiria, Portugal. It arrived in the NLI with numerous other rare items upon the death of the distinguished scholar and book collector Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877-1951).⁹ The first volume contains the books

⁶ The early history of NLI is studied by Schidorsky, *Sifriya ve-sefer*. On the search for Jewish books after the Holocaust and their arrival at NLI cf. Schidorsky, *Gevilim nisrafim*.

⁷ The general corpus of Hebrew incunabula in Israel, mostly in NLI, was described by Tishby, "Ha-inkunabulim ha-ivriyim".

⁸ Richler-Grebler, Prebor, "Yetzirato shel osef".

⁹ On Yahuda and his collection cf. Ukeles, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda".



Figure 1 Moses Alashkar, note of ownership, end of 15th or early 16th century. Jerusalem, NLI, RI Yah. A 5 (*Neviim Rishonim*, Leiria 1494, vol. 1), f. 1.1r. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

of Joshua and Judges, and on its first blank page, there is a note of ownership of Moses son of Isaac Alashkar, a prominent rabbi and judge who was expelled with other Spanish Jews in 1492, moved to North Africa, from there went to Ottoman lands and finally to Egypt.¹⁰ This is perhaps the major historical find in the NLI collection: the three volumes belonged to a well-known historical figure and perhaps were in his luggage during his long journey from the shores of the Atlantic to the Levant.¹¹

¹⁰ Horodezky, "Alashkar".

¹¹ *Neviim Rishonim*. Comm: David Kimhi and Levi ben Gershom. Leiria: [Samuel Dor-tas], 27 Jan.-2 Feb. 1494. Folio. 620 leaves. GW M35717; ISTD ib00525770; MEI 02122479

The text of the note of ownership [fig. 1] can be transcribed and translated as follows:

Miqnat kaspi sheli ani moshe al-ashqar ben yitzhaq y[ishmereni] tz[uri] v[e-goali] ha-dayan al-ashqar, ve-shalom al yisrael amen.

Purchased with my money, I, Moses Alashkar, son of the Judge Isaac Alashkar, may my Rock and Redeemer keep me, and peace to Israel, amen.

However, the journey of the three volumes was even longer than that with Alashkar: two centuries later they were bought in Yemen. Two deeds of sale from the mid-eighteenth century are written in Yemenite script and contain names of well-known Yemenite Jewish families [fig. 2]. Although partially erased, a common feature in many notes of ownership, they provide the names of the two parties involved in the transaction, the witnesses, and also the price. The first one begins:

Zikhron edut. Li le-miqne, le-olam yikhtov adam shemo al sifro shema yavo adam rasha min ha-shuq ve-yomar sheli hu, qaniti ze ha-hefetz asher hu shelosha sefarim sefer yehoshua ve-sefer shofetim ve-sefer shemuel ve-sefer melakhim u-mishna kaf nahat be-arbaa qurush va-reva hajar min salam al-gav'i ani yosef [ib]n david al-madai ve-a[men] k[en] y[ihye] r[atzon] me-harutz ve-kan yom hamishi shelishi be-adar sheni shenat b.s.

Testimony record of my purchase. A man should always write his name on his book lest a wicked person should come from the market saying it was his. I, Joseph son of David al-Madai bought this item [consisting of] three books - Book of Joshua and Book of Judges, and Book of Samuel, and Book of Kings - and Mishnah with [the commentary] Kaf Nachat for four and a quarter silver kurush from Salam al-Gav'i. Amen, may it be His will... on Thursday the 3rd of the second month of Adar year 2060 [of the Seleucid era].

The number written for the year is not entirely legible. Perhaps its last character is *mem* rather than *samekh*, which would make it 2040 of the Seleucid era (i.e. 1729 rather than 1749 CE). The letter's shape seems more like *samekh*, with the numerical value of sixty; however the year 2060 does not correspond to the precise date. The second deed of sale, although mostly erased, has an unambiguous date: the 2nd day of the month Shevat, year 2066, which is January 14, 1755. Among the witnesses, we find the names of Ghiyat son of Saliman, Said

(3 vols: NLI RI Yah. A 5, RI Yah. A 4 and RI Yah. A 3).



Figure 2 Joseph ibn David Almadai, note of ownership, 1749(?). Jerusalem, NLI, RI Yah. A 5 (*Neviim Rishonim*, Leiria 1494, vol. 1), f. 10.8v. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

son of Harun al-Qadis, Uad son of Saliman. Information on the price is rather interesting: the three volumes of the Leiria edition were sold together with a certain copy of Mishnah for four and a quarter kush, the highest value silver coin, indicated here as *qirsh hajar*, which means the actual coin and not its value in smaller change.¹²

¹² Tobi, *The Jews of Yemen*, 126.

4 Multiple Notes of Ownership

Sometimes multiple manuscript annotations by different owners in a single copy can be striking, in the way they reveal the particular story of an incunabulum even when all we know about the persons mentioned there is what we get from the inscriptions themselves. As an example of this, there is a copy of the Soncino edition of the Latter Prophets, c. 1485: all its notes of ownership are distributed throughout the volume, at the beginning, at the end, and in the middle, but also by the end of the Book of Jeremiah, which might suggest that perhaps some parts of the book circulated separately.¹³

On the first page, the recto of the first blank folio of Isaiah, we see the rather detailed note of a certain David ben Isaac of Spoleto dated January 31, 1550 [fig. 3]:

Le-h[a-shem] ha-aretz u-meloah. Sheli refael b[en] r[abi] natan z[ekher] tz[adiq] l[i-beracha] mi-perusha. Qenitiv ze ve-ha-heleq sheni mi-yad r[abi] david y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] b[en] r[abi] yitzhaq y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] mi-spoleti ha-dar ata be-tori bi-sekhar y.b. yulio yetziat yanua[ri] sh.y., yehi ratzon she-ekze lahagot bo ani ve-zar'i, a[men] k[en] y[ihye] r[atzon].

The Earth and everything in it belongs to the Lord. This belongs to me. Raphael son of R. Nathan (may the righteous' memory be blessed) from Perugia. I bought this and the second part from R. David (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him) son of R. Isaac (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him) from Spoleto who lives now in Torri, paying 12 giulii, at the end of January [5]310, let it be His will that I and my offspring be granted the privilege to study it.

The date is given in a style which was fairly common among Italian Jews: the year of the Jewish era from the Creation of the World is accompanied by the exact date according to the Christian (Roman) months. The price of the two parts together was 12 *giulii* (a *giulio* is a double *grosso*); however, it is not clear what the second part mentioned is.

On the same page there is a later (March 5, 1733) and only partially legible inscription, a peculiar ascetic vow:

Eikh be-yom hamishi shmone esre le-hodesh adar asiti shevua she-lo litzhoq be-shum tzhoq she-ba-olam lo bishvili ve-lo bishvil aherim ela... she-ein nofelim al peneihem, ve-zot shevua asiti me-retzoni bli shum ones kelal... ve-zot shevua asiti be-ad sheloshim shana ha-

¹³ *Neviim Aharonim*. Comm: David Kimhi. [Soncino: Joshua Solomon Soncino, about 1485]. Folio. GW M35702; ISTC ib00525780; MEI 02123777 (NLI RI 71 A 3499 copy 1).

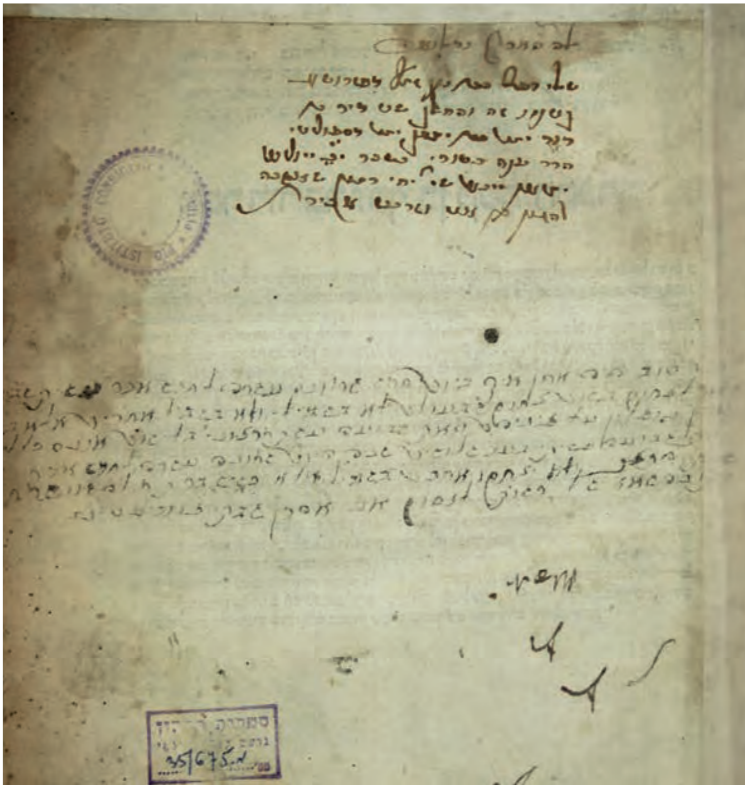


Figure 3 Raphael ben Nathan from Perugia, note of ownership, 1550; Aaron Shabtai Fiorentino, oath not to laugh, 1733. Jerusalem, NLI, RI 71 A 3499, copy 1 (*Neviim Aharonim*, Soncino [ca. 1485]), f. 1.1r. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

yom shemone esre le-hodesh adar... shenat h.t.tz.g, ve-lo yitzhequ aherim bishvili ela keshe-yesh berit mila... hatuna she-az yesh li reshut litzhoq, ani aharon shabtay fiorentino.

On Thursday, the 18th day of Adar, I took this oath not to laugh any laughter in public, neither on my account or that of others, except [...] on the days when we do not fall on our faces and I took this oath willingly, without any coercion [...] and I took this oath to last for thirty years from today, the 18th day of Adar [...] year 5493, and nor will others laugh on my account, except on days of a circumcision [or] a wedding when I have a right to laugh, I, Aaaron Shabtay Florentine.

We can assume that the person who made such a peculiar sort of note was also among the owners of the book. The days without the ritual “falling on one’s face” are mostly Sabbath and Jewish holidays, so it seems that on regular weekdays Aaron Shabtai the Florentine remained unsmiling over thirty long years.

At the end of the book, on its last blank page, three notes of ownership have been written in succession, with the first two crossed out by the later owners [fig. 4]:

Le-h[a-shem] ha-aretz u-meloah. Le-olam yikhtov adam shemo al sifro shema yavo adam min ha-shuq ve-yomar sheli hu, al ken katavti shemi kan. Sheli hu yosef b[en] k[evod] m[orenu] binyamin misqoli. (Emet qene ve-al timkor).

Qinyan kaspi yehuda y[ishmereni] tz[uri] v[e-goali] b[en] k[evod] m[orenu] levi tuluso z[ichrono] l[i-beracha] ha-yom yom h. i.g. adar h.sh.m.h.

Qinyan kaspi avraham tuluso ani shelomo levi ben k[evod] m[orenu] ha-r[av] yitzhaq ha-levi z[ekher] tz[adiq] l[i-beracha].

The Earth and everything in it belongs to the Lord. A man should always write his name on his book lest someone should come from the market saying ‘it’s mine’, this is why I wrote my name here. It is mine, Joseph son of Benjamin from Ascoli. (Buy the truth, and sell it not).

Purchased with my money, Judah, may my Rock and Redeemer keep me, son of Levy Tuluso of blessed memory, today, Thursday, Adar 13, 5345.

Purchase with my money, Abraham Tuluso, I, Solomon Levy son of our teacher and master Isaac Ha-Levy. May the righteous’ memory be blessed.

The second note has a precise date: although the year 5345 had two months of Adar, the weekday (Thursday) shows that it must be the 13th day of the second occurrence of Adar, i.e. March 14, 1585 according to the Gregorian calendar. In the third note the name of Abraham Tuluso appears without any explanation, but we can conclude that he was the seller here, apparently related to the family of Judah Tuluso mentioned in the second note.

On the same page we also have the signature of Hipp[olytus] Ferr[arens]is dated 1601, and on the recto of the same leaf another recorded censor, Giovanni Dominico Vistorini signed in 1609;¹⁴ Hebrew books that came from Italy usually bear traces of expurgation and signatures of censors. All the notes of ownership in this volume,

¹⁴ On the two Italian censors cf. the Index of Owners of Incunabula of MEI: <https://data.cerl.org/owners/00021039> and <https://data.cerl.org/owners/00021059>.

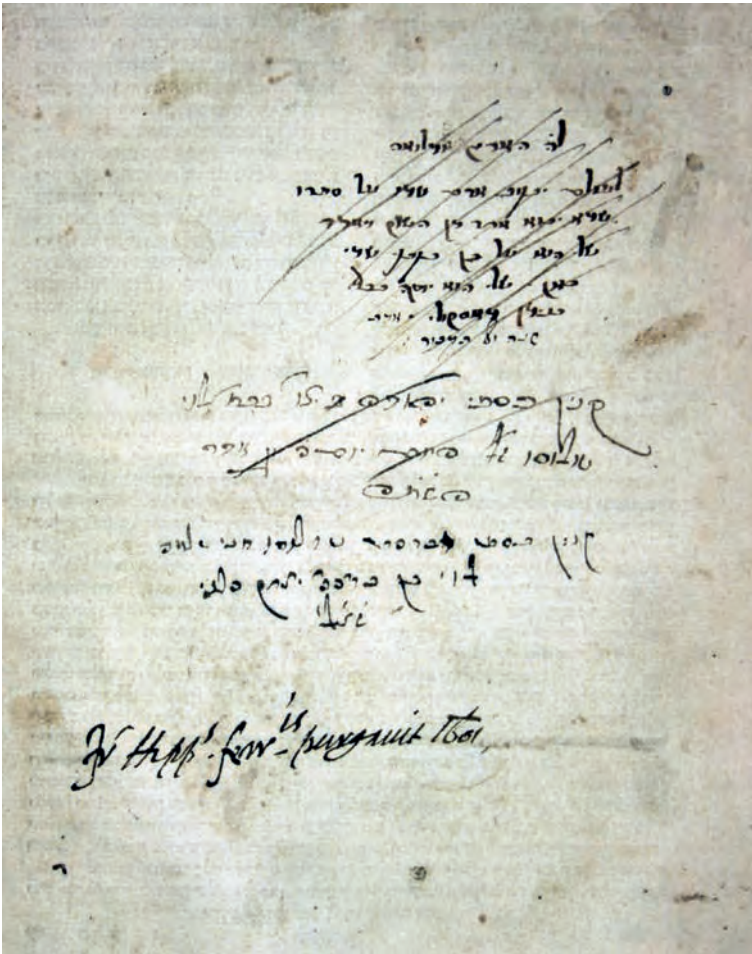


Figure 4 Three notes of ownership, the second one dated 1585; Hippolytus Ferrarensis, censor's signature, 1601. NLI, RI 71 A 3499, copy 1 (*Neviim Aharonim*, Soncino [c. 1485]), f. 9.6v of the Twelve Prophets. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

including the one of Abraham ben Isaac Ulma found at the end of the Book of Jeremiah (f. 154r), are written in the Italian style of Hebrew script. To judge from the stamp of the *Pio Istituto Consiglio di Pitigliano* [fig. 3] it would appear that our copy stayed in Italy until the twentieth century. Its rich provenance history can be reconstructed thanks to the manuscripts notes left in it by several generations of its owners.

5 Mordecai Dato in a Family History

In certain incunabula important figures are mentioned, not as owners, but referred to in handwritten notes in a particular context. Thus, a fairly common practice was the indication of the dates of birth and death of members of the owner's family, usually on the last blank pages of a book. In one such an inscription in the 1485 Soncino edition of Joseph Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, a popular theological work, we encounter the name of the prominent poet and kabbalist Mordecai Dato:¹⁵

Ve-h[a-shem] paqad et ahoti marat faustina eshet ha-rofe k[evod] m[orenu] r[av] yehiel eldad me-ha-tov y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] va-yiten lah ben zakhar be-yom g. le-et erev samukh le-bein ha-shemashot l. dizimer sh.l.t. bi-kerakh fomizini.

Ba-yom ha-shemini hutal besar orlato a[l] y[edei] he-hakham k[evod] m[orenu] ha-r[av] r[abi] mordekhay dato de-[ir] felishe y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] ve-hak[oa]h-k[oho] haya ha-rofe k[evod] m[orenu] shemuel me-ha-tov y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] ahiv mi-gisi y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] ha-n[izkar] l[eeil] ve-niqra shemo be-yisrael menahem yehi noam h[a-shem] alav ve-yatzliah oto la-ad a[men]. U-le-et ha-rauy hofda ka-rauy a[l] y[edei] ha-rofe k[evod] m[orenu] shemuel kohen tzedeq y[ishmerehu] tz[uro] v[e-goalo] toshav le-hena sasolo.

Mi she-hanano le-tashlum evarav u-lehagio el ha-shelemuyot han[izkarot] l[eeil] yehonenehu legadlo u-leharkivo el yeter ha-shelemuyot ha-nikhsafot le-zera emet ve-yimtza hen ve-sekhel tov be-einei eloq[im] ve-adam.

And the Lord remembered my sister Mistress Faustina, the wife of the physician Yechiel Eldad Mehatov (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him), and gave her a son, male offspring on Tuesday evening when it was nearly dusk, 30 December [5]339 in the city of Formigine.

On the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin was circumcised by the wise teacher and rabbi Mordecai Dato from the town of [San] Felice (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him), and his godfather was the doctor and teacher Samuel Mehatov (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him), brother of my brother-in-law already mentioned (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him), and his name was among those belonging to Israel: Menachem, let the grace of the Lord be

¹⁵ Joseph Albo, *Ikkarim*. Soncino: [Joshua Solomon Soncino], between 31 Oct. and 29 Dec. 1485. Folio. 108 leaves. GW M15130; ISTC ij00479800; MEI 02123420 (NLI RI 71 A 3201 copy 2), f. 14.6v.

on him and give him success forever, Amen. And in due time he was redeemed in a due way by doctor and teacher Samuel Cohen Zedek (may his Rock and Redeemer keep him), resident of Sassuolo here.

The One who brought him out of the womb with all his body organs complete, He will give him all the completeness desirable for the true offspring for finding favour and a good name in the sight of God and man.

The note was made apparently in Sassuolo, referred to as “here” in the text. The birth of Mehatov’s son is dated December 30, 1578, which was indeed a Tuesday. The time and place agree with what we know about the figure of Mordecai Dato, who is known from other sources for his kabbalistic and poetic works.¹⁶

6 Glosses of Samuel Lerma

Early printed books were also used as a convenient means for philological collations and for writing glosses, commentaries and translations. Perhaps the most important glossed copy in the NLI collection is the 1492 Naples edition of the Mishnah.¹⁷ In 1536 Samuel Lerma, probably the father of Judah Lerma, author of a commentary on *Pirkei Avot* and a book of *responsa*,¹⁸ composed a long series of glosses on its margins. We know the exact date from his colophon on f. 45.6r [fig. 5]:

Be-yom g. h. y[amim] le-hodesh adar sheni shenat h.tz.u.r. li-beriat ha-olam hishlamti lehagiah elu ha-mishnayot, u-mi she-zikeni le-kakh yezakeni lehagot bam ani ve-zar’i ve-zera zar’i ad olam amen ken yomar h[a-shem], mi-yadi hayta zot shemuel lerma.

On Tuesday, the 8th of the second month of Adar, year 5296 from the Creation of the World, I completed the proofreading of these *Mishnayot*, and the one Who enabled me to do it will give me the grace to learn them, I and my offspring and the offspring of my offspring forever, amen, this be the Lord’s word; my hand did it, Samuel Lerma.

The day of the month, indicated here by the letters *chet* and *yud*, confused some scholars: the numerical value 18 does not fit with the weekday mentioned since Second Adar 18th in that particular year

¹⁶ Gottlieb, “Dato, Mordecai ben Judah”.

¹⁷ *Mishnayot* (Comm: Maimonides). Naples: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 8 May 1492. Folio. 348 leaves. GW M23779; ISTC im00624700; MEI 02126283 (NLI RI 71 A 3394).

¹⁸ Epstein, *Mavo le-nusah ha-mishna*, 1286-7.

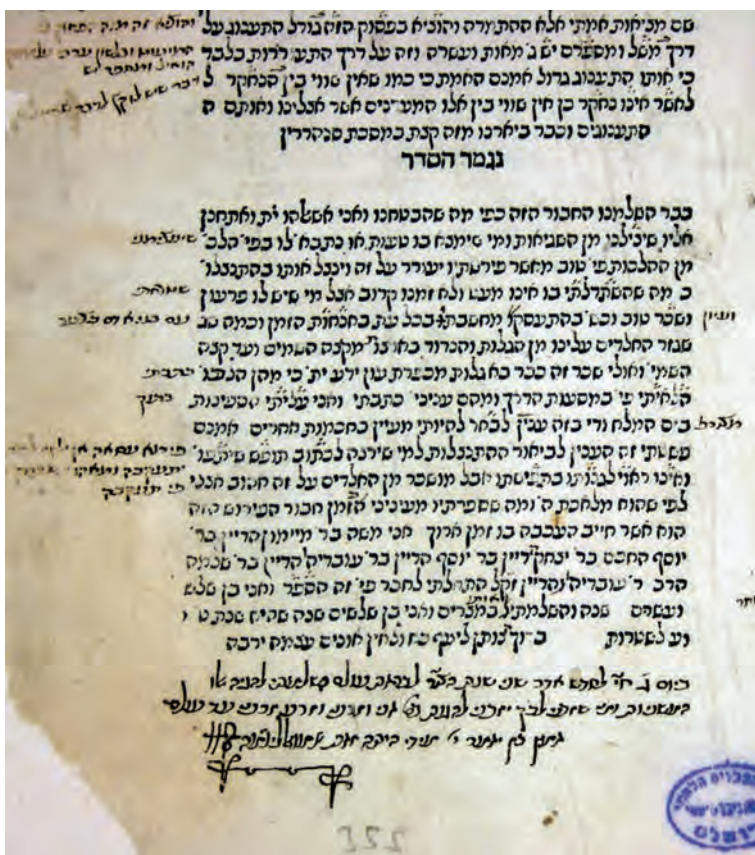


Figure 5 Samuel Lerma, glossator's colophon and the end of the printed text with his glosses. 1536. Jerusalem, NLI, RI 71 A 3394 (*Mishnayot*, Naples 1492), f. 45.6r. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

was a Saturday.¹⁹ However, it is virtually certain that the second character should be interpreted as an abbreviation of *yamim* (days), so the precise date is Second Adar 8, which is March 1, 1536.²⁰

The glosses of Samuel Lerma are of great value for research on the text of the Mishnah, the first major work of Rabbinic literature. This glossed copy belonged to the Viennese Jewish community and was studied by Jacob Epstein a few months before the Nazi invasion. In his two volumes of textual analysis of the Mishnah, published in 2000, he consistently refers to Lerma, while regarding the incunabu-

¹⁹ Sassoon, "Introduction", 38 fn. 10; Feintuch, *Masorot ve-nus'haot*, 129.

²⁰ This day was actually Wednesday, but the one-day discrepancy is familiar in medieval colophons and seems to indicate that these were written during the night.

lum itself as lost.²¹ But it arrived in Jerusalem after the Second World War and was later studied by Israel Feintuch, who found some fascinating direct and indirect sources for Lerma's glosses, including some in Maimonides' own hand.²²

7 On Release from Confinement

Some private stories found on the blank leaves in incunabula, even if they have no direct connection to the book itself, are of historical interest and on occasion even poignant. One example can be found in the 1485 Soncino edition of the Former Prophets, is full of praise for the Creator who returned the writer's daughter named Smiralta from a period of captivity where she came under pressure to convert to Christianity [fig. 6]:²³

Shiru le-h[a-shem] shir hadash ki niflaot asa hoshia lo yemino u-zroa qodsho gavar aleinu hasdo hesed h[a-shem] me-olam ki oyveinu lo gavra yadam lishlot banu ki-retzonam ve-lidho[t] nafshenu li-beer shahat suha amuqa pi zarot lehitqarev el petah be-itah lit'ot be-maase ha-taatum hevel havalim ka-asher asa bayom ha-ze asher pada nefesh biti smiralta t[evorakh] m[i-nashim] a[men] mi-kol tzara va-yotziah me-afela le-ora be-yom d. k.d. le-hodesh adar rishon u-le-minya[na]m 25 Feb. 1756 ken yatzilenu h[a-shem] mi-kol satan u-pega ra yatmid libah ba-avodat ha-bore tamid ve-tinatzel me-esh tuqad tamid mimenah yitz'u banim hagunim u-kesherim yir'u eineinu ve-yismehu libeinu be-beit ha-behira ve-diglei mevaser al he-harim yikon malkhuto shel m[elekh] m[alkhei] h[a-melakhim] le-dorei dorim a[men] k[en] y[ihye] r[atzon].

Sing to the Lord a new song, for He has performed wonders, His right hand and His holy arm have brought salvation. His kindness has overwhelmed us, the kindness of the Lord is eternal, for our enemies did not succeed in conquering us as they wished to push us into the well, deep pit, mouth of weirdness, to be led astray with mirages, vanity of vanities, as He did on this day when He released the soul of my daughter Smiralta (blessed among women, amen) from total disaster and brought her from darkness to light on Wednesday, 24th of the first month of Adar, and in their reckoning 25 Feb-

²¹ Epstein, *Mavo le-nusah ha-mishna*, 1286.

²² Feintuch, *Masorot ve-nus'haot*, 129-42.

²³ *Neviim Rishonim*. Comm: David Kimhi. Soncino: [Joshua Solomon Soncino], 15 Oct. 1485. Folio. GW M35702; ISTC ib00525760; MEI 02123328 (NLI RI 37 A 2024 copy 2, f. 8.8v of Samuel).

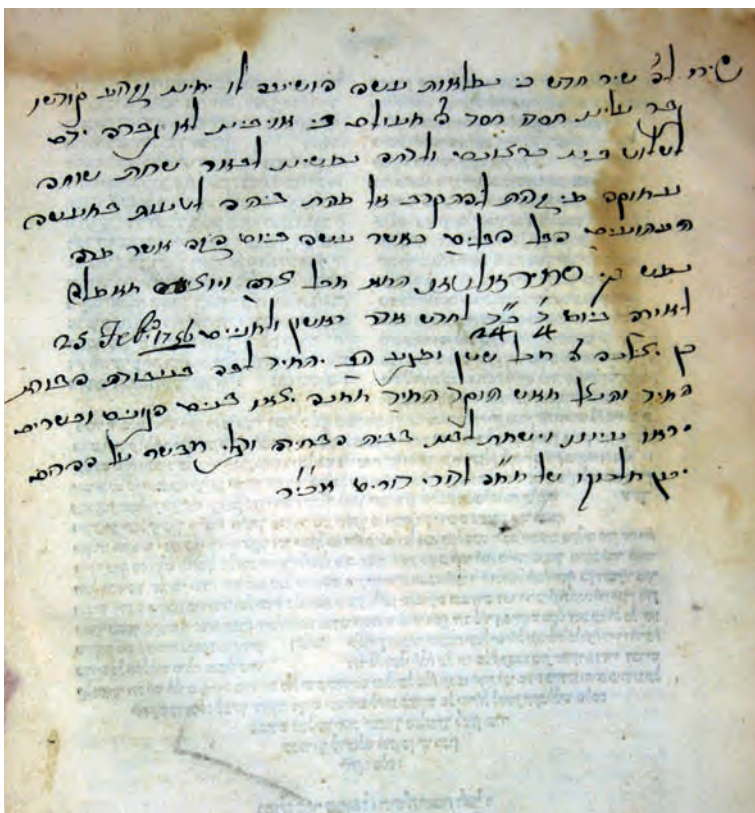


Figure 6 Blessing for redemption of the writer's daughter named Smiralta. 1756. Jerusalem, NLI, RI 37 A 2024, copy 2 (*Neviim Rishonim*, Soncino 1485), f. 8.8v of Samuel. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Israel

ruary 1756. Thus may the Lord save her from every enemy and all bad troubles so as to preserve her heart always to serve the Creator, and always save her from flaming fire, and decent and proper sons will come from her. Let our eyes see and our hearts rejoice with the chosen Temple, and the flags on the mountains will manifest the kingdom of the King of kings for all generations. Amen, let it be His will.

We can see that even as late as the mid-eighteenth century incunabula copies were used to record for posterity important events and as such are a valuable resource for historical research.

8 Conclusion

The examples looked at in this essay are merely a small part of the NLI collection; many other manuscript texts and comments found in the Hebrew incunabula in the collection could be cited here as being of historical, philological, linguistic or palaeographical interest.

On occasion the study of different books can reveal historical connections between them. Thus, copies of the Rome edition (c. 1468-73) of Solomon Ibn Aderet's *Responsa*, and of the Mantua edition (1475-6) of Gersonides' Commentary on the Pentateuch, both contain notes of ownership of a certain Benjamin Pesaro.²⁴ The same wording "qinyan kaspi binyamin pesaro" helped to identify this note in the NLI copy of the Rome edition, where half of the inscription had been cropped. The identification of two incunabula that belonged to the same owner, apparently from the sixteenth century, is of obvious historical significance. We can assume that more examples of this kind could be discovered through the investigation of all the known collections of Hebrew incunabula in the world.

It is well known that the spread of printing was one of the principal factors in the construction of modern Jewish civilization itself, in the way it forged strong links between different communities. Early modern Jewish readers and owners left remarkable traces in the books that have come down to us from five hundred years ago, and the NLI collection offers a good opportunity to study various manuscript sources in the context of the distribution and use of early printed editions.

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²⁴ Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret, *Teshuvot She'elot*. [Rome: Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome, 1469-73]. 4°. 142 leaves. GW M41203; ISTC is00625100; MEI 02122869 (NLI RI Schocken 8); Levi ben Gershon, *Perush ha-Torah*. [Mantua]: Abraham Conat and Abraham Jedidiah, [1475-76]. Folio. GW M18044; ISTC il00189700; MEI 02122230 (NLI RI 51 A 26 copy 1).

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Section 2

Working with Libraries in Europe and the United States

La formazione delle raccolte marciane I cataloghi storici: genesi, struttura, presenza di incunaboli

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Abstract This essay takes into consideration four early catalogues (sec. XVII-XVIII) of former Libreria di San Marco (now Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana). Their analysis and comparison provide information about book accession and preservation methods through the centuries, about rearrangement of miscellanies, replacement and/or discarding of copies of the same edition. Some case studies from the incunabula collection are given. The first catalogue, printed between 1623 and 1626, contains records of 59 dated incunabula: tracking these items in the following three catalogues, a list of identified editions is provided, as well as their related copies currently held at the Marciana Library.

Keywords Libreria di San Marco. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Early library catalogues. Library arrangement. Edition copies.

Sommario 1 Introduzione. – 2 Esempio di volume in origine miscelaneo e di eliminazione di doppi. – 3 Altro esempio di volume in origine miscelaneo. – 4 Ultimo esempio, la sostituzione di esemplari. – 5 Criteri di redazione. – 6 *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae*: gli incunaboli datati. – 6.1 Theologici in folio. – 6.2 Theologici in quarto. – 6.3 Theologia in octavo. – 6.4 Philosophia in folio. – 6.5 Philosophia in quarto. – 6.6 Philosophia in octavo. – 6.7 Mathematica in quarto. – 6.8 Sphera, & Astrologia in quarto. – 6.9 Humanità in folio. – 6.10 Humanistae in quarto. – 6.11 Medicina in quarto. – 6.12 Greci in folio. – 6.13 Greci in quarto. – 6.14 Volgari in folio. – 7 Conclusioni.



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1 Introduzione

La costruzione dell'edificio della Libreria di San Marco (attuale Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana), destinato ad accogliere il rilevante lascito del cardinale greco Bessarione, inizia nel 1537, molti anni dopo la donazione (1468). Fino all'apertura della sede (1560), i preziosi codici rimangono a Palazzo Ducale, raccolti in casse, a disposizione degli uomini di lettere, e dal 1531 nella chiesa di San Marco in mobili adatti a consentirne la lettura. Esiste già la figura del bibliotecario, sempre un patrizio veneziano, deputato a gestire la collezione. Passi fondamentali nella costruzione del quadro politico-amministrativo nel quale la Pubblica Libreria sarà inserita fino alla caduta della Serenissima Repubblica (1797) sono: il decreto della magistratura veneziana del Consiglio dei Dieci datato al 30 dicembre 1544 in base al quale la cura della Libreria viene affidata ai Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, e il decreto del Senato del 24 novembre 1626, con cui, tra l'altro, trovano definizione le figure giuridiche del bibliotecario, del custode e del fante, queste due ultime di nuova istituzione.¹

La consistenza delle raccolte della Pubblica Libreria di San Marco è testimoniata da una successione di sette inventari, dal primo del 1468, che accompagna la donazione dei manoscritti e incunaboli, fino a quello del 1575, compilati in occasione del passaggio di consegne da un bibliotecario all'altro, fatto salvo l'inventario del 1545, redatto per disposizione normativa a seguito dell'assunzione di responsabilità nei confronti della Biblioteca da parte dei Riformatori dello Studio di Padova. Per oltre cent'anni l'incremento della collezione bessarionea è quasi nullo. Nel corso dei secoli saranno soprattutto le donazioni e i lasciti di privati ad arricchire il posseduto marciano, mentre l'impatto di una innovativa norma del 1603, che stabilisce l'obbligo per i tipografi veneziani di depositare presso la Libreria un esemplare di ogni opera stampata, pare essere almeno inizialmente scarso, tanto da venire reiterata nel 1622. Solo nel XVIII secolo, e precisamente dal 1724, su istanza dell'allora bibliotecario Girolamo Venier, la Repubblica stabilisce una dotazione annuale per l'acquisto mirato di libri, e non solo elargizioni non sistematiche, al fine di corredare la preziosa raccolta di codici e stampati di strumenti recenti atti allo studio.²

La stesura del primo (e unico) catalogo a stampa organizzato in forma di volume della Pubblica Libreria risale al primo quarto del XVII secolo ed è attribuita al dotto letterato di famiglia cipriota Gio-

1 Imprescindibile testo di riferimento per la storia della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana è Zorzi, *La Libreria*: per la donazione di Bessarione in particolare le pagine 63-85; per la disposizione dei libri prima della costruzione della Libreria Pubblica: 87-119; per la figura del bibliotecario: 94-7; per il decreto del 1544: 207; per il decreto del 1626: 209-12.

2 Per gli inventari: Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*. Per il decreto del 1603: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 207, per l'appannaggio: 248.

vanni Sozomeno, il quale, dopo anni di impegno marciano soprattutto sul fronte greco della collezione, risulta essere il primo a ricoprire la neoistituita carica di custode. Il *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae. Quae statutis diebus publice studiosorum commoditati aperietur*, non datato, e privo di note tipografiche, può essere ricondotto agli anni 1623-25, e comunque non oltre il 1626 (anno del decreto di riorganizzazione della biblioteca) stante la registrazione in esso di edizioni a stampa con data non posteriore al 1624.³ Si compone di una sezione iniziale (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum ex legato reuerendissimum cardinalis Bessarionis*) che recepisce, come già gli inventari redatti tra il 1468 e il 1575, la donazione bessarionea, con l'aggiunta dei pochissimi incrementi sopravvenuti e di una distinta sezione per i libri a stampa (*Index librorum impressorum in classes distributus secundum materias*) [fig. 1], nella quale i volumi sono distribuiti per classi (*Theologia, Philosophia, Philosophia Morales, Historia, Mathematica, Geographia, Sphaera & Astrologia, Humanità, Medicina, Legge, Diversi, Greci, Volgari, Libri sciolti*) e in subordine per formato, dall'in folio al 16°.⁴ Le opere sono registrate per nome dell'autore e per titolo, con indicazione del luogo e della data di stampa, spesso non segnalato il tipografo, con poche eccezioni, quali le edizioni aldine, qualche edizione Ziletti, Valgrisi, Drach, Estienne, Froben, Oporinus, Plantin, Stoer.⁵ Nel catalogo si trovano anche non frequenti indicazioni relative all'esemplare: 'guasto', 'vetus', 'reale miniato'.⁶

3 Alla pagina 188 del *Catalogus* è registrata una edizione con data 1648: *Iulii Alexandrini Enantiomatum, Ven. 1648*, ma si tratta di un errore di trascrizione per 1548: Giulio Alessandrini, *Galenii enantiomaton aliquot liber* (Venezia, Giunta, 1548).

4 Per Sozomeno (1578-1635): Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 207-8. Per la datazione del *Catalogus*: Rossi Minutelli, «Libri italici», 423 e nota 1. Esemplare unico del *Catalogus* è conservato presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, con collocazione 101 C 10.

5 Numericamente rilevante la presenza di edizioni aldine ed Estienne, queste ultime spesso indicate solo in forma più o meno abbreviata: *Hen(ricus) Steph(anus), Hen. St., H.S.* Per le aldine nel *Catalogus*: Marcon, *La formazione*. Non rientrava nei propositi di questa indagine, e quindi non è stato condotto, un esame dell'occorrenza di edizioni con tipografo/editore esplicitato nel catalogo di Sozomeno rispetto al complessivo delle edizioni elencate recanti nelle note tipografiche l'indicazione di tipografo e/o editore, in altre parole è da compiersi un'indagine sui criteri di scelta delle informazioni in fase di registrazione della notizia bibliografica nel *Catalogus*.

6 Segue un esempio per tipologia, nell'ordine: p. 72 del *Catalogus: Tertuliam Opera, Paris. 1580, guasto*; 113: *Plinius, Graec. vetus*; 134 *Astronomicum Caesareum, Reale miniato Ingolst.*



Figura 1 *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae*, p. 69, nell'esemplare presso BNM, 101 C 10

Nel *Catalogus* la sezione dei libri a stampa consta di circa 5.700 voci. Gli incunaboli datati sono 59.⁷ Il primo notevole arricchimento delle collezioni deriva da quello che per secoli si rivelerà essere il più proficuo degli usuali canali, la donazione. Si tratta del ricco lascito dell'insigne medico e botanico tedesco Melchior Wieland (Guilandino). Nel prendere la decisione, Guilandino probabilmente è spinto dall'amicizia con il patrizio veneziano e valente studioso Benetto (Benedetto) Zorzi, all'epoca bibliotecario di San Marco. Il lascito è accompagnato da un inventario che si compone di 2.515 voci, corrispondenti a un numero superiore di volumi, visto l'uso di registrare solo la pri-

⁷ Nel *Catalogus* si contano anche circa 150 notizie non datate: rimane dunque aperto un campo di indagine ampio, complesso, e dagli esiti comunque incerti, sulla eventuale presenza di altri incunaboli nelle collezioni, indagine che presenta molte difficoltà, non ultima la possibile confusione con edizioni del XVI secolo, e che comporta il confronto titolo per titolo con i cataloghi/inventari successivi e quanto presente attualmente nelle collezioni.

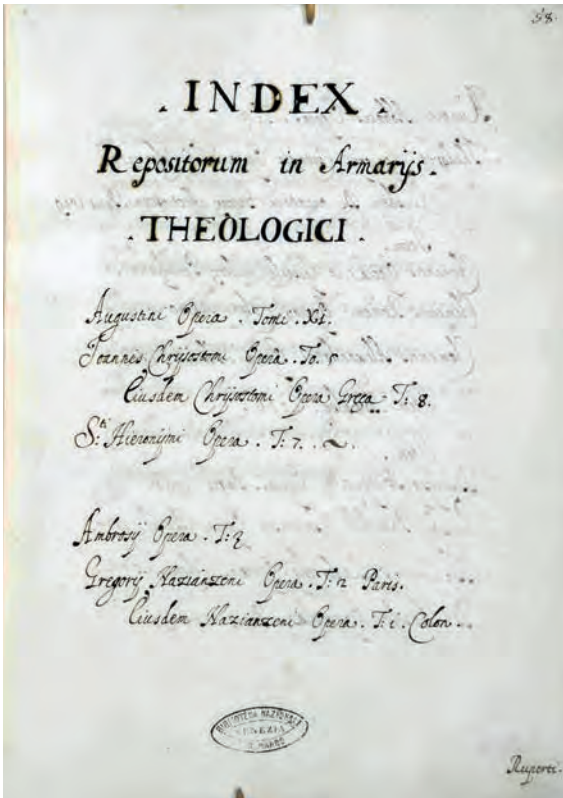


Figura 2 BNM, Lat. XIV, 19 (=4322), c. 58r: *Venetae Bibliothecae distributio et ordo*, inventario compilato dal custode Santo Damiani nel 1637

ma edizione legata in volumi miscellanei e il non raro accorpamento di più opere sotto la stessa voce. Per la sistemazione di tali volumi, Guilandino correda la donazione con una somma di 1.000 ducati, ridotti poi a 500 stante l'opposizione dei fratelli: grazie a tale somma si costruiscono i primi armadi in noce della Libreria di San Marco. L'ordine non alfabetico ma bibliometrico del catalogo di Sozomeno segue dunque la posizione dei libri in questi armadi.⁸

Il successivo inventario della Libreria di San Marco (*Venetae Bibliothecae distributio et ordo*), compilato nel 1637 dal custode Santo Damiani, comprende l'*Index catenatorum in pluteis*, cioè l'indice dei codici, principalmente bessaroni, e l'*Index repositorium in arma-*

⁸ Per Guilandino: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 182-5 e Pugliese, *Melchiorre Guilandino*. Per la sistemazione fisica e concettuale della raccolta nella Libreria: Rossi Minutelli, «Libri italiani», 424-6.

rijs [fig. 2], con gli acquisti successivi, cui seguono due strutture denominate *Arca maior* e *Arca Minor* nelle quali si conservano soprattutto manoscritti, in buona parte corrispondenti agli *extra scamna* di Sozomeno.⁹ L'indice degli stampati conservati negli armadi ha la struttura di un inventario topografico, e in quanto tale rispecchia la reale posizione dei libri. Presenta una suddivisione in classi meno articolata rispetto al *Catalogus* del Sozomeno (*Theologici, Philosophici, Medici, Historici, Iuris, Humanitatis, Italici, Greci*), cui segue una sezione finale, denominata *Redundantes*, nella quale con ogni probabilità confluivano i doppi o comunque esemplari destinati allo scambio o allo scarto.¹⁰ Il criterio di citazione delle opere a stampa (autore e titolo sommario, rara la presenza anche del solo anno di stampa, assente il formato) rendono molto difficile l'identificazione. Nessuna voce datata è relativa a incunaboli, si può procedere solo a una verifica a posteriori, che comunque rimane incerta, cercando di individuare titoli presenti in altri inventari. Si può ipotizzare che sia stata indicata la data di stampa solo nei casi di nuove accessioni o di possibile ambiguità nell'identificazione.

Il successivo inventario, redatto nel 1679 dal custode Alvise (Ambrogio) Gradenigo, testimonia di un forte arricchimento delle collezioni marciane. L'impianto è topografico, suddiviso in tre sezioni, la prima delle quali elenca i volumi raccolti negli armadi lungo le pareti. Gli *Armeri*, con sottosezioni in *Teche* e *Ordini*, sono indicati in base alla loro posizione (per esempio: *Primo armer di sopra ver la finestra*). Ve ne sono anche di vuoti, per futuri incrementi. Negli armadi le opere sono raggruppate per materia, almeno a grandi linee. Degli stampati si elencano autore, titolo, luogo e data di stampa, molto rara la registrazione del tipografo, il formato è dato cumulativamente per ogni Armadio, Teca, Ordine.¹¹ Inframezzati alle edizioni a stampa si trovano anche manoscritti, così come si leggono indicazioni cumulative di stampati o di propositi di future sistemazioni e/o elimi-

⁹ Per gli *extra scamna* di Sozomeno: Rossi Minutelli, «Libri italici», 427-8.

¹⁰ *Venetae Bibliothecae distributio et ordo*, 1637, manoscritto marciano Lat. XIV, 19 (=4322). Damiani è un frate minore conventuale, custode della Libreria di San Marco dal 1633 al 1658: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 212-6.

¹¹ Manoscritto marciano Lat. XIV, 20 (=4323), *Inventario Comune de' Libri tutti che di presente si trovano nella Publica Biblioteca della Serenissima Republica Veneta [...] fatto da me Ambrogio Gradenigo Abbate, custode della medesima Libreria [...]*; rientrava tra i compiti del custode, una volta eletto, stilare un inventario del posseduto, entro sei mesi dalla nomina. Gradenigo, custode dal 1669, ottempera con quasi dieci anni di ritardo: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 223-6 e 229-32. La prima sezione, con gli *Armeri*, è alle pagine 1-788 del manoscritto, seguono alle pagine 791-847 un inventario di libri restituiti dal Gradenigo, libri che erano stati temporaneamente depositati presso casa sua per salvarli dalla pioggia, da ultimo alle pagine 854-900 elenco dei libri ancora conservati nei *Banchi*, quindi prevalentemente bessarionei.

nazioni.¹² Gli incunaboli datati sono 59, con una serie di differenze rispetto a quanto registrato nel catalogo di Sozomeno.

L'ultimo dei cataloghi presi in esame in questa sede è compilato da mano unica non identificata che registra opere stampate entro l'anno 1775, e integrato con aggiunte posteriori di mano del bibliotecario marciano Jacopo Morelli e del suo successore Pietro Bettio.¹³ È un catalogo alfabetico per autore o titolo, con indicazione di note tipografiche, formato e collocazione. Si può ritenere che il catalogo sia stato in uso non oltre la caduta della Serenissima Repubblica (1797); vi si trovano poi rare aggiunte posteriori che segnalano modifiche nel posseduto legate ai profondi mutamenti politici di quell'epoca.¹⁴ Di primo acchito si può ritenere che il succedersi delle mani di scrittura aiuti a stabilire quali edizioni fossero già possedute dalla Libreria di San Marco entro il 1775, e quali invece siano entrate a fare parte delle sue collezioni nell'ultimo quarto del XVIII secolo, principalmente come conseguenza delle soppressioni monastiche. Invece da un esame più attento risulta che in particolare la mano di Morelli registra non solo nuove acquisizioni, a qualunque titolo esse siano avvenute, ma anche l'esito di verifiche in merito all'identificazione dell'opera stessa o di rimaneggiamenti di volumi miscellanei, pratica, quest'ultima, assolutamente usuale all'epoca.

L'esame di questi quattro cataloghi permette di cogliere alcune dinamiche nell'accessione, conservazione, scomposizione/ricomposizione di volumi miscellanei e spesso anche scarto e sostituzione di incunaboli nel corso dei secoli. Si procederà ora con tre esempi che mirano a mettere in luce la rilevanza dello studio degli antichi cataloghi ai fini della ricostruzione della storia degli esemplari.

12 A titolo esemplificativo per la presenza di manoscritti: p. 290 nota 1: *Basilii Magni Opus manuscriptum ex libris Bessarionis*; 290 nota 25: *Joannis Chrisostomi super Hexaiam Prophetam manuscriptum ex libris Bessarionis*. Per le indicazioni cumulative, 316: *Ottavo armer a lato etcetera. Ordine 5°*. In 4° *In quest'ordine vi sono diversi opuscoli, e trattati in poche carte, onde bisogna ridurli in tante miscellanee. Ho trasportati li suddetti opuscoli, ed altre bagatelle all'Armer XIII, dove sono tutti i libri ruinati, mentre detti opuscoli, parte sono corrotti, e guasti*; altro esempio, 135: *2° Armer a latere. In questo primo ordine sono Libreti di diversi opuscoli cento e quatordecim, Antichissimi e parte di quelli corrosi. L'ultimo de' quali è manuscritto molto antico --- n.°114*. Per le sistemazioni/eliminazioni, 36: *Tutta questa techa [Secondo Armer di sotto verso la fenestra. Techa terza. Ordine secondo] puol essere levata fuori pochi*; 38: *Si puol levare molti*; 39: *Sono molti inutili*.

13 Manoscritti marciiani lt. XI, 357-359 (=10437-10439). Per Morelli: Giachery, *Jacopo Morelli*. Per Bettio: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 316, 370-81 e Ferrari, «Bettio».

14 Per il complesso periodo che segue alla caduta della Serenissima Repubblica: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 319-64; il periodo è caratterizzato tra l'altro dalle asportazioni francesi, per le quali in particolare: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 349-53. A c. 169v del primo tomo, in data 26 maggio 1802, Morelli scrive a proposito di un incunabolo con opere di Cicerone: «Addì 26 maggio 1802. Fu consegnato all'Imperial Regio Governo generale come Apuleius 1469».



Figura 3 BNM, Lat. XIV, 20 (=4323), p. 29:

Inventario Comune de' Libri tutti che di presente si trovano nella Publica Biblioteca della Serenissima Repubblica Veneta, redatto dal custode Alvise Gradenigo nel 1769

2 Esempio di volume in origine miscelaneo e di eliminazione di doppi

Nel catalogo più recente (manoscritto It. XI, 358), a c. 138r si trova scritto dalla mano di Morelli, e quindi verso la fine del XVIII secolo: *Maimonides Moyses Rabi Cordubensis Aphorismi ex Galeno, Bononiae, typis Platonis, 1489, in 4. Exstant cum Bertuccio Bononiensi*. Una verifica sulla registrazione del volume legato porta a individuare la notizia nel primo tomo del catalogo (It. XI, 357, c. 79r) *Bertuccius Bononiensis Collectorium totius fere medicinae, Lugduni, per Davost, 1509 in 4*. scritta dalla prima mano, quindi già nelle collezioni entro il 1775. Vediamo di capire la ragione di questa apparente discrepanza. Andando a ritroso, nel catalogo di Gradenigo si trova (Lat. XIV, 20, p. 29 n. 14): *Raby Moyses In Aphorismos secundum Galenum, Bon. 1489 [fig. 3]* e alla pagina 17 nota 25: *Bertrucii Bononiensis Collectorium totius medicinae. Lugd. 1509*. Nel catalogo Damiani del 1637 (Lat. XIV, 19, c. 129r) tra i *Medici* sono registrati due esemplari: *Rabby Moyses*

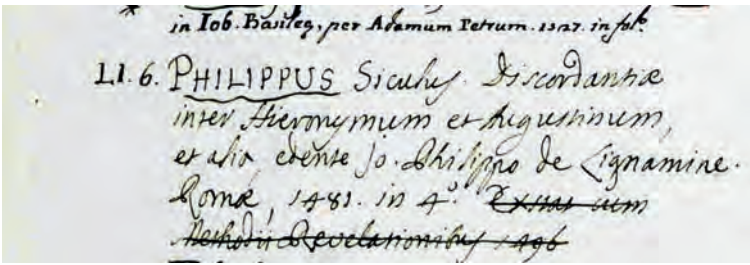


Figura 4 BNM, It. XI, 359 (=10439), c. 31r, particolare: voce di catalogo di mano di Jacopo Morelli

Aphorismi, ripetuto a c. 138r. Bertuccio è invece registrato a c. 133v: *Bertucij Collectorium medicinæ*.

Nel catalogo di Sozomeno sono registrati due esemplari, si identifica il nostro con quello di p. 177 *Raby Moysis Aphor. Bon. 1489*, preceduto da *Collectarium Medicinæ Bertucij Bon. Lugd. 1509*. Quindi sia Maimonides sia Bertuccio erano posseduti già nella prima metà del Seicento. Risultano dunque due considerazioni. La prima, che Sozomeno ha proceduto, cosa non ovvia all'epoca, allo spoglio dei volumi miscelanei. È del tutto frequente, invece, nei cataloghi antichi, la registrazione della sola prima opera contenuta. La seconda considerazione è che notizie scritte dalla mano di Morelli indicano spesso, ma non in modo univoco, che un esemplare sia entrato nelle collezioni dopo il 1775. Nel catalogo di fine XVIII secolo (It. XI, 357-359) non vi è invece più traccia del secondo esemplare di Maimonides, registrato da Sozomeno a pagina 176, probabilmente eliminato, come spesso accadeva, perché doppio.

3 Altro esempio di volume in origine miscelaneo

Nel catalogo di fine sec. XVIII si trova (It. XI, 359, c. 282v): *Vincentius Ferrerius S. De fine mundi. Sine loco et typograf. 1477. 4° Exst. cum Methodii Revelationibus. 1496*; alla voce «Methodius» (It. XI, 359 c. 176r) *Methodius C.P. Divinarum revelationum liber, Auguste Vind. per Froschauer 1496 in 4° et alia*. Sono voci redatte dalla prima mano di scrittura, quindi entro il 1775. Nel catalogo di Sozomeno (p. 80) sono registrati in sequenza tre incunaboli: Metodio, Vincent Ferrer e *Philippus de Lignamine Donatus Theolog. Rom. 1481*: cercando secondo ordine alfabetico nel catalogo di fine secolo XVIII (It. XI 358, c. 113v) si trova rinvio a *Philippus Siculus*, di mano di Morelli, e alla voce corrispondente (It. XI, 359, c. 31r) [fig. 4] la registrazione di mano sempre di Morelli e l'indicazione cassata *Exstant cum Methodii Revelationibus 1496*. Questo conferma l'ipotesi di lettura del catalogo di Sozomeno,

con voci di spoglio, ma evidenzia nuovamente anche che le aggiunte di mano di Morelli non sono solo indicative di volumi entrati con le soppressioni monastiche, ma possono anche essere segno di verifiche in merito all'identificazione (Lignamine è editore, Philippus Siculus, cioè Filippo Barbieri, è autore) o di rimaneggiamenti. Per quanto riguarda gli strumenti intermedi - Lat. XIV, 19 (Damiani) e Lat. XIV, 20 (Gradenigo) -, è registrata la sola voce relativa a Metodio nell'inventario Damiani. Attualmente la Marciana conserva un esemplare per ciascuna delle tre edizioni, non legati tra loro, con legature di restauro che non permettono di stabilire se si tratta degli stessi esemplari o di altri acquisiti in seguito.

4 Ultimo esempio, la sostituzione di esemplari

Nel catalogo di Sozomeno a p. 74 è registrato *Fortalitium Fidei. 1487*, così come nel catalogo di Damiani (Lat. XIV, 19, c. 65r) *Fortalitium Fidei*; non presente nel catalogo di Gradenigo del 1679 (Lat. XIV, 20); registrato invece nel catalogo di fine XVIII secolo (It. XI, 357, c. 296r): *Fortalitium Fidei sine loco et typographo. 1487. in folio*. L'esemplare attualmente posseduto (INC. 504) proviene dal lascito di Giacomo Contarini, di cui ha ex-libris. Il lascito è pervenuto alla Marciana nel 1714, in base a testamento del 1595. Il manoscritto Lat. XIV, 21 (=4553) conserva gli inventari redatti in occasione del trasferimento alla Pubblica Libreria e registra l'esemplare contariniano.¹⁵ Difficile stabilire in quale momento sia avvenuta la sostituzione, anche se l'assenza nel catalogo Gradenigo del 1679 farebbe pensare che nel catalogo compilato entro la fine del XVIII secolo, e in cui compare la notizia estesa dalla prima mano di scrittura, già sia stato recepito il volume contariniano. L'antica segnatura registrata nel catalogo di fine XVIII secolo (LI.7.*) non è presente nell'esemplare di provenienza Contarini, ma avendo questo legatura di restauro, può essere andata perduta.

È auspicabile che per ciascuno degli incunaboli elencati nel *Catalogus* di Sozomeno si possa procedere a seguirne le tracce nel corso dei secoli nei cataloghi di volta in volta in uso, come nei tre esempi soprariportati. Si propone qui un primo passo in tale direzione: l'identificazione degli incunaboli datati registrati nel *Catalogus*, cui segue la verifica della loro presenza o assenza nei tre cataloghi/inventari successivi, fino alla caduta della Repubblica, avvenimento storico che costituisce una cesura sotto tutti i punti di vista (politico, am-

¹⁵ A c. 51r, tra gli Anonimi: *Fortalitium fidei. 1487*. Per il lascito di Giacomo Contarini: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 246-7. Gli inventari vengono compilati in concomitanza con il passaggio alla Pubblica Libreria nel 1715.

ministrativo, culturale) nella storia dello Stato veneziano e della Libreria di San Marco, che, tra l'altro, dall'estate del 1797 assumerà il nome di Biblioteca Nazionale. È affidata a studi ancora da compiersi la verifica della sussistenza degli esemplari registrati da Sozomeno nelle collezioni attualmente conservate. In questa sede si è data indicazione delle collocazioni degli esemplari esistenti, in attesa di poter seguire, come si è fatto per i tre esempi in questo saggio, le tracce nei secoli di ogni singolo incunabolo. Si è solo cursoriamente indicata, ove presente nei volumi esaminati, eventuale indicazione dirimente sulla provenienza (ex-libris di un preciso lascito) o sulla data *ante* o *post quem* di ingresso nelle collezioni marciane (ex-libris Venier).¹⁶ Ove nota, si è data indicazione dell'eventuale restauro della legatura e relativa data.

5 Criteri di redazione

Punto di partenza per questa indagine è il *Catalogus* di Sozomeno, nel quale sono stati individuati gli incunaboli datati, elencati nella sezione dedicata ai libri a stampa (*Index librorum impressorum in classes distributus secundum materias*). Non si sono presi in considerazione gli incunaboli presenti nella donazione bessarionea, già identificati da Lotte Labowski.¹⁷

Sono indicati nell'ordine: gli incunaboli datati elencati da Sozomeno nell'*Index librorum impressorum*, con sezione di appartenenza nel *Catalogus* e pagina; identificazione dell'edizione, riportata così come presente nel Catalogo del Servizio bibliotecario Nazionale (OPAC SBN); repertori (ISTC; IGI)¹⁸; numero identificativo (BID) della notizia in OPAC SBN;¹⁹ presenza nei tre cataloghi/inventari successivi; per l'inventario di Damiani (1637) si riporta anche la sezione di appartenenza, non sempre coincidente con quella del Sozomeno; per il catalogo di fine secolo XVIII, ove presente, si indica l'antica segnatura attribuita all'esemplare e la mano di scrittura. A questo proposito, come si è detto, la prima mano è indicativa della presenza degli esemplari nelle collezio-

16 Apposto di norma nel verso del frontespizio, l'ex-libris del bibliotecario marciano Girolamo Venier, datato al 1722, è frutto del riordinamento da lui voluto. L'ex-libris è dunque indicativo di un termine *ante quem* per la definizione dell'ingresso dei volumi nelle collezioni, e non va considerato come contrassegno di possesso: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 246-50; Marcon, «Arredamento», 50-3.

17 L'*Index librorum impressorum* è alle pagine 69-239; per gli incunaboli già elencati nei primi sette inventari (dal 1468 al 1575) di cui alla nota 2: Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 481-2.

18 ISTC <https://data.cerl.org/istc/> (2019-09-20); IGI = *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1943-81.

19 OPAC SBN <https://opac.sbn.it/> (2019-09-20).

ni entro l'anno 1775, le mani di Morelli e di Bettio, quest'ultima molto meno frequente, testimoniano tendenzialmente di una acquisizione posteriore al 1775, ma anche di verifiche e rimaneggiamenti del posseduto. La non presenza di un incunabolo nei cataloghi intermedi, e in particolare in quello del 1679 (Gradenigo) può forse essere spiegata con il fatto che pare non esserci la consuetudine della registrazione di spoglio per gli esemplari legati in volumi miscellanei, a differenza del *Catalogus* di Sozomeno. Qualche indicazione in questo senso sembra invece presente nell'inventario del 1637 (Damiani), dove si reperiscono alcune notizie unite tra loro da parentesi graffa, forse a segnalare per l'appunto volumi miscellanei. Situazione molto chiaramente espressa invece nell'ultimo dei cataloghi, quello di fine XVIII secolo, in cui gli esemplari legati sono indicati con la formula «Exstant cum».

Nella trascrizione dei titoli si sono ridotti al minimo gli interventi di normalizzazione grafica, si è in particolare rispettata l'alternanza u/v e l'uso delle maiuscole e minuscole, entrambi tipici dei frontespizi dell'epoca. Si sono infine indicati gli incunaboli dell'edizione in esame attualmente conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM), con eventuale precisazione della provenienza, ove reperita.

6 **Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae: gli incunaboli datati**

6.1 Theologici in folio

[1] - (p. 69) *Io. Ferrariens. De coelesti vita. 1494*
Giovanni da Ferrara, *Liber nouiter editus. De celesti vita. In quo infrascripta continentur. In primis. De natura Anime rationalis. De immortalitate Anime. De inferno et cruciatu Anime. De paradyso et felicitate Anime*, ([Venezia], per Antonium de Cauchorio, per Matheum Capcasa parmensem, 1494, die xix decembris)
ISTC ij00313000; IGI5260; IT\ICCU\PALE\007868
Lat. XIV, 19, c. 65r (*Theologici*): *Joannis Ferrariensis Minoritę De cęlesti vita*
Non presente in BNM

[2] - (p. 70) *Io. Cassiani Opera. 1481*
Probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non sono note edizioni nel 1481: IGI 2545-2547.
Johannes Cassianus, *Incipit prefatio Beati Johannis heremite qui Cassianus dicitur in duodecim libros de institutis cenobiorum et de octo principalium viciorum remediis*, (Impresse apud Venetias, 1491)
ISTC ic00234000; IGI 2546; IT\ICCU\CFIE\032483
Lat. XIV, 19, c. 60r (*Theologici*): *Collationes Ioannis Cassiani*; c. 76v (*Theologici*): *Ioannis Cassiani eremitę Collationes patrum / eiusdem De institutis renunciantium / Eiusdem De incarnatione Domini*
It. XI, 357, c. 142r: *LII.3. Cassianus Ioannes. Collationes S.S. P.P. Venetiis. 1491. in fol.*
[prima mano di scrittura]
BNM, INC. V. 426 [leg. di restauro, anno 1962]; INC. V. 326

[3] - (p. 74) *Fortalitiium Fidei. 1487*²⁰
Alfonso de Spina, *Tabula fortalicii fidei incipit cuius sunt libri hec et premittitur prohemium in quo laudes diuine annotantur et immittitur querela ante thronum maiestatis dei et ponitur intentio scribentis*, ([Lione, Guillaume Balsarin], 1487 die xxij mensis maij)
ISTC ia00542000; IGI 404; IT\ICCU\VEAE\144776
Lat. XIV, 19, c. 65r (*Theologici*): *Fortalitiium Fidei*
It. XI, 357, c. 296r: *LI.7.* Fortalitiium Fidei. Sine loco et typographo. 1487. in fol.*^o
BNM, INC. 504 [prov. Giacomo Contarini; leg. di restauro, a. 1961]

6.2 Theologici in quarto

[4] - (p. 76) *Sermones S. Vincenti, Ven. 1496*
Vincentius Ferrerius, santo, *Sanctus Vincentius de valentia sacri ordinis predicatorum. Sermones sancti Vincentij fratris ordinis predicatorum de tempore pars hyemalis*, (Venetiis, per Iacobum de Leucho, impensis vero Lazaris de Soardis, 1496), 3 v.
ISTC if00137000; IGI 10292, 10303, 10282; IT\ICCU\VEAE\127870

20 Si veda il terzo esempio proposto nelle pagine introduttive.

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 70v (*Theologici*): *S. ti Vincentii de Valentia Sermones hyemales*
 Lat. XIV, 20, p. 675 n. 38: *Vincentii sancti de Valentia Sermones, et cetera Ven. 1496*
 It. XI, 359, c. 283r: *LIII.6.* Vincentius Ferrerius S. Sermones de tempore. Venetijs per de Leucho, 1496. 8.° V. J. Valianus* [prima mano di scrittura]
 BNM, INC. V. 830.1-3 [con ex-libris Venier]²¹

[5] - (p. 76) *Speculum Peregrinarum, Quaest. 1493*
 Bartolomeo Sibilla, *Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum: ad illustrissimum principem Alfonso: de Aragonia inuictissimum duces Calabriae*, (Impressum Rome, per Eucharium Silber alias Franck natione Alemanum, 1493 die 27 mensis Augusti)
 ISTC is00491000; IGI 8961; IT\ICCU\PALE\007471
 Lat. XIV, 19, c. 67v (*Theologici*): *Bartholomei Sybillę Speculum peregrinarum Quęstionum*; c. 82r (*Theologici*): *Bartholomei Sybillę Speculum peregrinarum Quęstionum*
 Lat. XIV, 20, p. 674 n. 18: *Speculum peregrinarum Quęstionum, et cetera, Rom. 1493*
 It. XI, 359, c. 204r: *LIII.6 Sybilla, Barthollomaeus, Speculum quęstionum peregrinarum, Romę, per Silber, 1493. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]
 BNM, INC. 819

[6] - (p. 77) *D. Thomae de Aquino Opuscula, Ven. 1490*
 Tommaso d'Aquino, santo, *Incipiunt preclarissima opuscula diui Thomae aquinatis sacri ordinis predicatorum*, (Et impressa Venetijs, ingenio ac impensa Hermanni lichtenstein Coloniensis, 1490. vij. Idus septembris)
 ISTC it00258000; IGI 9552; IT\ICCU\CAGE\005223
 It. XI, 359, c. 227r: *LIII.7.* Thomas Aquinas S. Opuscula, edente Antonio Rizzamano, Venet., per Herm. Lichtenstein, 1490, in 4.°* [mano di Bettio]
 BNM, INC. V. 603 [con ex-libris Venier]

[7] - (p. 77) *Trilogium Animę, Norimberg. 1498*
 Ludovicus de Prussia, *Trilogium animę non solum religiosis verumetiam secularibus predicatoribus confessoribus contemplantibus et studentibus lumen intellectus et ardorem affectus amministrans*, (In Imperiali ciuitate Nurmberg, per Antonium Koberger, 1498. vi. die Marcij)
 ISTC il00379000; IGI 5896; IT\ICCU\RMLE\011761
 Lat. XIV, 19, c. 72r (*Theologici*): *Ludovici de Prussia Trilogium animę*
 Lat. XIV, 20, p. 681 n. 37: *Trilogium Animę, et cetera Antiquum* [possibile identificazione]
 It. XI, 359, c. 72v: *CC.5. Prussia F. Ludovicus de. Trilogium Animę. Norimbergę, per Roberger [sic]. 1496. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]
 Non presente in BNM

[8] - (p. 78) *Pauli Mauroceni de æterna Generatione, Pad. 1473*
 Paolo Morosini, *Pauli Mauroceni Opus de aeterna temporalique Christi generatione in iudaicę improbationem perfidie christianę que religionis gloriam diuinę enuntiationibus comprobata ad Paulum pontificem maximum incipit*, (Patauii,... et patauo qui nunc nobile pressit opus. Bartholomaeus Campanus Ponticuruanus, iiii kalendas maias 1473)
 ISTC im00380000; IGI 6302; IT\ICCU\VEAE\127598

²¹ Per l'ex-libris si veda la nota 16.

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 68r (*Theologici*): *Pauli Mauroceni De Generatione Christi*
 It. XI, 358, c. 162r: VIII.3. *Maurocenus Paulus, De Aeterna temporalique generatione in Judaicae improbationem perfidiae, Patavii, apud Bartholomaeum Ponticurveum, 1473, 4°. Extat cum Sarisbersiensi Joanne* [mano di Morelli]
 BNM, INC. V. 767 [leg. di restauro, a. 1915]

[9] - (p. 79) *Maleus Maleficarum Norimb. 1496*
 Henricus Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum*, (Per Antonium Koberger Nurembergensem ciuem est impressus..., 1496 xvij die mensis Ianuarij)
 ISTC ii00168000; IGI 5185; IT\ICCU\LIAE\048968
 Lat. XIV, 19, c. 101v (*Philosophici*):²² *Henrici Institoris, et Iacobi Sprenger malleus maleficarum*; c. 233r (*Italici*): *Iacobi Sprenger et Henrici Institoris Malleus maleficarum*
 Lat. XIV, 20, p. 802 n. 376: *Malleus Maleficarum, Antiquum* [possibile identificazione]
 It. XI, 358, c. 140v: R.3 *Malleus maleficarum, Nuremberge, per Roberger* [sic], 1496.
in 4.to et alia [prima mano di scrittura]
 BNM, INC. 795 [leg. di restauro, a. 1961]

[10] - (p. 79) *Albertus Magnus de Immortalitat. animæ. 1493*
 Albertus Magnus, *Liber Alberti magni doctoris preclarissimi ordinis predicatorum. De natura ac immortalitate anime cum commento compendioso*, (Impressum impensa Caspar Hocfeder ciuis Nurenbergensis, quinto die ante calendas mensis Iulij 1493)
 ISTC ia00289000; IGI 214; IT\ICCU\VEAE\145014
 It. XI, 357, c. 13v: A.A.1 *Albertus Magnus, De natura, ac immortalitate Animæ cum commento. Exst. cum Malleus Maleficarum* [prima mano di scrittura]²³
 BNM, INC. 796 [leg. di restauro, a. 1961]

[11] - (p. 80) *Revelationes diuinæ S. Metodij, Aug. 1496*²⁴
 Methodius Olympius, santo, *Titulus in libellum sancti Methodij martyris & episcopi Partinensis ecclesie prouincie grecorum continens in se reuelationes diuinas a sanctis angelis factas de principio mundi*, ([Augusta], impressum per sagacem virum Iohannem Froschauer, 1496 kalendas Septembris)
 ISTC im00522000; IGI 6398; IT\ICCU\VEAE\136670
 Lat. XIV, 19, c. 72r (*Theologici*): *Methodij Martyris Revelationes*; c. 246v (*In Arca Maiori. Latini*): *D. Methodij Revelationes*
 It. XI, 358, c. 176r: M.5 L.6 *Methodius C.P. [Vide Fabritium Tom. V. Bibl. Gr. pag. 248] Diuinarum reuelationum Liber cum commentario, Augustę Vind. per Froschauer. 1496. in 4°, et alia* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]
 BNM, INC. 1086 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]

[12] - (p. 80) *Onus Mundi S. Vinc. de fine Mundi. 1477*
 Vincentius Ferrerius, santo, *Mirabile opusculum Sancti Vincencii ordinis predicatorum de fine mundi. In quo potissimum continentur tria. Primum de casu siue ruina vite*

²² Elencato tra i *Theologici* in Sozomeno; è uno degli esempi di cambio di sezione tra il primo e il secondo degli inventari/cataloghi. Altro esempio il numero 31.

²³ Si ipotizza che l'assenza della notizia nei cataloghi intermedi (Damiani e Gradenigo) derivi dall'essere esemplare legato; a titolo esemplificativo, la medesima situazione si riscontra al numero 48.

²⁴ Per i numeri 11-13 si veda il secondo esempio proposto nelle pagine introduttive.

spiritualis. Secundum de ruina dignitatis ecclesiastice. Tercio de ruina fidei catholice,
(1477. die vero 12. May)

ISTC if00121000; IGI 10270; IT\ICCU\VAIE\045881

It. XI, 359, c. 282v: *Li.6 Vincentius Ferrerius S. De fine Mundi. Sequitur quaestio determinate in quolibeto Erfordensi 1486 contra eos, qui praesumunt etc. Sine loco et typograf. 1477. 4.º Exst. Cum Methodii Revelationibus 1496* [prima mano di scrittura] BNM, INC. 1084 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]

[13] - (p. 80) *Philippus de lignamine Donatus Theolog. Rom. 1481*

Filippo Barbieri, *Duo luminaria magna que deus fecit: idest duos sacrosanctae ecclesiae doctores egregios: Eusebum uidelicet ieronymum & Aurelium Augustinum quos deus elegit: ut cunctis aliis in scripturam explanatione praesent in multis dissentire uidentur,* (Impressum Ro., 1481. Die prima mensis Decembris)

ISTC ib00119000; IGI 1246; IT\ICCU\VEAE\144496

It. XI, 358, c. 113v: *Lignamine Philippus de. Donatus Theologus quo theologicę quaestiones grammatica arte solvabat Romę 1481. Exst. Cum Methodio* [prima mano di scrittura] *Vide Philippus Siculus* [mano di Morelli] [It. XI, 359, c. 31r]: *Li.6. Philippus Siculus Discordantiae inter Hieronymum et Augustinum, et alia edente Jo. Philippo de Lignamine, Romae, 1481 in 4.º. Exstat cum Methodii Revelationibus 1496.* [mano di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 1078 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]

[14] - (p. 80) *Opusculum Augustini de Ancona, Ven. 1495*

Probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non sono note edizioni nel 1495:

IGI 1062-1065, la prima edizione dell'*Opusculum* è del 1503.

Agostino Trionfo, *Opusculum perutile de cognitione animae et eius potentis Augustini de Ancona cum quadam questione Prosperi de Regio,* (Bononiae, ex arte & officina Ioannis Iacobi de Benedictis ciuis Bononiensis ..., 1503 die ultima Maij)

IT\ICCU\BVEE\009277

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 108r (*Philosophici*): *Augustini de Ancona De cognitione Animę, et eius potentiss.* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Thomistarum formalitates*]; c. 109v: *Augustini De Ancona De Cognitione Animę*

It. XI, 357, c. 51r: *Augustinus de Ancona. De cognitione Animę. Accedit Quaestio Prosperi de Regis. Bononię, per de Benedictis, 1503. in 4.º. Exst. cum Hadriano Card.* [prima mano di scrittura] *v. de Ancona* [mano di Morelli]; c. 25v: *de Ancona Augustinus (Triumphus) De cognitione animę eiusque potentis. Bononię, 1503 in 4.º. Exstat cum Manzolo 1518. et Hadriano Cardinali 1507* [quasi integralmente mano di Morelli]

BNM, RARI 614; Misc. 343.03

[15] - (p. 81) *Legenda Sanctorum trium Regum, Mutinæ 1490*

Johannes de Hildesheim, *Legenda sanctorum trium regum,* (Impressum Mutinae, per m. Dominicum Richizola, 1490. die vero xvii. Augusti)

ISTC ij00340000; IGI 5276; IT\ICCU\VEAE\125712

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 632 n. 14: *Legenda Sanctorum trium Regum, Mutinę 1490*

It. XI, 358, c. 102v: *LIII.6.* Legenda Sanctorum trium Regum, Mutinę, per Richizzolam, 1490. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. 1011.58 [legatura di restauro]

6.3 Theologia in octavo

[16] - (p. 87) *Henrici de Firmaria, Ven. 1498*

Bartholomaeus Rimbertainus, Henricus de Firmaria, *Insignis atque preclarus de deliciis sensibilibus paradisi liber: cum singulari tractatu de quattuor instinctibus*, (Impressum venetijs, per Iacobum de Pentijs de Leucho impensis vero Lazari de Soardis, die 25 mensis octobris 1498)

ISTC ir00198000; IGI 8377; IT\ICCU\VEAE\128052

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 77v (*Theologici*): *Bartholomęi Rimbertini De Delitijs sensibilibus Paradisi*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 668 n. 3: *Paradisi delicię: Item summa dubiorum circa Missam, Ven. 1498*

It. XI, 359, c. 103v: *LIII.6.* Rimbertainus Bartholomęus. De sensibilibus deliciis Paradisi.*

Venetijs, per Iacobum de Pentijs, 1518. 1498, in 8.º et alia [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. V. 865

[17] - (p. 94) *Avicenna in Metheora, Ven. 1495*

Si propone l'identificazione con l'unica edizione veneziana di opere di Avicenna registrata in IGI per l'anno 1495.

Avicenna, *Metaphysica Avicenne sive eius prima philosophia*, (Impressa Venetijs, per Bernardinum Venetum expensis viri Ieronymi durante, 1495. die 26. martii)

ISTC ia01431000; IGI 1130; IT\ICCU\RMLE\042153

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 96r (*Philosophici*): *Avicennę Metaphysicam, et De animalibus* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Joannis Grammatici De Generatione Animalium*]; c. 251v (*Redundantes*): *Avicennę Metaphysica*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 590 n. 4: *Metaphysica Avicennę sive Prima Philosophia. Item de Natura Animalium, Ven. 1495*

It. XI, 357, c.50v: *LXIII.1. Avicenna Metaphysica ex emendatione Fr. Francisci de Macerata, et Antonii Frachantiani Lectiones in gymnasio Patavino, Venetijs, per Bernardinum Venetum 1495, in f.º* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. V. 226 [con ex-libris Venier];²⁵ INC. V. 522

6.4 Philosophia in folio

[18] - (p. 95) *Regulę Entisberi, Ven. 1491*

Guilelmus Hentisberus, *Regulę Hentisberi*, (Impressi venetijs, per Joannem de Forliuio & Gregorium fratres, 1491, die xv. Martij)

ISTC ih00056000; IGI 4617; IT\ICCU\VEAE\131980

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 93v (*Philosophici*): *Gulielmi Hentisberi Subtilitates Logicę*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 644 n. 4: *Hentisberi Regulę de Sensu composito, et cetera. Ven. 1491*

BNM, INC. V. 139

[19] - (p. 95) *Aegidij Rom. Quęst. Metaphisicales, Ven. 1499*

Aegidius Romanus, *Questiones methaphisicales clarissimi doctoris Egidij ordinis*

S. Augustini (Venetijs, per Petrum de quarengijs Bergomensem, [Alessandro

Calcedonio], 1499. die 23. Decembris)

²⁵ Stante la presenza dell'ex-libris Venier, si può dedurre che con ogni probabilità è questo l'esemplare già registrato nel catalogo di Sozomeno.

ISTC ia00086000; IGI 3089; IT\ICCU\VEAE\127938

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 97r (*Philosophici*): *Egidij Romani In Metaphys., De Compositione Cęli*.

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 776 n. 6: *Egidii Romani quolibeta fortilliss.ma, Ven. 1499*

It. XI, 357, c. 182r: *LI.7 Columna de cardinalis Aegidius, Quaestiones Metaphysicales, Venetiis, per Petrum de Quarengiis, 1499. in f.º Exstat cum Paulo Veneto de Compositione Mundi* [mano di Morelli]

BNM, INC. V. 571 [leg. di restauro, a. 1915]; INC. V. 295.2 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]

[20] - (p. 97) *Appolinarius in Posteriora, Ven. 1493*

Apollinare Offredi, *Apolinaris expositio in primum posteriorum Aristotelis cum questionibus eiusdem*, (Impresse vero Venetijs arte Boneti de Locatellis bergomensis, impensa nobilis viri domini Octauiani scoti cuius modoetiensis, 1493. 14 kalendas apriles)

ISTC io00056000; IGI 6978; IT\ICCU\RMSE\052859

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 93r (*Philosophici*): *Apollinaris in Post: expo: et quęst.* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Franciscus Burana in Priora*]

It. XI, 358, c. 223v: *L.6. Offredus Apollinaris Expositio et quaestiones in Librum Primum Posteriorum Aristotelis. Venetiis, per Bonetum Locatellum, 1493. in f.º Exstat cum Roberto Linconiensis 1494* [mano di Bettio]

BNM, INC. V. 192 [con ex-libris Venier],²⁶ INC. V. 148 [leg. di restauro, a. 1908]

6.5 Philosophia in quarto

[21] - (p. 100) *D. Thomę de Esse, & Essentia, ven. 1488*

Tommaso d'Aquino, santo, *Opusculum praeclarum beati Thomae Aquinatis. Quod de esse & essentiis tum realibus tum intentionalibus inscribitur. Cuius emendatissima instauratio ad iustantiam [!] ... Francisci bollani ... per celeberrimum ludouicum rigium ... confecta est foeliciter incipit*, (Venetiis, impressione Ioannis Lucilii santriter de fonte salutis & Hieronymi de Sanctis Veneti sociorum, impensis ... Francisci Bolani olim Candiani ..., XIX kalendas Martii 1488)

ISTC it00288000; IGI 9541; IT\ICCU\CAGE\000423

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 298 n. 82: *Thomę D. Aquinatis de Esse, et Essentia reali, Ven. 1488*

Non presente in BNM

[22] - (p. 101) *Corona Aurea, Iac. Bruli [sic], ven. 1496*

Jacobus Brutus, *Corona aurea coruscantibus gemmis: & preciosissimis consorta margaritis in qua he per pulchre & scientifice materie parisiensi more pertractantur*, (impressa Venetiis, per Ioannem de Tridino alias Tacuinum, 1496, die xv Ianuarii)

ISTC ib01262000; IGI 2211; IT\ICCU\LO1E\038006

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 108v (*Philosophici*): *Jacobi Bruti Corona aurea de Animę immortalitate*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 845 n. 772: *Corona aurea coruscantibus Generis et cetera Ven. 1496*

It. XI, 357, c. 107v: *LIII.6 Brutus Iacobus, Corona aurea (tractatus varii Metaphysici), Venetiis, per de Tridino, 1496. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. V. 720 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]

²⁶ Legato con INC. V. 190 *Commentaria Roberti Linconiensis*, e INC. V. 191 *Liber posteriorum magistri Pauli Veneti*, Venetiis 1491, va quindi identificato come l'esemplare registrato nel catalogo di fine secolo XVIII e, ragionevolmente, precedenti.

[23] - (p. 103) *Pauli Pergulensis Compendium Logice, ven. 1481*

Paolo da Pergola, *Compendium perclarum ad introductionem iuuenum in facultate logice per clarum artium doctorem ac theologie professorem magistrum Paulum Pergulensem nuperrime compilatum quam faustissime incipit* (Impressum Venetijs, [Erhard Ratdolt], 1481 Idibus Septembris)

ISTC ip00190000; IGI 7317; IT\ICCU\RMLE\067129

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 107v (*Philosophici*): *Pauli Pergulensis Compendium Logice* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Caietani De Ente, et essentia*]

Non presente in BNM

[24] - (p. 103) *Caietanus de Ente, & Essentia, Papie [=Pavia] 1498*

Gaetano Tiene, *Caietani vicentini... in libro aliarum de celo & mundo expositio cum ipso textum aliarum accuratissime emendata per eximium artium & medicine doctorem magistrum Joannem Antonium Sicanum Veronensem* (Ac diligentissime Venetijs, impressa per Otinum Papiensem de Luna, sumptu & impensa Benedicti Fontana Veneti, 1498 die tertio octobris)

ISTC ig00029000; IGI 2343; IT\ICCU\VIAE\042467

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 107v (*Philosophici*): *Caietani De ente, et essentia* [si veda notizia precedente, legato]

Non presente in BNM

6.6 Philosophia in octavo

[25] - (p. 104) *Atenagoras de Resurrectione, Paris. 1498*

Athenagoras, *In hoc libello continentur Athenagoras de resurrectione. Xenocrates platonis auditor de morte. Cebebis thebani Aristotelis auditoris tabula: miro artificio vite instituta continens*, [Parigi, Jean Petit] (Impressa Parisij, a magistro Guidone Mercatore, 1498. Die xvij. Augusti)

ISTC ia01176000; IGI 932; IT\ICCU\VEAE\143476

It. XI, 357, c. 49r: *Athenagoras de Resurrectione. Exst. cum Xenophonte per Wechelium 1538 – Et cum Theologia Aristotelis* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. 1049 [leg. di restauro, a. 1908]

[26] - (p. 104) *Hieron. Donati in Aphrodiseum, Brix. 1495*

Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Alexandri aphrodisei enarratio de anima ex aristotelis institutione interprete Hieronymo donato patritio Veneto*, (Impressum Brixiae, solerti Bernardini de misintis de Pap. impressoris opera, 1495 idibus Septemb.)

ISTC ia00386000; IGI 283; IT\ICCU\RMLE\053534

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 120r (*Philosophici*): *Alexandri Aphrodisei Quæstiones morales De Anima*

It. XI, 357, c. 33r: *T.5 Aphrodiseus Alexander, De anima, Hieronymo Donato interprete* [prima mano di scrittura]. *Brixiae, per Bernardinum Misintam, 1495. 4.º Exstat cum Aristotelis Theologia. Rom. 1519* [mano di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 987 [leg. di restauro, a. 1908]

[27] - (p. 111) *Petri Bruti Victoria contra Iudæos, Viena 1489*

Pietro Bruto, *Petri Bruti Veneti episcopi Catharensis Ad uiros nobiles uicentinos de omni genere uirtutibus benemeritos uictoria contra iudæos* (Est opus impressum papiensi simone clarum: Compositus petri praesulis ingenio. En ego sum simon papiensis nomine cuius Biuelaquam nuper fata dedere mihi ... Impressum uicentiae,

1489. die tertio mensis octobris)

ISTC ib01264000; IGI 2214; IT\ICCU\LIGE\005817

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 66v (*Theologici*): *Petri Bruti Victoria contra Iudaeos*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 776 n. 4: *Petri Bruti Episcopi Opus contra Iudaeos* [possibile identificazione]

It. XI, 357, c. 107v: *Ll.2. Brutus Petrus, Contra Iudaeos in 4.to Vicentię per Bevilaquam.*

1489. *in fol.o* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. 601 [prov. Apostolo Zeno];²⁷ INC. 390 [prov. Monastero di S. Leonardo in Monte Donico]²⁸

[28] - (p. 111) *Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ, Pet. Draol. Spira 1490*

Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Sanctarum peregrinationum in montem Syon ad venerandum christi sepulchrum in Hierusalem atque in montem Synai ad diuam virginem et martyrem katherinam opusculum hoc contentium ... finit feliciter* (Per Petrum drach ciuem Spirensem impressum, 1490 die xxix lulij finit feliciter)

ISTC ib01190000; IGI 2056; IT\ICCU\VEAE\144858

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 156r (*Historici*): *Bernardi Breydenbach Transmarina Peregrinatio*

It. XI, 357, c. 104r: *Ll.2. Breydenbach Bernardus Idem* [=Peregrinatio Ierosolymitana] *per Petrum Drach, 1490. in fol.* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 391 [leg. di restauro, a. 1974]

[29] - (p. 117) *Vita B. Laurentij Iustiniani. 1475*

Bernardo Giustiniani, *Bernardi Iustiniani oratoris in beati Laurentii patriarchae Venetiarum vitam ad monachos Carthusienses prohoemium incipit* (Impressum Venetiis, labore et industria Iacobi De Rubeis Gallici, sexto idus Maias 1475)

ISTC ij00611500; IGI 5548; IT\ICCU\VEAE\127665

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 163r (*Historici*): *Bernardi Justiniani Vita B. Laurentij Justiniani*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 308 n. 49: *Bernardi Justiniani in Vitam Beati Laurentii, et cetera, Ven. 1475*

It. XI, 358, c. 86r: *LIII.6. Iustinianus Bernardus. Vita B. Laurentii Iustiniani. Venetiis, per de Rubeis. 1475. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. V. 786 [leg. di restauro, a. 1962]

6.7 Mathematica in quarto

[30] - (p. 131) *Algorismus, Arithmetice, Paris. 1495*

Pedro Ciruelo, *Tractatus arithmetice practice qui dicitur algorismus*, (Impressus Parisius in campo gaillardo per Guidonem mercatoris. Anno domini.1495. die.22. februarij)

ISTC ic00699580

Non presente in BNM

²⁷ Insigne letterato e poeta cesareo, Apostolo Zeno lascia con testamento del 1747 la sua ricca biblioteca ai Domenicani osservanti di S. Maria del Rosario in Venezia; nel 1823 parte dei volumi domenicani e zeniani entrano in Marciana: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 373-4.

²⁸ Monastero appartenente alla Congregazione dei Canonici Lateranensi; a seguito della soppressione, nel 1784 la biblioteca viene portata a Venezia, e da essa Jacopo Morelli trascoglie 22 manoscritti e circa 200 stampati: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 294.

[31] - (p. 131) *Iac. Fabri Introductiones. 1496*

Jordanus Nemorarius, *In hoc opere contenta. Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata.*

Musica libris demonstrata quattuor. Epitome in libros arithmeticos diui Seuerini Boetij. Rithmimachie ludus qui et pugna numerorum appellatur, (Parhisij, curarunt ... Joannes Higmanus, et Volgangus Hopilius suis grauissimis laboribus & impensis, 1496 ... die vicesima secunda Iulij)

ISTC ij00472000; IGI 3781; IT\ICCU\VEAE\125476

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 89v (*Philosophici*): *Jordani Nemorarij Aritmetica* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Jacobi Fabri Elementa Musicalia*]

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 287 n. 32: *Arithmetica et Musica, et cetera a diversis Auctoribus, Paris 1496*

It. XI, 357, c. 269r: *Faber Iacobus Stapulensis. Ludus Rythmimachie. Exst. cum Nemorario Iordano. 1496* [prima mano di scrittura, con aggiunta di Morelli];

It. XI, 358, c. 207v: *LIII.7. Nemorarius Iordanus. Elementa Arithmetica, cum demonstrationibus Iacobi Fabri. Parisiis, per Digmanus, et Popilius [sic], 1496. in fol.° et alia* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. 515

6.8 Sphera, & Astrologia in quarto

[32] - (p. 135) *Michaelis Scoti in Spheram, Bon. 1495*

Michael Scot, *Eximij atque: excellentissimi physicom motuum cursusque: syderi indagatoris Michaelis scoti super auctorem sperae cum questionibus diligenter emendatis incipit expositio ...*, (Impressum fuit hoc opus diligenter in alma ciuitate Bononiae, per Iustinianum de Ruberia, 1495. die xvi. Setembris)

ISTC im00550000; IGI 6416; IT\ICCU\BA1E\014632

It. XI, 359, c. 156r: *LI.6. Scotus Michael, Commentarius et Quaestiones super Sphaeram Joannis de Sacrobosco et aliorum, Bononiae, per Iustinianum de Ruberia, 1495. in 4.°.* *Exstat cum Manzolo 1518* [mano di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 736 [leg. di restauro, a. 1908]; Misc. 2050.1 [prov. Jacopo Morelli]²⁹

[33] - (p. 135) *Figura Sphaeræ, Montisferati, Ven. 1500*

Ioannes de Sacrobosco, *Figura sphere: cum glosis Georgii de Monteferrato artium & medicine doctoris*, (Venetiis, impensis domini magistri Georgii de Monteferrato, 1500. Die 28. Ianuarii)

ISTC ij00421000; IGI 5353; IT\ICCU\RMLE\049301

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 90r (*Philosophici*): *Joannis de Sacrobosco Sphera cum varijs comment.*; c. 113r (*Philosophici*): *Joannis de Sacrobosco Sphera.*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 632 n. 7: *Sphera Mundi Joan. de Sacro Busco, Ven. 1494* [ma probabile errore di trascrizione della data: IGI 5337-5353 registra edizioni veneziane dal 1478, ma non nel 1494; esiste edizione parigina del 1494]

Non presente in BNM

²⁹ Ai vertici della Biblioteca Marciana dal 1778, prima col titolo di custode e poi di bibliotecario dal 1797, Morelli lascia in morte (1819) a quell'istituzione la sua cospicua biblioteca privata, costituita tra l'altro di 1243 miscellanee rilegate di opuscoli a stampa, per un complesso stimato di 20.000 titoli: Giachery, *Jacopo Morelli*, 45.

[34] - (p. 136) *Iginius de Mundi Sphera, Ven. 1482*

Hyginus, *Clarissimi viri Iginij Poeticon astronomicon opus vtilissimu [sic] foeliciter incipit. De mundi & sphaerae ac vtriusque partium declaratione liber primus ...*,

(Venetijs, hoc Augustensis ratdolt germanus Erhardus ... pressit opus, 1482 Pridie Idus Octobris)

ISTC ih00560000; IGI 4959; IT\ICCU\VEAE\126338

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 104r (*Philosophici*): *Iginij Astronomicon* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Publicij Florentini Ars memorię / Leonardi Aretini / Pauli de Migdeburgo Opuscula*]³⁰

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 584 n. 15: *Astronomicon Poeticon Iginii et cetera Urbini 1485* [probabile errore nella trascrizione delle note tipografiche, non è nota una edizione a Urbino nel 1485: IGI 4958-4961]

It. XI, 358, c. 67v: L.6. *Hyginus C. Iulius. Poeticon Astronomicon, ex emendatione Iacobi Sentini, et Ioannis Santritter. Venetiis. 1482. in 4.to et alia – exst. et cum Arati Phenomenis* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. V. 715 [legatura di restauro, a. 1963]; INC. V. 735; Misc. 1222.6 [legatura di restauro]

[35] - (p. 136) *Alcabitius, cum Comment. Saxonij, Ven. 1491*

Alchabitius, *Libellus ysagogicus Abdilazi. Idest serui gloriosi Dei: qui dicitur Alchabitius ad magisterum iudiciorum astrorum interpretatus a Ioanne Hispalensi scriptumque in eundem a Iohanne Saxonie editum vtili serie connexum incipient*, (Impressum uenetiis, per Iohannem & Gregorium deforliuio fratres, 1491. in die. xxvi. Iulij)

ISTC ia00364000; IGI 269; IT\ICCU\RMSE\052715

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 104v (*Philosophici*): *Alkabitij Iudiciaria cum Commentario Joannis Saxonij*

Non presente in BNM

[36] - (p. 136) *Abraham Iudæos de Natiuitatibus, Ven. 1485*

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Incipit liber Abraham iudei de natiuitatibus*, (Impressum venetijs, arte & impensis Erhardi ratdolt de augusta, 1485, nona kalendas Ianuarij)

ISTC ia00009200; IGI 5; IT\ICCU\VEAE\128259

IT. XI, 357, c. 2v: *Abraham Judaeus, Liber de Natiuitatibus. Accedit Henrici Bate*

Astrolabium, Venetiis, Erhardus Ratdolt, 1485, in 4°. Extat cum Abdilazo 1485 [mano di Morelli]

BNM, INC. V. 623 [prov. Canonica di S. Maria della Carità nel 1789]³¹

30 Per gli esemplari legati si veda anche il numero 44.

31 Monastero e chiesa appartenenti alla Congregazione dei Canonici Lateranensi; a seguito della soppressione nel 1789, la maggior parte dei libri vengono trasportati presso la Libreria di San Marco: Corner, *Notizie*, 445-50. Nel catalogo di fine secolo XVIII risulta legato con il numero 35: si deduce dunque che entrambi gli esemplari dell'epoca Sozomeno non sono più in Marciana, e che il numero 36 è stato sostituito da accessione settecentesca.

6.9 Humanità in folio

[37] - (p. 139) *Bonincontri Comment. in Manilium, Rom. 1494*

Probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non sono note edizioni nel 1494:
IGI 6125-6130.

Marco Manilio, *Aurentij* [sic] *Bonincontrij Miniatisensis In. C. Manilium commentum incipit feliciter*, (Rome impressum, 1484 sedente. Innocente octauo. Pontifice maximo. Anno eius. Primo. Die uero vigesimasexta. Mensis Octobris)
ISTC im00204000; IGI 6128; IT\ICCU\CFIE\031322

It. XI, 358, c. 145r: L.6. *Manilius M. cum commentario Laurentii Bonincontrii. Romæ, 1484. in fol.º. Exstat cum Cicerone de Universitate 1485* [di mano di Morelli]
BNM, INC. 556 [prov. Domenico Grimani; leg. di restauro, a. 1908]³²

[38] - (p. 139) *Io. Ant. Campani Opera, Rom. 1495*

Giovanni Antonio Campano, *Pius in alieno. De te mox de me. Ne precor quid prius dato lector uitio quae omnia intueare. Nam spero fore ut nisi cuncta abiicias cogaris singula laudare. Continentur Tractatus .v. Orationes .xv. Epistolarum .ix. libri Vita Pii Historia Brachii Epigrammatum .viii. libri. ...*, (impressum Romae, per Eucharium Silber alias Franck vnus ipsius Michaelis Ferni Mediolanensis [sic] cura correctione & impensa, 1495. Pridie Kalendas Nouembris)

ISTC ic00073000; IGI 2383; IT\ICCU\RMLE\010872

It. XI, 357, c. 125r: *Ll.2. Campanus Ioannes Antonius, Opera, Romæ, per Eucharium Silber, 1495. in fol.º* [prima mano di scrittura]
BNM, INC. 206 [legatura di restauro]

[39] - (p. 140) *Epist. Fam. Leonardi Aretini, 1495*

Leonardo Bruni, *Leonardi Arretini Epistolae familiares*, (Die xv mensis Iunii 1495)

ISTC ib01243000; IGI 2201; IT\ICCU\VEAE\131946

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 192r (*Humanitatis*): *Leonardi Aretini Epistolę*; c. 214r (*Humanitatis*): *Leonardi Aretini* [unito da parentesi graffa a *Francisci Philelphi Epistolę*]

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 286 n. 5: *Leonardi Aretini Epistole familiares Ven. 1492* [probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non è nota una edizione delle Epistole nel 1492:
IGI 2199-2201]

It. XI, 357, c. 38r: *Ll.1. Aretinus (alias Brunus) Leonardus, Epistolę familiares. 1495. sine loco, et Typog. in f.º, et alia* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, INC. V. 130 [con ex-libris Venier; leg. di restauro, a. 1961];³³ INC. V. 194 [legatura di restauro]

[40] - (p. 140) *Epistolæ Philerphij, 1492*

Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolae Francisci Philelphi*, (Venetiis, studio & diligentia Philippi de Pincis, 1492. die .v. Septembris)

ISTC ip00591000; IGI 3891; IT\ICCU\VEAE\129208

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 214r (*Humanitatis*): *Francisci Philelphi Epistolę* [si veda notizia precedente, legato]

³² Con nota di possesso del cardinale Domenico Grimani (1461-1523). Fine collezioni-sta, lascia le sue raccolte alla Serenissima Repubblica: Bortolotti, *Grimani*.

³³ Come già osservato alla nota 25, stante la presenza dell'ex-libris Venier, conservato in fase di restauro, si può dedurre che con ogni probabilità è questo l'esemplare registrato nel catalogo di Sozomeno.

It. XI, 359, c. 29v: *Philelphus Franciscus Epistolae, Venetiis, per Philippum de Pinciis, 1492. in f.º. Exstat cum Leonardi Aretini Epistolis* [mano di Morelli]
BNM, INC. V. 315 [leg. di restauro, a. 1961]; INC. V. 430 [prov. Girolamo Contarini]³⁴

[41] - (p. 140) *Tibullus Catullus, Propert. cum Comment. 1500*
Albius Tibullus, *Tibullus cum commentariis Cyllaenii Veronensis. Catullus cum commentariis Parthenii Veronensis & Palladii Patauini. Emendationes Catullianae per Hieronymum Auancium Veronensem & eiusdem in Priapeias castigationes. Propertius cum commentariis Phylippi Beroaldi. Annotationes in Propertium: tum per Domitium Calderinum: tum per Ioannem Cottam Veronensem. Haec omnia sunt ex exemplaribus emendatis domini Hieronymi Auancii*, (Impressum Venetiis, per Ioannem de Tridino de Cereto alias Tacuinum, 1500 die uero xix. Maii)
ISTC it00374000; IGI 9668; IT\ICCU\VEAE\127267
Lat. XIV, 19, c. 182r (*Humanitatis*): *Tibulli Catuli Propertij Comment.*
Lat. XIV, 20, p. 286 n. 12: *Tibulli Opus cum commentis, et Catulli, et cetera Ven. 1500*
BNM, INC. 603 [frammento]; INC. V. 457 [frammento; leg. di restauro, a. 1915]

[42] - (p. 141) *Iuuenalis cum Commento, Ven. 1497*
Decimus Iunius Iuuenalis, *Iuuenalis cum tribus commentariis videlicet Domitii Calderini Georgii Merulae nec non Georgii Vallae*, (Venetiis per Symonem bivilaqua Papiensem, [1497])
ISTC ij00665000; IGI 5600; IT\ICCU\RT1E\005221
It. XI, 358, c. 88r: *LI.2 Iuuenalis Decius Iunius Cum commentariis Domitii Calderini, et Georgii Vallæ exst. cum Martiale editionis Venetæ de Fontaneto* [prima mano di scrittura] *Vallæ, Per Bonetum Locatellum, 1492 in fol.º. Exstat cum Martiali edit. Ven. 1521* [mano di Morelli; si può ipotizzare un errore di data nel *Catalogus* di Sozomeno; tuttora conservate in Marciana, legate, le edizioni di Giovenale (Venezia, Locatello, 1492; IGI 5595; ISTC ij00658000) e Marziale (Venezia, Guglielmo da Fontaneto, 1521), BNM INC V. 277-278]
Non presente in BNM

[43] - (p. 142) *Horatius Flacus cum Comm. Landini, Ven. 1486*
Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Christophori Landini florentini in Qu. Horatii Flacci libros omnes ad illustrissimum Guidonem Feltrium magni Federici ducis filium interpretationes incipiunt foeliciter*, (Impressum uenetiis, per magistrum Bernardinum de tridino ex monteferrato, 1486)
ISTC ih00450000; IGI 4884; IT\ICCU\VEAE\132018
Lat. XIV, 19, c. 182v (*Humanitatis*): *Horatij Opera Commentata*
Lat. XIV, 20, p. 234 n. 23: *Quincti Horatii Aliud Ven. 1486* [possibile identificazione]
It. XI, 358, c. 64r: *LII.2. Horatius Q. Flaccus, Opera cum adnotationibus commentaria Christophori Landini, Venetiis, per de Tridino, 1486, in fol.º* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]
BNM, INC. V. 282 [con ex-libris Venier]

³⁴ Per la cospicua raccolta libraria lasciata alla Marciana dal patrizio veneziano Al-
vise II Girolamo Contarini (1770-1843), ultimo del suo ramo: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 380-3.

6.10 Humanistae in quarto

[44] - (p. 144) *Iac. Publicij Institutio Oratoria, Ven. 1482*

Jacobus Publicius, *Oratorie artis epitomata: siue quae ad consumatum spectant oratorem: ex antiquo rhetorum gymnasio dicendi: scribendique breues rationes: nec non & apto optimo cuique uiro titulus: insuper & perquamfacilis memorie artis modus Iacobi Publicij Florentini lucubratione in lucem editus: foelici numine inchoat. Oratoriae institutiones: ex veterum instituto: per Iacobum Publicium: ad Cyrillum caesarem faustissimum delectae*, (Erhardus ratdolt augustensis impressit Venetijs 1482 pridie calendas decembris)

ISTC ip01096000; IGI 8191; IT\ICCU\CFIE\031133

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 104r [uniti da parentesi graffa: *Iginij Astronomicom / Publicij Florentini Ars memorie / Leonardi Aretini / Pauli de Migdelburgo Opuscula*]

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 314 n. 50: *Jacobi Publicii Oratoris in Artis Epitomata, Ven. 1482*

IT, XI, 359, c. 74r: *Publicius Jacobus. Ars memoriae. Venetijs, per Erhardum Ratdolt, 1482. 4° Exst. cum Hygino 1482* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 1196 [prov. Convento di S. Bonaventura, Venezia; leg. di restauro, a. 1908];³⁵ INC. V. 837 [leg. di restauro, a. 1963]; INC. V. 740 [leg. di restauro, a. 1915];

Misc. 2588.1-3 [prov. Apostolo Zeno]; Misc. 1321.1-2

[45] - (p. 145) *Catalogus Illustr. virorum, Tritemij Espae, 1495*

Johannes Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium virorum germaniam suis ingenijs et lucubrationibus omnifariam exornantium: domini iohannis tritemij abbatis spanhemensis... ad Iacobum Vimpfelingum sletstatinum theologum*, [dopo il 14 agosto 1495, data dell'epistola a c. π1v]

ISTC it00433000; IGI 9711; IT\ICCU\RMLE\066930

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 162r (*Historici*): *Joannis Trithemij Catalogus Illustrium Virorum Germanie*

It. XI, 359, c. 247v: *M5.XIV.I.* LIII.6. Tritemius sive Trithemius Abbas Joannes, Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae, 1495, sine typog. in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. 809

[46] - (p. 150) *Matthæi Coleaci, in Magnos Rectores. 1488*

Probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non è nota edizione di Matteo Colacio nel 1488: IGI 3049-3051.

Matteo Colacio, *Hoc libello hi tractatus continentur. Quid est ciuilitas in oratione. Scientie ciuiles. Vtrum orationes M.C. habeant ciuilitatem. Vnde doctus & iustus orator: in actione cause uincitur ab indocto. De genere artis rhetoricae in magnos rhetores Victorinum & Q. Luculenta oratio de fine rhetoricae in dialogo. Grauis epistola consolatoria de morte & sepulti epigramma. Laus perspectiue cori in aede sancti Antonii pataui*, (Impressum uenetijs, per Bernardinum de nouaria, 1486)

ISTC ic00750000; IGI 3050; IT\ICCU\PALE\007525

BNM, INC. 1200 [prov. Convento di S. Bonaventura, Venezia; leg. di restauro, a. 1908]; Misc. 1073.4; Misc. 2674.7 [prov. Apostolo Zeno]

³⁵ Convento dei Minori Riformati: Corner, *Notizie*, 288-9; per la soppressione avvenuta nel 1810, e conseguente dispersione del patrimonio anche librario: La Cute, *Le vicende*, 43.

[47] - (p. 173) *Practica Serapionis, Ven. 1497*

Serapion il Vecchio, *Practica Io. Serapionis dicta breuiarium. Liber Serapionis de simplicibus medicina. Liber de simplicibus medicina. Dictus circa instans. Practica platearij*, (Impressum Venetijs, mandato & expensis nobilis viri domini Octauiani Scoti cuius modotiensis, per Bonetum Locatellum bergomenses, 17 kalendas Ianuarias 1497)
 ISTC is00466000; IGI 8924; IT\ICCU\LI3E\000026

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 124r (Medici): *Serapionis Practica Medicinę*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 32 n. 29: *Joannis Serapionis Practica, dicta Breviarium, et quedam Alia Opuscula, Ven. 1497*

It. X, 359, cc. 162v-163r: *LII.3. Serapio Ioannes, Practica Medicinę dicta Breviarium, ex interpretatione Gerardi Cremonensis, et alia. Venetijs, 1497. in f.º et alia* [prima mano di scrittura, con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. V. 184 [con ex-libris Venier; leg. di restauro, a. 1916]

[48] - (p. 173) *Sillanus in Almansorem. 1497*

Abu-Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi, *Almansoris liber Nonus cum expositione Syllani*, (Impresse Venetijs, per Otinum Papiensem de Luna, 1497. xii. Cal. Augusti)
 ISTC ir00184000; IGI 8349; IT\ICCU\TA1E\000178

It. XI, 357, c. 19r: *Almansor Liber nonus cum Expositione Syllani de Nigris, et Receptis Petri de Tussignano. Venetijs, 1497. f.º Cum Serapione 1497* [prima mano, con integrazione di Morelli]

BNM, INC. V. 185 [leg. di restauro, a. 1916]

[49] - (p. 176) *Herbarium Teuthonicum, Aspurg [Augusta] 1487*

Non identificato. In BNM si conserva un erbario in tedesco stampato ad Augusta nel 1488: *Herbarius zu teutsch und von allerhandt kreuteren*, [Augusta], gedruckt und volendet dyset herbarius durch Hannsen schonsperger in der Keyserlichen statt zu Augspurg, am Montag vor sant Thomas tag 1488).

ISTC ig00104000; IGI 4679; IT\ICCU\VEAE\142441

L'esemplare ha collocazione INC. 589 [con ex-libris Venier], ed è registrato nel catalogo di fine XVIII secolo:

It, 358, c. 48v: *LIII.7. Herbarium Germanico Idiomate, Augustę, per Tag, 1488 in 4.to* [prima mano di scrittura]

6.11 Medicina in quarto

[50] - (p. 176) *Rabi Moysis Aphor. Bon. 1489* ³⁶

Maimonides, *Incipiunt aphorismi excellentissimi Raby Moyses secundum doctrinam Galieni medicorum principis*, (Bononie, impressum impensa Benedicti Hectoris librarii: opera uero Platonis diligentissimi impressoris Bononiensium, anno gratiæ 1489. quarto kalendas Iunii)

ISTC im00077000; IGI 6744; IT\ICCU\TO0E\671881

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 129r (Medici): *Rabby Moyses Aphorismi*

[51] - (p. 177) *Rabi Moysis Aphor. Bon. 1489*

Per l'identificazione si veda il numero 50.

³⁶ Per i numeri 50-1 si veda il primo esempio proposto nelle pagine introduttive.

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 138r (*Medici*): *Rabbi Moysis Aphorismi*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 29 n. 14: *Raby Moyses In Aphorismos secundum Galenum, Bon. 1489*

It. XI, 358, c. 138r: B.3. *Maimonides Moyses Rabi Cordubensis Aphorismi ex Galeno, Bononiae, typis Platonis, 1489. In 4. Exstant cum Bertrucio Bononiensi* [mano di Morelli] BNM, INC. 1136; INC. 1110 [leg. di restauro, a. 1908]

[52] - (p. 181) *Guilelmi Leporei Ars memorativa, Bon. 1491*

Probabile errore nella trascrizione della data, non sono note edizioni di Guillaume Lelievre prima del 1510.

[53] - (p. 181) *Nic. Leoniceni de morbo Gallico, Ven. 1497*

Nicolò Leoniceno, *Libellus de epidemia quam uulgo morbum Gallicum vocant*, (Venetiis, in domo Aldi Manutii, mense lunio 1497)

ISTC il00165000; IGI 6814; IT\ICCU\VEAE\129369

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 125r: *Marci Gattinarię et aliorum Opuscula Medica*; c. 136v: *Marci Gattinarię De remediis morborum, et aliorum Opuscula* [possibile identificazione di esemplare legato]

It. XI, 358, c. 107r: ~~1.4. Leonicenus Nicolaus. De morbo Gallico. Exst. cum Gattinaria- Venetiis. 1513~~ [sic] [prima mano di scrittura] XLIX.8. --- *Liber de Epidemia, quam Itali Morbum Gallicum appellant. Venetiis, in domo Aldi Manutii, 1497. In 4* --- *Idem. Exstat cum Gattinaria 1516* [mano di Morelli]

BNM, 389 D 181 [prov. Girolamo Ascanio Molin]³⁷

6.12 Greci in folio

[54] - (p. 205) *Aristophanis Comedie cum Coment. Ven. 1498*

Aristophanes, *Aristofanous Komoidiai ennea. Aristophanis Comoediae nouem. Ploutus Plutus ...*, (Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1498 Idibus Quintilis)

ISTC ia00958000; IGI 1790; IT\ICCU\VEAE\129369

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 236r (*Graeci*): *Aristophanis Comedię*

It. XI, 357, c. 39v: XLIX.2. *Aristophanes, Comoediae, cum Commentariis, gręce, Venetiis apud Aldum, 1498 in f.* [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, 390 D 49 [prov. Girolamo Ascanio Molin]

6.13 Greci in quarto

[55] - (p. 207) *Epistolę diuersorum, Ven. Aldi 1499*

Epistolai diaforon filosofon, rhytoron, sofiston, hex pros tois eikosi, hon ta onomata en ti heuriseis selidi. Epistolae diuersorum philosophorum, oratorum. Rhetorum sex & uiginti. ..., (Enetiis, par'Aldo; Venetiis, apud Aldum)

³⁷ Per la lunga controversia relativa al legato del patrizio veneziano Girolamo Ascanio Molin, entrato in Marciana nel 1816, e rivendicato dal Comune di Venezia nel 1873: Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 365-8 e 394-6. A seguito della controversia viene apposto al contropiatto anteriore dei volumi ex-libris distintivo. L'immissione nelle collezioni marciane dei libri di provenienza Molin ha dato origine a varie sostituzioni di esemplare, come nel caso in esame.

Alla fine della parte prima altro colophon: (Venetiis apud Aldum, mense martio 1499)

ISTC ie00064000; IGI 3707; IT\ICCU\VEAE\126294

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 238v (*Graeci*): *Epistolę ex varijs t(omi)*. 2.

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 827 n. 250: *Epistolarium Grecum et cetera*. Ven. MID [=1499]

It. XI, 357, c. 255r: *XLVIII.8. Epistolae Graece collectae. Venetiis, Aldus, 1499. in 4.°*

[mano di Bettio]

BNM, 385 D 172 [con ex-libris Venier; prov. Girolamo Ascanio Molin] ³⁸

[56] - (p. 208) *Basilij Magni Epistolę, Ven. 1499*

Probabilmente altro esemplare dell'edizione, composta di due parti, al numero [55].

La seconda parte inizia con *Epistolae* di Basilio Magno.

ISTC ie00064000; IGI 3707

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 257r (*Redundantes*): *Basilij Magni, et Aliorum Epistolę*

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 801 n. 333: *Epistolarium Gręcum Basilii Magni, et cetera, Ven. M.I.D. cum*

privilegio; p. 801 n. 343: *Epistolarium Gręce Basilii Magni, et cetera, Ven. M.I.D. cum*

privilegio

6.14 Volgari in folio

[57] - (p. 214) *Opera di Girolamo Beniuieni con Comento, Fiorenza 1500*

Girolamo Benivieni, *Comento di Hierony. B. sopra a piu sue canzone et sonetti dello amore et della belleza diuina*, (Impresso in Firenze, per s. Antonio Tubini & Lorenzo di Francesco venetiano & Andrea Ghyr. da Pistoia, adi vii. di Septembre [sic], 1500)

ISTC ib00328000; IGI 1481; IT\ICCU\RMLE\042893

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 225v (*Italici*): *Gerolamo Benivieni sue Opere*

BNM, INC. 702

[58] - (p. 215) *Poliphilo Hypnerotomachia, Ven. 1500*

L'unica possibile identificazione è con l'edizione del 1499, l'imprecisione sulle date di stampa rimane anche nei cataloghi marciani posteriori.

Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, vbi humana omnia non nisisomnium esse docet. Atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorat*, (Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi Manutii, accuratissime, mense decembri 1499)

ISTC ic 00767000; IGI 3062; IT\ICCU\RMRE\001716

Lat. XIV, 19, c. 184v (*Humanitatis*): *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia*; c. 219v (*Italici*):

Hipneroto Macchia di Polifilo.

Lat. XIV, 20, p. 432 n. 27: *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia, et cetera, Tarvisii, 1467*

It. XI, 359, c. 53v: *XLIX.10 Polifilo (cioè Francesco Colonna) Ipnerotomachia, cioè pugna d'amore in sogno. Venezia, Aldo, 1499 in f.o* [mano di Bettio]; It. XI, 359, c. 54r: ~~XLIX.10 Poliphilo (cioè Francesco Colonna) Ipnerotomacchia, cioè pugna d'amore in sogno. Venezia, per Aldo, 1499. in fogl.o~~ [prima mano di scrittura]

BNM, 394 D 290 [prov. Girolamo Ascanio Molin; leg. di restauro, a. 1908]

³⁸ Per il legato Molin si veda la nota 37. Nel corso della tardiva identificazione e inventariazione dei volumi si sono verificate non infrequenti errate attribuzioni al legato, come nel caso in esame: la presenza dell'ex-libris Venier attesta infatti che già nel 1722 il volume era nelle collezioni marciane.

[59] - (p. 226) *Thesaurus pauperum*, Ven. 1494

Ioannes XXI papa, *Tesaurus Pauperum* (Stampata in Venecia per Gioani ragazzo & Gioani maria Compagni. del 1494 adi 27 marzo)

ISTC ij00243000; IGI 5236

Non presente in BNM

7 Conclusioni

Concludendo, Sozomeno nella sezione del catalogo dedicata agli stampati (*Index librorum impressorum*) elenca 59 incunaboli datati. A partire da essi, nel corso di questo studio è stato possibile identificare 57 edizioni. Si è poi cercato di individuare i criteri in base ai quali le edizioni venivano registrate nei cataloghi/inventari successivi, giungendo alla conclusione, da ritenersi provvisoria fino al completamento dell'indagine relativa a tutti gli incunaboli registrati nel corso dei secoli nei quattro cataloghi/inventari qui presi in esame, che in linea di massima sia Sozomeno sia l'ultimo dei cataloghi, quello di fine XVIII secolo, riportano anche l'indicazione dei volumi legati, mentre l'inventario con valenza di catalogo topografico Damiani (1637), caratterizzato dall'essere assai parco in qualunque tipo di informazione utile al riconoscimento bibliografico, pare indicare (non è dato sapere con quanta costanza) con il segno grafico della parentesi graffa i volumi legati, mentre il successivo inventario Gradenigo (1679), di nuovo con valenza di catalogo topografico, non pare registrare se non la prima edizione di ogni volume fisico. Questo spiega la non omogeneità dei dati in particolare tra il catalogo Sozomeno, con i suoi 59 incunaboli datati, e il catalogo Gradenigo che, circa mezzo secolo più tardi, ne registra lo stesso numero, ma con notevoli differenze nelle opere presenti. Differenze date con ogni probabilità sia appunto dalla mancanza delle registrazioni di spoglio dei volumi miscelanei, sia dagli accrescimenti in corso della collezione marciana. La non omogeneità nella modalità di indicazione dei volumi miscelanei è anche il motivo per cui nel catalogo alfabetico di fine secolo XVIII in più di una circostanza si ritrovino titoli non registrati nei due cataloghi intermedi, ma già presenti in Sozomeno.

Volendo infine dare una sintesi dei dati ricavabili dal Sozomeno, vi sono, come già detto, 59 incunaboli datati, 2 dei quali non è stato possibile identificare. Dei restanti, per 8 si è ipotizzato un errore nella registrazione della data di stampa da parte del compilatore del *Catalogus*. Non sono più conservate nelle collezioni marciane 9 edizioni, per le altre 48 si contano un totale di 64 esemplari attualmente posseduti, 14 dei quali recano sicura evidenza di provenire da raccolte librerie immesse nelle collezioni marciane in momenti precisamente individuabili, andando con ogni probabilità a sostituire gli esemplari esistenti ai tempi del Sozomeno. Per gli altri, l'indagine andrà appro-

fondita conducendo un'analisi dei cataloghi/inventari successivi (Damiiani, Gradenigo, e quello di fine secolo XVIII), esemplare per esemplare, come è stato fatto nei tre esempi proposti in questo saggio.

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- Ferrerius, Vincentius, S., *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. Add: Franciscus Castillioneus, Vita S. Vincentii Ferrerii; Petrus Ransanus, *Carmen in laudem S. Vincentii Ferrerii*, Venice: Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, 1496. 4°. GW 9843; ISTC if00137000
- Gaietanus de Thienis, *Expositio in libros Aristotelis De caelo et mundo*. Ed: Joannes Antonius Sicanus, Venice: Otinus de Luna, Papiensis, for Benedictus Fontana, 3 Oct. 1498. Folio. GW M45977; ISTC ig00029000
- Gart der Gesundheit*. Ed: Johann von Cube, Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 15 Dec. 1488. Folio. GW M09757; ISTC ig00104000
- Hentisberus, Gulielmus, *De sensu composito et diviso. Regulae solvendi sophismata*. Add: Radulphus Strodus: *Consequentiae*. Hentisberus: *Sophismata*. Strodus: *Obligaciones*. Ed: Ludovicus de Carera and Pasius de Bisiolis, Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivo, 15 Mar. 1491. Folio. GW 11901; ISTC ih00056000
- Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, *Opera*. Ed. and comm: Christophorus Landinus, Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1486. Folio. GW 13462; ISTC ih00450000
- Hyginus, Gaius Julius, *Poetica astronomica*. Ed: Jacobus Sentinus and Johannes Lucilius Santritter, Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 14 Oct. 1482. 4°. GW n0374; ISTC ih00560000
- Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum*, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 17 Jan. 1496. 4°. GW M12473; ISTC ii00168000
- Johannes XXI, Pont. Max. (formerly Petrus Hispanus): *Thesaurus pauperum* [Italian] *Tesoro de poveri*. Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo and Giovanni Maria di Occimiano, 27 Mar. 1494. 4°. GW M32425; ISTC ij00243000
- Johannes de Hildesheim, *Liber de gestis et translatione trium regum*. Modena: Dominicus Rocociolus, 17 Aug. 1490. 4°. GW M14017; ISTC ij00340000
- Johannes de Sacro Bosco, *Sphaera mundi*. Gloss: Georgius de Monteferrato, Venice: [Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco] for Georgius de Monteferrato, 28 Jan. 1500/01. 4°. GW M14661; ISTC ij00421000
- Johannes Ferrariensis, *De coelesti vita* (Ed: Antonius de Canchorio). [Venice]: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Hieronymus Blondus, 19 Dec. 1494. Folio. GW M13549; ISTC ij00313000
- Jordanus Nemorarius, *Arithmetica*. Ed & Comm: Jacobus Faber. Add: Jacobus Faber Stapulensis: *Elementa musicalia; Epitome in duos libros arithmeticos Boethii*. [Faber; or John Sherwood:] *De ludo arithmomachiae, sive Rithmimachiae ludus*, Paris: Johannes Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl, 22 July 1496. Folio. GW M15065; ISTC ij00472000

- Justinianus, Bernardus, *De vita beati Laurentii Justiniani Patriarchae Venetiarum, ad Monachos Carthusienses*. Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 10 May 1475. 4°. GW M15546; ISTC ij00611500
- Juvenalis, Decimus Junius: *Satyrae*. Comm: Domitius Calderinus and Georgius Valla. Add: Domitius Calderinus: *Defensio adversus Brotheum*, [Venice]: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 8 Mar. 1492. Folio. GW M15775; ISTC ij00658000
- Juvenalis, Decimus Junius, *Satyrae*. Comm: Domitius Calderinus, Georgius Merula and Georgius Valla. Add: Domitius Calderinus: *Defensio adversus Brotheum*, Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, [about 1496-97]. Folio. GW M15767; ISTC ij00665000
- Leonicens, Nicolaus, *De morbo gallico*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, June 1497. 4°. GW M17947; ISTC il00165000
- Ludovicus Pruthenus, *Trilogium animae*. Ed: Paulinus de Lemberg, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 6 Mar. 1498. 4°. GW M29841; ISTC il00379000
- Maimonides, Moses, *Aphorismi secundum doctrinam Galeni*. Add: Johannes Damascenus (Mesue): Aphorismi. Rhasis: *De secretis in medicina*. Hippocrates: *Capsula eburnean*, Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, for Benedictus Hectoris, 29 May 1489. 4°. GW M20016; ISTC im00077000
- Manilius, Marcus, *Astronomicon*. Comm: Laurentius Bonincontrius, Rome: [Printer of Manilius, 'Astronomicon'], 26 Oct. 1484. Folio. GW M20631; ISTC im00204000
- Maurocenus, Paulus, *De generatione aeterna et temporali Christi*, Padua: Bartholomaeus de Valdezoccho and Martinus de Septem Arboribus, 28 Apr. 1473. 8° or 4°. GW M21883; ISTC im00380000
- Methodius, S., *Revelationes divinae a sanctis angelis factae*. Add: Wolfgangus Aytinger: Tractatus super Methodium, [Augsburg]: Johann Froschauer, 1 Sept. 1496. 4°. GW M23054; ISTC im00522000
- Michael Scotus, *Expositio super auctorem sphaerae*. Bologna: Justinianus de Ruberia, 16 Sept. 1495. 4°. GW M23273; ISTC im0055000
- Offredus, Apollinaris, *Expositio in primum Posteriorum Aristotelis*. Ed: Hieronymus Surianus, Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 19 Mar. 1493. Folio. GW M27708; ISTC io00056000
- Paulus Pergulensis, *Compendium logicae*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt for Johannes Lucilius Santritter, 13 Sept. 1481. 4°. GW M30236; ISTC ip00190000
- Philelphus, Franciscus, *Epistolae*. Venice: Philippus Pincius, 5 Sept. 1492. Folio. GW M32993; ISTC ip00591000
- Publicius, Jacobus, *Artes orandi, epistolandi, memoranda*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 30 Nov. 1482. 4°. GW M36431; ISTC ip01096000
- Rhasis, Mohammed, *Liber nonus ad Almansorem*. Comm: Silanus de Nigris. Add: Petrus de Tussignano: *Receptae super nonum ad Almansorem*, Venice: Otinus de Luna, Papiensis, 21 July 1497. Folio. GW M38028; ISTC ir00184000
- Rimbertinus, Bartholomaeus, *De deliciis sensibilibus Paradisi*. Add: Henricus de Virmaria: *De quattuor instinctibus*, Venice: Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, 25 Oct. 1498. 8°. GW M38185; ISTC ir00198000
- Serapion, Johannes, the Elder, *Breviarium medicinae*. Tr: Gerardus Cremonensis. Add: Serapion the Younger: *In medicinis simplicibus*. Tr: Simon a Cordo Januensis and Abraham Judaeus Tortuosiensis). Galenus: *De virtute centaureae*; Johannes Platearius: *Practica brevis*; Matthaeus Platearius: *De simplici medicina "Circa instans"*, Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 16 Dec. 1497. Folio. GW M41687; ISTC is00466000
- Sibylla, Bartholomaeus, *Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum*. Rome: Eucharius Silber, 27 Aug. 1493. 4°. GW 3459 (+ Accurti(1936) p.73); ISTC is00491000

- Thomas Aquinas, *De ente et essentia*. Ed: Ludovicus Regius, Venice: Johannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis, for Franciscus Bolanus, 'xix kalendas Martii' 1488. 4°. GW M46142; ISTC it00288000
- Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula* (71). Ed: Antonius Pizamanus, with a life of St. Thomas, Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 7 Sept. 1490. 4°. GW M46029; ISTC it00258000
- Tibullus, Albius, *Elegiae* (Comm: Bernardinus Cyllenius Veronensis). Add: Catullus: *Carmina* (Comm: Antonius Parthenius and Palladius Fuscus). Propertius: *Elegiae* (Comm: Philippus Beroaldus). Hieronymus Avantius: *Emendationes*. Ed: Hieronymus Avantius, Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, 19 May 1500. Folio. GW M47037; ISTC it00374000
- Trithem, Johann, *Catalogus illustrium virorum*. [Mainz: Peter von Friedberg, after 14 Aug. 1495]. 4°. GW M47516; ISTC it00433000

Indice dei libri antichi a stampa

- Alessandrini, Giulio, *Galenii Enantiomaton aliquot liber. Galenii encomium, Iulio Alexandrino medico, Tridentino autore. Eiusdem, Galenii Encomium. Indicem Enantiomaton, pagina quinta reperies*, Venetiis: [eredi di Lucantonio Giunta il vecchio], 1548 (Impressum Venetiis: apud Iuntas, 1548). CNCE 1000.
- Martialis, Marcus Valerius, *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton libri XIII. Interpretantibus Domitio Calderino: Georgioque Merula*, (Venetiis: per Guilielmum de Fontaneto Montisferrati, 1521 die V Novembris). CNCE 37685.
- Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae. Quae statutis diebus publice studiosorum commoditati aperietur*, [n.pl: no pr., 1623-1626]
- Trionfo, Agostino, *Opusculum perutile de cognitione animae et eius potentiis Augustini de Anchona cum quadam questione Prosperi de Regio*, (Bononiae: ex arte et officina Ioannis Iacobi de Benedictis cuius Bononiensis, 1503 die ultima Maij). CNCE 48167.

Acquisizioni e asportazioni alla caduta della Repubblica di Venezia

Elisabetta Sciarra

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, Italia

Abstract During the French and Austrian dominion on Venice after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, manuscripts and printed books were stolen from the Marciana National Library and from the religious houses' libraries. These books were only partially returned. The lists of the stolen books represent an important source in order to identify the items that are still kept abroad and to understand the provenance of many volumes.

Keywords Incunabula. Suppression of religious houses. Venice. Marciana National Library.

Sommario 1 Introduzione. – 2 Su alcune liste di asportazione edite e inedite. – 3 Alcuni libri oggi alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr. – 4 Asportazioni francesi. – 4.1 Carmini. – 4.2 San Michele di Murano. – 4.3 San Francesco della Vigna. – 4.4 San Giorgio Maggiore. – 4.5 Domenicani Osservanti alle Zattere. – 5 Asportazioni austriache. – 6 Incunaboli dispersi.

1 Introduzione

Sul frontespizio dell'esemplare delle *Canzoni* di Niccolò Lelio Cosmico stampate a Venezia da Bernardino Celeri il 10 Aprile 1478,¹ oggi conservato alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze,² compare un piccolo segno manoscritto apparentemente privo di importanza, ma che è invece notissimo ai catalogatori di area veneziana: si tratta di un crittogramma in forma di rom-

1 Cosmico, Niccolò Lelio, *Canzoni*. Venice: Bernardinus Celerius, 10 Apr. 1478. 4°. GW 7803; ISTC ic00943000.

2 Scapecchi, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, BNCF 971, 191 (BNCF, Palat. E.6.3.66).



bo, circondato da punti, presente in modo pressoché costante sui libri provenienti dalla biblioteca di Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750). In effetti l'incunabolo, molto raro, compare nel catalogo della biblioteca Zeniana, Marc. It. XI, 288-293 (=7273-7278), in particolare nel Marc. It. XI, 289 (=7274), c. 347r, ove è perfettamente riconoscibile nella descrizione:

Le medesime [i.e. Le canzoni] = In Venecia, per Bernardino di Celeri de Lovere del MCCCCLXXVIII adì X aprile, in 4°.

La biblioteca privata di Apostolo Zeno fu da lui stesso lasciata, prima della sua morte, alla biblioteca del Collegio del Santo Rosario dei Domenicani Osservanti alle Zattere di Venezia e di essa seguì le sorti alla caduta della Repubblica, nel 1797.³ L'incunabolo pervenne nella biblioteca Palatina di Firenze nel 1818, in occasione dell'acquisto della collezione di Gaetano Poggiali.⁴

Possiamo anche ricostruire una tappa intermedia della storia del volume: nel 1797, all'indomani della conquista napoleonica di Venezia, fu scelto tra i libri conservati presso il convento dei Domenicani alle Zattere di Venezia per essere portato in Francia. Infatti risulta registrato nel manoscritto Correr 1167, nr. 1937, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti e libri a stampa che li Francesi levarono nell'anno 1797 dalle Librerie de' Monasteri de' Regolari della città di Venezia, per portarli a Parigi, o dove essi hanno voluto*. Sotto il capo dei *Libri a stampa del secolo XV estratti dal monastero dei Domenicani alle Zattere* è riconoscibile al nr. 56:

Cosmico. Canzoni. Venezia, 1478, 4°.

Evidentemente, il volume, dal convento dei Domenicani alle Zattere a cui Apostolo Zeno lo aveva destinato, dovette prendere la via della Francia, per poi tornare in Italia, ma non nelle collezioni veneziane, bensì a Firenze.

³ Sulle vicende della biblioteca di Apostolo Zeno e in particolare sul crittogramma a rombo si veda la scheda in *Archivio dei possessori*, <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/9-zeno-apostolo> con la bibliografia di riferimento.

⁴ Scapecchi, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, 16.

2 Su alcune liste di asportazione edite e inedite

La storia complessa di questo volume induce a tentare una ricerca completa attraverso le fonti sulle vicende dei libri trafugati dai Francesi prima e dagli Austriaci poi.

Dopo il 1797, in momenti differenti, Francesi e Austriaci, che dominarono su Venezia, selezionarono opere d'arte, documenti d'archivio, manoscritti e libri a stampa per arricchire le raccolte d'Oltralpe.⁵

Per quanto riguarda specificamente i libri, si conservano diverse liste relative alle asportazioni e, anche laddove si sia certi che questi sono tornati successivamente a Venezia, tali liste possono costituire una fonte utile per comprendere l'origine claustrale dei molti volumi che non recano alcun segno materiale di provenienza. Lo studio e la pubblicazione sistematica di tali elenchi e il riconoscimento di tutte le edizioni e di tutti gli esemplari a cui fanno riferimento si rivela altrettanto importante quanto la disamina delle tracce recate dai libri stessi. Scopo di questo lavoro è di fornire una prima valutazione di queste liste, fornendo esempi di identificazioni di edizioni e di esemplari e confrontando le registrazioni, ove possibile, anche con gli antichi cataloghi delle biblioteche conventuali soppresse, se conservati in Marciana. Si rinvia invece a un secondo contributo per la pubblicazione completa delle liste, l'identificazione delle edizioni e degli esemplari.

Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, ms. Correr 1167 nr. 1937. *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti e libri a stampa che li Francesi levarono nell'anno 1797 dalle Librerie de' Monasteri de' Regolari della città di Venezia, per portarli a Parigi, o dove essi hanno voluto.*

La lista più ampia è quella tradita dal già menzionato manoscritto Correr 1167, nr. 1937, già edito per la prima volta da Romanin.⁶ Si tratta di una copia ottocentesca di un elenco molto nutrito di manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa trafugati dai Francesi nel 1797. Benché il documento non sia un originale, l'interesse di questa lista risiede in due fattori: è la più ricca in assoluto ed è suddivisa per capitoli, uno per ciascun convento dal quale i libri furono trascelti. Di conseguenza, una volta identificati l'edizione e l'esemplare, ovunque essi siano oggi conservati, la lista è fonte per la conoscenza dei possessori antichi, nonché più in generale delle biblioteche conventuali veneziane soppresse. Il documento si compone di 18 carte, numerate 160-177, che recano i seguenti capi:

⁵ Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco*, 349-71.

⁶ Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*. Libro XXI, Appendici. Documenti, Vol. X, 267-300; la trascrizione, peraltro non priva di errori, non tenta l'identificazione di edizioni e di esemplari.

- cc. 160r-161r: Codici manoscritti estratti dal monastero, o Collegio de R.R. P.P. Domenicani delle Zattere di Venezia l'anno 1797 (67 voci);
- cc. 161v-164v: Libri a stampa [dei Domenicani alle Zattere n.d.a.] dal 1469 al 1499 (voci 1-220);
- cc. 164v-165r: Libri Aldini, ed altri [dei Domenicani alle Zattere n.d.a.] (voci 1-37);
- cc. 165r-167v: Libri asportati dai Commissari Francesi dalla Libreria de R.R. P.P. Somaschi di S. M.a della Salute di Venezia l'anno 1797 (voci 1-122);
- cc. 167v-172r: Raccolta di autori di opere di musica [dei Somaschi alla Salute n.d.a.] (voci 1-54);⁷
- cc. 172r-173v: Stampe, e libri di pittura consistenti in 20 volumi in fol.° scuola romana antica Tomi due [dei Somaschi alla Salute n.d.a.];
- cc. 173v-174r: Libri levati da' Francesi dalla Biblioteca de R.R. P.P. Di S. Francesco de' Frari di Venezia l'anno 1797 (voci 1-56);
- c. 174v: Libri levati da Francesi nel 1797 dal Monast.o de R.R. P.P. del Carmine di Venezia (voci 1-12);
- c. 174v: Libri portati via dai Francesi dal Monastero di S. Stefano di Venezia dell'ordine degli Agostiniani della Provincia di Venezia l'anno 1797 (voci 1-5);
- cc. 174v: Libri trasportati via dai Francesi nel 1797 dal Vener.do Monastero di S. Bonaventura di Venezia Francescani Osservanti Riformati (voci 1-2);
- c. 175r: Libri levati dalla libreria di S. Francesco della Vigna per ordine dell'ex Comitato di Salute Pubblica l'anno 1797 (voci 1-26);
- c. 175r: Biblioteca di S. Marco;
- cc. 175v-176r: Libri estratti in più volte dall'insigne libreria di S. Michiele [sic] di Murano Monaci Camaldolesi nel 1797 per ordine dalla Municipalità Provis.a di Ven.a e di Murano (voci 1-53);
- c. 176r-v: Codices ms [di San Michele di Murano n.d.a.] (voci 1-18);
- cc. 176v-177r: Seguono altri codici ms. [di San Michele di Murano n.d.a.] semplicemente segnati ai seguenti numeri (voci 19-82);
- c. 177v: Libri estratti dal Monastero di S. Mattia di Murano Monaci Camaldolesi nel 1797 (voci 1-7);
- c. 177v: Libri estratti dalla Libreria del Monastero di S. Georgio Maggiore di Monaci Benedettini l'anno 1797 [manca la lista].

È evidente anche solo dal fatto che l'ultima sezione – i libri sottratti da San Giorgio Maggiore – non è stata copiata e dai numerosi errori materiali di trascrizione, che la copia non può dirsi affidabile; ciononostante, soprattutto per i conventi dei Domenicani alle Zattere e dei Somaschi alla Salute essa è una fonte ricchissima di informazioni.

Nell'Archivio della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana sono conservate poi due liste relative alle asportazioni francesi, una nell'anno 1806 e una nell'anno 1816.

⁷ Edita con riconoscimento di edizioni e di esemplari in Sciarra, «'Levati e consegnati alli Comisari Francesi'».

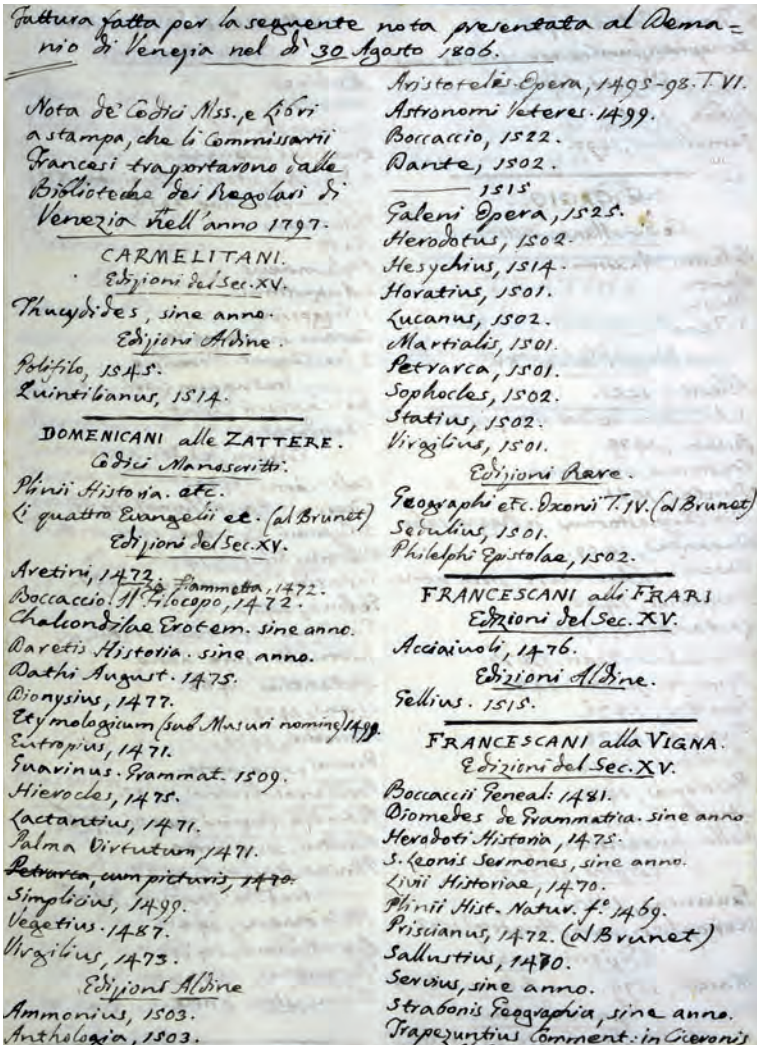


Figura 1 BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, anno 1806, Fattura fatta per la seguente nota presentata al Demanio di Venezia nel dì 30 agosto 1806. Nota de' codici mss., e libri a stampa, che li commissarii francesi trasportarono dalle biblioteche dei regolari di Venezia nell'anno 1797

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, anno 1806, *Fattura fatta per la seguente nota presentata al Demanio di Venezia nel di 30 agosto 1806. Nota de' codici mss., e libri a stampa, che li commissarii francesi trasportarono dalle biblioteche dei regolari di Venezia nell'anno 1797.* [fig. 1]

Tale lista non contiene tutte le edizioni elencate in quella del Correr 1167, ma, in maniera analoga, elenca i libri dando conto dei Conventi dai quali furono sottratti. Di sole due carte, scritte su due colonne, essa è divisa, come la precedente, per capi:

- c. 1r: Nota de' codici mss, e libri a stampa, che li Commissari Francesi trasportarono dalle biblioteche dei Regolari di Venezia nell'anno 1797;
- c. 1r: Carmelitani, Edizioni del sec. XV (1), Edizioni aldine (2);
- c. 1r: Domenicani alle Zattere, Codici manoscritti (2), Edizioni del XV secolo ([16] 15), Edizioni aldine (18), Edizioni rare (3);
- c. 1r: Francescani agli Frari, Edizioni del sec. XV (1), Edizioni aldine (1);
- c. 1r-v: Francescani alla Vigna, Edizioni del sec. XV (13), Edizioni aldine (2);
- c. 1v: S. Giorgio, Codici manoscritti (4), Edizioni del sec. XV (18), Edizioni aldine (2), Edizioni rare (1), Opere di musica (1);
- c. 1v: S. Michele di Murano, Codici manoscritti (16), Edizioni del sec. XV (21);
- c. 2r: Somaschi alla Salute, Edizioni del sec. XV (6), Edizioni Aldine (9), Opere di musica (46 [senza elenco n.d.a.]), Libri di disegno (3);
- c. 2r: S. Stefano, Codici manoscritti (1), Edizioni del sec. XV (1), Edizioni aldine (1);
- c. 2r: Teatini, Codici manoscritti (1).

Nel complesso, le descrizioni sono più scarse, ma sufficientemente precise da consentire le identificazioni delle edizioni, tramite il confronto con le altre liste.

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, anno 1816, *Nota delli codici manoscritti della Imp. R.a Biblioteca di Venezia consegnati alli signori commissari francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario per comando della Municipalità di Venezia nel giorno 11 ottobre 1797 e Nota dei codici manoscritti, e Libri stampati presi in Venezia dalle biblioteche dei Frati consegnati alli signori commissari francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario nel giorno 11 ottobre 1797.* [fig. 2]

Questi documenti, in duplice copia (1816, nr. 3 e 1816, nr. 20), sono apografi delle liste delle asportazioni del 1797, redatti all'atto della restituzione e in funzione di essa, nel 1816. Tutta la prima parte di questi documenti è dedicata alla selezione di manoscritti tratti dalla Marciana. Il documento 1816 nr. 20 è preceduto da quattro carte ove si descrive il contenuto delle liste: la prima lista, detta 'Nota A' conteneva copia di tutti i libri sottratti nel 1797 dalla Marciana (202 manoscritti) e dalle biblioteche dei conventi soppressi (21 codici, di cui solo 20 rientrati, 80 incunaboli dei quali solo 75 rientrati, 51 aldine di cui solo 48 rientrate). La seconda lista o 'Nota B' registrava le mancanze e le sostituzioni ed era divisa in cinque capi: manoscritti (1 mancanza), incunaboli (5 mancanze), aldine (3 mancanze), cin-

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'Opera	Luogo	Stampato	anno
240	Placcino	Princ. Pontificum	Venezia		1479 1
241	Giustin	De honesta Religione	Venezia		1480 1
242	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1479 1
243	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
244	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
245	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
246	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
247	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
248	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
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252	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
253	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
254	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
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256	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
257	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
258	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
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261	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
262	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
263	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
264	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
265	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
266	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
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268	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
269	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
270	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
271	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
272	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
273	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
274	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
275	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
276	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
277	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
278	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1
279	Placcino	Opera	Venezia		1478 1

Figura 2 BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, anno 1816, Nota delli codici manoscritti della Imp. R.a Biblioteca di Venezia consegnati agli signori commissari francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario per comando della Municipalità di Venezia nel giorno 11 ottobre 1797 e Nota dei codici manoscritti, e Libri stampati presi in Venezia dalle biblioteche dei Frati consegnati agli signori commissari francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario nel giorno 11 ottobre 1797

quecentine (4 mancanze), opere di musica (3 mancanze). Se non che la Nota B - che registrava anche gli esemplari sostituiti - non è più conservata tra i documenti dell'Archivio della Biblioteca; tuttavia alcuni libri che non tornarono in Italia sono egualmente riconoscibili comunque nella Nota A perché privi del segno ‘-’ apposto a sinistra del numero progressivo. Giuseppe Valentinelli nel 1868 poteva ancora leggere la Nota B o averne notizia, giacché ne dà conto, fornendo parzialmente i dati in essa contenuti.⁸

Nelle carte introduttive si constata che dei 432 volumi manoscritti e stampati, consegnati nel 1797 ai Francesi e puntualmente elencati, ne tornarono solo 417, comprese le cosiddette sostituzioni, in ragione delle quali furono restituiti non già gli esemplari trafugati, ma altri,

⁸ Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, 1: 130-3; Valentinelli, *Libri membranacei a stampa*, 22-4.

forse giudicati di minor pregio; infine si dice che fu restituita un'edizione di Vegezio priva di data, non registrata nella nota A. La nota A del 1816 non dà conto specificamente dei conventi da cui i singoli volumi furono selezionati; del resto ciò aveva poca importanza all'epoca poiché, essendo state soppresse le corporazioni religiose che originariamente possedevano questi libri, essi furono restituiti alla Biblioteca Marciana, che di quelle soppressioni era la beneficiaria.

La nota A si compone di dieci carte, divise per capi:

- cc. 1r-6r: Nota delli codici manoscritti della Imp. R.a Biblioteca di Venezia consegnati alli signori commissari francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario per comando della Municipalità di Venezia nel giorno 11 ottobre 1797;
- cc. 1r-4v: Codici Greci (1-167);
- c. 4v: Codici Latini (168-180);
- c. 5r-v: Nota delli codici manoscritti non registrati nel catalogo suddetto stampato e parimenti consegnati alli Sig.ri Commissarii Francesi nel predetto 11 ottobre MDCCXCVI li quali codici mss. erano pure della Imp. R.a Biblioteca di Venezia;
- c. 5r: Codici Greci (181-184);
- c. 5r: Codici Latini (185-194);
- c. 5v: Codici Arabi (195-197);
- c. 5v: Codici Italiani (198-199);
- c. 5v: Codici Francesi (200-201);
- c. 6r: Opere di musica stampate della Imp. R.a Biblioteca di Venezia eddalli suddetti Sig.ri Commissarii nel dì 11 ottobre MDCCXCVII consegnate (202-203);⁹
- cc. 6v-7r: Nota dei codici manoscritti, e libri stampati presi in Venezia dalla biblioteche dei frati, consegnati alli signori Commissarii francesi Berthollet e Monge dall'Ab. Jacopo Morelli bibliotecario nel giorno 11 ottobre MDCCXCVII;
- c. 6v: Codici Greci (204-215);
- c. 6v: Codici Latini (216-222);
- c. 7r: Codici Italiani (223-225);
- c. 7r-8r: Edizioni del secolo XV (226-303);
- cc. 8v-9r: Edizioni fatte dagli Aldi in Venezia (304-344);
- c. 9r: Edizioni del secolo XVI (345-347);
- cc. 9v-10v: Opere di musica (348-385).¹⁰

Il numero dei libri elencati nella Nota A, tolti i codici della Marciana, è inferiore a quello dei libri presenti nella lista del Correr 1167: dunque sembrerebbe che molti volumi siano rimasti in Francia senza che i bibliotecari italiani che ne reclamavano la restituzione abbiano avuto consapevolezza di queste mancanze, in particolare per quanto concerne i libri prelevati dai conventi in via di soppressione.

La lista del Correr 1167 è senza dubbio eccentrica rispetto alle altre, perché reca molte più notizie e di molti volumi non è nota la sorte. È possibile che alcuni dei libri ivi elencati non abbiano mai preso la via della Francia, ma piuttosto siano stati accumulati in depositi

⁹ Sciarra, «Segni sui libri e carte d'archivio».

¹⁰ Sciarra, «'Levati e consegnati alli Comisari Francesi'».

per essere portati via dai Francesi e lì siano rimasti fino al 1816. In tal senso sarebbe utile confrontare la lista del Correr con altre conservate in Marciana, che testimoniano proprio il fatto che alcuni volumi di provenienza claustrale furono accumulati in Marciana per essere esaminati dai Commissari francesi, ma poi furono 'lasciati indietro'; di questi Morelli richiederà l'assegnazione alla Marciana.

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, 1789-1812, fasc. 2.1-9, [Libri da estrarsi...]

Tale fascicolo contiene una serie di liste di libri da estrarsi dalle biblioteche delle corporazioni religiose e da trasferire provvisoriamente nella Marciana per ordine della Commissione di scienze ed arti, datate 17 luglio 1797 (29 mietitore anno V della Repubblica Francese); gli elenchi si riferiscono alle seguenti biblioteche:

- fasc. 2.1 – Somaschi alla Salute;
- fasc. 2.2 – Domenicani alle Zattere;
- fasc. 2.3 – San Giorgio Maggiore;
- fasc. 2.4 – San Francesco della Vigna;
- fasc. 2.5 – Frari;
- fasc. 2.6 – Santo Stefano;
- fasc. 2.7 – Teatini;
- fasc. 2.8 – San Bonaventura;
- fasc. 2.9 – Carmini.

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, 1789-1812, fasc. 2.10-12, [Libri estratti...]

Tali fascicoli contengono tre liste:

- fasc. 2.10 – Libri a stampa estratti dalla Libreria di Santa Giustina di Padova a richiesta della Commissione delle scienze ed arti di Francia, addì 21 termidoro 1797;
- fasc. 2.11 – Nota di libri stampati e manoscritti estratti dalle librerie de' Regolari di Venezia a richiesta delli Cittadini Berthollet e Monge Commissari della Repubblica francese, poi da essi lasciati indietro, foglio primo;
- fasc. 2.12 – Nota di libri a stampa e manoscritti estratti dalla Librerie di San Michele di Murano, a richiesta delli Cittadini Berthollet e Monge Commissari della Rep. francese, poi da essi lasciati indietro, foglio secondo.

Di queste liste sono ovviamente particolarmente interessanti il fasc. 2.11 e 2.12. Il fasc. 2.11 elenca i libri fornendo indicazioni di provenienza dei volumi e del numero di copie della medesima edizione prelevate; nel fasc. 2.11, c. 3r si specifica anche che i libri lasciati indietro sono «ora esistenti nella Libreria Nazionale», cioè in Marciana e alla c. 4r che «li segnati con la croce [cioè *] mancano nella libreria». Nel fasc. 2.12, c. 3r-v Jacopo Morelli chiede l'assegnazione dei 110 libri a stampa e 15 manoscritti non prelevati.

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, 1789-1812, fasc. 2.13-21

Questi documenti recano le liste delle restituzioni dei libri non prelevati dai Francesi e non acquisiti dalla Marciana rispettivamente ai conventi di:

- fasc. 2.13 – Domenicani alle Zattere;
- fasc. 2.14 – Somaschi alla Salute;
- fasc. 2.15 – San Giorgio Maggiore;
- fasc. 2.16 – Carmini;
- fasc. 2.17 – San Michele di Murano;
- fasc. 2.18 – Teatini;
- fasc. 2.19 – Santo Stefano;
- fasc. 2.20 – San Francesco della Vigna;
- fasc. 2.21 – Frari;
- fasc. 2.22-28 – carte relative alle asportazioni da San Michele di Murano.

Insomma, nel 1797 centinaia di libri dei conventi furono raccolti in Marciana per poi essere scelti e portati in Francia. Di quelli rimasti a Venezia, una parte probabilmente sparì subito, una parte fu incamerata dalla Marciana (fasc. 2.12) e una parte fu restituita ai conventi, che però sarebbero stati soppressi negli anni a venire;¹¹ di conseguenza i libri restituiti ai conventi, se non spariti, sottratti o venduti nel frattempo, giunsero comunque alla Marciana, dopo la seconda ondata di soppressioni.

3 Alcuni libri oggi alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr

In alcuni casi, come in quello dell'edizione delle *Canzoni* di Niccolò Lelio Cosmico citato in principio, i volumi rientrarono in Italia, ma non si trovano attualmente in Marciana, che avrebbe dovuto essere la naturale destinataria non solo dei volumi sottratti direttamente al suo patrimonio, ma anche di quelli che provenivano dalle biblioteche delle corporazioni religiose soppresse, il cui patrimonio le era stato attribuito dal 1810.

Ad esempio nella lista del Correr 1167, sotto il capo dei libri asportati da San Francesco della Vigna è citato:

9 - Boccaccii Genealogia deorum 1481 fol.º

¹¹ Si vedano in proposito: BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, 1789-1812, fasc. 3-5.

La stessa descrizione è nella lista del 1806, sempre relativamente ai libri provenienti da San Francesco della Vigna:

Boccaccio Geneal. 1481

E ancora nel 1816 al nr. 232:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-232	Eiusdem [i.e. Boccaccio]	Genealogia deorum	f.º	Regii	---	1481	1

Di tale edizione¹² esistono due esemplari alla Bibliothèque nationale de France, di provenienza sicuramente francese, e un esemplare in Marciana, Inc. 351, proveniente dalla biblioteca dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia. Esiste inoltre un esemplare alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Inc. E 339, che presenta sul contropiatto anteriore un'etichetta di provenienza dalla Biblioteca Marciana e sul verso della carta di guardia anteriore un'antica segnatura manoscritta: H di sotto Sc. 7a. Quest'ultima collocazione è riconducibile alle segnature antiche di San Francesco della Vigna.¹³ Il caso non è unico.

Nella lista del Correr 1167, sotto il capo dei libri provenienti dalla biblioteca dei Somaschi alla Salute compare un'edizione aldina:

11 – Demosthenes. Orationes (Greco) cum argomentiis Libanii, Venetiis, in Edibus Aldi 1504, fol.º.

Nella lista del 1806, tra i libri provenienti dai Somaschi alla Salute è citata la medesima aldina:

Demosthenes, 1504.

Nella lista del 1816 il volume compare tra le edizioni aldine:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Anno	Volumi
-317	Demosthenis	Orationes	f.º	1504	1

¹² Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Genealogiae deorum*. Additions by Dominicus Silvester. Add: *De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus, de nominibus maris*. Reggio Emilia: Bartholomaeus and Laurentius de Bruschi, Bottonus, 6 Oct. 1481. Folio. GW 4476; ISTC ib00751000.

¹³ Si vedano gli esempi in *Archivio dei possessori*: <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/339-biblioteca-di-san-francesco-della-vigna>.

Anche di questa edizione esistono due esemplari in Marciana,¹⁴ nessuno riferibile ai Somaschi, mentre l'esemplare della Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Inc. E 86, proviene dalla Biblioteca Marciana e reca l'ex-libris di Giorgio Bergonci, il quale legò la propria biblioteca a quella dei Chierici Regolari Somaschi alla Salute;¹⁵ inoltre sul frontespizio reca il timbro della Bibliothèque nationale de France.

I libri appartenuti alla Marciana oggi alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr già segnalati in catalogo sono circa settanta e non sono posteriori al 1851. Tali esemplari passarono al Correr a seguito della stipula di una concessione in uso perpetuo di esemplari doppi della Marciana al Comune, firmata nel 1886, nel contesto del contenzioso relativo al Legato Molin.¹⁶ Un documento particolarmente rilevante per questi passaggi è BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, Legato Molin, *Catalogo dei duplicati della Biblioteca Marciana consegnati in deposito al Museo Civico in stretto ordine alfabetico*: in esso sono citati, tra gli altri, gli esemplari in questione. Questo catalogo andrebbe puntualmente confrontato con le edizioni presenti oggi al Correr, sia per rintracciare gli esemplari *olim* marciani – già in parte identificati nell'OPAC di Polo,¹⁷ sia perché il confronto con le liste di asportazione potrebbe indurre all'identificazione di libri considerati dispersi.

Citerò, a mero titolo di esempio, l'edizione di Themistio del 1481;¹⁸ in Marciana è conservato un esemplare, Inc. 447, proveniente da San Giovanni di Verdara. Nella lista del Correr, tra i libri scelti dal convento agostiniano di Santo Stefano compare un

4 - *Themistius. Tarvisii. 1481. in fol.°*

14 Non si tratta di CNCE 16732, stampata nel 1504, ma di CNCE 16733, stampata nel 1513, con data 1504: Δημοσθένους λόγοι, δύο καὶ ἐξήχοντα. Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ ὑποθέσεις εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους. Βίος Δημοσθένους, κατ' αὐτὸν Λιβάνιον. Βίος Δημοσθένους, κατὰ Πλούταρχον. Demosthenis Orationes duae & sexaginta. Libanii in eas ipsas orationes argumenta. Vita Demosthenis per Libanium. Eiusdem vita per Plutarchum. Venetiis: in aedib. Aldi, mense Nouem. 1504 [i.e. 1513]. In Marciana sono presenti due esemplari: BNM, Gr. VIII, 5 (=12387) (olim Aldine 209); BNM, 395 D 67, del legato Molin.

15 L'esemplare Museo Correr E 86 presenta sul frontespizio il timbro della Bibliothèque nationale de France e proviene dalla raccolta di Giorgio Bergonci, su cui si veda *Archivio dei possessori*: <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/51-bergonci-giorgio>; e dunque dai Somaschi alla Salute su cui di nuovo *Archivio dei possessori*: <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/52-congregazione-dei-chierici-regolari-somaschi>.

16 Sul legato Molin, Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco*, 394-6; al Museo Correr venivano concessi in custodia perpetua doppi marciani in numero uguale a quelli del Legato Molin stesso.

17 URL <https://polovea.sebina.it/Sebina0pac/.do>.

18 Themistius Peripateticus, *Paraphrasis in Aristotelem* (Tr: Hermolaus Barbarus). Ed: Ponticus Facinus. Treviso: Bartholomaeus Confalonierus and Morellus Gerardinus, 15 Feb. 1481. Folio. GW M45754; ISTC it00129000.

identificabile in quello della lista del 1806, sottratto da Santo Stefano, nella voce:

Themistius, 1481

La stessa edizione compare nella lista del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-291	Themistii	Opera, Latine	f.º	Tarvisii	---	1481	1

Un esemplare proveniente dalla Biblioteca Marciana è oggi al Correr, Inc. E 334, ed è presente nel *Catalogo dei duplicati*:

- 215 *Themistius – Paraphrasis in posteriora analitica Aristotelis interprete Hermolao Barbaro. Tarvisii 1481. 4º*

La disamina comparativa di queste liste consente di ricostruire la provenienza del volume dalla biblioteca del convento di Santo Stefano: traslato in Francia, esso fu poi restituito alla Marciana e infine passò alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr.

4 Asportazioni francesi

L'identificazione degli esemplari prelevati dai Francesi non è dunque sempre facile, né ovvia. Alcuni volumi, che furono trasportati in Francia e sono oggi in Marciana, recano una legatura in marocchino rosso con semplici fregi in oro, e talora il timbro della Bibliothèqu Royale de France; a titolo di esempio, si possono citare l'Inc. 539,¹⁹ l'Inc. 559,²⁰ l'Inc. 985.²¹ Le tre edizioni, dei quali solo l'Inc. 539 reca un segno di possesso di Apostolo Zeno, sono citate in tutte le liste di asportazione, come provenienti dalla biblioteca del Collegio del Santo Rosario. Tuttavia la legatura in marocchino rosso e ancor più il timbro della Bibliothèqu Royale de France presente su manoscritti

¹⁹ Brunus Aretinus, Leonardus, *Epistolarum familiarium libri VIII*. Ed: Antonius Moretus and Hieronymus Squarzafigus. [Venice: Printer of Brunus Aretinus (H 1565)], for Antonius Moretus, 1472. Folio. GW 5606; ISTC ib01242000.

²⁰ Chalcondylas, Demetrius, *Erotemata* [Greek]. Add: Manuel Moschopulus, *Erotemata* [Greek]. Gregorius Corinthius, *De dialectis* [Greek]. [Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, about 1493]. Folio & 4º. GW 8250; ISTC ic00419860.

²¹ Datus, Augustinus, *Elegantiolae*. Ferrara: [Andreas Belfortis, Gallus], 20 Sept. 1475. 4º. GW 8048; ISTC id00061000.

e incunaboli della Marciana, non indicano necessariamente che tali esemplari siano i volumi selezionati e poi restituiti dai Francesi; ad esempio, l'Inc. 553,²² che nelle liste risulta sottratto dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore, porta il timbro della Bibliothèque Royale de France, ma l'esemplare della medesima edizione conservato alla Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. G. 139 ha l'ex-libris della Biblioteca Marciana ed è da identificarsi con quello asportato.

In altre parole, alcuni libri che recano la legatura in marocchino rosso e il timbro della Biblioteca Nazionale di Francia furono consegnati alla Marciana in sostituzione di quelli trafugati, con tutta probabilità perché ritenuti esemplari meno pregevoli, come nei casi, citati più avanti, di incunaboli membranacei rimasti in Francia.

4.1 Carmini

L'edizione di Tucidide del 1483²³ attualmente posseduta dalla Marciana (Inc. 450) sembra provenire dalla biblioteca di Apostolo Zeno.²⁴ Nella lista Correr 1167 compare la medesima edizione, tra i *Libri levati dai Francesi nel 1797 dal monastero de R.R.P.P. del Carmine di Venezia*:

4 – *Thucididis Historia et versione Laurentii Valla absq. ulla nota saeculi XV. in fol.*°

Anche nella lista del 1806, nell'elenco dei libri sottratti ai Carmelitani, compare la medesima edizione:

- *Thucydides, sine anno*

Nella lista del 1816 il libro risulta tra quelli asportati:

22 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon* (Tr: Hieronymus). With the continuations of Prosper Aquitanus and Matthaues Palmerius Florentinus. Prelim: Boninus Mombritius, *Epigrammata tria ad lectorem*, [Milan]: Philippus de Lavagnia, [about 1474-75]. 4°. GW 9432; ISTC ie00116000; MEI 02017470 e MEI 02018229.

23 Thucydides, *Historia belli Peloponnesiaci*. Tr: Laurentius Valla, Ed: Bartholomaeus Parthenius, [Treviso: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1483?]. Folio. GW M46964; ISTC it00359000.

24 All'angolo interno inferiore della prima carta di testo (a2r) compare il crittogramma a rombo attribuito ad Apostolo Zeno; il titolo del presente incunabolo non figura nel catalogo settecentesco della biblioteca di Apostolo Zeno (BNM, Mss. It. XI, 288-293 [=7273-7278]).

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-293	Thucydidis	Historia Laurentio Valla interprete	f.°	---	---	---	1

Il volume è chiaramente da identificarsi con l'esemplare conservato in Francia, BnF, Rés. J. 33, proveniente dai Carmini di Venezia.²⁵

4.2 San Michele di Murano

Da San Michele di Murano furono sottratti, secondo la lista del Correr cinquantatre volumi, tra i quali:

- 1 – *Plinii Historia naturalis. Fol. Venet. Jenson 1472*
- 6 – *Asconius Podianus. Venet. 1477*
- 10 – *Cecilius Cyprianus. Venetiis 1471. fol.*
- 11 – *Diodorus Siculus. Ve. 1476*
- 20 – *Macrobius. Venetiis 1472*
- 22 – *Orosius Histor. Absque nota*

I medesimi si riconoscono anche nella lista del 1806:

- S. Cypriani Epistolae, 1471*
- Diodorus Siculus, 1476*
- Macrobius, 1472*
- Orosius, sine anno*
- Paedianus Asconius, 1477*
- Plinius, Hist. Nat. 1472*

Nella lista del 1816 ne sono ricordati alcuni, che non sono tornati e sono invece riconoscibili in altrettanti volumi conservati alla Bibliothèque nationale de France:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi	Collocazione attuale
-238	Diodori Siculi	Historiae a Poggio Florentino latine redditae	f.°	Venetiis	---	1476	1	BnF, Rés. J. 72 ⁱ
-260	Macrobi	Opera	f.°	Venetiis	---	1472	1	BnF, Rés. Z. 63 ⁱⁱ
-267	Orosii Pauli	Historia	f.°	Vincentia	---	---	1	BnF, Rés. G. 178 ⁱⁱⁱ

²⁵ CIBN T-263 (BnF, Rés. J. 33) proviene dai Carmelitani di Venezia.

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi	Collocazione attuale
-268	Paediani Asconii	Opera	f.°	Venetii	---	1477	1	BnF, Rés. X. 284 ^{iv}
302	Plinii	Historia naturalis	f.°	Venetii	Jenson	1472	1	BnF, Rés. S. 416 ^v

i Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae historicae libri VI*. Tr: Poggius Florentinus. Add: Tacitus: *Germania*. Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 31 Jan. 1476/77. Folio. GW 8375; ISTC id00211000; CIBN D-129. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca Marciana; l'esemplare BNM, Inc. V. 557 ha la legatura in marocchino rosso con impressioni in oro e timbro della Bibliothèque Royale de France.

ii Macrobius, Aurelius Theodosius, *In Somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. GW M19702; ISTC im00008000; CIBN M-6. L'esemplare della BnF proviene da San Michele di Murano.

iii Orosius, Paulus, *Historiae adversos paganos*. Ed: Aeneas Vulpes. [Vicenza]: Leonardus Achates de Basilea, [about 1482]. Folio. GW M28419; ISTC io00097500; CIBN O-60. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca Marciana. Esemplari marciiani, non coerenti con la provenienza da San Michele di Murano, sono BNM, Inc. 460.1; BNM, Inc. 423; BNM, Inc. 594.

iv Asconius Pedianus, Quintus, *Commentarii in orationes Ciceronis*. Ed: Hieronymus Squarzacifus. Add: Georgius Trapezuntius, *De artificio Ciceronianae orationis Pro Quinto Ligario*. Antonius Luscius, *Inquisitio super xi orationes Ciceronis*. Sicco Polentonus, *Argumenta super xii orationibus et invectivis Ciceronis*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, [between 2 June and 12 Sept. 1477]. Folio. GW 2739; ISTC ia01154000; CIBN A-629. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca Marciana. L'esemplare marciano, non coerente con la provenienza da San Michele di Murano, è BNM, Inc. V. 441.

v Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), *Historia naturalis*. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. GW M34326; ISTC ip00788000; CIBN P-459. Proveniente da San Michele di Murano, con ex-libris di Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli.

4.3 San Francesco della Vigna

Dalla lista del Correr 1167, tra i *Libri levati dalla libreria di San Francesco della Vigna per ordine dell'ex Comitato di salute pubblica l'anno 1797* si legge di un'edizione di Giorgio Trapezunzio:

24 – *Georgii Trapezunti Rethorica sine anno fol.°*.

Tale edizione è riconoscibile nella lista del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-294	Trapezuntii Georgii	Rhetorica	f.°	Venetii	---	---	1

Invece in quella del 1806 si legge:

Trapezuntius Comment. In Ciceronis Philippicas, 4°

Nel Catalogo dei libri a stampa posseduti dalla Biblioteca di San Francesco della Vigna, Marc. It. X, 216-218 (=6903-6905), in particolare It. X, 218 (=6905), c. 202v si riconoscono due edizioni distinte:

*Trapezuntius Georgius – Rhetorica / sine loco, et anno / per Lemanum Spiram in fol. H.7;*²⁶

Trapezuntius Georgius – Commentarii in Philippicas Ciceronis / sine loco Typog. Et anno / in 8. H.4*²⁷

Della prima esiste un esemplare in Marciana, BNM, Inc. 265, proveniente dal convento dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo; a Venezia ne circolava anche un altro esemplare, presente nella biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore;²⁸ l'esemplare localizzato in Francia, BnF, Rés. X. 636 proviene sicuramente da qualche biblioteca di Venezia.²⁹ Anche della seconda edizione è presente un esemplare in Marciana, Misc. 2583.2, proveniente dalla raccolta di Apostolo Zeno; e ne esiste uno in Francia, BnF, Rés. J. 1617;³⁰ uno degli esemplari francesi potrebbe essere quello di San Francesco della Vigna.

4.4 San Giorgio Maggiore

Su San Giorgio Maggiore la lista del Correr non fornisce notizie, giacché termina, come già detto, dopo aver registrato il titolo *Libri estratti dalla Libreria del Monastero di S. Georgio Maggiore di Monaci Benedettini l'anno 1797*. La lista del 1806 reca diciotto registrazioni per gli incunaboli, dei quali ben pochi ritornarono a Venezia; essi sono stati in gran parte già riconosciuti e segnalati da altri studiosi in MEI.³¹

²⁶ Georgius Trapezuntius, *Rhetorica*. Venice: Vindelinius de Spira, [not before 1472]. Folio. GW 10664; ISTC ig00157000.

²⁷ Georgius Trapezuntius, *Commentarii in Philippicas Ciceronis*. Venice: [Filippo di Pietro, about 1475]. 4°. GW 10657; ISTC ig00155000.

²⁸ MEI 02108485, historical copy.

²⁹ CIBN G-89.

³⁰ CIBN G-85.

³¹ In MEI è in corso la ricostruzione della biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore da parte di Cristina Dondi, Lavinia Prosdocimi, Dorit Raines.

Lista 1806	Collocazione attuale
Alberti – 1485	BNM, Inc. 570 ⁱ
S. Augustini De civitate Dei, 1475	BnF, Rés. Vélins 301 ⁱⁱ
Biblia, 1479	ÖNB, Ink. 8.E.10 ⁱⁱⁱ
Crestonus, sine anno	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. O inf. 2.3 ^{iv}
Dante, 1481	BnF, Rés. Yd. 102 ^v
Dio Chrysostomus, de Regno, 1469	BNM, Inc. 1017 ^{vi}
Durandus, 1459	BnF, Rés. Vélins 125 ^{vii}
Eusebius, Chronicon, sine anno	BnF, Rés. G. 139 ^{viii}
Homerus, 1488	BNM, Membr. 11-12 ^{ix}
Lactantius, 1472	BnF, Rés. C. 350 ^x
Marcellus Nonn. 1476	BNM, Membr. 21 ^{xi}
Nosce te ipsum, 1480	Non identificato ^{xii}
Perottus, 1476	BnF, Rés. X. 571 ^{xiii}
Platina, 1479	BnF, Rés. H. 64 ^{xiv}
Plotinus, 1492	Non identificato ^{xv}
Priscianus, 1470	BnF, Rés. X. 587 ^{xvi}
Strabo, 1472	BnF, Rés. G. 15 ^{xvii}
Valla, Laurentius, 1471	BnF, Rés. X. 640 ^{xviii}

i Alberti, Leo Baptista, *De re aedificatoria*. Ed: Bernardus de Albertis. Add: Angelus Politianus: *Epistola ad Laurentium Medicem*. Baptista Siculus: *Carmen ad lectorem*. Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus, 29 Dec. 1485. Folio. GW 579; ISTC ia00215000; CIBN A-112; MEI 02014753. L'esemplare della Marciana proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore.

ii Augustinus, Aurelius, *De civitate dei*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Oct. 1475. Folio. GW 2879; ISTC ia01235000; CIBN A-682; MEI 02008348. Esemplare sostituito: l'esemplare BNM, Inc. V. 465 reca il timbro della Bibliothèque Royale de France.

iii *Biblia latina*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1479. Folio. GW 4238; ISTC ib00563000; CIBN B-395). Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 8.E.10. URL <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC06747426>. *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Inkunabelkatalog*, 1: 495-6 (B-351); MEI 02107092.

iv Crastonus, Johannes, *Lexicon Graeco-latinum*. [Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [not after 28 Mar. 1478]. Folio. GW 7812; ISTC ic00958000; MEI 00214233. L'esemplare di Oxford proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore.

v Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia* (Comm: Christophorus Landinus). Add: Marsilius Ficinus, *Ad Dantem gratulatio* [Latin & Italian]. Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus, 30 Aug. 1481. Folio. GW 7966; ISTC id00029000; CIBN D-13*; MEI 02011876. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. L'esemplare BNM, Inc. 33 è risultato di una sostituzione.

vi Dio Chrysostomus, *De regno*. Tr: Publius Gregorius Tiphernas. Ed: Pius III (Franciscus de Piccolomineis). [Venice: Christophorus Valdarfer, not after 9 Nov. 1471]. 8°. GW 8368; ISTC id00204000; MEI 02016845.

vii Duranti, Guillelmus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 6 Oct. 1459. Folio. GW 9101; ISTC id00403000; MEI 02011878. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. BNM, Membr. 8, non proviene da San Giorgio Maggiore e fu sostituito.

viii Eusebius Caesariensis, *Chronicon* (Tr: Hieronymus). With the continuations of Prosper Aquitanus and Matthaues Palmerius Florentinus. Prelim: Boninus Mombritius, *Epigrammata tria ad lectorem*. [Milan]: Philippus de Lavagnia, [about 1474-75]. 4°. GW 9432; ISTC ie00116000; MEI 02018229; CIBN E-90. L'esemplare della BnF pro-

viene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. BNM, Inc. 553 fu sostituito e presenta il timbro della Bibliothèque Royale de France.

ix Homerus, *Opera* [Greek]. Ed: Demetrius Chalcondylas. Florence: [Printer of Vergilius (C 6061)], for Bernardus and Nerius Nerlius and Demetrius Damilas, [not before 13 Jan. 1488/89]. Folio. GW 12895; ISTC ih00300000; MEI 02017398. Legatura in marocchino rosso.

x Lactantius, Lucius Coelius Firmianus, *Opera*. Add: S. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus: *De Resurrectione Christi carmen*. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. Folio. GW M16566; ISTC il00005000; MEI 02017486. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. L'esemplare BNM, Inc. V. 164 proviene dai Santi Giovanni e Paolo; non ci sono evidenti tracce di provenienza su BNM, Inc. V. 251.

xi Nonius Marcellus, *De proprietate latini sermonis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW M27232; ISTC in00265000; MEI 02008357. Legatura ottocentesca in marocchino rosso con cornici in oro sui due piatti.

xii Johannes Carthusiensis, *Nosce te*. Add: *Corona senum. De immensa caritate Dei. De humilitate interiori et patientia vera. Flos vitae*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1480. 4°. GW M13476; ISTC ij00274000; MEI 02018230; historical copy. In BNM, Inc. V. 617-618.

xiii Perottus, Nicolaus, *Rudimenta grammatices*. Venice: [Jacobus de Fivizzano, Lunensis], for Marcus de Comitibus and Gerardus Alexandrinus, 17 Jan. 1476. Folio. GW M31260; ISTC ip00305000; CIBN P-124; MEI 02017605. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. Altro esemplare in BNM, Inc. 561.

xiv Platina, Bartholomaeus, *Vitae pontificum*. [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 11 June 1479. Folio. GW M33887; ISTC ip00768000; CIBN P-443; MEI 02017609). Proveniente dalla Biblioteca di Santa Giustina di Padova, da San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia e infine recante ex-libris della Marciana. In Marciana due esemplari: BNM, Inc. V. 442; BNM, Inc. V. 403.

xv Plotinus, *Opera*. Tr. & comm: Marsilius Ficinus, Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 7 May 1492. Folio. GW M34374; ISTC ip00815000; MEI 02018231; historical copy. In BNM, Inc. 161, che fu di Apostolo Zeno e Inc. 208.

xvi Priscianus, *Opera*. Ed: Benedictus Brognolus. [Milan: Printer of Servius, 'Commentarius in Vergilius', 1475 (Dominicus de Vespolate), for Boninus Mombritius, after 24 Feb. 1476]. Folio. GW M35369; ISTC ip00963000; CIBN P-595; MEI 02017613. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore.

xvii Strabo, *Geographia, libri XVI* (Tr: Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tiphernas). Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. Folio. GW M44100; ISTC is00794000; CIBN S-471; MEI 02017614. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore. In Marciana esemplari BNM, Inc. V. 44 e BNM, Inc. V. 95.

xviii Valla, Laurentius, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*. Add: *De pronomine sui*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [before July] 1471. 4°. GW M49308; ISTC iv00051000; CIBN V-37; MEI 02017615. L'esemplare della BnF proviene dalla Biblioteca di San Giorgio Maggiore.

Gli stessi incunaboli compaiono nella lista del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-227	Alberti Leo Bapt.	De re aedificatoria	f.°	Florentiae	---	1485	1
229	S. Augustini	De civitate dei in membranis	f.°	Venetiis	Jenson	1475	1
230	Biblia sacra	--- in membranis	f.°	Venetiis	Jenson	1479	1
-234	Crestoni Ioannes	Lexicon Graecum	f.°	---	---	---	1
-235	Dante	La Commedia	f.°	Firenze	---	1481	1

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-240	Divini Chrysostomi	Oratio de regno	4°	Romae	---	1469	1
-242	Durandi	Rationale --- in membranis	f.°	Maguntiae	---	1459	1
-243	Eusebii	Chronicon	4°	---	---	---	1
-252	Homeri	Opera, Gr. in membranis	f.°	Florentiae	---	1488	1
-256	Eiusdem [i.e. Lactantii]	Opera	f.°	Venetiis	---	1472	1
-262	Marcelli Nonii	Opera in membranis	f.°	Venetiis	Jenson	1476	1
-266	...	Nosce te ipsum	4°	Venetiis	---	1480	1
270	Perotti Nicolai	Rudimenta grammaticae	f.°	Venetiis	---	1476	1
-280	Platinae	Vitae Pontificum	f.°	Venetiis	---	1479	1
-282	Plotini	Opera	4°	Florentiae	---	1490	1
283	Prisciani	Opera	f.°	---	---	1470	1
288	Eiusdem [i.e. Strabonis]	Eadem [i.e. Geographia]	f.°	Venetiis	---	1472	1
-295	Vallae Laurentii	De Eloquentia	f.°	Venetiis	---	1471	1

4.5 Domenicani Osservanti alle Zattere

La lista del Correr è particolarmente ricca di notizie per quanto riguarda la biblioteca dei Domenicani Osservanti alle Zattere, giacché comprende ben duecentoventi voci. La biblioteca si era arricchita nel 1750 della donazione della raccolta di Apostolo Zeno, nota già all'epoca per la sua importanza e abbondanza nei più svariati campi e per il suo carattere enciclopedico. Una parte di tali edizioni non compare nelle liste del 1806 e del 1816 e non sempre è stata rintracciata. Ad esempio nel caso del volume al nr. 15 della lista:

15 - *Pianto de Cristiani, o Luctus Christianorum Venet. In 8. Jenson*³²

In almeno un caso si è certi del fatto che l'esemplare – benché non citato nelle liste successive – sia tornato ovvero non sia mai partito:

³² *Luctus Christianorum, ovvero Pianto dei cristiani per la passione di Cristo* [Italian]. [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, 4 Apr. 1471. 4°. GW 19148; ISTC il00335500.

si tratta dell'edizione di Esopo stampata a Modena nel 1481,³³ di cui la Marciana conserva oggi l'unica copia al mondo, proveniente dalla raccolta di Apostolo Zeno:³⁴

74 - 1481. *Esopus Fabule versibus exametr. et pentam. absque nomine Interpr. per Nicolaum Jenson 4.to Mutine Tutta la data è curiosa e riflessiva*

L'esemplare era legato in una miscellanea zeniana, unita alla quale è ancora conservato.

Con ogni probabilità dopo una prima cernita - cui corrispondono le liste del Correr 1167 e il momento in cui i libri provenienti dai conventi furono concentrati presso la Biblioteca Marciana - non sempre seguì il trasferimento di tutti gli esemplari in Francia. Tuttavia sono molti i volumi recensiti dalla lista del Correr che non risultano tornati e che sono rintracciabili nelle collezioni della Bibliothèque nationale de France.

69 - *Bonaccursus Index Locorum in Comment. Caesaris. 4*³⁵

L'edizione non è citata in liste successive, ed è riconoscibile nell'esemplare BnF, Rés. J. 1496, che proviene dalla biblioteca di Apostolo Zeno.

Dalla stessa biblioteca provengono alcuni volumi della monumentale edizione delle opere di Aristotele di Aldo Manuzio; in particolare, sono riconducibili alla raccolta zeniana i volumi secondo, terzo e primo tomo del quarto dell'edizione aldina (BNM, Aldine 114-116),³⁶ che recano ex-libris e note crittografiche riferibili al letterato veneziano; l'esemplare inoltre è riconoscibile in quanto postillato da una mano greca, che è stata riconosciuta da chi scrive in quella dell'umanista Gianfrancesco Mussato.³⁷ Apostolo Zeno sembra aver posseduto l'intera edizione, come risulta dal catalogo della sua biblioteca, Marc. It. XI, 288-293 (=7273-7278), in particolare Marc. It. XI, 288 (=7273):

33 Aesopus, *Aesopus moralisatus* [Latin]. Modena: Dominicus Rocociolus, Thomas Septemcastrensis and Johannes Franciscus de Coronibus, for Dominicus Rocociolus, 19 May 1481. 4°. GW 00386a; ISTC ia00123900.

34 BNM, Misc. 1367.2.

35 Marlianus, Raimundus, *Index locorum in commentario Caesaris Belli gallici descriptorum* (Rev: Bonus Accursius). [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1478]. 4°. GW M21077; ISTC im00276000; CIBN M-136. Segnalo che l'esemplare di Berlin, 4 Staatsbibliothek - Inc. 3080.25 reca nota di possesso manoscritta di Santa Giustina di Padova e di San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia.

36 Aristoteles, *Opera* [Greek]. Contains also works of Galenus (II); Philo Judaeus (II); Theophrastus (II-IV); Alexander Aphrodisaeus (IV). Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1495-98. Folio. GW 2334; ISTC ia00959000. BNM, Aldine 114-16.

37 Sciarra, *Codici e libri stampati postillati* e cf. anche *Archivio dei possessori*: <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/233-mussato-gianfrancesco>.

Aristoteles & Opera omnia, et Theophrastus quaderno, graece = Venetiis Apud Aldum, MCCCXCV, XCVII, XCVIII, Tomi VI. In folio editio princeps rarissima

D'altro canto l'edizione intera è citata nella lista del Correr:

1495. Aristotelis Opera Grec. Tom. VI in fol.º Venetiis usque ad an. 1498

nella lista del 1806:

Aristotelis. Opera, 1495-1498. T. VI

nella lista del 1816, dove il numero di registrazione 307 non è preceduto dal segno '-', che indica l'avvenuta restituzione:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Anno	Volumi
307	Aristotelis	Opera, Graece	fº	1495 1498	[[5]] 6

Nel 1919, nella lista delle restituzioni posteriori alla prima guerra mondiale, di cui si parlerà più avanti, l'edizione risulta segnalata come mancata restituzione da parte dell'Austria (22-23 marzo 1816) e si precisa che manca il primo volume:

13 – Aristoteles, Aldus, 1495-1498.

In effetti in Marciana mancano proprio il primo, la seconda parte del quarto e il quinto volume;³⁸ ma il primo volume non è in realtà perduto giacché esso è da riconoscersi nell'esemplare conservato in Francia, BnF, Rés. R. 319,³⁹ con l'ex-libris di Apostolo Zeno e fittamente postillato in greco.

Ancora, l'edizione degli *Scriptores astronomici* di Aldo Manuzio del 1499⁴⁰ conservata alla BnF, Rés. V. 184⁴¹ proviene dalla biblioteca di

³⁸ BNM, Aldine 113, 117, 118 appartengono ad esemplari provenienti da collezioni diverse.

³⁹ CIBN A-504.

⁴⁰ Firmicus Maternus, Julius, *Mathesis (De nativitatibus libri VIII)*. Ed: Franciscus Niger. Add: Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicorum libri V*. Aratus, *Phaenomena* [Latin and Greek]. Tr & adapt: Germanicus Caesar, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Rufius Festus Avienus. Theon, *Commentaria in Aratum* [Greek]. Pseudo-Proclus Diadochus [i.e. Geminos], *Sphaera* [Greek and Latin]. Tr: Thomas Linacrus. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, June and [17] Oct. 1499. Folio. GW 9981; ISTC if00191000. In Marciana l'esemplare è segnato Aldine 104.

⁴¹ CIBN F-95 (BnF, Rés. V. 184); provenienza Apostolo Zeno.

Apostolo Zeno e reca l'ex-libris della Marciana; essa è citata tra i libri requisiti nella lista del Correr:

204 - *Astronomi Veteres. fol.° Venetiis*

ma anche nella lista del 1806:

Astronomi Veteres, 1499

e in quella del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Anno	Volumi
-309	---	Astronomi veteres Graece et Latine	f°	1499	1

Ciononostante l'esemplare zeniano è rimasto in Francia, probabilmente sostituito dalla copia attualmente in Marciana.⁴²

Nella lista del Correr, sempre tra i libri sottratti alla biblioteca dei Domenicani Osservanti alle Zattere, è citata l'edizione di Daret Frigio del 1475:⁴³

37 - *1475 Dares Phrygius Histor. De Excid. Trojae in 4.to*

La stessa edizione si ritrova nelle liste del 1806:

Daretis Historia sine anno

E del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
236	Daretis Phrygii	Historia troiana	4°	---	---	---	1

⁴² Un altro esemplare *olim* marciano si trova ora al Museo Correr, Inc. E 340, citato in BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, Legato Molin, *Catalogo dei duplicati della Biblioteca Marciana consegnati in deposito al Museo Civico in stretto ordine alfabetico*.

⁴³ Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia*. Prelim: Cornelius Nepos, Pseudo-, *Epistola ad Sallustium Crispum*. [Venice: Florentius de Argentina, about 1472]. 4°. GW 7987; ISTC id00041000.

L'esemplare oggi in BnF, Rés. J. 1433⁴⁴ ha l'ex-libris della Marciana; degli esemplari della stessa edizione oggi in Marciana nessuno reca tracce di provenienza dalla biblioteca dei Domenicani Osservanti.

Nella lista del Correr, tra i libri stampati nel 1473 e sottratti ai Domenicani, compare un'edizione di Virgilio di difficile identificazione:

28 - *Virgilii Opera. Fol.° Venetiis*

Tale volume corrisponde forse alla descrizione fornita nella lista del 1806:

Virgilius, 1473

Nel 1816 si dà indicazione di un'opera non restituita (priva del segno '-' prima del numero progressivo), assegnata al 1470:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
297	Virgilii	Opera	f.°	Venetiis	---	1470	1

Ancora, dopo la prima guerra mondiale, l'elenco delle mancate restituzioni del 1919 - del quale si tratterà più avanti - segnalava come non restituita:

6 - *Vergilii, Opera, Venezia, 1473*

indicandone la sostituzione con un'edizione delle sole *Georgiche* senza indicazione di anno. L'esemplare sostituito è da identificarsi con l'attuale BNM, Inc. 573,⁴⁵ un frammento contenente solo le *Georgiche* dell'edizione stampata a Padova nel 1473;⁴⁶ l'esemplare ancora oggi in Francia, BnF, Rés. G. YC. 245 proviene dalla raccolta di Apostolo Zeno.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ CIBN D-22 (BnF, Rés. J. 1433): reca l'ex-libris marciano. Dei due esemplari della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, BNM, Inc. V. 811 (legato con Inc. V. 810) e BNM, Misc. 1750.14 nessuno sembra provenire dalla raccolta dei Domenicani alle Zattere. L'esemplare in Misc. 1750.14, mutilo delle cc. [1-2], [9-10], è stato legato a una miscellanea di opere classiche ben più tarde, con un foglio di guardia con titolo manoscritto di mano del bibliotecario Pietro Bettio, attivo all'epoca delle restituzioni.

⁴⁵ MEI 02017212.

⁴⁶ Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Opera* [Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis]. Additional texts. [Padua]: Leonardus Achates de Basilea, [after 13 Aug.] 1473. Folio. GW 49753; ISTC iv00156500.

⁴⁷ CIBN V-111; <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb31591344x>.

Presso i Domenicani era conservato un esemplare dell'edizione del 1499 dell'*Etymologicum Magnum*,⁴⁸ di cui si legge notizia nella lista del Correr:

- 212 *Etymologicum Magnum. Grec. fol.° Venet.*

e di nuovo nel 1806:

Etymologicum (sub Musuri nomine) 1499

e nel 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
-264	Musuri Marci	Etymologicon	f.°	Venetis	---	1499	1

L'esemplare in Marciana, Inc. V. 36, proviene dalla biblioteca del convento di Saint Germain-des-Prés; è verosimile quindi che si tratti di una sostituzione.⁴⁹

5 Asportazioni austriache

Se le asportazioni francesi non furono di poco conto, anche dall'Austria furono richiesti non pochi volumi, scelti con molta cura e in momenti diversi della dominazione austriaca. In particolare è già stata indagata la vicenda degli stampati musicali di Ottaviano Petrucci, che solo in parte tornarono in Marciana.⁵⁰

Con riferimento agli incunaboli, nel 1802 furono richiesti sette volumi dalla Biblioteca di Vienna. Notizia di questa requisizione si legge nei documenti dell'Archivio della Biblioteca Marciana.

⁴⁸ *Etymologicum Magnum Graecum* [Greek] (Ed: Marcus Musurus). Add: Johannes Gregoropulus. Venice: Zacharias Callierges for Nicolaus Blastus and Anna Notaras, 8 July 1499. Folio. GW 9426; ISTC ie00112000.

⁴⁹ Il catalogo online della BnF attribuisce ad Apostolo Zeno anche la proprietà di due cinquecentine anch'esse citate nelle liste delle asportazioni del Correr: *Florilegium diuersorum epigrammatum in septem libros*. Ανθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων, ἀρχαίους συντεθειμένων σοφοῖς, ἐπὶ διαφόροις ὑποθέσεσιν, ἐρμηνείας ἐχόντων ἐπίδεξι, καὶ πραγμάτων ἢ γενομένων, ἢ ὡς γενομένων ἀφήγησις · διαιρεῖται δ' εἰς ἐπτὰ τμήματα τὸ βιβλίον · καὶ ταῦτα εἰς κεφάλαια κατὰ στοιχεῖον διεκτίθεται. Venetiis: in aedibus Aldi, mense Nouembri 1503, CNCE 1970 (BnF - Rés. YB. 950); *Vergilius*. Venetiis, ex aedibus Aldi Romani, mense Aprili 1501, CNCE 55823 (BnF, Rés. P. YC. 1265).

⁵⁰ Sciarra, «Segni sui libri e carte d'archivio».

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca, 1802. *Carte per sei libri del secolo XV, rari, ricercati dalla Ces.a Biblioteca di Vienna, ed Elenchi di libri mandati in cambio, 1802-1803*, prot. nrr. 47-49-58-60-72

Al nr. 47 – *Nota delle opere che la Ces.a R.a Biblioteca aulica di Vienna desidera di avere dalla Biblioteca di S. Marco di Venezia*, è allegato un elenco di incunaboli portati in Austria.

1 – Aulus Gellius, *Romae in domo petri de Maximo*, 1469, Fol. Editio princeps in membranis⁵¹

2 – Apuleius, *Romae, in Domo Petri de Maximo*, 1469, Folio, Editio princeps in membranis⁵²

3 – Hyginus, *Ferrariae, per Carnerium*, 1475, Editio princeps, in 4.to⁵³

4 – Cicero, *Epistolae familiares, Romae, Schweyneym et Pannartz*, 1467, Editio princeps gr. 4.to⁵⁴

5 – non dato – *Ciceronis Topica ad Trebatium et oratoriae partitiones, per Gabrielem Placentinum*, 1472, Editio princeps, 4to pars⁵⁵

6 – Tibullus, *sine loco, anno et typogr. absque signat.* 4.to⁵⁶

7 – Hieronimi *Epistolae, Romae, Schweyneym et Pannartz*, 1468, Fol., 2 vol., Editio princeps in membranis⁵⁷

La lista, in duplice copia, è unita alla lettera del 13 maggio 1802, inviata al Bibliotecario Ab. Morelli (nr. 47) di richiesta formale dei sette volumi.

51 Gellius, Aulus, *Noctes Atticae*. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: In domo Petri de Maximis [Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz], 11 Apr. 1469. Folio. GW 10593; ISTC ig00118000. BNM, Membr. 13.bis: sul contropiatto anteriore cartellino di collocazione della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (Inc. 4.D.31).

52 Apuleius Madaurensis, Lucius, *Opera*. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: In domo Petri de Maximis [Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz], 28 Feb. 1469. Folio. GW 2301; ISTC ia00934000. BNM, Membr. 15.bis: sul contropiatto anteriore cartellino di collocazione della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (Inc. 4.D.23).

53 Hyginus, Gaius Julius, *Poetica astronomica*. [Ferrara]: Augustinus Carnerius, 1475. 4°. GW 13677; ISTC ih00559000. BNM, Inc. 685. Sulla carta di guardia anteriore una collocazione manoscritta della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (IV.G.28), legatura in marocchino rosso del secolo XIX.

54 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1467. 4°. GW 6799; ISTC ic00503500. BNM, Inc. 202. Sulla carta di guardia anteriore una collocazione manoscritta della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (IV.F.1).

55 Verisimilmente da identificarsi con Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Partitiones oratoriae*. Ed: Gabriel Fontana. [Milan: Antonius Zarotus, after 14 July] 1472. 4°. GW 6757; ISTC ic00666000. BNM, Inc. 829, originariamente legato con Inc. V. 717, Inc. 830 e Inc. 832; il volume non fu consegnato.

56 Tibullus, Albius, *Elegiae*. Add: Propertius, *Elegiae*. Catullus, *Carmina*. Statius, *Silvae*. Guarinus Veronensis (= Benvenutus de Campesanis), *Hexastichum*. Hieronymus Squarzacicus, *Vitae Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii*. Ovidius, *Elegia de morte Tibulli*. [Venezia: Vindelinius de Spira], 1472. 4°. GW M47056; ISTC it00366400. BNM, Inc. V. 553.

57 Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 Dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000. BNM, Membr. 1-2: sul contropiatto anteriore di Membr. 2 cartellino di collocazione

Proprio Morelli, in ottemperanza a questa richiesta, il 26 maggio 1802 inviava sei volumi corredati da elenco e nota di ricevuta (nr. 49); nella stessa lettera Morelli precisava che il nr. 5 della lista *Ciceronis Topica ad Trebatium et oratoriae partitiones per Gabrielem Placentinum 1472 Editio princeps, 4to pars*, non era presente in Marciana e dunque non veniva consegnato.⁵⁸

I sei incunaboli non tornarono dopo la fine della dominazione austriaca nel 1866. Essi furono restituiti solo nel 1919 sotto forma di riparazioni di guerra.⁵⁹

Di queste ultime restituzioni è particolarmente interessante la documentazione conservata nell'Archivio della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

BNM – Archivio della Biblioteca. Tutela del patrimonio bibliografico, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana 1915-1920, Elenco del materiale bibliografico e dei manoscritti asportati e non restituiti. Da la caduta della Rep. Veneta all'annessione della Venezia al Regno d'Italia. 1797-1866. [fig. 3]

Alla fine della prima guerra mondiale, nel 1919, infatti, il bibliotecario Giulio Coggiola fu inviato a Vienna a recuperare quanto era stato sottratto dagli Austriaci nel corso del secolo XIX; tale missione militare si configurò per l'Italia come il recupero dei beni sottratti dalla dominazione austriaca, per l'Austria come riparazioni di guerra. Fu l'occasione per rivedere e censire in modo certosino tutta la documentazione conservata relativa alle sottrazioni francesi e austriache e tentare il recupero o almeno l'individuazione di ciò che non era tornato tanto da Vienna quanto da Parigi. Nel documento sono elencate le mancate restituzioni e le sostituzioni.

Il testo è organizzato cronologicamente per data di asportazione e reca elenchi separati per ciascun episodio:

della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (Inc. 4.B.10); sul verso della prima carta di guardia anteriore a lapis collocazione della Biblioteca Palatina di Vienna (Inc. 4.B.[[19]]10).

58 Le requisizioni austriache furono sempre poste in forma di scambio: infatti, il 29 dicembre 1802 (nr. 58), il 24 gennaio 1803 (nr. 60), e il 16 marzo 1803 (nr. 72) il Morelli accusava ricevuta di alcuni volumi - di valore incomparabilmente inferiore - inviati in cambio della consegna dei sei incunaboli.

59 Su questo argomento si vedano: Cecchetti, «Appunti sulla restituzione degli oggetti»; Cecchetti, «Le restituzioni scientifiche ed artistiche»; Cérésolle, *La vérité sur les déprédations austrichiennes*; Coggiola, «Ancora sulle deprezzazioni austriache»; Coggiola, *Sulla nuova integrale pubblicazione*; Coggiola, «Il recupero da Vienna dei cimeli»; Modigliani, «Le opere d'arte rese dall'Austria»; Toderini, Cecchetti, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*.

Data della Asportazione	Biblioteca sommaria bibliografica della Repubblica	Anno	Patria della Asportazione	Luogo dell'attuale conservazione	Osservazioni
1802	Agellius, <i>Traktat Alinae</i> , Romae, videlicet Rini de Maximo, 1449 p.º memb. miniate, 8.º.	6	Decreto 10 maggio 1801	-	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175
X	Apuleius, <i>Mathematicorum liber et opuscula</i> , Romae, in domo P. de Maximo, 1460, p.º memb. miniate - 8.º. Principi	7	Tribunale di Padova, in nome della Biblioteca Marciana, 9 maggio 1799, pp. 20-21	Biblioteca di Corte e Stato - Tanna	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175
X	Bernardus, <i>Opuscula</i> , Romae, Schweinhagen & Baumhart, 1463, p.º memb. miniate - 8.º. Principi	8	Tribunale di Padova, in nome della Biblioteca Marciana, 9 maggio 1799, pp. 20-21	Biblioteca di Corte e Stato - Tanna	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175
X	Lippinus Ferrarius, <i>per Cameracensem</i> , 1475, 4.º. Principi	9	Tribunale di Padova, in nome della Biblioteca Marciana, 9 maggio 1799, pp. 20-21	Biblioteca di Corte e Stato - Tanna	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175
X	Cicero, <i>Epistulae familiares</i> , Romae, Schweinhagen & Baumhart, 1467, 6.º. Principi	10	Tribunale di Padova, in nome della Biblioteca Marciana, 9 maggio 1799, pp. 20-21	Biblioteca di Corte e Stato - Tanna	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175
X	Tibullus, <i>S. N. 2</i> [sic. N.], 4.º. Principi	11	Tribunale di Padova, in nome della Biblioteca Marciana, 9 maggio 1799, pp. 20-21	Biblioteca di Corte e Stato - Tanna	Poi volti i bibliotecari della Nazionale benemeriti e sempre multamente onorati, nei successivi volumi - dell'ultima edizione - fra l'Italia e l'Austria, seguita in 1807, l'Austria si ripropose alla restituzione, e questa fu offerta a Popoli, e della Biblioteca sommaria di Padova, 1807, n.º 2. Arch. St. di Dresda III, 78 VIII, 1869, p. 175

Figura 3 BNM, Archivio della Biblioteca, Tutela del patrimonio bibliografico, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana 1915-1920, *Elenco del materiale bibliografico e dei manoscritti asportati e non restituiti. Da la caduta della Rep. Veneta all'annessione della Venezia al Regno d'Italia. 1797-1866*

- 1797: trenta volumi, incunaboli, cinquecentine e manoscritti;
- 1801: codici Foscari trasportati a Vienna;
- 1802: sei incunaboli trasportati a Vienna;
- 1804-1805: codice della Cronaca Zancaruola e codici dei Diari di Marin Sanudo;
- 1829: raccolte di autografi;
- 1835: stampati musicali di Ottaviano Petrucci;
- 1866: lt. XI, 16 (=6770);
- 1869: copia dei Diari di Marin Sanudo.

La descrizione dei sei incunaboli è riportata all'anno 1802, sicché essi furono tutti recuperati in quell'occasione. I volumi recano traccia evidente della permanenza in Austria; tutti tranne il Tibullo, portano, sui contropiatti anteriori, i cartellini di collocazione della Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

In questa lista, riferibile alla missione del 1919, Coggiola si sforzò di rintracciare e menzionare tutti i documenti archivistici che costituivano le prove del prelievo e di ricostruire, ove possibile, non solo le mancate restituzioni, ma anche le sostituzioni. Alcuni incunaboli

sono menzionati anche nella parte relativa alle sottrazioni del 1797, che Coggiola si augurava di poter in futuro recuperare.⁶⁰

Tra essi sono la *Bibbia* e il *De civitate Dei* stampati su pergamena da Jenson che erano ritenuti – come già segnalava Valentinelli,⁶¹ entrambi a Vienna:

Data della asportazione	Indicazione bibliografica sommaria della res asportata	Nr. dei volumi	Prova della asportazione	Luogo dell'attuale conservazione	Osservazioni
1797 ottobre 11 e dicembre 21 per opera del governo Francese	14 – Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, f°, Venetiis, Jenson, 1475, membr.		Della asportazione del 1797 da parte dei Francesi e della mancata restituzione nel 1816 da parte del governo austriaco (il quale per le convenzioni del trattato di pace dopo la caduta di Napoleone ebbe l'incarico di [...] il ritorno [...] del materiale storico- artistico asportato dalla Francia).	14 - Bibl. Imperiale di Vienna	14 – sostituito con esemplare cartaceo
Mancate restituzioni da parte dell'Austria 22-23 marzo 1816			[[Della asportazione del 1797 e della mancata restituzione del 1816]] restano i verbali e gli elenchi nell'Archivio della Marciana [[anno 1816]] (n° di protocollo 18, 20, 23, 24, 25) tutti originali con firme autografe del barone austriaco Ottenfels incaricato della restituzione e del bibliotecario Morelli. L'elenco delle sottrazioni (allegato B n. 20) è riprodotto dal Valentinelli, <i>Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum</i> , I, Venetiis 1868, 131-132 e più sommariamente dallo stesso: <i>Libri membranacei a stampa della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia</i> , Venezia 1870, 22-23. Per l'anno 1797 c'è la Nota asporto dei codici e [...] stampati a [...] (Busta Governo austriaco 1814-15); per l'anno 1816.		

⁶⁰ Coggiola, «Il recupero da Vienna», 210.

⁶¹ Già in Valentinelli, *Libri membranacei a stampa*, 23.

15 – Biblia sacra, f°, Venetiis, Jenson, 1479, membr.	15 - Bibl. Imperiale di Vienna	15 - sostituito con esemplare cartaceo
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Da San Giorgio Maggiore doveva provenire l'edizione di Jenson su pergamena del *De civitate dei* di Sant'Agostino, citata nella lista del 1806:

*S. Augustini De civitate Dei, 1475*⁶²

e in quella del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
229	S. Augustini	De civitate dei in membranis	f.°	Venetiis	Jenson	1475	1

In Marciana l'Inc. V. 465 reca il timbro della Bibliothèque nationale de France, ma è stampato su carta ed è probabilmente un esemplare sostituito. L'esemplare menzionato nelle liste si trova invece in Francia, BnF, Rés. Vélins 301⁶³ e reca la nota di possesso manoscritta di San Giorgio Maggiore.

Una Bibbia di Jenson del 1479⁶⁴ risulta asportata da San Giorgio Maggiore nella lista del 1806:

Biblia, 1479

e nella lista del 1816:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
230	Biblia sacra	--- in membranis	f.°	Venetiis	Jenson	1479	1

In quest'ultima è indicato che l'esemplare era stampato su pergamena. In Marciana l'esemplare dell'edizione, BNM, Inc. V. 334 è stampato su carta, e proviene dalla collezione francese di Léonard Garreau de Chezelles, del quale reca la nota manoscritta. L'esemplare trafu-

⁶² Augustinus, Aurelius, *De civitate dei*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Oct. 1475. Folio. GW 2879; ISTC ia01235000.

⁶³ CIBN A-682. MEI 02008348.

⁶⁴ *Biblia latina*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1479. Folio. GW 4238; ISTC ib00563000.

gato non fu restituito, e l'Inc. V. 334 ne è sicuramente un sostituto.⁶⁵ Presso la BnF è conservato un esemplare membranaceo, BnF, Rés. Velins 82.⁶⁶ Tuttavia, il volume estratto da San Giorgio Maggiore non è a Parigi, ma a Vienna. L'esemplare, ÖNB - Ink 8.E.10,⁶⁷ reca una legatura in marocchino rosso e soprattutto, a c. a2r, la nota di possesso manoscritta: «ex Bibliothecae S. Georgij Maioris Venetiarum».

6 Incunaboli dispersi

Si deve ritenere che alcuni esemplari siano del tutto scomparsi; ad esempio nella lista del Correr, tra i libri portati via dal convento dei Domenicani alle Zattere è menzionato:

3 - *La Batracomiomachia. Homerus. In Italiano per summaripa in 8°. Verona*

che non compare in nessuna delle altre liste. Di questa edizione, sottoscritta a Verona, ma da attribuire a Venezia,⁶⁸ attualmente si conosce un solo esemplare in collezioni pubbliche, presso la John Rylands University Library di Manchester, 17643, proveniente dalla collezione Spencer;⁶⁹ non mi pare si possa identificare questo esemplare con quello che fu della biblioteca dei Domenicani Osservanti, sicché si deve concludere che esso andò perduto.

Nella lista Correr 1167, tra i libri sottratti alla biblioteca dei Somaschi alla Salute compare un'edizione di Terenzio del 1476:⁷⁰

31 - *Terentius Publius Comedię cum adnot. Donati Mediolani apud Zarotum 1476. fol.º*

Di tale edizione si riconosce la descrizione nel catalogo manoscritto della biblioteca dei Somaschi, conservato in Marciana, Marc. It. XI,

⁶⁵ MEI 02014726.

⁶⁶ CIBN B-395.

⁶⁷ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 8.E.10, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC06747426>. Mazal, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, 1: 495-6, nr. B-351; MEI 02107092.

⁶⁸ Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia* [Italian]. Tr: Giorgio Sommariva. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson?, about 1475]. 4°. GW 12902; ISTC ih00304400. Sulla questione si veda Rhodes, «An Outline of Veronese Bibliography», 236 n. 2.

⁶⁹ George John, 2nd earl Spencer (1758-1834) sulla cui biblioteca si veda Dibdin, *Supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, 31, nr. 1034, ove è già descritto legato in marocchino rosso. La digitalizzazione è consultabile: <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/zvuyhi>.

⁷⁰ Terentius Afer, Publius, *Comoediae*. Prelim: Francesco Petrarca, *Vita Terentii; Epitaphium Terentii*. Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marco Roma], 23 Feb. 1476. 4°. GW 45422; ISTC it00072600.

294-310 (=7255-7271), in particolare, It. XI, 310 (=7271), c. 28v, segnato con un tratto di matita rossa:

K.2.4.21 Idem [i.e. Terentius] cum adnotat. Donati Mediolaniap. Zarotum 1476. F°

Il tratto di matita rossa indica che il volume fu scelto per essere portato in Francia; nel Catalogo dei manoscritti della stessa biblioteca dei Chierici Regolari Somaschi di Venezia, ora Marc. It. XI, 286 (=7117) a c. 1v si legge la nota: «Li depenati con l'inchiostro rosso furono levati e consegnati alli Comisari Francesi in Libreria publica».⁷¹

Tale edizione si riconosce inoltre nella lista del 1806:

Terentius, 1476

Nella lista del 1816 risulta non restituito:

Numero progressivo	Autore	Titolo dell'opera	Formato	Luogo	Stampatore	Anno	Volumi
289	Eiusdem [i.e. Terentii]	Eaedem [i.e. Comoediae]	f.°	Mediolani	---	1476	1

Analogamente anche nella lista del 1919 Coggiola lo segnalava come non restituito:

20 - Terentii --- Milano, 1476, f°

Se l'edizione va identificata con ISTC it00072600, di essa esistono ben pochi esemplari in collezioni pubbliche, dei quali nessuno sembra avere tracce di provenienza né dai Somaschi alla Salute, né in generale da Venezia.

Lo studio e la pubblicazione completa delle liste di asportazione, il confronto con i cataloghi antichi e con le liste di soppressione dovrebbe dunque contribuire a delineare alcune retrici che determinano la dispersione delle raccolte alla caduta della Repubblica di Venezia e a individuare la provenienza di singoli volumi, oggi conservati in Italia o in altre collezioni pubbliche del mondo; le liste costituiscono una traccia delle vicende di singoli volumi dopo le soppressioni e dunque possono costituire fonte utile per l'individuazione di volumi di singole biblioteche disperse.

⁷¹ Si veda la scheda in Giachery, *Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana*; sulla questione si veda pure Sciarra, «'Levati e consegnati alli Comisari Francesi'».

Lista delle abbreviazioni

- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France. URL <https://www.bnf.fr/fr>
- BNM = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. URL <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/>
- CIBN = *Catalogue des incunables de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1981-2006
- GW = Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. URL <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>
- ISTC = ISTC – Incunabula Short Title Catalogue. URL https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search
- MEI = MEI – Material Evidence in Incunabula. URL https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search?lang=it
- ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. URL <https://www.onb.ac.at/>

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Δημοσθένους λόγοι, δύο καὶ ἐξήχοντα. Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ, ὑποθέσεις εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους. Βίος Δημοσθένους, κατ' αὐτὸν Λιβάνιον. Βίος Δημοσθένους, κατὰ Πλούταρχον. *Demosthenis Orationes duae & sexaginta. Libanii in eas ipsas orationes argumenta. Vita Demosthenis per Libanium. Eiusdem vita per Plutarchum*. Venetiis: in aedib. Aldi, mense Nouem. 1504 [i.e. 1513]; CNCE 16733.

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Il contributo del CRELEB e della Regione Lombardia alla catalogazione in MEI

Descrizione, risultati, problemi aperti

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Abstract The present article deals with the cataloguing project of about 12,000 incunabula owned by Lombard libraries, started ten years ago and financed by Regione Lombardia. The project was carried out by CRELEB (European Research Center Book Library Publishing) of the Catholic University in Milan, which managed the data entry in the international database MEI of over 8,500 incunabula owned by Lombard libraries. The intellectual contribution offered by the Catholic University is very important, thanks to the experience and reflection on the annotated books and on the recording of copy specifics started many years before with the contribution of the Italian philologist Giuseppe Frasso.

Keywords Incunabula. MEI. Lombardy. CRELEB. Marks in books.

Circa dieci anni fa, la Soprintendenza ai Beni Librari della Regione Lombardia avviò un contatto con l'Università Cattolica di Milano. Oggetto della proposta di collaborazione era il patrimonio incunabolistico conservato nelle biblioteche e raccolte pubbliche e private presenti sul territorio amministrativo della Lombardia. La preoccupazione che muoveva l'allora dirigente dell'ufficio, la dott.ssa Ornella Foglieni, era sostanzialmente una verifica patrimoniale. Un primo censimento fu avviato infatti negli anni Trenta del secolo scorso, per la creazione dell'Indice Generale degli Incunaboli (IGI), la cui pubblicazione, iniziata nel 1943, si era conclusa un quarantennio dopo nel 1981 con



l'uscita del VI volume con correzioni, giunte e indici.¹ Dopo di allora non era più stato condotto un controllo sistematico, mentre notizie di alcuni furti e sparizioni richiedevano una verifica del patrimonio.² Fu per rispondere dunque a tale esigenza che la Soprintendenza contattò il CRELEB (Centro di Ricerca Europeo Libro Editoria Biblioteca) da me diretto per verificare un possibile progetto in merito.³

Da un primo controllo effettuato tramite ISTC, tentando di valutare anche la presenza di doppi del medesimo incunabolo posseduti dalla stessa biblioteca, si ipotizzò che l'intero patrimonio incunabolistico in biblioteche pubbliche lombarde dovesse essere calcolato in circa 12.000 unità bibliografiche, una cifra di notevole portata. Ciò che la Regione richiedeva non era però solo una verifica inventariale, ma una forma di rilevamento patrimoniale che registrasse almeno le segnature di collocazione di ciascun esemplare in ognuna delle biblioteche considerate: si iniziò perciò a parlare della creazione di un database dedicato, che sarebbe poi stato pubblicato nella pagina web della Regione. Tale esigenza si scontrava però con una valutazione pacata dell'ingente numero di volumi da considerare e della necessità di usare un prodotto digitale stabile e testato. Nulla di ciò che era già disponibile nell'ambito dei prodotti digitali sembrava rispondere a elementari esigenze di sicurezza e durata.

Fu credo grazie a Giliola Barbero, che già collaborava con la Regione per il progetto Manus (il primo catalogo complessivo dei manoscritti italiani) dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico (ICCU),⁴ che sentii parlare dell'allora nascente MEI. Entrai così in contatto con Cristina Dondi che, pur laureata nella mia università, mai avevo prima conosciuto. Ricordo che ci incontrammo alla Stazione di Genova in una giornata estiva così calda che restammo tutto il giorno a chiacchierare chiusi in un bar dotato dell'aria condizionata... Fu allora che sentii per la prima volta parlare del progetto MEI e, naturalmente, all'inizio faticai non poco a capire ciò che Cristina aveva in mente. Soprattutto faticavo a seguirla in quello che poi divenne uno dei punti centrali della 'filosofia' di MEI. Abituato alla ricerca universitaria faticavo a comprendere sia la logica cooperativa della costruzione di uno strumento catalografico frutto del lavoro di diverse persone che operavano a distanza, sia la natura di uno strumento che si poneva al servizio della ricerca scientifica. La rilevazione dei dati di esemplare eseguita non seguendo la pista di una ricerca bibliografica, storica, artistica o letteraria, ma analizzando sistema-

1 Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche, *Indice generale degli incunaboli*.

2 Si veda a esempio <https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/piu-rigore-i-reati-contro-patrimonio-culturale--AEaS3h0>.

3 URL <https://bit.ly/2kzS6lo>.

4 URL <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/>.

ticamente tutti gli incunaboli di un dato fondo si avvicinava infatti al *modus operandi* di un bibliotecario catalogatore più che di quello di uno studioso. E in effetti, lo sforzo maggiore di Cristina fu proprio quello di spiegarmi la sua mentalità di bibliotecaria colta e assai versata nel digitale (venendo dall'esperienza Bod-Inc),⁵ lontana dalle velleità accademiche e invece intenzionata a offrire uno strumento di lavoro innovativo nel campo dell'incunabolistica.

Non mi era invece certo difficile comprendere le problematiche relative alla rilevazione dei dati di esemplare. La scuola filologica di Giuseppe Frasso dalla quale provenivo si era infatti da tempo interessata agli incunaboli postillati. La partenza di Frasso erano stati alcuni esemplari di edizioni quattrocentesche del Petrarca volgare che recavano nei margini copia manoscritta di varianti d'autore derivanti dalle carte autografe passate a inizio XVI secolo per le mani di Pietro Bembo e dell'amico Lodovico Beccadelli.⁶ Da lì era nata la sua idea di un censimento degli incunaboli petrarcheschi postillati conservati nelle maggiori raccolte europee.⁷ Tale interesse si consolidò e ampliò in Frasso grazie anche al confronto con alcune esperienze di ambito anglosassone, il catalogo dei libri postillati della British Library⁸ e il catalogo della raccolta di edizioni postillate messa insieme da Bernard Rosenthal poi confluita a Yale.⁹ A parziale coronamento di tale linea di ricerca a cavallo del nuovo secolo si svolse un PRIN (Progetto di ricerca di interesse nazionale) che diede almeno tre risultati: la pubblicazione di un volume di traduzioni italiane di ricerche estere dedicate al tema,¹⁰ la realizzazione di un convegno internazionale sull'argomento di cui sono disponibili gli atti,¹¹ e la creazione del database Marginalia.¹² Quest'ultimo costituiva un esperimento di grande importanza: riportava la descrizione di circa duecento incunaboli postillati appartenenti alla Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano, per la prima volta sistematicamente descritti con anche trascrizioni di alcune annotazioni esemplificative e foto ad alta definizione. I contenuti della relativa pagina web, decaduta dall'uso alcuni anni fa, sono stati ora recuperati e sono tutti disponibili in formato PDF nel sito libriantiqui.it.

Se l'applicazione della scuola di Filologia Italiana dell'Università Cattolica ha proseguito nel suo impegno con i libri postillati, l'occa-

5 URL <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

6 Frasso, *Studi su i "Rerum vulgariū fragmenta" e i "Triumphī"*.

7 Si veda la serie di articoli comparsi sulla rivista *Aevum* sotto il titolo comune di «Per un censimento di incunaboli e cinquecentine postillate».

8 Alston, *Books with Manuscript* e Frasso, «Libri a stampa postillati».

9 Rosenthal, *The Rosenthal Collection of Printed Books* e Frasso, «Per chi ama le postille».

10 Barbieri, *Nel mondo delle postille*.

11 Barbieri, Frasso, *Libri a stampa postillati*.

12 URL <https://bit.ly/2mqSEug>.

sione fu propizia per lo sviluppo di una mia personale riflessione sul tema della descrizione dei dati di esemplare nel libro antico. Volevo non opporre ma distinguere lo studio sui postillati dalle problematiche storico-bibliografiche della determinazione e rilevazione delle caratteristiche dell'esemplare antico. Tale applicazione ha portato alla pubblicazione di alcuni miei contributi metodologici sul tema, usciti in Italia, Spagna e Francia. In anni più recenti, a fianco del manuale bibliotecario-catalografico reso disponibile dalla Provincia Autonoma di Trento assieme alla Regione Toscana,¹³ da parte mia sono giunto a una sintesi metodologica sul tema,¹⁴ mentre su *La Bibliofilia* abbiamo potuto anche di recente pubblicare (a cura di Luca Rivali) un dossier dedicato al trattamento dei possessori in alcune biblioteche italiane e no.¹⁵

Stante dunque questa reiterata attenzione, fu facile il dialogo con chi stava elaborando il progetto MEI e facile comprendere come si poteva rispondere alle esigenze di Regione Lombardia usando proprio il nascente MEI. Certo, era un po' il trionfo della eterogenesi dei fini, per cui un progetto nato per rilevare antichi possessori e annotazioni di prezzi veniva usato come un catalogo online degli incunaboli lombardi. Per MEI la ricchezza delle rilevazioni serviva a incrementare le informazioni della banca dati, per Regione Lombardia ad avere dettagliati elementi che caratterizzassero il singolo esemplare nel caso di possibili smarrimenti, sottrazioni, furti.

Fu così che iniziò l'avventura dei primi riversamenti di dati degli incunaboli lombardi in MEI, grazie a un finanziamento (reiterato poi di anno in anno) della Regione Lombardia. Protagonista degli esordi fu Alessandro Ledda che non solo sperimentò maschera e tecniche di inserimento, ma provvide a mettere in atto tutte le possibili tipologie di rilevazione e inserimento, da quella *ex novo* col libro in mano al riversamento in MEI di precedenti cataloghi realizzati a uso privato dalla singola biblioteca o già a stampa (sempre però ricontrollando l'esemplare). Da tale primitiva collaborazione nacque un importante contributo uscito su *La Bibliofilia* e scritto a quattro mani da Dondi e Ledda, la prima presentazione autorevole del progetto.¹⁶

Il progetto ebbe ben presto un suo interessante sviluppo grazie all'ottenimento da parte mia di un PRIN dedicato agli incunaboli lombardi circa un decennio dopo il precedente: al progetto aderiva anche l'Università Statale di Milano e altri docenti di atenei italiani. Il progetto PRIN permise un sostanzioso ulteriore incremento degli inserimenti in MEI, allargando la base dei collaboratori, oltre a ren-

13 Cestelli, Gonzo, *Provenienze*.

14 Barbieri, *I libri postillati*.

15 «Cataloghi, biblioteche e dati di esemplare».

16 Dondi, Ledda, «Material Evidence in Incunabula», preceduto da Dondi, «Incunaboli: fonti storiche».

dere possibile la realizzazione dell'importante convegno internazionale di cui sono disponibili gli atti a cura del citato Ledda, usciti come numero monografico de *La Bibliofilia*.¹⁷ Non solo MEI fu un po' al centro del convegno milanese del 2013, ma l'evento consacrò a livello scientifico il progetto, almeno per l'Italia.

Accenno brevemente a un ulteriore particolare progetto (*Il libro a stampa a Milano e nella Lombardia del XV secolo*) finanziato nel 2015 sempre dalla Regione Lombardia, progetto che permise sia la creazione del sito libriantiqui.it, sia la immissione di altre schedature lombarde all'interno di MEI. Si aggiunga che negli anni l'Università Cattolica è stata di fatto il luogo di svolgimento di numerosi convegni e seminari MEI (l'ultimo nel 2016), che con Regione Lombardia abbiamo reiteratamente tenuto corsi sull'incunabolistica e MEI con i bibliotecari lombardi, che per conto di ABEI (Associazione Bibliotecari Ecclesiastici Italiani) abbiamo svolto corsi sui libri del Quattrocento a Bologna e Napoli. Questo a significare che il CRELEB è stato per anni l'interlocutore scientifico e universitario del progetto MEI, altrimenti circoscritto all'interno del mondo CERL, una realtà importantissima, soprattutto per la sua proiezione internazionale, ma consustanziale alla rete delle biblioteche storiche che vi aderiscono, meno a quello più propriamente universitario.

I risultati della collaborazione tra Regione Lombardia e CRELEB in merito all'inserimento degli incunaboli lombardi in MEI è notevolissimo: stiamo parlando di circa 8.000 incunaboli ad oggi inseriti, circa 2/3 del totale lombardo: se poi gli incunaboli descritti complessivamente in MEI sono circa 50.000, significa che ben 1/6 del totale è stato inserito dal CRELEB e riguarda incunaboli lombardi. Negli anni si sono infatti susseguiti numerosi collaboratori al progetto: dopo Alessandro Ledda, già nominato, Luca Rivali (che oggi coordina per il CRELEB i rapporti con Regione Lombardia e MEI), Giancarlo Petrella, Natale Vacalebri, Francesca Turrisi, Fausto Lincio, Martina Pantarotto, Giulia Francesca Zani, Emilia Bignami, Fabrizio Fossati. Si sarà notato che ci sono tra i migliori giovani bibliografi italiani. I fondi descritti sono numerosi: praticamente tutta la provincia di Brescia (con le grandi raccolte della Queriniana, della Fondazione Ugo Da Como di Lonato, di Palazzolo sull'Oglio, della Morcelliana di Chiari), la Civica e le raccolte ecclesiastiche di Bergamo, la Comunale di Mantova, i piccoli depositi della provincia di Monza-Brianza, le raccolte minori ed ecclesiastiche di Milano, la Trivulziana, quasi tutta la Braidense...¹⁸ Il CRELEB ha anche inserito gli incunaboli della Cantonale di Lugano, un fondo non ovvio, proveniente in par-

¹⁷ Ledda, *Incunabula, Printing, Trading*.

¹⁸ Si veda l'elenco aggiornato delle collezioni incluse e degli editori coinvolti nelle pagine MEI del CERL: https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search.

te dai depositi storici della biblioteca e in parte da una donazione di Sergio Colombi,¹⁹ questi ultimi a loro volta acquisiti tramite l'antiquario Giuseppe Martini.²⁰

Se ciò che caratterizza questo intervento è prima di tutto la gratitudine e la soddisfazione per il pezzo di cammino svolto negli ultimi dieci anni e per i significativi risultati raggiunti, occorre però non nascondersi anche i problemi concreti che gli schedatori hanno man mano incontrato: proverò a elencarli tentando di collocarli in un'ottica costruttiva, che guardi positivamente al futuro. Talvolta ci siamo trovati in difficoltà, perché non è sufficiente demandare creazione e gestione delle voci via via inserite alla buona volontà dei contribuenti, laddove per le voci di autorità sarebbe necessario incrementare un controllo finale e centrale, che ha un costo, ma aumenta significativamente l'autorevolezza del prodotto finale. Occorre anche abituarsi a sviluppare una attenta considerazione del lavoro dei singoli contribuenti che operano sul territorio, spesso isolati, anche in situazioni bibliograficamente 'povere' (senza cioè strumenti di aiuto a disposizione): si tratta di collaboratori pagati a inserimento (se non addirittura volontari) e ai quali si possono porre solo richieste ragionevoli. Parrebbe invece che lo sviluppo eccessivamente dettagliato delle schede MEI (e che fornisce dati preziosi e funzionali alle ricerche sulla circolazione libraria), vada a scontrarsi con le esigenze del lavoro di chi redige materialmente le schede descrittive da remoto... Infatti, è proprio l'ingente massa degli inserimenti a costituire la ricchezza su cui si basa MEI. Gli enti sostenitori e i contribuenti locali non si sono però sempre sentiti adeguatamente valorizzati (anche solo con qualche ringraziamento e riferimento pubblico) nell'azione di comunicazione connessa a MEI: in particolare mi sembra non abbiano potuto accedere allo sviluppo costituito dai vari progetti legati a 15cBOOKTRADE e al suo finanziamento europeo. Visto che MEI nasce come strumento condiviso, occorre vigilare perché nessuno possa avere il sospetto che il progetto persegua scopi privati o personali. A mio parere, occorre infatti ricordare che MEI e i database collegati non sono di per se stessi un prodotto scientifico, ma piuttosto uno strumento (certo perfezionabile, ma indiscutibilmente prezioso): anche se si potranno generare automaticamente statistiche e rappresentazioni grafiche della circolazione libraria, queste non costituiscono in sé un apporto scientifico, ma contributi utili a 'visualizzare' fenomeni che lo studioso dovrà poi saper declinare e usare per la sua ricerca di storico del libro.

Quali prospettive individuo? Innanzitutto, confidiamo che, col contributo di Regione Lombardia (gli attuali dirigenti, il dott. Claudio

19 Ramelli, *Catalogo degli incunaboli*. Recentissima è la donazione di altri due incunaboli da parte di Elena Burstein, in memoria del padre Beniamino antiquario.

20 Barbieri, *Da Lucca a New York a Lugano*.

Gamba e la dott.ssa Francesca Giupponi seguono con grande attenzione i nostri lavori, mentre si è insediata alla Soprintendenza la prof.ssa Annalisa Rossi), si possa proseguire ancora negli anni a venire per portare a termine l'inserimento dei dati di esemplare di tutti gli incunabili lombardi: tra i grandi *desiderata* manca per esempio la Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano! In secondo luogo, vorremmo proseguire con la creazione di altri strumenti digitali per lo studio degli incunabili *conservati in Lombardia* e di quelli *prodotti in Lombardia*, così da pubblicare una serie di contributi scientifici che contribuiscano alla storia della produzione tipografica del XV secolo e a quella della relative raccolte. Già sono usciti un volume sull'antiquari Giuseppe Martini, uno di Luca Montagner sull'antiquariato Hoepli,²¹ quello di Giancarlo Petrella sul tipografo Battista Farfengo,²² mentre è in stampa uno di Luca Rivali su Ugo Da Como collezionista. Da ultimo lavoriamo a due grossi progetti che speriamo di condurre in porto tra il 2020 e il 2021: una grande esposizione alla Braidense dedicata alla storia del fondo incunabolistico, e una mostra-laboratorio alla Trivulziana sulla storia e la tecnica delle mostre bibliografiche. Come si vede, le idee non mancano! E, come si sa, la maggiore ricchezza non sono in realtà i finanziamenti, che oggi arrivano e domani finiscono, ma sono le idee, assai più rare da trovare...²³

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²¹ Montagner, *L'antiquariato Hoepli*.

²² Petrella, *L'impresa tipografica di Battista Farfengo*.

²³ Il testo qui presentato corrisponde nella sostanza a quello letto al convegno di Venezia. Si è solo intervenuti non solo inserendo le indispensabili note, ma chiarendo alcuni punti che nella loro formulazione più sintetica avevano destato alcune incomprensioni.

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Le collezioni di incunaboli delle biblioteche annesse ai monumenti nazionali

Come tutelarle e fare ricerca: Santa Scolastica a Subiaco

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Abstract A new and innovative project for the digitisation and in-depth cataloguing of the incunabula of Santa Scolastica in Subiaco is the result of a collaboration among a philanthropic organisation, the Polonsky Foundation, a research organisation specialised in the development of digital tools for the study of books produced by the hand press, that is the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), and the National Central Library of Rome, a leading Italian library with extensive experience in the field, having created and still coordinating the General Index of Incunabula in Italian Libraries (IGI).

Keywords Incunabula. Digital humanities. Polonsky Foundation. Subiaco. Benedictines. CERL. Rome National Central Library.

* Una collaborazione Fondazione Polonsky, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma e Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL).



La digitalizzazione e approfondita catalogazione degli incunaboli di Subiaco, Santa Scolastica è un progetto pilota nell'ambito di un'iniziativa si spera più vasta, concepita per moduli, che vuole focalizzarsi prevalentemente su piccole collezioni, sparse sul territorio nazionale, pubbliche, private, ecclesiastiche.

Il modello di ricerca affronta molteplici aspetti, materiali e testuali, presenti nei libri del XV secolo. Oggetto sono però non solo gli incunaboli, ma tutto ciò che ruota attorno al libro del XV secolo e alle relative collezioni – cataloghi, inventari, manoscritti di tipografia, carte di archivio, ecc.

La digitalizzazione di nuovi esemplari aprirà ulteriori frontiere alla ricerca, grazie a nuovi strumenti e alle ultime tecnologie che offrono l'accesso e il confronto diretto degli oggetti digitalizzati.¹ Non ultimo, infine, il presente progetto contribuirà alla preservazione del patrimonio, intendendosi la digitalizzazione misura preventiva per migliorare le condizioni della conservazione, e alla tutela, fornendo le riproduzioni un preciso identikit delle copie.

Il progetto è coordinato e diretto dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (BNCR) e vede la partnership della Fondazione Polonsky, finanziatore del progetto, del monastero Benedettino di Santa Scolastica di Subiaco, della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma e del Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL).²

La Fondazione Polonsky è stata fondata nel 1985 da Leonard Polonsky. Questi, dopo una lunga e brillante carriera di uomo d'affari nel settore dei servizi finanziari, ha concentrato da molti anni le sue attività sulla preservazione del patrimonio culturale dell'umanità, sull'incentivazione dell'educazione superiore e sulla promozione dell'arte. Attraverso la sua fondazione, egli offre supporto finanziario a progetti nel Regno Unito, negli Stati Uniti, in Europa e in Israele. Per Leonard Polonsky i danni immensi che la Seconda guerra mondiale causò al patrimonio culturale hanno rappresentato un'esperienza traumatica. Fondamentali pertanto sono per lui gli aspetti

1 Vedi MEI: https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search?lang=it; Image matching <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s40329-017-0201-5>; 15cILLUSTRATION <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>; iiif-shared canvas <https://iiif.io/model/shared-canvas/1.0/>.

2 Executive director: Andrea De Pasquale (BNCR); project executive manager: Marina Venier (CERL); executive board: Adalbert Roth (già Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Cristina Dondi (CERL) e Marina Venier (già BNCR); executive managers: Pasqualino Avigliano e Andrea Cappa (BNCR); staff della Biblioteca digitale della BNCR per caricamento in Teca e creazione sito WEB: Fabio D'Orsogna e Arturo Ferrari; research cataloguers per MEI, TEXT-inc, 15cILLUSTRATION, metadattazione file digitali: Matilde Malaspina e Sabrina Minuzzi; scansione dei materiali: staff della Società Alma-Tecnologie per i beni culturali S.r.l., responsabile e supervisore Valerio Totino, digitalizzatori Livia D'Orazio e Sabrina Mancini; Biblioteca di Santa Scolastica di Subiaco, inventariazione e catalogazione degli incunaboli in SBN: Maria Antonietta Orlandi; identificazione e descrizione delle filigrane: Francesca Valentini e Francesca Salvi.

legati all'educazione e alla conservazione del nostro patrimonio culturale. Egli promuove per i primi la ricerca e l'innovazione nei campi degli studi umanistici e delle scienze sociali - a tal fine ha fondato nel 2008 a Gerusalemme la Polonsky Academy for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences³ - per i secondi la riproduzione digitale, considerata come una delle misure principali della conservazione preventiva, potendo per di più conservare i dati digitali in altri luoghi in sicurezza.

L'idea dominante di Leonard Polonsky è di democratizzare il sapere e la cultura soprattutto attraverso le più avanzate tecnologie digitali, messe al servizio della ricerca, creando per tutti un accesso virtuale diretto ai tesori del patrimonio culturale. Negli ultimi anni tra le iniziative promosse dalla Polonsky Foundation prevalgono progetti di digitalizzazione, mirati verso collezioni di documenti di grande interesse, come le carte di Einstein e di Newton, raccolte di manoscritti e libri rari conservati in alcune delle più importanti biblioteche, come la Bodleian Library di Oxford, la Cambridge University Library, la British Library, la Bibliothèque nationale de France e la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, per menzionarne soltanto alcune.⁴

La Biblioteca del Monastero benedettino di Santa Scolastica, a Subiaco, vicino Roma, è una delle undici biblioteche statali del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali annesse a complessi monumentali dichiarati dallo Stato italiano 'monumenti nazionali', situati nel Lazio, in Campania e in Veneto: le Badie di Montecassino e di Cava dei Tirreni, il Convento di Montevergine, l'Oratorio dei Gerolamini a Napoli, la Certosa di Trisulti, il Monastero di Santa Scolastica di Subiaco, l'Abbazia di Praglia, di San Nilo a Grottaferrata, quelle di Casamari a Veroli, di Farfa a Fara in Sabina e quella di Santa Giustina a Padova.⁵ Tutte queste biblioteche conservano importanti raccolte librarie e preziosi manoscritti, che testimoniano un percorso di conoscenza e di conservazione della cultura che si snoda lungo tutta la penisola italiana e attraversa la nostra storia sin dal XII secolo - datazione dei codici più antichi ivi conservati. Sono questi motivi che hanno indotto lo Stato italiano a classificare questi luoghi come rilevanti per le loro caratteristiche storiche, simboli di riferimento per la comunità nazionale, talvolta ricollegati alla memoria di personaggi importanti o - come nel caso di Santa Scolastica - per l'unicità di avvenimenti ivi accaduti.

Proprio quest'ultimo monastero, in quanto culla della stampa in Italia, con le sue 192 edizioni del XV secolo, per un totale di 209 esem-

3 URL <https://www.vanleer.org.il/en/polonsky-academy>.

4 URL <http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/it>; <https://www.cam.ac.uk/subjects/polonsky>; <https://www.bl.uk/projects/polonsky-foundation-england-and-france-digitisation-project>; <https://www.bl.uk/hebrew-manuscripts>.

5 De Pasquale, «Le biblioteche pubbliche statali».

plari, è stato scelto come punto di partenza del progetto, grazie alla collaborazione della Comunità benedettina che ancora oggi abita e gestisce il complesso, in particolare del Padre Abate don Mauro Meacci e del direttore della Biblioteca don Marco Mancini.⁶

Presso questo monastero benedettino, Conrad Sweynheim e Arnold Pannartz, provenienti dalla Germania, stamparono fra il 1464 e il 1467 i primi incunaboli italiani.⁷

Delle quattro edizioni sublacensi,⁸ la Biblioteca conserva oggi due copie del *De civitate Dei* di Sant'Agostino del 1467 e l'*Opera* di Lattanzio del 1465. Del *Donatus pro puerulis*, forse il primo volume stampato dai due tipografi nel 1464, non si conosce ad oggi alcun esemplare. Ulteriori edizioni presenti a Subiaco documentano l'attività dei due prototipografi tedeschi, insieme e non, dopo il loro trasferimento a Roma nel 1467 in casa dei Massimi.

Ampiamente presente è anche la produzione tipografica dei maggiori stampatori attivi a Roma fra gli anni settanta e la fine del XV secolo, di cui si contano 40 edizioni. Non mancano inoltre edizioni rare, di cui solo pochissime copie sono oggi sopravvissute: gli *Erotemata* di Manuele Crisolora,⁹ le *Elegantiolae* di Agostino Dati,¹⁰ il *Doctrinale* di Alessandro De Villa Dei.¹¹

Di assoluto rilievo inoltre è la presenza del manoscritto di tipografia utilizzato per la stampa del Sant'Agostino del 1467, antigravo sul quale è stato esemplato il testo a stampa, rarissima testimonianza dello svolgimento del lavoro in tipografia.¹²

La BNCR è stata coordinatrice di importanti progetti di censimento, catalogazione e digitalizzazione della produzione a stampa delle origini. Negli anni Trenta del secolo scorso ha coordinato il censimento nazionale degli incunaboli, che ha avuto come esito la pubblicazione, tra il 1943 e il 1982, dei 6 volumi dell'Indice Generale degli Incunaboli (IGI).¹³ Il fatto di essere pervenuti nel 1981 – allora unici in

6 URL <https://www.benedettini-subiaco.org/monastero-santa-scolastica>.

7 Miglio, «Da Magonza a Subiaco»; Dondi, Rita, Roth, Venier, *La stampa romana*.

8 Aelius Donatus, *Donatus pro puerulis*. [Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1464]. GW 8814; not in ISTC (Feb. 2020); Lactantius, Lucius Coelius Firmianus, *Opera*. Subiaco: [Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz], 29 Oct. 1465. Folio. GW M16541; ISTC il00001000; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De oratore*. [Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, before 30 Sept. 1465]. 4°. GW 6742; ISTC ic00654000; Augustinus, Aurelius, *De civitate dei*. [Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz], 12 June 1467. Folio. GW 2874; ISTC ia01230000.

9 Venezia, 1484; GW 6698; ISTC ic00494000.

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11 Roma, 1488; GW 1011; ISTC ia00433000.

12 Augustinus, Aurelius, *De civitate dei*. [1425-75]. Subiaco, Santa Scolastica Ms.44, XLII. Frova, Miglio, *Dal Ms. Sublacense XLII all'Editio princeps*, 245-71.

13 Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche. *Indice generale degli incunaboli*.

Europa - alla conclusione di un lavoro di inventariazione e catalogazione di un patrimonio librario nazionale così ricco e per di più disseminato in 964 biblioteche sul territorio nazionale - pubbliche, private ed ecclesiastiche - per un totale di circa 13.611 edizioni, di avere segnalato 287 edizioni per la prima volta e di aver dato per esse piena descrizione, ha fatto di IGI uno strumento rilevante per incunabolisti e storici del libro, nello studio della stampa del Quattrocento.

Quando negli stessi anni cominciò a prendere forma presso la British Library il primo progetto di quello che è oggi l'ISTC (Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue) fu proprio l'IGI, insieme al Census di Frederick Goff e, naturalmente, al catalogo della British Library, a costituire il punto di partenza per la realizzazione di quella base dati che oggi risulta essere per noi strumento formidabile e indispensabile per la ricerca concernente la produzione libraria fino al 1500.

Dal 1992 tutti i dati di IGI sono stati riversati in ISTC.¹⁴ La collaborazione tra IGI e British Library ha permesso una verifica puntuale e necessaria del patrimonio delle biblioteche italiane, utilizzando il primo software fornito dalla British Library. Questo ha consentito di stampare per ciascuna biblioteca l'elenco delle edizioni possedute così come erano censite in IGI, per richiederne un controllo. Allo stesso modo, successivamente al primo inserimento, le modifiche e/o segnalazioni di nuove o perdute edizioni ha permesso di effettuare aggiornamenti, modifiche e nuove segnalazioni trasmesse poi dalla redazione di IGI alla British Library, venendo a costituire la prima ricognizione nazionale completa di edizioni del XV secolo. L'avvenuta liberalizzazione della base dati da parte della British Library, che nel 2007 ha deciso di offrire gratuitamente online ISTC, ha segnato un nuovo inizio nella costante e continua collaborazione tra la BNCR, la British Library ma anche i colleghi del Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW)¹⁵ ed è il segno tangibile di quanto le nuove tecnologie possano offrire anche in un campo di studi per certi versi ancora legato a metodologie tradizionali.

È questa anche la sede per ricordare che nella primavera del 1994 la BNCR entrava come partner nel progetto denominato INCIPIT, finanziato dalla Comunità Europea e coordinato da Lotte Hellinga e dai colleghi della British Library. Tale progetto prevedeva il trasferimento su CD-Rom di tutte le registrazioni presenti nella base dati ISTC, accompagnate dalle immagini delle carte tradizionalmente ritenute significative nella descrizione degli incunaboli. La BNCR ha riprodotto, grazie anche al supporto del Centro Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), le immagini relative a circa 400 edizioni, fra cui alcune anche della Biblioteca di S. Scolastica, rintracciabili nella seconda edizione di Illustrated IISTC (ISTC).

14 URL https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.

15 URL <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/GWEN.xhtml>.

La BNCR è ancora oggi responsabile degli aggiornamenti in ISTC per tutte le biblioteche italiane.

La Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma ha anche contribuito alla preparazione delle linee guida nazionali per la catalogazione dei libri antichi, sia nella prima versione del 1995, sia nell'ultima e più recente del 2016 e per prima ha testato nel 1995 il sistema di catalogazione online in SBN applicato ai libri antichi.¹⁶

Successivamente, a partire dal 1995, ha portato avanti diversi progetti, che hanno permesso la catalogazione in SBN, 'libro in mano', di circa 140.000 edizioni, dal XVI al XIX secolo.

Inoltre, BNCR ha creato strumenti specialistici per lo studio di libri antichi, come MART.E.(Marche Tipografiche Editoriali)¹⁷ e *authorities* di ricerca per le provenienze. È stata anche coordinatore esecutivo del progetto GoogleBooks Italia/ MiBAC (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali), iniziato nel 2012, per la digitalizzazione e la creazione di metadati di circa 500.000 volumi, accessibili tramite il portale nazionale OPAC SBN, nonché tramite gli OPAC delle singole biblioteche partecipanti al progetto.¹⁸

Partecipa al progetto, specie per gli aspetti legati alla catalogazione in strumenti digitali innovativi, anche il Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), collaborazione tra quasi trecento biblioteche e autorità bibliotecarie europee e americane.¹⁹ L'obiettivo del CERL è di sostenere la ricerca nell'ambito del patrimonio di manoscritti e libri stampati, nonché di sviluppare strumenti digitali per l'accesso integrato a dati di alta qualità. Tra questi ricordiamo il database The Heritage of the Printed Book (HPB) con oltre 7,5 milioni di registrazioni di libri stampati fino al 1850; il CERL Thesaurus con oltre un milione di authority records e varianti di nomi relative a autori, traduttori, editori, artisti, possessori e altri soggetti coinvolti nella produzione intellettuale e materiale dei libri, nonché nella loro proprietà. E infine Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) per la puntuale descrizione della copia specifica degli incunaboli. CERL ospita e mantiene anche Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) della British Library. È appunto negli strumenti digitali specializzati sugli incunaboli, prodotti od ospitati dal CERL e dal progetto 15cBOOKTRADE,²⁰ diretto dalla Segretaria scientifica del Consortium Dr Cristina Don-

¹⁶ Istituto Centrale Catalogo Unico, *Guida alla catalogazione in SBN. Libro antico*, http://norme.iccu.sbn.it/index.php?title=Guida_antico; <http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp>.

¹⁷ URL http://www.bnrcr.beniculturali.it/it/339/mar_t_e.

¹⁸ URL <http://www.bnrcr.beniculturali.it/it/325/archivio-news/775/progetto-google-books>.

¹⁹ URL <https://www.cerl.org/>.

²⁰ URL <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>.

di, che si raccoglieranno e metteranno in condivisione i dati di alta qualità raccolti dagli incunaboli Sublacensi.

Il presente progetto è diviso in due fasi: il primo consiste nella catalogazione, digitalizzazione e generazione di dati; il secondo nella promozione e valorizzazione del progetto.

I contenuti prodotti non consistono soltanto nella riproduzione digitale degli esemplari, ma riguarderanno tutti gli aspetti materiali degli stessi, anche attraverso l'indagine di tutte le fonti documentarie disponibili (documenti d'archivio, cataloghi storici), e tutti quei materiali che possono ampliare notevolmente la ricerca, in campo storico, artistico, sociale, economico e bibliografico.

Particolare attenzione verrà tributata anche al manoscritto di tipografia, esempio eccezionale per lo studio delle pratiche di officina agli esordi della stampa.

Si useranno quindi database nazionali e internazionali, che verranno incrementati con i dati di Subiaco: per l'aspetto bibliografico e il conteggio delle copie, SBN-Libro antico,²¹ che a sua volta contribuisce ad Heritage of the Printed Book Database (HPB)²² del CERL e ISTC;²³ per la descrizione analitica e la provenienza dell'esemplare MEI,²⁴ che tratterà la storia di ogni copia; per il contenuto testuale TEXT-inc, corpus di testi stampato nel XV secolo;²⁵ per l'illustrazione 15cILLUSTRATION;²⁶ per le filigrane di parte degli incunaboli, fra cui quelli stampati a Subiaco e a Roma da Sweynheim e Pannartz, BERNSTEIN-The memory of paper.²⁷

La prima operazione è l'esame e il controllo dell'identificazione delle edizioni del XV secolo di Santa Scolastica, utilizzando IGI, ISTC e le copie specifiche. Nel caso degli incunaboli dell'Abbazia di Subiaco è stato importante avere a disposizione l'archivio cartaceo di IGI, sia quello relativo alla stesura dei volumi a stampa, sia quello nuovo derivante dalla verifica effettuata nel 1994. A questo si è aggiunta una verifica *in loco* libri in mano nel settembre del 2018, in modo da avere precisa cognizione delle edizioni possedute dalla biblioteca sublacense.

Seguono la catalogazione in SBN-Libro antico e la descrizione completa delle copie nel database MEI. Il contenuto testuale di ogni edizione è controllato in TEXT-inc e integrato al database per le 65 edizioni non ancora presenti.

21 URL <https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp>.

22 URL <https://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/main>.

23 URL <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>.

24 URL https://data.cerl.org/mei_search?lang=it.

25 URL <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>; <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/>.

26 URL <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/home>.

27 URL http://www.memoryofpaper.eu/BernsteinPortal/app_l_start_disp.

Verranno indicate le marche tipografiche e le filigrane degli incunaboli di Sweynheym e Pannartz. Le immagini saranno inserite e descritte nel database 15cILLUSTRATION creato dal progetto di Oxford 15cBOOKTRADE insieme al Visual Geometry Group del Dipartimento di Ingegneria della stessa università.²⁸ I dati derivati dal MEI relativi alle legature originali saranno segnalati per l'aggiornamento del censimento delle legature medievali italiane.²⁹

La digitalizzazione comporterà la ripresa del testo completo di tutte le copie, anche se multiple, dalla coperta anteriore a quella posteriore, compresi dorso, tagli e filigrane, delle copie di tipografia di manoscritti esistenti e di altri documenti relativi alla storia della stampa, del testo completo di cataloghi o inventari storici esistenti, per un totale di circa 128.000 immagini.

Si procederà alla ridenominazione dei file immagine, usando le segnature delle carte e la collazione dell'edizione fornita in TEXT-inc e un'etichettatura che includerà elementi testuali e paratestuali - come più testi, dediche, indici, colophon, segni di stampa, illustrazioni, utilizzando le voci di TEXT-inc come linee guida - e elementi materiali - come indicazione di legatura, decorazioni, timbri, ex-libris, stemmi, annotazioni manoscritte, etichette, collocazioni storiche, usando MEI come linea guida.

Questo faciliterà enormemente l'uso di queste digitalizzazioni da parte degli studiosi, che potranno navigare la copia digitalizzata e il suo ricco contenuto in modo molto semplice, preciso ed esaustivo.

La teca della BNCR servirà da punto di snodo ed accesso alle varie informazioni presenti nei rispettivi database, consentendo l'accesso diretto alle informazioni e permetterà l'esposizione dei metadati prodotti anche verso altri portali nazionali e internazionali.³⁰

Seguirà poi una fase di promozione e valorizzazione del progetto, che comporterà fra l'altro un sito dedicato, con la creazione di una sezione specifica all'interno del sito della BNCR, ove verrà descritto il progetto; saranno presentati i blog dei ricercatori e sarà caricato il video sull'invenzione della stampa e la sua introduzione a Subiaco. Le digitalizzazioni visibili sul sito web saranno collegate a tutti i database coinvolti (ISTC, GW, MEI, TEXT-inc, 15cILLUSTRATION, Bernstein, OPAC SBN, ecc.), con possibilità di aggiungere ulteriori collegamenti. I blog saranno preparati dai ricercatori durante tutto il progetto e saranno annunciati sui social media.

Al termine del progetto si produrranno delle linee guida che potranno essere applicabili ad analoghi progetti successivi. Siamo profondamente grati alla Fondazione Polonsky per aver dedicato la loro

28 URL <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>; <http://seebibyte.org/index.html>.

29 URL https://www.persee.fr/doc/galim_0753-5015_1986_num_8_1_996.

30 URL <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/>.

attenzione al valore per la ricerca e alla conservazione del grande, ma a volte meno conosciuto, patrimonio monastico italiano.

Abbreviations

15cBOOKTRADE = <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>
15cILLUSTRATION = <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>
BERNSTEIN = http://www.memoryofpaper.eu/BernsteinPortal/appl_start_disp
GW = <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>
IIIF - shared canvas = <https://iiif.io/model/shared-canvas/1.0/>
ISTC = https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search
MEI = https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search
OPAC SBN = <https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/free.jsp>
TEXT-inc = <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>

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How Provenance Marks from Lithuanian Incunabula are Contributing to Historical Narrative

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Abstract At present, eight different libraries in Lithuania preserve 510 incunabula in their holdings. In the 15th century, Lithuania did not have printing houses, so books had to be imported. A majority of incunabula kept in Lithuania carry inscriptions which show that these books were brought to Lithuania as early as in the 16th or 17th century. However, extant book markings may also become a way of shedding light on historical events which influenced the fate of libraries, and, vice versa, a knowledge of historical events may fill in lacunae left by provenance marks in the history of a book.

Keywords Provenance. Incunabula. Illuminators. Private libraries. Prices. Books of the 15th Century. History of Lithuania.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 16th-17th Century: The Arrival of Incunabula in the GDL and their Readers' Marks. – 2.1 Prices. – 2.2 Inscriptions by Illuminators. – 2.3 Various Marginalia. – 3 The 19th Century: The Fate of Books and Libraries in the Absence of the Lithuanian State. – 4 The 20th Century: the Book Between War and Peace. – 5 Conclusions.



1 Introduction

Eight different libraries in Lithuania preserve 510 incunabula in their holdings (see Table 1).¹ Most of them are held by the Vilnius University Library (VUL), which was founded in the 16th century by the Jesuits and, in the 20th century, incorporated the holdings of the Vilnius Public Library (1865-1919).² The incunabula under discussion first circulated around a much larger territory than that of the present Republic of Lithuania. In the 15th century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) was the largest state in Europe - it covered the entirety of present Lithuania and Belarus, most of present Ukraine, and part of present Russia (Smolensk, Bryansk, Kursk) and Poland (Podlasie).

Following the signing of the union of Lublin in 1569, the GDL together with the Kingdom of Poland formed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which ceased to exist in 1795 following its third partition. The political policy pursued by the Russian Empire led to the closing of many institutions, whose books were relocated to larger imperial cities. One of the latter was Vilnius, which thus received an influx of books from various closed-down libraries. Some incunabula were lost in wars and great city fires in the 17th to 19th centuries, which destroyed not only books, but also library catalogues that could have been used for the reconstruction of the content of the perished libraries.

Table 1 Institutions and number of incunabula held

Name of Institution	Number of Incunabula
Vilnius, University Library (VUL)	332
Vilnius, Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (NL)	88
Vilnius, Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (WL)	64
Kaunas, University of Technology Library (KUTL)	19
Kaunas, County Public Library	3
Kaunas, Vytautas Magnus University Library (VMUL)	2
Kaunas, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis National Art Museum	1
Vilnius, Kazys Varnelis House-Museum	1

1 In addition, the personal library of Vidmantas Staniulis in Kaunas includes four incunabula. Cf. Staniulis, "Habent sua fata libelli", 199-200.

2 After the closing of Vilnius University in 1832 a major part of the Library holdings was delivered from Vilnius to other educational institutions in Imperial Russia. In 1856 the former premises of the Library housed the Museum of Antiquities (established by the Archeological Commission), which among other things had a Reading Cabinet. In 1865 the Museum of Antiquities with its Reading Cabinet was reorganised as Vilnius Public Library and Museum. Cf. <https://biblioteka.vu.lt/en/about>.

The incunabula kept in Lithuania today were recorded and described by the bibliographer Nojus Feigelmanas (1918-2002) in his catalogue *Lietuvos inkunabulai* (Incunabula of Lithuania)³ and in the article “Lietuvos inkunabulų papildymas” (Supplement to Incunabula of Lithuania), as well as by the bibliographer Juozas Tumelis in the article “Nauji Lietuvos TSR Valstybinės Respublikinės bibliotekos inkunabulai” (New incunabula in the State Library of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic). Over the last few years, incunabula research in Lithuania has become more in-depth. In 2011 the VUL incunabula collection was discussed by Vidas Račius in his article “Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos inkunabulai: rinkinio raida ir sudėtis” (Incunabula in the Vilnius University Library: The Development and Structure of the Collection).⁴ In 2014 the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (NL) published an incunabula catalogue, *Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos inkunabulai* (Incunabula of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania),⁵ while incunabula held in Kaunas libraries were described in the catalogue *XV-XVI amžių knygos Kauno bibliotekose* (15th-16th-Century Books in Kaunas Libraries).⁶ Papers on this subject by one of the Authors of the present article, Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė,⁷ are also worth mentioning.

The involvement of the main Lithuanian libraries, from early 2017, in the creation of the international database of incunabula provenance, *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI), gave a stimulus to a more attentive examination of incunabula and their ownership marks and thus led to a number of important discoveries.⁸

As 15th-century Lithuania did not yet have printing houses, it is not clear how books were being imported to the country, nor do any documents which contain information on this survive. A majority of Lithuanian incunabula carry a considerable number of anonymous 15th-16th-century inscriptions, usually in Latin. Some of them contain a summary of, or comments on, the book in question; many of these inscriptions and annotations remain unidentified, and the place of their writing unknown. Especially noteworthy is one of the earliest and hardly legible inscriptions, telling us that the treatise *Commentum su-*

3 Feigelmanas, *Lietuvos inkunabulai*.

4 Račius, “Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos inkunabulai”.

5 *Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos inkunabulai: katalogas*. Compiled by Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 2014.

6 *XV-XVI amžių knygos Kauno bibliotekose: katalogas*. Compiled by Sigita Lūžys, Rita Urbaitytė, Irena Vitkauskienė. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2006.

7 Cf. final Bibliography.

8 The librarians who enter data into the MEI database in Lithuania are Sondra Rankelienė (VUL), Aušra Rinkūnaitė (VUL), Vidas Račius (VUL), Agnė Zemkajutė (WL), Viktorija Bargailienė (NL) and Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė (NL).

*per quarto libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*⁹ by the Franciscan theologian Richardus de Mediavilla (circa 1249-circa 1308) was owned by an unknown individual from Venice in 1501. Although it remains unclear how this incunabulum came to be in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, we know from a later inscription that it once belonged to a Franciscan monk, Christophorus Medige [?] from Braniewo (Poland), and subsequently to the Jesuits of Niesvizh (Belarus).

Incunabula held in Lithuania carry inscriptions confirming that these books arrived in Lithuania as early as the 16th or the 17th century.¹⁰ They were brought from the great printing centres of Western Europe, some by students returning from their European studies. In Lithuania, books were regarded as a valuable possession. Therefore, there existed a strong tradition of marking them with various signs or indications of ownership with a view to preventing theft. Important information on the history of a book, book culture, and reading habits of those times may be obtained not only from the customary inscriptions, stamps, labels and bookplates of private owners or institutions, but also from records, comments and even drawings left by anonymous readers. Even though such features are not classified as ownership marks, they still represent in their own right important evidence of the cultural communication of the period.¹¹ Among such book markings, inscriptions with prices and comments by illuminators provide the most crucial information.

The meticulous chronological recording of markings left in books throws some light on the movement of the books in time and space, as well as on the methods of communication adopted by their former owners. This article aims to analyse what various book markings extant in Lithuanian incunabula may reveal of how the books arrived to the GDL, and who their first owners and readers were. It also attempts to explain for what reasons and in what historical circumstances incunabula from various libraries were brought into the territory of present-day Lithuania.

⁹ Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for the heirs of Octavianus Scotus, 17 Dec. 1499. 4°. ISTC im00426000; MEI 02126704 (NL R.XV:B.10).

¹⁰ Feigelmanas, "Pirmosios spausdintos knygos".

¹¹ Cf. Liškevičienė, "Knygos ženklų marginalijos".

2 16th-17th Century: The Arrival of Incunabula in the GDL and their Readers' Marks

2.1 Prices

“The main way of book dissemination in Lithuania was through the book trade. Starting from as early as the late 15th century, trade with Polish or Western European book publishing centres was conducted directly or via book merchants”.¹² Little information exists on book prices in those times. However, inscriptions found in the books themselves provide important knowledge for the value of books, the money used in different periods, and the individuals who purchased incunabula.¹³ A careful analysis of inscriptions containing prices has revealed that most of the incunabula were acquired on the territory of the GDL, some as early as the first years of the 16th century. In this article, we will single out the inscriptions unrecorded in Feigelmanas' catalogue.

In the inscriptions with prices discovered in incunabula, *groat* is the monetary unit that is mentioned most often.¹⁴ Production of GDL coins in Vilnius started in 1508, during the rule of Sigismund the Old, but only a small quantity of groats can have been minted, as these coins are rarely found.¹⁵ In 1529, an unknown individual bought a sermon collection by an Italian Franciscan, the theologian Antonius da Bitonto (circa 1385-1465), *Sermones dominicales* for 20 groats, as indicated in a note on the last leaf: *Anno Do[m]i[n]i 1529 pro isto opusculo dedi viginti gs.*¹⁶ We know that the treatise on logic by the German theologian Petrus Gerticz (ca. 1350-ca. 1421) was bought in Lithuania, since the price stated in an inscription on the title page is 50 Lithuanian groats: *Emptus 2bus 50 li gr.*¹⁷ Even though the exact date is unknown, the handwriting suggests that the treatise was purchased in the early 16th century.

It also remains unclear who bought a commentary – and when and where – on the text of the philosopher Boethius (ca. 480-524) *De con-*

¹² Petrauskienė, “Knygų plitimo keliai Lietuvoje XVI-XVIII a.”, 186.

¹³ On prices in old books see: Vladimirovas, “Knygos prekybos Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVIII amžiuje metmenys”; Braziūnienė “Apie marginalijas kaip knygu prekybos istorijos šaltinį”.

¹⁴ More about Lithuanian coins in Grimalauskaitė, Remecas, *Pinigai Lietuvoje*.

¹⁵ Remecas, “XVI a. monetų apyvarta dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijoje”, 60-1.

¹⁶ Antonius da Bitonto, *Sermones dominicales*. Strasbourg: Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger, 20 Feb. 1495. 8°. GW 2211; ISTC ia00891000; MEI 02019416 (VUL Ink. 110).

¹⁷ Gerticz, Petrus, *Parvulus logicae*. [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, about 1492-95]. 4°. ISTC ig00277350; MEI 02018182 (VUL Ink. 317).

solatione philosophiae.¹⁸ The handwriting and ownership marks on the titlepage suggest that the acquisition was made at the end of the 16th century/beginning of 17th somewhere in the territory of the Commonwealth: *hunc libelum comparavi p[er] 18 gr*. The infamous treatise on witches by the theologians Henricus Institoris (1430-1505) and Jacobus Sprenger (1438-1494), *Malleus maleficarum*, was bought in 1601 by a monk named Hieronimus Loverius for 46 groats, as stated in an inscription on fol. A2 r: *Ex Libris F[rat]ris Hieronimi Louerij Ciuitei CII... Comparatus A[nno] D[omini] 1601 grs 46*.¹⁹ Loverius, most probably a Dominican, must have given this incunabulum to the Dominican monastery of Dereczyn, in present-day Belarus, which existed during the period 1618-1832, as may be guessed from the following inscription: *Idem applicauit con[ven]tui Derecensi*. On May 7, 1644, an anonymous individual bought for 5 groats, in Gdansk, the illustrated herbal *Herbarius latinus*; the inscription on fol. [1] v reads: *Gedani 1644. 7 Maji. 5 gr*.²⁰ The variety of book prices is best understood when we compare them with the prices of other goods in the corresponding time periods: for example, during the reign of Stephen Batory (1576-1586), a *kartis* (123 litres) of wheat cost 12-16 groats, while at the time of Sigismund Vasa (1587-1632), the price varied between 35 and 95-100 groats, and in 1650 the same measure of wheat cost about 230 groats.²¹

Incunabula inscriptions also contain mentions of different monetary units, other than *groats*. There are mentions of florins (ducats) minted during the rule of Sigismund August (1520-1572), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. In 1651, the Cracow Dominicans purchased *Sermones de eucharistiae sacramento*, a sermon collection by the theologian Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200-1280), bound together with three post-incunabula: *secessit fl. 30 a Prædi[catorum] Ord[ine] in Cracovia 1651*.²² Later, most probably at some point in the 18th century, this composite volume fell into the hands of the Kaunas Dominicans. The monk Jerzy Dąbrowski paid 15 florins for a Bible in Latin.²³

¹⁸ Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (with commentary ascribed in the text to Thomas Aquinas). Add: *Compendiosa consolationis resumptio*. Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 2 Sept. 1500. 4°. GW 4568; ISTD ib00807000; MEI 02020045 (VUL Ink. 120).

¹⁹ Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 17 Jan. 1496. 4°. ISTD ii00168000; MEI 02019361 (VUL Ink. 309).

²⁰ *Herbarius latinus*. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, [14]84. 4°. GW 12268; ISTD ih00062000; MEI 02017325 (VUL Ink. 217).

²¹ Cf. Grimalauskaitė, Remecas, *Pinigai Lietuvoje*, 196-7, 219, 242.

²² Albertus Magnus. *Sermones de eucharistiae sacramento*. Cologne: [Retro Minores (Martin von Werden?)], for Heinrich Quentell, 1498. 4°. GW 770; ISTD ia00326000; MEI 02019490 (VUL Ink. 118).

²³ *Biblia Latina*. With table of Gabriel Brunus (revised). Basel: Johann Froben, 27 Oct. 1495. 8°. GW 4275; ISTD ib00598000; MEI 02019396 (VUL Ink. 111(2)).

The owner did not record the place of purchase, nor the date (inscription fol. BB³ v: *Fratrij Georgij Dąbrowski Emptus Florenis 15*). The tragedies of the Roman philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BC-65) are known to have been bought for three gold florins, even though the inscription, on fol. Cxlvi of the 1498 edition – *Constat 3 Florinos in auro* – does not state who acquired the books or when or where.²⁴

Another noteworthy inscription containing a price provides important information about early book acquisitions. When Aleksandras Rodūnionis the Elder (circa 1526-1583), an Evangelical Lutheran pastor and translator of Lithuanian hymns, went to study at Königsberg University in 1547, he bought a sermon collection by St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) published in two books in the 1490s.²⁵ He paid 24 groats for Book 1, and 20 for Book 2, as shown by the inscriptions he wrote in the volumes. Another inscription by Rodūnionis, found at the beginning of Book 2, *Alexander Radunius Lituanius sibi & suis comparavit*, shows that books in the 16th century were often acquired for shared use – *sibi et amicis, sibi et suis*.²⁶ It was in the age of the Renaissance that private libraries emerged in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and books came to be seen and understood as valuable objects.²⁷

2.2 Inscriptions by Illuminators

Incunabula, as well as manuscript books, were decorated by hand. The first letters of sentences were rubricated (executed in red), and the initials were illuminated: for this purpose the printers would leave blank spaces in the text. Although the illuminators usually remain anonymous, in the case of several Lithuanian incunabula, it has been possible to identify one of them. Markings left in the books pointed to the same individual, whose name stays unknown.

A 1487 collection of Lenten sermons by the French theologian Petrus de Palude (circa 1277-1342), *Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi*,²⁸ is bound together with a 1490 collection of lives of saints by the Italian preacher Jacobus de Voragine (circa 1228-1298), *Lom-*

²⁴ Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, *Tragoediae*. Comm: Gellius Bernardinus Marmita and Daniel Caietanus. Etc. Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, 7 Apr. 1498. Folio. ISTC is00438000. Not yet in MEI (KUTL Fs 727).

²⁵ Augustinus, Aurelius, *Sermones*. With additions by Sebastian Brant. Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1494-95. Folio. GW 2920; ISTC ia01308000; MEI 02108477 (Book 1: VUL Ink. 218), MEI 02122977 (Book 2: WL I-34).

²⁶ Pacevičius, Arvydas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bibliotekos*, 18.

²⁷ Ulčinaitė, *Lietuvos Renesanso ir Baroko literatūra*, 16.

²⁸ Petrus de Palude, *Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi*. Strasbourg: [Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg)], 1487. Folio. ISTC ip00503500; MEI 02018157 (VUL Ink. 262).

bardica historia.²⁹ It is probable that the two books were bound in a single volume already in the 16th century – this is suggested not only by the red rubricated letters and the green and red initials drawn in the books by the illuminator, Johannes de Grodno, but also by the notes written by him, in red ink, in the margins and under the colophons. The inscriptions show that he completed the decoration of the book by Jacobus de Voragine in 1516 (inscription: *a[n]no 1516 Joh[an]n[i]s Grodno...*), and of Petrus de Palude's work in 1517, on St. Elisabeth's Day (inscription: *1517 die S. Eliz[a]beth[ae] Horodno Joh[anne]s finivit*). According to the historian Gita Drungilienė, “even if it is unclear whether the publication was his property, or merely given to him, temporarily, to decorate”, this provenance record tells us that “the book arrived in the GDL soon after it had been printed and was in use here as early as the first half of the 16th century”.³⁰ Later, probably in the mid-17th century, this composite volume ended up in the Vilnius Bernardine Monastery (inscription sign. *a² r: PP[atrum] Bernard[inorum] Vilnen[sis]*), and, after its closure in 1864, when the monastery's book collection was confiscated, in the Vilnius Public Library.

Another incunabulum illuminated by the same artist in the same style, red rubricated letters, red and green initials, often with various embellishments, although modest in comparison with the above-mentioned composite volume set, is kept in the National Library of Lithuania. Judging by a note on the title page (*Anno Xri[sti] Domi[ni] 1510 p[er] Joanne[m] Grodno pa[ratur]*),³¹ Johannes de Grodno completed the decoration of these *Sermones quadragesimales*, a sermon collection by the Italian Franciscan Robertus Caracciolus (1425-1495), in 1510.³²

Markings left in books by illuminators may reveal certain details about book finishes in the period. Two incunabula from the National Library of Lithuania are illuminated by initials drawn in a similar style and using the same Latin inscription: “Jhesus Maria”.³³

Some incunabula bear only the year recorded by the rubricator or illuminator in red ink, most probably to signify the completion of the

²⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Aug. 1490. Folio. ISTC ij00124000; MEI 02018060 (VUL Ink. 261).

³⁰ Drungilienė, “Vieno kūrinio istorija”, 36-7.

³¹ In the incunabula catalogue of the National Library of Lithuania, the surname and the year are given incorrectly. Cf. *Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos inkunabulai*, no. 22.

³² Caracciolus, Robertus, *Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia*. Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 3 Feb. 1497. 4°. GW 6079; ISTC ic00182000; MEI 02123081 (NL R.XV:B.3).

³³ Bonaventura, S, *Opuscula*. Strasbourg: Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg), 31 Oct. 1489. Folio. ISTC ib00927000; MEI 02124278 (NL R.XV:D.1); Marchesinus, Johannes, *Mammotrectus super Bibliam*. [Cologne: Conrad Winters, de Homborch], 24 Dec. 1476. Folio. GW 4647; ISTC im00235000; MEI 02124321 (NL R.XV:D.10).

work. For example, the rubricator inscribed the year 1496 on the recto of the seventh leaf: *Anno dofminji M496*, at the beginning of *Postilla super epistolas et evangelia*, a sermon collection by the French theologian Guillaume d’Auvergne (circa 1180-1249), while the date 1478 is written in red ink at the end of *Fasciculus temporum*, the concise chronological account of world events by the German Carthusian Werner Rolewinck (1425-1502).³⁴

Markings by an illuminator have also been found in a composite volume consisting of two incunabula: *Confessionale* by Archbishop St. Antoninus (1490) and *Malleus maleficarum* (ca. 1495) by the theologians Henricus Institoris (1430-1505) and Jacobus Sprenger (1438-1494).³⁵ The end of the first edition carries a barely legible note by the illuminator made in red ink and dated 1493. Even though the second edition has only two decorative elements placed in the margins in red ink, it is believed that the books were bound together at the time when the artist was decorating the first edition. This is also suggested by the binding, wooden boards covered by brown tooled leather, with the remains of two metal clasps, and by the publication year. *Malleus maleficarum* was printed without a publication year. At present, the GW catalogue gives this date: “1491-1495”.³⁶ One hypothesis why the second work was not decorated could be because of its fear-inspiring content.

Even though markings left in incunabula by rubricators or illuminators have not been comprehensively researched, notes and longer comments left by them in the margins enable us to see how they functioned as readers.

2.3 Various Marginalia

The most intriguing marginalia are those providing information not only on book culture and reading habits, but also on historical events and details of everyday life.

³⁴ Guillelmus, *Postilla super epistolas et evangelia*. [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, about 1495]. 4°. GW 11967; ISTC ig00663000; MEI 02122974 (NL R.XV:B.4(1)). Rolewinck, Werner, *Fasciculus temporum*. [Speyer]: Peter Drach, 24 Nov. 1477. Folio. ISTC ir00257000; MEI 02123369 (WL I-25a).

³⁵ Antoninus Florentinus, *Confessionale: Defecerunt scrutantes scrutiny*. Add: *Titulus de restitutionibus*. Strasbourg: Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg), 1490. 4°. ISTC ia00825000; MEI 02124971 (NL R.XV:C.16(1)). Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum*. [Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1495]. 4°. GW 2130; ISTC ii00167300; MEI 02125007 (NL R.XV:C.16(2)).

³⁶ GW M12480. URL <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M12480.htm>.

The fact that books were passed on from hand to hand is clear from loan inscriptions left on their pages. The treatise *Adversus omnes haereses libri XIII* published in Cologne in 1543 (NL R.XV:E.2(1)) by the theologian Alfonso de Castro (1495-1558), bound together with the incunabulum *Fasciculus temporum* by the German theologian, historian and Carthusian monk Werner Rolewinck (1425-1502),³⁷ was lent by the Vicar of Žasliai, Tomasz Popławski, (d. 1613)³⁸ to a Vilnius canon, Michał Skorulski (d. 1620),³⁹ as evidenced in an inscription on the inside upper cover: *Ego Tomasz Popławskij Parochus Zaslow A[nn]o D[omi]ni 1612 die 6a Jan[uar]ii Admod[um] R[ever]endo D[omi]no Michaeli Skorulskij Canonico Vilnen[sis] d[omi]no suo mutuo dedi librum Alfonso de Castro ad perlegr...du[m].* Even though Skorulski did write a note reminding himself to give the book back, as the inscription in Polish inside the rear board makes clear: *Przypomniec sobie o kronikę... Michał Skorulski CV m[anu] p[ropria]*, it is likely that he did not return it after all. The original owner, Popławski, died soon afterwards, so the book ended up in a Jesuit professed house near the Church of St. Casimir;⁴⁰ the inscription on the title page was crossed out, and, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, fell into the hands of the Vilnius Discalced Carmelites. It should be noted that Skorulski had his own library, as is shown by his ownership inscription in *Operum* (Paris, 1588, vols. 1-5) by St. John Chrysostom (circa 350-407): *Ex libris Michaelis Skorulski Parochi Szaulen[sis] p[ro]p[ri]a manu.*⁴¹

Lithuanian words discovered in another incunabulum not only testify to the existence of readers among the Lithuanian clergy, but also provide information on the historical development of the Lithuanian language. As early inscriptions in Lithuanian are few, each of them is of importance. The already mentioned Lenten sermon collection by Petrus de Palude, *Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi*, bears inscriptions in Lithuanian [fig. 1]; on fol. m³ r: *3 dalis lauzimo* (breaking into 3 parts) and *miežiene duona* (barley loaf); fol. e⁴ r: *uzmirsimas pilvo* (forgetting belly); fol. m⁴ r: *seseris su brolejs kayp viras su*

³⁷ Rolewinck, Werner, *Fasciculus temporum*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 28 May 1484. Folio. ISTC ir00270000; MEI 02126478 (NL R.XV:E.2(2)).

³⁸ *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV-XVI a.* = *The Lithuanian Catholic Clergy (14th-16th c.)*. Compiled by Vytautas Ališauskas, Tomasz Jaszczolt, Liudas Jovaiša, Mindaugas Paknys, no. 2474.

³⁹ *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV-XVI a.* = *The Lithuanian Catholic Clergy (14th-16th c.)*, no. 1640. Prior to becoming a canon in Vilnius, he had been a priest in Šiauliai.

⁴⁰ This professed house was founded in 1604, while the library is first mentioned in 1626. Cf. *Lietuvos vienuolynai: vadovas*. URL <http://vienuolynai.mch.mii.lt/V47-54/Vilnkazimiero.htm>; also: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, 744-5.

⁴¹ Cf. *XV-XVI amžių knygos Kauno bibliotekose*, no. 308.



Figure 1. Inscriptions in Lithuanian. Petrus de Palude, *Sermones quadragesimale thesauri novi*. 1487. Strassburg (VUL Ink. 262)

mot. (sisters with brothers like man with wom).⁴² These notes are left by an anonymous reader in the margins of the sermons on the chapter from the Gospel of John concerning the multiplication of five barley loaves (Jn 6,1-15), the Epistle of St Paul to the Philippians (Philippians 3) and other Old Testament stories.

These inscriptions might have a connection to one of the former owners of this incunabulum, Albert Płocharski, a preacher in Vilnius Cathedral, an inscription on the title page: *Alberti Płocharski Ecc[les]iae Cath[olici] Vilnen[sis] Concionatoris*, and to the period of his lifetime (1584-1624).⁴³ Płocharski might have known Lithuanian, but further research should be done on whether the inscriptions may be attributed to him. It should be noted that the margins of the book bear copious notes in Latin written by a similar hand.

Rare comments by former readers are always of special value, as they provide information about the readership of a book. The enduring and particular popularity of *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine is clear from marginal comments by anonymous readers, at times fiercely critical: *Exemplum terribile, terribilis est res* as on fol. E³ v, E⁴ v,⁴⁴ at others expressing admiration: *Pulchra Historia, pulcherrima exempla*, as on fol. F³ v, G² r.⁴⁵

Some inscriptions in incunabula show that certain owners liked counting the age of their books. The inscribed calculations provide us with the year when the book was read. An example may be seen in *Decretum*, a collection of canon law by Gratianus (12th century), an Italian Camaldolese monk and specialist in ecclesiastical law.⁴⁶ An anonymous owner in 1673 left an inscription recording his calculation, by subtraction, that the book at the time was 188 years old. An inscription with the same type of calculation can be found in a copy of a 1485 edition of the treatise *De imitatione Christi* by the German theologian Thomas a Kempis (circa 1380-1471); this book was read in 1624.⁴⁷ The

⁴² Petrus de Palude, *Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi*. Strasbourg: [Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg)], 1487. Folio. ISTC ip00503500; MEI 02018157 (VUL Ink. 262).

⁴³ *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV-XVI a. = The Lithuanian Catholic Clergy (14th-16th c.)*, no. 131.

⁴⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 25 June 1486. Folio. ISTC ij00114000; MEI 02126637 (VUL Ink. 245).

⁴⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 9 Aug. 1492. Folio. ISTC ij00129000; MEI 02126633 (NL R.XV:D.4). Drungilienė, "Vieno kūrinių istorija: Jokūbo Voraginiečio *Aukso legenda* senojoje Lietuvos kultūroje", 45.

⁴⁶ Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 8 Jan. 1485/86. Folio. GW 11369; ISTC ig00375500; MEI 02127708 (VUL Ink. 191).

⁴⁷ *Imitatio Christi*. Add: Johannes Gerson: *De meditatione cordis*. [Venice]; Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis and Dionysius Bertochus, 1485. 4°. ISTC ii00008000; MEI 02121973 (VUL Ink. 136).

incunabulum *Speculum exemplorum* was read by an unknown individual in 1786, which is revealed by a calculation written on the title page.⁴⁸

Marginalia unrelated to the content of incunabula disclose interesting details about everyday life at the time of writing them. A sermon collection by the Spanish Dominican Vincentius Ferrerius (1350-1419), *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, contains an inscription spread over different parts of the book.⁴⁹ It tells us that Agnes Suska, a relative of Stanislaw Kleczkowski, was ill on September 30, 1679. This information is repeated twice; in an inscription on fol. I v and K⁶ v: *Agnes Suska consors alis Stanislai Kleczkowskij fuit infirma [?] die 30 7br [septembris];* and on fol. K⁸ v: *A[nn]o D[omi]n[i] 1679 die ultima 7bris infirma ualde fuit.*

Books were often used by their owners as places in which to record significant thoughts or important life events. The treatise *Sententiarum variationes, seu Synonyma* by the Italian humanist Stephanus Fliscus (?-after 1462), judging from an inscription on the inside front board, could belong to Simeon Olelkovich (circa 1460-1505): *Simeon Dux slucensis*. However, a later inscription nearby by another hand is certainly intriguing: *Asinus ad liram id est Dux Simeon*.⁵⁰ The last page of *Textus sequentiarum*, a book of liturgical sequences with commentary, contains a text in Old Slavic, which can be considered as a kind of *silva rerum* or family chronicle: it provides information about the births, marriages and deaths of the Lavrinovy family over the second half of the 16th century.⁵¹

In the *Liber chronicarum*, the world history from its origins to the late 15th century, written by the German humanist and historian Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), the Chełmno *stolnik* (a civil servant) Aleksander Stanisław Rykowski left a long comment on precipitation and other weather phenomena for 1690 (fol. CCXCVIII v: *25 Augusti Anno 1690 [...] Alexandr. Stan. De Ryky Rykowsky Dapifer Culmensis*).⁵² It is also obvious that he actually read the book, since his notes on the content can be seen on the margins. It should be noted that Rykowski clearly had a personal library. The evidence for this may be found

⁴⁸ *Speculum exemplorum*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 4 Dec. 1495. Folio. ISTC is00655000; MEI 02124494 (NL R.XV:D.6).

⁴⁹ Ferrerius, Vincentius, S., *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1485. Folio. GW 9835; ISTC if00129000; MEI 02124279 (VUL Ink. 254).

⁵⁰ Fliscus, Stephanus, *Sententiarum variationes, seu Synonyma* [Latin and German]. [Augsburg: Johann Bämle, about 1479]. 4°. GW 10002; ISTC if00201700; MEI 02017244 (VUL Ink. 321).

⁵¹ *Textus sequentiarum, cum optimo commento*. [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1496]. 4°. ISTC is00459000; MEI 02020162 (VUL Ink. 124a).

⁵² Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 12 July 1493. Folio. ISTC is00307000; not yet in MEI (NL R.XV:H.1).

on the pages of a Plantin he owned – a valuable treatise by the Italian Jesuit and heraldist, Silvestro Pietrasanta (1590-1647), *De Symbolis Heroicis* (Antverpiae, 1634, VUL III P 269), with copper engravings by the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Copious notes left by Rykowski in this publication point to the existence of a private book collection: “ex catalogo”, “ex museo”.⁵³

Book lists written down on the last pages of incunabula may be a testimony of the existence of personal libraries or priests’ collections of useful books. The above-mentioned *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas a Kempis carries a book list compiled by the priest Jerzy Kozakowski on November 24, 1668.⁵⁴ The last page (fol. [169] v) of a theological treatise by the French theologian, philosopher Jean de Gerson (1363-1429), *Collectorium super magnificat* serves as the last will and testament of an unknown priest of the Chelm church, written in 1600.⁵⁵ In the testament, he leaves 19 books and liturgical vestments to this church: a surplice, a chasuble and a cape (inscription: *Libri quos... vene[ra]bilis N.B. Ecc[le]siae Chelmensi // dixit 1600 // Biblia in folio... // Dictionarium in folio... // Comza, arnatt, capat czerwona N. B. C. D. jpt.*). The testament contains a book list without publication details, including a postilla (*Postilla Wuikowa polska*) by the Polish preacher Jakub Wujek (1541-1597), a Bible (*Biblia in folio*), decrees of the Council of Trent (*Canones decreta Concil Trident.*), etc.

Since old books were thought to be valuable possessions and so kept securely, various items (dried flowers, letters, bills, locks of hair) were put between their pages for safekeeping. These objects, which also frequently served as bookmarks, may now be of interest for researchers in many fields. A brass Nuremberg jetton, 20 mm in diameter, dated from the mid-16th century, was discovered between two leaves (ff. 146 and 147) of the above-mentioned *Decretum* by Gratianus.⁵⁶ Jettons were small coin-like metal discs widely used for various counting purposes from the 13th to as late as the mid-19th century throughout Europe. From 1550 to 1606, they were also minted in Vilnius. As counting jettons were mostly handled by tradesmen, jetton finds indicate the existence of

⁵³ *Vilnius universiteto bibliotekos plantenai: katalogas*. Compiled by Vidas Račius. Vilnius: Petro ofsetas, 2015 (Fontes et studia historiae Universitatis Vilmensis), no. 329.

⁵⁴ *Imitatio Christi*. Add: *Johannes Gerson: De meditatione cordis*. [Venice]: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis and Dionysius Bertochus, 1485. 4°. ISTD ii00008000; MEI 02121973 (VUL Ink. 136).

⁵⁵ Gerson, Johannes, *Collectorium super Magnificat*. [Strasbourg: Printer of the 1472 Aquinas ‘Summa’], 1473. Folio. GW 10765; ISTD ig00199000; MEI 02124292 (NL R.XV:D.13).

⁵⁶ Gratianus, *Decretum* (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus, 12 Oct. 1493. Folio. GW 11378; ISTD ig00385000; MEI 02018731 (VUL Ink. 295).

well-developed trade in the region's in certain historical periods.⁵⁷

This particular jetton differs from other known ones dated to the mid-16th century by the absence of a legend – the jetton has an ornamental rim on both sides instead. The legend is the most informative element of a coin, since it identifies the state that minted the coin, its ruler and his or her titles. A legend may convey much information about the circumstances surrounding the issuing of the coin, the political and economic situation in the state, the political orientation and plans of the ruler.⁵⁸ It is difficult to tell who put this jetton in the incunabulum, and when. Traces left on the pages of the book suggest that it has been there for a long time.

Interestingly, a piece of gold leaf (about 6 × 1 cm) has been found in another incunabulum, a commentary on the Psalms by St. Augustine of Hippo.⁵⁹ This valuable object clearly was put there for safekeeping and then forgotten about.

Some of the early inscriptions dating mostly from the 16th-early 17th century reveal how incunabula came to the territory of Lithuania and Poland. Later book markings, dating from the second half of the 17th century, are a testimony of the usual development of book culture: incunabula could be purchased, gifted, bequeathed by testament, or could belong for several centuries to the same monastery, read by different monks who would record their names as owners or leave various comments on the pages. Eventful changes started in the late 18th century, after the Grand Duchy of Lithuania ceased to exist as a state.

⁵⁷ For more on counting jettons see: Ivanauskas, "Niurnbergo ir Prancūzijos skaičiavimo žetonai Lietuvoje". *Muziejai ir paminklai*, 1991, 9: 44-9; Remecas, "Skaičiavimo žetonai rasti Vilniuje". *Lietuvos archeologija*, 1999, 18: 253-61; Remecas, "Valdovų rūmų teritorija - numizmatinis lobynas", 46-51.

⁵⁸ Sajauskas, "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės monetų legendų studija", 38.

⁵⁹ Augustinus, Aurelius, *Explanatio psalmodum*. Basel: Johann Amerbach [and Johann Petri de Langendorff, not after 8 Sept.] 1489. Folio. GW 2909; ISTC ia01272000; MEI 02127249 (VUL Ink. 225).

3 The 19th Century: The Fate of Books and Libraries in the Absence of the Lithuanian State

The progressive development of institutional libraries was disturbed when, after the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, 1793 and 1795, the territory of Lithuania became part of the Russian Empire. The libraries of religious institutions experienced the most damage. In the 19th century, the tsarist authorities, implementing the policy of Russification and Orthodoxization, abolished the majority of Catholic monasteries in the territory of Lithuania: the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Bernardines, the Missionaries, the Benedictines, the Vincentians, the Piarists, and others. All these monasteries had ancient traditions and owned sizeable libraries. After the uprisings of 1831 and 1863, many monasteries were dissolved, their activities terminated. Up to the early 20th century, there existed only five legal monasteries in the territory of Lithuania;⁶⁰ the illegal ones were more numerous.

The libraries of the closed-down monasteries were handed over to education institutions, to the Orthodox clergy and monasteries, or auctioned.⁶¹ After the uprising of 1831, more than half of all the Catholic monasteries of the Russian Empire were dissolved, their most valuable books transferred to the Department for Other Faiths in St. Petersburg, to secular schools, and to the libraries of Russian public organisations and Catholic institutions.⁶² Even though the transfer of the books was supposed to follow a certain procedure, it often did not work – books kept getting lost or lists about them were incomplete or missing. As a result, it is often impossible to reconstruct the former libraries of dissolved monasteries.

When the monks were accused of taking part in the uprising of 1863, the majority of still-existing monasteries were closed. On this occasion the dissolution of the libraries went much more quickly: a great number of books were passed on to the Vilnius Public Library. Incunabula were brought to Vilnius not only from monasteries existing in the territory of present-day Lithuania, but also from all the provinces, whose territory encompassed a much larger part of the Russian Empire: present-day Latvia (the Daugavpils Jesuits), Belarus (the Hrodno Dominicans, Jesuits, Carmelites, the Niesvizh Jesuits, the Zhirovichi Basilians), Poland (the Choroszcz Dominicans). These are only a few of the Catholic monasteries whose books were transferred to Vilnius libraries in the 19th century.

⁶⁰ Laukaitytė, *Lietuvos vienuolijos*, 17.

⁶¹ Pacevičius, *Vienuolynų bibliotekos Lietuvoje 1795-1864 metais*, 78-9.

⁶² Pacevičius, *Vienuolynų bibliotekos Lietuvoje 1795-1864 metais*, 81.

In the former GDL's territory of the Russian Empire, there also existed Greek Rite Catholics, who had entered into the Union of Brest with the Roman Catholic Church in 1596, and so recognised the authority of the Pope, but retained their own liturgy and used Church Slavonic for their rites. Since 1617, the Basilian Order, a monastic order of the Greek Catholics, was based in the GDL. Before the third partition of the Commonwealth, the order had over 95 monasteries. The Basilians were known for fostering education and founding public schools. In the fourth decade of the 19th century, tsarist authorities forcibly put the Basilian Order back under the rule of the Orthodox Church. Some monasteries were closed, others were merged with Orthodox monasteries and made entirely Orthodox with the replacement of their superiors. In 1839, the Zhirovichi Basilian Monastery was dissolved, and its seminary eventually removed to Vilnius.

Lithuanian Orthodox priest seminary (no longer Greek Catholic) in Vilnius was opened in 1845.⁶³ Some books from the Zhirovichi Monastery, among them incunabula, were passed on to the library of this seminary. An especially noteworthy edition from the holdings of this library is the *Horologium*, published in Church Slavonic.⁶⁴ After the closure of the seminary in 1940, its books were handed over to the then Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (the present Wroblewski Library), which now holds the above-mentioned edition together with two other, Latin, incunabula: *Comoediae novem* by Aristophanes (circa 444 BC-circa 388 BC) and *De Christiana religione* by Marsilius Ficinus (1433-1499).⁶⁵

It is, however, obvious that not all the books from the Zhirovichi Basilian Monastery ended up in the Lithuanian Orthodox priest seminary. For instance, the fate of the above-mentioned composite volume of two incunabula, the *Confessionale* by Antoninus Florentinus and *Malleus maleficarum* by Henricus Institoris and Jacobus Sprenger, remained a mystery for over a hundred years.⁶⁶ Lost after the dissolution of the Zhirovichi monastery, the book surfaced in an antique

⁶³ *Kultūrų kryžkelė: Vilniaus Švč. Trejybės šventovė ir vienuolynas: kolektyvinė monografija*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2017, 152-3.

⁶⁴ *Horologium* [Church Slavonic] *Chasoslovets*. Cracow: Swietopolk Fiol, 1491. 4°. GW 13447; ISTC ih00484300; MEI 02126520 (WL I-9).

⁶⁵ Aristophanes, *Comoediae novem* [Greek]. Ed: Marcus Musurus, in part. With the Scholia. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 15 July 1498. Folio. GW 2333; ISTC ia00958000; MEI 02126440 (WL I-35). Ficinus, Marsilius, *De Christiana religione* [Italian]. Pisa: Lorenzo and Angelo di Firenze, 2 June 1484. Folio. GW 9879; ISTC if00151000; MEI 02126538 (WL I-14).

⁶⁶ Antoninus Florentinus, *Confessionale: Defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio*. Add: *Titulus de restitutionibus*. Strasbourg: Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg), 1490. 4°. GW 2130; ISTC ia00825000; MEI 02124971 (NL R.XV:C.16(1)). Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum*. [Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1495]. 4°. ISTC ii00167300; MEI 02125007 (NL R.XV:C.16(2)).

bookshop in Vilnius as late as 1944. According to Feigelmanas, before 1944 this edition had belonged to Boleslavas Žinda (1904-1988), who was the manager of the St Wojciech Bookshop in Vilnius from 1925 onwards; however, the incunabulum could not have been purchased in this shop, since it was closed down in 1940.⁶⁷ The book does not contain ownership marks by Žinda, or from his antiquarian bookshop. A list of Žinda's personal books, held in the Lithuanian Central State Archives, does not include any incunabula. In his catalogue, Feigelmanas mentions that this composite volume belonged to the personal collection of the historian Edmundas Laucevičius (1906-1973). The book does not contain his ownership marks either. However, a stamp of the Lithuanian Art Museum, which is present in the volume, does suggest that Laucevičius might have been a former owner. After his death, part of his collection that had a museum value was given to this museum; the act of transfer, dated January 10, 1973, lists 453 items. According to this document, the museum received Laucevičius' library among other collectibles. In 1995, this library was passed on to the National Library of Lithuania.⁶⁸ We can only guess that it was Laucevičius who bought the incunabulum in the St Wojciech shop back in 1944. Feigelmanas must have learned this from Laucevičius himself.

In 1832, Vilnius University was closed, its library scattered, the majority of the books taken away to various cities of the Russian Empire: Kiev, Kharkov, St. Petersburg.⁶⁹ When the university reopened, its collection of incunabula was not the same as before – its core was now made up of the collection assembled by the Vilnius Public Library. A considerable part of this library's incunabula holdings consisted of the books formerly owned by monasteries, churches and private individuals, and confiscated after the uprising of 1863.⁷⁰ Only one incunabulum composite volume that had previously belonged to the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, bearing the inscriptions *Inscriptus Catalogo Societatis Iesu; Bibliotheca magnae* and the stamp *Biblioth[eca] Academ[iae] Vilnensis*, is known to have been returned from St. Petersburg in 1956 owing to the efforts of the then director of the library, Lev Vladimirov (1912-1999).⁷¹

⁶⁷ Certificate for the Boleslavas Žinda holdings no. 758 URL https://www.archyvai.lt/lt/fondai/asmenu_dokumentu_fondai/lcva_f758_pazyma.html.

⁶⁸ Mukienė, "Gyvas gyvųjų atmintyje", 9.

⁶⁹ Račius, "Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos inkunabulai", 128.

⁷⁰ Račius, "Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos inkunabulai", 128.

⁷¹ Feigelmanas, *Lietuvos inkunabulai*, no. 335. Petrarca, Francesco, *De Remediis utriusque fortunae*. [Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochert?, not before 1490]. 4°. ISTC ip00408000; MEI 02017141 (VUL Ink. 304); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *In Catilinam oratio I*. Ed: Paulus Niavis. [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, about 1495]. 4°. GW 6782; ISTC ic00552250; MEI 02017143 (VUL Ink. 305); Philephus, Franciscus, *Orationes cum qui-*

One of the most important owners of private book collections in the 19th century was Jonas Krizostomas Gintila (1788-1857), who possessed the largest library in Lithuania in the mid-19th century. The Samogitian bishop-designate had amassed a collection of over 20,000 books.⁷² Unfortunately, the greater part of his library, together with its catalogue that was still in existence before World War II, has been lost. At present, only three of the 15th-century books he owned are known to be extant. They, among others, were handed over to the Samogitian Cathedral Chapter in Varniai: the *Germanorum veterum principum zelus* by Lupoldus Bambergensis (ca. 1297-1363), the *Ecclésiastica hystoria* by Eusebius Caesariensis (ca. 265-ca. 339), and the *Scholastica historia* by Petrus Comestor (ca. 1100-ca. 1179).⁷³ In the wake of the uprising of 1863, the centre of the Samogitian diocese was moved from Varniai to Kaunas by order of the tsarist authorities. The library of the cathedral chapter, likewise, came to Kaunas. In the 20th century, its books were marked by the stamp of the Chapter of Kaunas Cathedral. There is no evidence on whether any incunabula were among the books received by the other principal recipients of this private library, such as the Samogitian Priest Seminary, the Kretinga Bernardine Monastery and Gintila's relatives. The extant incunabula listed in the present article are now kept in the National Library of Lithuania.

4 The 20th Century: The Book Between War and Peace

The early 20th century in Lithuania was a kind of period of 'thaw', when the population was allowed some new rights and could establish various societies that were occupied in collecting and preserving the Lithuanian heritage. For instance, the Vilnius Society for Science and Art (Towarzystwo muzeum nauki i sztuki w Wilnie) was founded in 1907. Over the short period of its existence, until 1914, the society amassed holdings of valuable museum artefacts, rare publications

budam aliis eiusdem operibus. Add: (Pseudo-) Aristoteles: *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Tr: Franciscus Philelphus; Plutarchus: *Apophthegmata*. Tr: Franciscus Philelphus; Galenus: *Introductorium ad medicinam principiis*. Tr: Georgius Valla. Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 28 Mar. 1491. 4°. ISTC ip00609000; MEI 02017144 (VUL Ink. 306).

72 Pacevičius, "Bibliofilo Jono Krizostomo Gintilos biblioteka", 196.

73 Lupoldus Bambergensis, *Germanorum veterum principum zelus et fervor in christianam religionem Deique ministros*. Add: Sebastian Brant. Ed: Jacobus Wimpheling. Basel: Johann Bergmann, de Olpe, 15 May 1497. Folio. ISTC il00399000; MEI 02125591 (NL R.XV:E.9(3)); Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*. Tr: Rufinus Aquileiensis. Add: Beda: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 14 Mar. 1500. Folio. GW 9439; ISTC ie00129000; MEI 02124910 (NL R.XV:D.5(1)); Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*. Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 15 July 1500. Folio. ISTC ip00466000; MEI 02125138 (NL R.XV:D.5(2)).

and archival documents, including 14 incunabula. In 1914, it merged with the most prominent of the societies that existed in the early 20th century, the Vilnius Society of the Friends of Science (Towarzystwo przyjaciół nauk w Wilnie), founded in 1907, and passed its collections on to them. The origins of the Vilnius Society of the Friends of Science⁷⁴ were associated with the Vilnius Imperial University, which had been dissolved in 1832, and with other scientific and ethnographic institutions of the 19th century. The activities of this society encompassed studies in history, archaeology, ethnography, linguistics and folklore, as well as publishing the results of these studies and collecting various objects of cultural significance. The Vilnius Society of the Friends of Science had amassed a copious library, which in 1939 contained about 80,000 books, including 33 incunabula. At the time of World War II, the society was dissolved, its books were moved to the then Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (the present Wróblewski Library) and to the National Library of Lithuania.

The most significant society for Vilnius and Lithuania was the Eustachy and Emilia Wróblewski Library, founded in 1912 by their son Tadeusz Wróblewski (1858-1925), a lawyer, bibliophile and civic leader. The society's aspiration was to establish in Vilnius a public library based on the collection of documents assembled by Wróblewski himself and his parents. World War I interfered with building the premises of the future library, so the growing collections were kept, for a long while, in Wróblewski's personal apartment. The building suitable for housing document collections was offered to the library only in 1931. The library existed under the aegis of the variously renamed Society of the Library Friends up until World War II. At that time the library had very few incunabula. The greater part of its incunabula collection was obtained in the wake of World War II, when the library was renamed as the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR.

In Kaunas, a small collection of incunabula was assembled, over the interwar period, by Vytautas Magnus University. When Vilnius was occupied by the Republic of Poland in the wake of World War I, the then Lithuanian University was founded in Kaunas, the temporary capital of Lithuania. In 1932, it was given the name of Vytautas Magnus. According to Feigelmanas, its library purchased several incunabula and received some more by donation from private individuals. At the time of World War II, Vytautas Magnus University had an influx of incunabula from the libraries of dissolved institutions. In 1940, when the Kretinga Bernardine Monastery was closed, its incunabula were moved to the university library. However, Vytautas Magnus University existed only until 1950, the year when it was re-

⁷⁴ Ilgiewicz, "Archywiné medžiaga apie XX a.", 248.

organised into two institutes: the Institute for Medicine and the Polytechnic. The books from the university library were divided among various institutions, and twenty incunabula kept there ended up in the Vilnius University Library in 1952.

The National Library of Lithuania, founded in 1919 as the Kaunas State Central Bookstore, also received incunabula from various sources. Before World War II, it had only 16 incunabula, which became the starting point for its collection.

During and after World War II, the larger public and academic libraries of Lithuania augmented their incunabula holdings with the arrival of the libraries of private, religious and other institutions. Some books were left behind by their emigrating owners; the fate of others was determined by the nationalisation policy pursued by the Soviet authorities after the war. It is unclear how many valuable books were lost, or fell into the hands of private collectors, or were hidden and subsequently forgotten.

The library owners who realised that they would not be able to take care of their collections during the war sought to move them to functioning libraries and in this way to save them. One such was the Vilnius community of the Evangelical Reformers. The Library of the Evangelical Reformed Synod of Vilnius, which had its origins in the 16th century, was managed by the Evangelical Reformed Consistory of Vilnius. When the latter was dissolved in January 1940, the Vilnius Evangelical Reformed parish, lacking resources to run the library, applied to the then Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic with a request that the Academy take care of the library. An act of transfer, by which books, manuscripts and other valuables,⁷⁵ including 5 incunabula,⁷⁶ were handed over to the Academy, was signed within a week after the request had been made. The Synod library was then left on its former premises – there must have been no time to move it because of the outbreak of the war. Unluckily, many of the documents were lost, stolen, or destroyed during wartime, and afterwards, the rest was moved to the repositories of the then Library of the Academy of Sciences. It should be noted that these new arrivals did not include any incunabula.⁷⁷ The only known extant incunabulum from the Synod Library came to be in the National Library of Lithuania by way of purchase in 1946. It is a *Biblia latina* [fig. 2] published in 1480 and owned by the Synod since as ear-

⁷⁵ Marcinkevičius, “Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos istorijos dokumentai”, 93-6.

⁷⁶ Dirsytė, “XVI-XVII a. buvusios Vilniaus evangelikų reformatų sinodo bibliotekos knygos”, 39.

⁷⁷ Radvilienė, “Lietuvos evangelikų reformatų sinodo bibliotekos XVI a.”, 29-30.

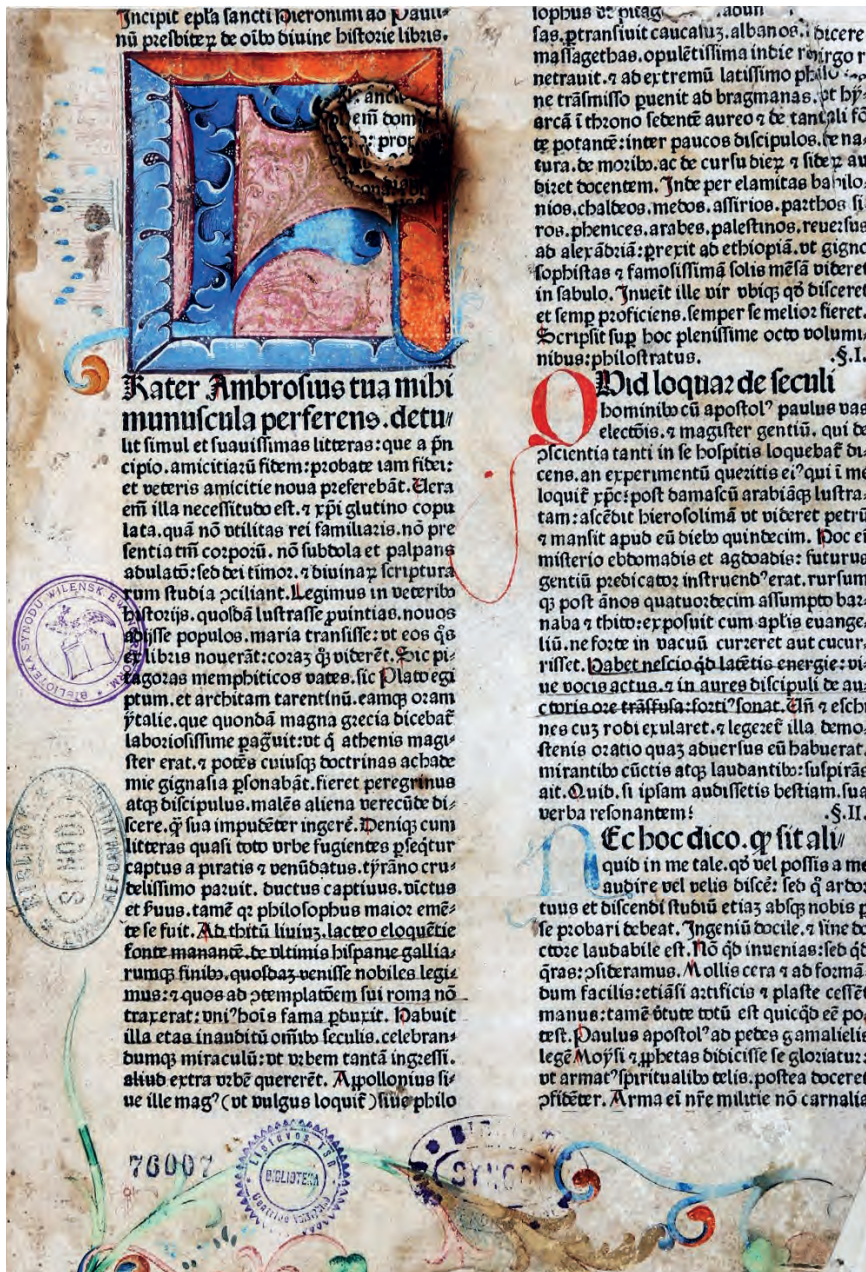


Figure 2 Biblia Latina, with additions by Menardus Monachus. 14 Apr. 1480. Nuremberg (NL.R.XV.F.2)

ly as the 16th century.⁷⁸ This book somehow survived all the calamities that befell the Synod library: fires, wars, removals of the library to other cities. However, it had its share of misfortunes, as a hole burned through its first eleven leaves makes clear.

Nojus Feigelmanas in his catalogue *Lietuvos inkunabulai* takes note of incunabula that belonged to the Synod library but disappeared at the time of World War II:⁷⁹ Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and *De Trinitate*, *Copulata omnium tractatum Petri Hispani* (Nuremberg, 1494) by Pope Johannes XXI and *Quaestiones super Posteriora analytica Aristotelis* edited by Johannes Glogoviensis.⁸⁰ In the catalogue, he states that the Synod library was burned down by the Nazi army retreating from Lithuania. However, since it is obvious that at least part of the library has survived, it is unclear whether these incunabula were really destroyed during the war, or their present location is simply unknown.

After the end of World War II, the holdings of Lithuanian libraries were replenished by various documents from the libraries of Eastern Prussia and the Klaipėda Region. Lithuanian researchers put much effort into obtaining permission from the Soviet authorities to enter the territory of Eastern Prussia and to attempt to rescue valuable books and manuscripts left there. The first team of researchers was sent to Königsberg in September 1945, right after the end of the war, with the objective of exploring the ruins of the university, archives, libraries and other cultural and scientific institutions. The team was composed of two pairs of scientists, each from Moscow and Vilnius. The Lithuanian participants were the jurist and historian Povilas Parkarklis (1902-1955) and the linguist Jonas Kruopas (1908-1975).⁸¹ In December of the same year, a much more numerous Lithuanian team, accompanied by a truck for bringing documents back, went to this area for further investigation. A number of the books were brought to Lithuania by train. Such missions were carried out several more times. The last search group for Lithuania-related documents went to Königsberg (by that time renamed as Kaliningrad) and other lo-

78 *Biblia latina*. With additions by Menardus Monachus. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 14 Apr. 1480. Folio. GW 4243; ISTD ib00568000; MEI 02127329 (NL R.XV.F.2).

79 Feigelmanas, *Lietuvos inkunabulai*, 427, 451, 452.

80 Augustinus, Aurelius, *De civitate dei* (Comm: Thomas Waleys and Nicolaus Trivet). Basel: Johann Amerbach, 13 Feb. 1489. Folio. GW 2887; ISTD ia01243000; Augustinus, Aurelius, *De trinitate*. [Basel]: Johann Amerbach, 1489. Folio. GW 2926; ISTD ia01343000; Johannes XXI, Pont. Max. (formerly Petrus Hispanus), *Copulata tractatum Petri Hispani et parvorum logicalium etiam Syncategorematum, cum textu, secundum doctrinam Thomae Aquinatis*. [Nuremberg: Anton Koberger], 15 June 1494. 4°. ISTD ij00239000; Versoris, Johannes, *Quaestiones super Posteriora analytica Aristotelis* (cum textu). Ed: Johannes Glogoviensis. Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, for Johannes Haller, 1499. 4°. ISTD iv00260000.

81 Marcinkevičius, "Lituanikos paieškos Rytų Prūsijoje ir Klaipėdos", 187.

cations in Eastern Prussia in the summer of 1947.⁸²

The main objective of these missions was to save archival materials and publications important for Lithuanian studies. The rescued documents included manuscripts and other documents by Lithuanian men of letters who worked in Prussia; transcripts of crusaders' chronicles; old printed books and decrees issued by the former Prussian authorities; various scientific books; treatises on Lithuania Minor, and other valuable books, including some truly rare incunabula. The Wroblewski Library has in its holdings a unique edition, *Regulae cancellariae* by Pope Alexander IV [fig. 3],⁸³ formerly owned by the famous Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg,⁸⁴ which purchased this book on August 9, 1729. This is shown by a manuscript inscription on the front end leaf: *J. C. W. 1729. J. 9. Aug. 9 St. 7 Gr.*

Owing to the expeditions to Eastern Prussia, previously separated parts of the collected edition of sermons of Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones* (Basel, 1494-1495), were finally brought to the same city, even if to different libraries. In the 16th century this book belonged to the already-mentioned Aleksandras Rodūnionis. However, in the 18th century, this copy came into the hands of two owners. The first five parts of the sermon collection belonged in sequence to the Varniai Jesuit Tomas Tadas Platušis (1703-1764), the Pašiaušė Jesuit College, the Tytuvėnai Bernardines and eventually to Vilnius University Library. The last two parts remained in Königsberg, ending up in the Wallenrodt Library; after World War II they were brought to Vilnius and are currently held in the Wroblewski Library. The different routes each part of the book has travelled are revealed by extant inscriptions left by former owners.⁸⁵

Amidst post-war chaos, some books, which were intended for the holdings of one library, would appear in another library or in the hands of private individuals. For example, the National Library purchased *Stultifera navis* by Sebastian Brant (1458-1521) in 1959 in a

⁸² Marcinkevičius, "Lituanikos paieškos Rytų Prūsijoje ir Klaipėdos", 189.

⁸³ Alexander VI, Pont. Max., *Regulae cancellariae*, 8 Aug. 1495. [Rome: Stephan Planck, not before 8 Aug. 1495]. 4°. GW 918; ISTC ia00379250; MEI 02125526 (WL I-12j).

⁸⁴ The Wallenrodt Library was founded in the 17th century through the efforts of the ducal Chancellor of Prussia, Martin von Wallenrodt (1570-1632). In 1675, it was incorporated into the University of Königsberg and became a special branch of the university and of the state library, and in 1721, handed over to the State on the condition that the Wallenrodt family would be the curators of the library. In 1909, it was incorporated into the library of the University of Königsberg. At the time, part of its books were given to Königsberg Cathedral. The Wallenrodt Library existed up until World War II, in the course of which a great number of its books were destroyed in bombing raids, while the rest were dispersed throughout the world in 1945. *Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija*, 801.

⁸⁵ For more information cf. Feigelmanas, "Pirmosios spausdintos knygos", 40; Vaitkevičiūtė, "Kas skaitė pirmąsias spausdintas knygas Lietuvoje", 67.

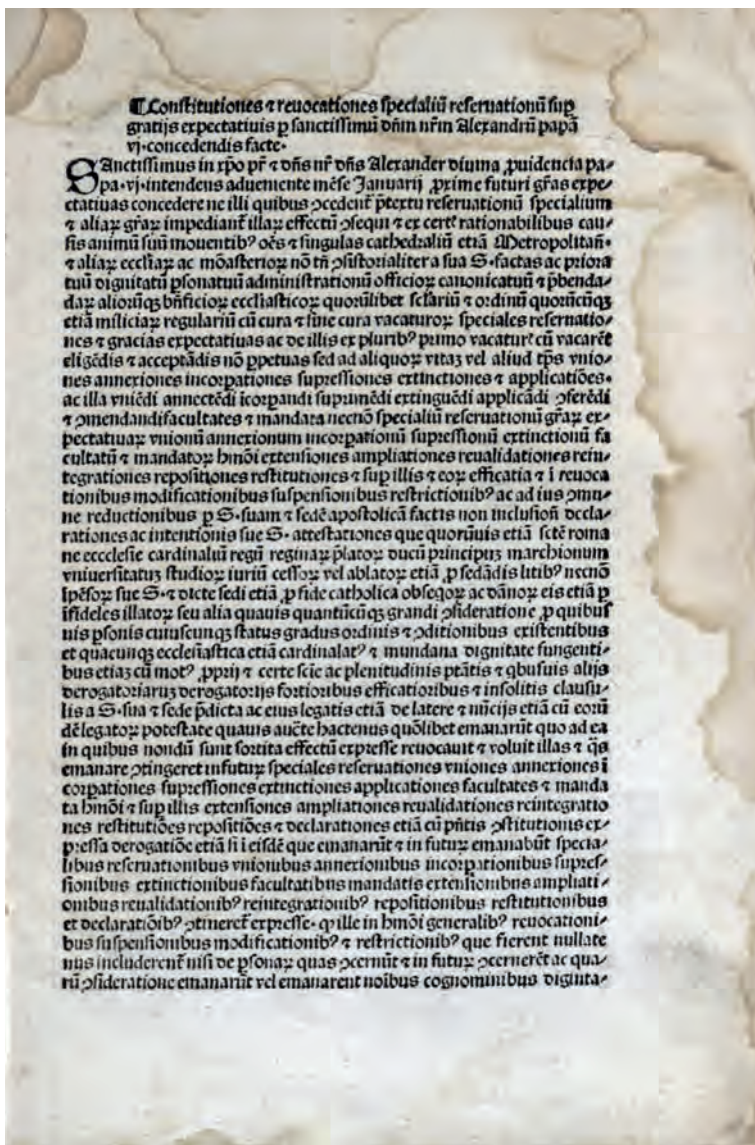


Figure 3 Alexander IV, Pont. Max., *Regulae cancellariae*. 8 Aug. 1495 [Rome, not before 8 Aug. 1495]. (WL I-12)

Vilnius antiquarian bookshop.⁸⁶ It is open to guesswork how this book ended up in the bookshop, who had appropriated it and why they later decided to sell it.

Another institution that had incunabula was the Book Palace. This institution for state bibliography and printing statistics, book science and book publishing was founded in the wake of World War II on the premises of the former Carmelite monastery at the Church of St. George the Martyr. Since 1797, this building had housed the Priest Seminary of the Vilnius Diocese. In 1945, it was relocated to Białystok (present-day Poland). The former church was fitted with several floors of bookshelves, and became a repository for displaced books dispersed throughout Lithuania. It housed the books that came from the Seminary of the Vilnius Diocese as well as from the libraries of noble estates, villages, museums and dissolved religious communities. In his catalogue, Feigelmanas mentioned 12 incunabula kept in the Book Palace; even more have subsequently been identified. In 1992, this institution was merged with the National Library of Lithuania and became its Centre for Bibliography and Book Science. The incunabula kept here were transferred to the Rare Book and Manuscript Department of the National Library of Lithuania.

A separate group of incunabula is represented by those previously held in Lithuania, but now either found abroad or lost. Feigelmanas mentions 221 such books.⁸⁷ Some of them fell into the hands of other owners and ended up abroad after the state borders were moved, other disappeared in the course of various wars and other calamities from the 17th to 20th century, sometimes during the very endeavours to save them, as happened with those incunabula from the Vilnius Public Library that, in the effort to protect them from the dangers incurred by World War I, were removed to Russia, where they vanished. New evidence would undoubtedly expand the list of such books and could even be of assistance in rediscovering some of them, but this should be the subject of a separate study.

⁸⁶ Braziūnienė, *Inkunabulų paveldas Lietuvoje ir pasaulyje*, 43. Brant, Sebastian, *Das Narrenschiff* [Latin] *Stultifera navis*. Tr: Jacobus Locher Philomusus. Etc. Basel: Johann Bergmann, de Olpe, 1 Mar. 1497. 4°. GW 5054; ISTC ib01086000; not yet in MEI (NL R.XV:C.10).

⁸⁷ Feigelmanas, *Lietuvos inkunabulai*, 420-74.

5 Conclusions

With regard to incunabula currently kept in Lithuania, the researchers must not only interpret markings left on their pages by former owners, but also keep in mind political events that strongly influenced the fate of the books. The work with the MEI database has prompted a closer look at the provenance of library books, their marginalia, and the various objects forgotten between their pages. Purchase inscriptions found in incunabula may reveal the date of purchase, a variety of prices, sometimes the place of purchase and even the identity of the buyers themselves. The inscriptions that require the most effort on the part of researchers are those by anonymous owners. Due to illegible handwriting, such inscriptions sometimes remain undeciphered, but they nevertheless enable us to see the relationship of the reader with the book, and show us that the volume was not only a text to be studied, but also a space where important thoughts, comments, and details of everyday life could be recorded.

From the 17th to the 19th century, because of the wars and various occupations that befell the country, some books were lost, others removed to other countries, while others were gathered together into several large libraries after their former owners had lost their collections. Due to the redrawing of state boundaries, some books remained within the present territory of Lithuania while others were now located outside the country's frontiers. However, it must be admitted that the surviving incunabula are too few in number to allow a comprehensive study on the routes of the book trade to be undertaken. When only one or a handful of books previously owned by an individual are extant, it is difficult to draw conclusions about how an entire library could have been moved; there is always a probability that the route an individual incunabulum has taken might have been entirely accidental. In order to provide detailed information on the incunabula in Lithuania, the scope of this research should be expanded to include post-incunabula and even all books from the 16th century, which might contain unidentified incunabula. Further research will correct our understanding of the fates undergone by copies of incunabulum editions, which are in this case an inseparable part of the story of the Lithuanian state.

Translated by Ana Vencloviene

Abbreviations

GDL = Grand Duchy of Lithuania

GW = Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke

KUTL = Kaunas University of Technology Library

NL = Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania

VUL = Vilnius University Library

WL = Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

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Bringing American Collections into MEI

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MEI Editor in the US

Abstract The project *Material Evidence in Incunabula* was introduced to the United States by Cristina Dondi in her Kristeller Lecture at Columbia University in New York in April 2009, and developed in Europe from 2009 onward. The growth of United States' involvement in MEI is traced, from the first regular contributions by United States institutions in 2012 through the current status, with more than a dozen institutions contributing. There are some 70 US libraries holding 100 or more copies, and nearly 200 collections holding 20 or more copies. Involving many of these institutions in MEI would not only enhance the provenance database, but also stimulate activity in those institutions with a focus on the history of early printing in the 15th century and on the cultural heritage shared with Europe. Various possibilities for moving forward with MEI in the United States are discussed.

Keywords Incunabula. American Special Collections Libraries. Bibliography. Digital humanities.

In the US, Cristina Dondi first revealed plans for MEI in her Kristeller Lecture at Columbia in April 2009, *The Venetian Book-Trade in the 15th Century: Material Evidence for the Economic and Social History of the Renaissance*. The years 2009 and 2010 saw the development and testing of MEI, and in 2011 creation of records began in Europe. But it was not until the middle of 2012 that the first regular contributions from the US began – purely by an accident of timing.

In retirement, beginning in 2008, I had been cataloguing the rare book collection at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, where my late wife Ruth Mortimer had been the curator, and after whom the Mortimer Rare Book Collection is now named. I had never worked with incunabula before, and as I began describing in detail the 70 copies at Smith, including of





Figure 1 Contributors to MEI, 2012-14

course their provenance, I took several opportunities to learn more, including a Rare Book School course with Paul Needham and William Noel, a conference organised by Falk Eisermann in Greifswald, which also enabled a visit to the headquarters of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, and the Oxford conference on the secularisation of monasteries in early 2012. It was at that conference that the decisive events took place: I met Cristina, which led directly to the start of entering Smith's incunabula into MEI; and I was recruited by William Stoneman to work on Harvard's collections. At the end of 2014, MEI activity in the US was limited to Smith and Harvard [fig. 1].

MEI activity in the US picked up after a presentation and workshop organised by Cristina at Columbia during Bibliography Week in 2015, a series of bookish events held in New York at the end of January every year. Following those events, the University of Iowa under Greg Prickman and Princeton University began contributing to MEI.

A similar presentation in 2016 saw the start of contributions from two New York libraries and one in California: by John McQuillen at the Morgan Library and Consuelo Dutschke and Alice Laforet at Columbia University, and by David Faulds at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Progress to date was then presented at a seminar in conjunction with the CERL meeting at Yale in April 2017. By that time, the number of contributing libraries had tripled [fig. 2].

After that, Yale University, the Grolier Club in New York, the University of Chicago, and the Huntington Library in San Marino, Cali-



Figure 2 Contributors to MEI, 2012-17

fornia, joined in, and the Folger Shakespeare Library is poised to begin contributing. A further MEI workshop was held in Baltimore in conjunction with the Rare Books and Manuscripts conference in the summer of 2019, supported by the Bibliographical Society of America and CERL. Activity was spreading across the country [fig. 3].

MEI was of course designed with the aim of providing a broad picture of the movement of books in the early years of printing, and of the wider consequences of the spread of the printed word in many fields, and that aim is well on its way to realisation, for which this conference provides tangible evidence.

But for the repositories of incunabula – and especially those with smaller collections – an immediate return on their investment in MEI is the making of new discoveries. Because creating a record in MEI entails close examination of each copy, in ways not usually undertaken during the cataloguing process in the past, such discoveries are almost inevitable. They range from identifying previously unrecognised provenance evidence, to making connections with other collections, to identifying new incunable editions and suggestions for further research.

Even the Smith College collection, numbering just 70 copies, contains one unicum: not an unknown edition, but a previously unidentified variant, perhaps documenting a separate issue. The Smith copy of Antonius de Raymundia, *Libellus contra beneficiorum reservationes*, printed in Paris by Guy Marchant about 1498, has what appears to be a

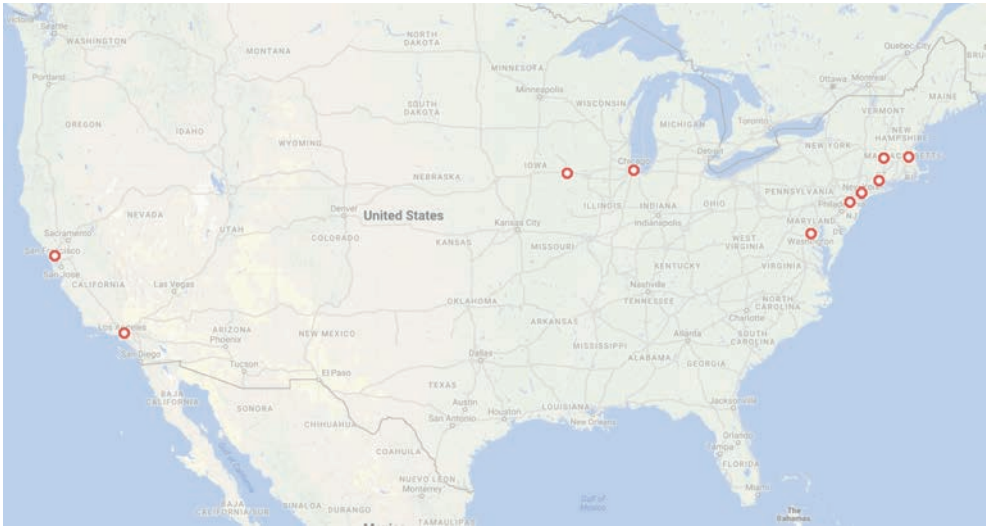


Figure 3 Contributors to MEI, 2012-18

cancel title leaf with the device of Jean Petit, while all other copies – 15 are listed in GW and ISTC – have Marchant’s device.¹

The verso of the title leaf has been previously recorded either as blank, or as having a woodcut illustration. But in the Smith copy, there is a blind impression of the illustration, with a faint inking of the right border. And thanks to the growing number of digital facsimiles available on the internet, it was easy to ascertain that the copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine,² with the Marchant device, also has a similar blind impression.

I had trained as a cataloguer under James Walsh, whose monumental catalogue of the Harvard fifteenth-century books is well known, but I had never worked with incunabula, because James Walsh reserved those books to himself. When William Stoneman recruited me for the Harvard MEI project, his initial thought was that I could enter information into MEI directly from Walsh’s catalogue, but of course I wanted to look at the books themselves. And as it turned out, there was good reason to do so, because, in spite of the extent and detail of James Walsh’s catalogue, I have been able to augment or revise

¹ Antonius de Raymundia, *Libellus contra beneficiorum reservationes*. Add: Petrus de Ceffons, *Epistola Luciferi*. [Paris]: Guy Marchant, in part for Jean Petit, [about 1498]. 4°. GW 2255; ISTC ia00916000; MEI 02004043.

² URL <https://mazarinum.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/records/item/2367-Libellus-contra-beneficiorum-reservationes>.

more than half of the entries I have worked on so far. Two discoveries stand out among the many.

In a binding at the Harvard Law School, an endleaf is a half-sheet of an octavo diurnal, printed by Johann Snel at Lübeck circa 1480-1482 [fig. 4]. It may relate to other fragments at Rostock and Lübeck, but the text does not overlap; it may also represent an otherwise unrecorded edition. GW has provisionally entered it with the other fragments.³

And the Houghton Library copy of a volume of the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, printed by Michael Wenssler at Basel in 1485, containing volume 1 and part 1 of volume 2, was found to be the mate of a volume at Würzburg containing part 2 of volume 2 along with volume 3.⁴

My discoveries at Princeton have not been quite as exciting, though those of Eric White have been much more so. One discovery made a connection with work on the binding by Scott Husby and provenance by Eric White. My contribution was the identification of the edition of a fragment of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei in the binding; it is the one printed by Johann Schäffler in Ulm in 1500, of which otherwise only a single incomplete copy at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is known.⁵ Scott Husby's data base of bindings on incunabula in a number of American collections is now available in its entirety on the Princeton website.⁶

At the Huntington, elaborate arms occupying the entire front pastedown of the 1488 *Reformation der Stadt Nürnberg* [fig. 5] turned out to be a complete fake, as is the putative owner, Christian Heinrich Parfües.⁷ The entire hoax was created about a century after the purported date of the inscription, which we learned as the result of a query to the *Provenienz* discussion list.

Exploring the interest of individual copies is great fun, and not irrelevant to consideration of the future of MEI in the United States, but

3 *Diurnale*. [Lübeck: Johann Snel, about 1480-82]. 8°. GW 8565; ISTC id00287850. The Harvard copy in which it is found as the rear free endleaf is: *Modus legendi abbreviataras*. Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1487; 26 Feb. 1488. fo. GW M47346; ISTC im00756000; MEI 02008741.

4 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae (I-III)*. Basel: [Michael Wenssler], 1485. Folio. GW M46436; ISTC it00194000. The Harvard copy is at MEI 02128524. Cf. <http://blogs.harvard.edu/houghton/2016/08/17/13410/> for more details and images.

5 Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale (Partes I-II)*. [Ulm: Johann Schäffler], 15 Feb. 1500. 4°. GW 975; ISTC ia00422800. It is the front pastedown in the Princeton copy of Otto von Passau, *Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron*. Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 28 Mar. 1500. Folio. GW M28512; ISTC io00123000; MEI 02128525. Cf. <https://blogs.princeton.edu/notabilia/2016/11/18/three-discoveries-in-one-new-evidence-for-a-book-bound-and-owned-in-ulm-ca-1500-1531/> for more details and images.

6 URL <https://husby.princeton.edu>.

7 *Reformation der Stadt Nürnberg*. [Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger], 1488. Folio. GW M27327; ISTC ir00038000; MEI 02123027.



Et si non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens Ita deus pater deus filius deus spiritus sanctus. Et si non tres dii sed unus est deus. Ita deus pater dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non tres domini sed unus est dominus. Quia sicut sigillatim vnaquaque persona deum ac deum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur: ita tres deos ac dominos dicere catholica religio prohibetur. Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus filius a patre solo non factus nec creatus sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens. Unus ergo pater non tres patres unus filius non tres filii unus spiritus sanctus non tres spiritus sancti. Et in hac trinitate nihil plus aut potius nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae coeternae et sibi sunt et coaeternales. Ita ut per omnia sicut ipsum superadictum est et unitas in trinitate et trinitas

dixi nimis veritatem dirigantur via mee ad custodiendas iustificationes tuas. Tunc non confundar cum perire: ro in omnibus mandatis tuis Confitebor tibi in directione cordis in eo quod didici iudicia iustitiae tuae. Iustificationes tuas custodiam non me delectationes vanae. In quo corrigit adolescentiorum suam in custodiendo sermones tuos. In toto corde meo exquisivi te, ne repellas me a mandatis tuis. In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua ut non peccem tibi. Benedictus es domine, doce me iustificationes tuas. In labijs meis pronuntiavi omnia iudicia oris tui. In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum sicut in omnibus divitijs. In mandatis tuis exercebor et considerabo vias tuas. In iustificationibus tuis medabor non oblitiscar sermones tuos Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen

Figure 4 Modus legendi abbreviaturas. 1487; 26 Feb. 1488. Strasbourg; [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)]; Harvard Law School Library, Historical & Special Collections, Ac M692 488 H11484, back endleaf recto



Figure 5 *Reformation der Stadt Nürnberg*. 1488. [Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger].
The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 95569, front pastedown

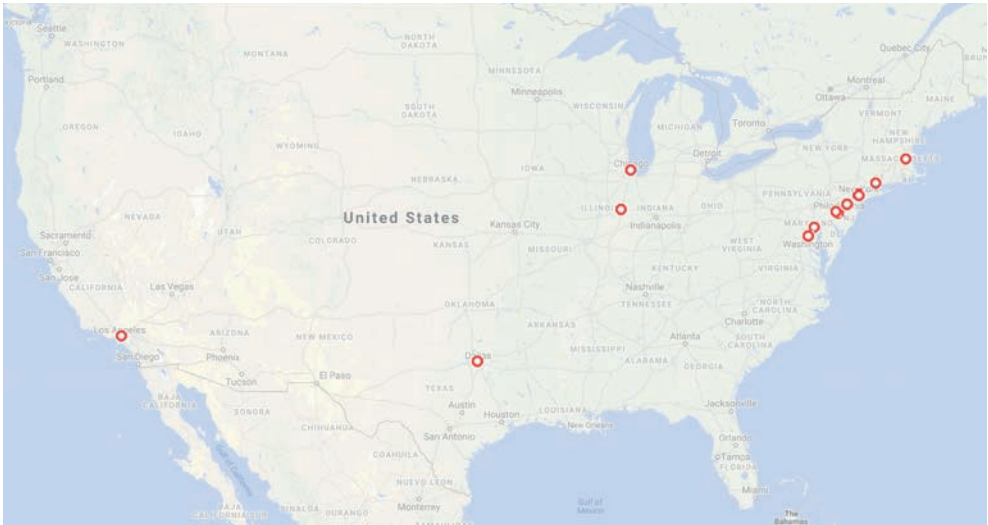


Figure 6 15 libraries hold approximately 60% of the copies of incunabula in the US

I now return to the broader focus of MEI, and how we might encourage and facilitate further contributions to MEI from a wide range of US libraries. The comments that follow owe much to conversations with curators and administrators, notably Stephen Ferguson at Princeton University, Claudia Funke and Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library, Gregory Prickman at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and William Stoneman at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Quickly, an overview of the incunabula holdings in the US. There is a total of at least 53,000 incunabula copies in US libraries. About 60% of them are held by just 15 libraries [fig. 6].⁸ Expanding that to about 85 locations covers 90% of US holdings [fig. 7]. Viewing the situation from another angle, there are about half a million copies recorded by the *Gesamtkatalog* and ISTC; a little less than 10% of those are already in MEI; and of those, only about 2,000 copies – about half of 1% – are in US libraries, which hold a little more than 10% of the total number of incunabula copies [fig. 8].

⁸ Huntington Library, Southern Methodist University, University of Illinois, Newberry Library, Library of Congress, Walters Art Museum Library, Free Library of Philadelphia, Bryn Mawr College, Columbia University, New York Public Library, Morgan Library, Princeton University, Yale University, Brown University, Harvard University.

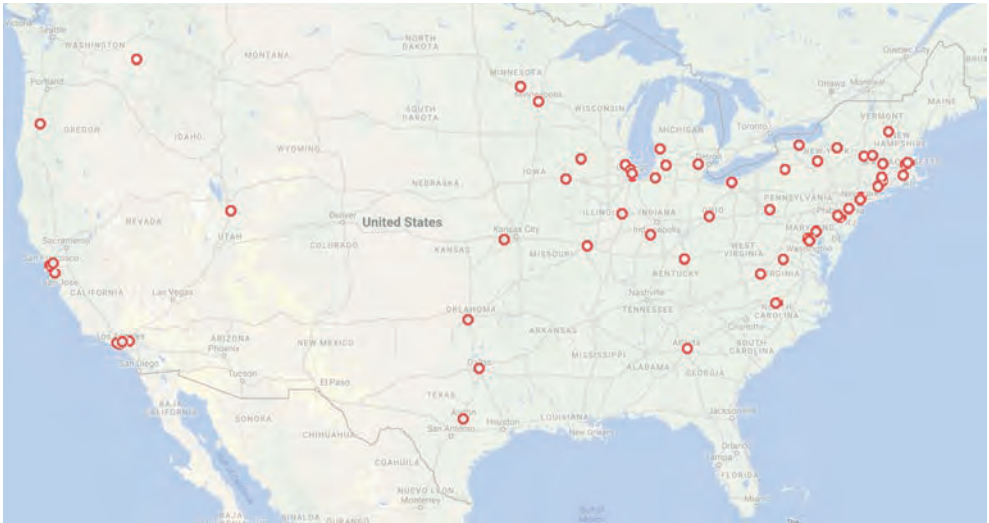


Figure 7 85 libraries hold approximately 90% of the copies of incunabula in the US

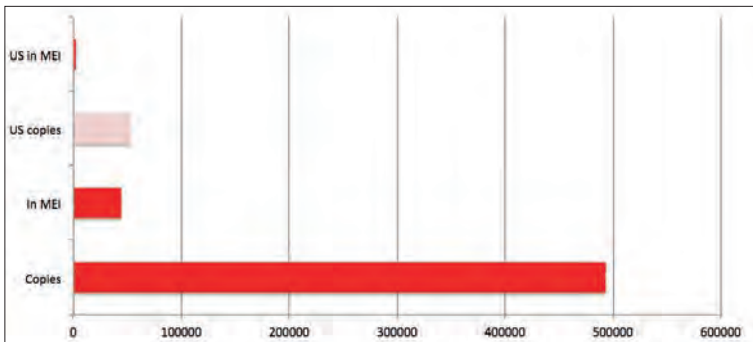


Figure 8 US holdings, and US records in MEI compared with total copies of incunabula and total records in MEI (as of summer 2018)

I believe the way forward will have to be through collaboration. It might be possible for some collections to proceed independently, as the current contributors have already been doing, since there was no other option up to now, but they would certainly benefit from connection to a broader enterprise. Motivation will be of key importance. Not for the librarians and scholars working with the books, but for the administrators, even if in some cases they are also librarians and scholars. It is true that an institution's standing will be enhanced as their holdings become better known to the international scholarly

community, but that's probably not sufficient to convince many funding sources, whether for large or small collections of incunabula.

We will need to demonstrate that the process of contributing to MEI will also pay local dividends. There is a body of evidence already, from the findings at Harvard and Princeton, as well as in the smaller collections at Smith College and at the University of Iowa, that such dividends can be substantial. And the pilot project at the Huntington Library earlier this year was of particular interest, because it was conducted in close collaboration with the rare book cataloguers.

It is possible that one of the larger collections might find it worthwhile to create a local entity of some sort, perhaps with a focus on 15th-century studies, in which the incunable collection would play a major role. But more likely, US-MEI, my name for an organisation created to stimulate further contributions to MEI, will be the product of collaboration among several institutions, who can band together to secure grant funding.

Whatever form US-MEI might take, it will have to take the initiative to reach out to other, mostly smaller, collections, as well as supporting the work of the founding institutions. It will have to provide various forms of assistance, including documentation, some level of training and on-site visits, in some cases working alongside the local editors to create records, offering assistance via the internet and by e-mail in the mechanics of record creation as well as identification of provenance from photographs. The cost to other institutions must be modest at most. And there need not be a single location for US-MEI. It could, and perhaps *should*, be a distributed enterprise, with regional centres. A large permanent staff would not be needed, but rather a network of consulting editors. In my wildest fantasies, I envision flying squads of editors, roaming the country to visit any institution with incunabula.

I am happy to report that the first steps toward US-MEI are already being taken. There are plans for developing a core project, a collaboration among the 15cBOOKTRADE project at Oxford, CERL, and a group of American libraries, that will support contribution to MEI throughout the US. We can all look forward to building on the foundation laid over the past several years, and welcoming many more libraries, large and small, into MEI.

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Section 3

The Cost of Living and the Cost
of Books in 15th-Century Europe

Patterns of Consumption in Renaissance Venice

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Abstract Reconstructing prices and price indexes for pre-industrial societies is always a challenge for researchers. Despite the fact that several account books have been preserved and may offer purchase and sale prices of a wide range of goods, the definition of a consumer basket – a set of different quantities of goods forming the basic consumption unit for an average individual or family – faces several difficulties. Average consumption is difficult to establish even in pre-industrial times, since buying activities vary of course not only according to wealth and income, but also to social class; and it is usually difficult to record and assess self-consumption. It seems more important to offer some parameters from a single case study, the ledger of a Venetian patrician recording his purchases on a daily basis, in a couple of months in 1455.

Keywords History of consumption. Cost of living. Consumer prices. Family expense. Material culture. Venetian Republic.

Summary 1 Consumption and Markets. – 2 The Hazardous Reconstruction of Pre-Industrial Costs of Living. – 3 Baskets. – 4 Shopping in Renaissance Venice.

1 Consumption and Markets

Any issue related to the study of consumption in a pre-industrial society usually brings more doubts than certitudes. The act of spending – or, more appropriately, of using money or credit – for having in return a good or a service has traditionally received analytical attention especially when it has been interpreted as an extravagance: from antiquity to late-Medieval and early modern Europe lavish spending was considered inappropriate and ended up being sanctioned (although, usually, in vain). In a highly polarised social world, as pre-modern



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Europe was, the act of consuming belonged to those possessing enough means to spend, i.e. generally the ruling classes or those aspiring to the role; in this sense the sociologist Thorstein Veblen coined the concept of conspicuous consumption, a way of spending that reflects the social position. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Veblen juxtaposed the wealthy class against an increasingly discernible working society, and reflected upon consumption as a force to promote emulation and antagonistic distinction associated with richness, while formulating a theory of leisure spending as a way to increase reputation among peers.¹ The concept has been questioned since then, but although Veblen's sociological theories were ill-founded, his conspicuous-consumption expression has become a familiar term.² It matched what Renaissance intellectuals named *magnificentia*, magnificence – a virtue pertaining to princes and increasingly linked with a way of lavish spending to provide honour and fame to a house.³

In its extensive, economic meaning, however, consumption refers merely to the economic action of consumers, who spend their resources (usually, their revenue or part of their savings) to buy goods or services in the market. According to economic theory, consumption has to take place in the market, meaning the exchange of goods and services for money (be it real money or fiduciary money in the form of credit): it still contains the idea of consuming (that is, destroying) what is going to be used, but it points to a distinction between what has to be bought and what can be produced within the family. In other words, economic theory posits a clear distinction between consumption and self-consumption, and places its focus on to commodities, to be produced and traded. A more recent trend in research, thus, has investigated the driving forces of consumption in pre-industrial times – that is, before the historiographic fracture imposed by the industrial Revolution.⁴ Possibly, an attitude of consumption that common people were able to express (and that may be labelled as 'mass' consumption) quite certainly "preceded factory-style production", and material life is now believed to have "blossomed" from the fifteenth century onwards in some parts of Europe, such as northern and central Italian cities or Flanders.⁵

Consumption is, however, a more complex phenomenon than an expansion of quality and quantity of goods and services in everyday

¹ Veblen, *La teoria della classe agiata*, 31-3, 70-98.

² Campbell, "Conspicuous Confusion?". Patterns of consumption determine the concept of 'distinction' stated also by Pierre Bourdieu.

³ Clough, "Pandolfo Petrucci"; Guerzoni, *Apollo e Vulcano*, 105-31.

⁴ Fairchild, "Consumption in Early Modern Europe"; Berg, "From Imitation to Invention".

⁵ Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, 10.

life. It depends on the social position of the individual, on gender (who spends money for the family in pre-modern societies?),⁶ on one's economic means, on the availability of goods. Although contemporary attitudes towards buying goods cannot of course be applied to preindustrial times, consumption is necessarily related to commerce, hence in dealing with late Medieval and early modern societies commercialisation assumes a more pronounced nature in urban settings, although rural areas were not necessarily cut off from market demand and labour markets.⁷ Yet it is possible to assume that the less significant presence of market forces in cities was more clear-cut, and fainter the relevance of self-consumption and self-produced goods for everyday life. Richard Goldthwaite has convincingly demonstrated how new consumption habits, different from a 'feudal' model of spending and "the values and attitudes associated with it", which were perceived as increasingly distant "from the realities of life for the urbanized elites of late medieval Italy", were spreading in cities, mainly in Renaissance Italian cities.⁸

Consumption, as a matter of fact, is also and above all related to necessity, and to surviving strategies that can vary across a wide range of possibilities according to the social status of consumers. Given a consumption model that is socially accepted (the quality of which is often difficult to determine), consumption is then connected to the spending power of the individual or family (hence to the extent of someone's salary, income or wealth), to the availability of credit instruments, and it is determined by price levels, which in a market economy usually tend to be outside the individual consumer's control. To determine what kind of response an entirely new object such as the printed book might have had on its first appearance, its expense and its trade-off against other consumables should also be determined. However, this information is usually very difficult to obtain. In a pre-industrial society, any choice might have been guided (indeed, as today) by what shared culture perceived as a necessity, apart from mere living, and surely then as now the rule of addiction created by any cultural consumption, as Gary Becker observes, was true;⁹ but our knowledge about most aspects of everyday life remains for the most part fragmentary. Data about purchasing power are scant, and any clue on desire and curiosity as ways of motivating acquisition of new goods has to be shaped in a form that depends mostly on the researcher's interpretation and imagination.

⁶ The reallocation of resources within the family, with women and children entering the salaried labour force in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, created new possibilities for consumption and change in taste, according to the "industrious revolution" hypothesis by Jan De Vries (*The Industrious Revolution*). Berg, "From Imitation to Invention", 3-4.

⁷ Cf. for some results Allen, Weisdorf, "Was There an 'Industrious Revolution'".

⁸ Goldthwaite, *Wealth*, 161, 176-8.

⁹ Becker, Murphy, "A Theory".

Yet, it is not an impossible task. Family account books are copious and scattered throughout European archives; they constitute a precious source unveiling the world of consumption. Venetian archives preserve many, mostly referring to the fifteenth century, and one of them has been chosen as a case study.¹⁰ It was presented as a court file several decades after its composition; it records daily accounts (sums given and received) from March 1455 to the end of 1457 in a simple double-entry form. It seems to have been conceived as a book of personal expenses, probably one of a series; its owner records his election to a prestigious position in Ferrara in December 1457, while the last pages contain a dense list of manuscripts, a couple of medical prescriptions, proverbs, Latin mottoes, and even a sketch for a chapel fills the first and last papers of this small ledger.

The book belonged to a male member of the Sanudo family; its writer omits his own name, though making several references to his relatives – his brother Francesco, Mattio Sanudo, Marin Sanudo. Reinhold Mueller believes him to be Leonardo di Marino, who was elected *Visdomino* in Ferrara from 22 December 1457 to 1459 (the book recalls this important event), and who was the father of the celebrated diarist Marin. The *Visdomini* in Ferrara were ambassadors and consuls, negotiating on behalf of the Venetian republic with the Duke of Ferrara, and helping Venetian merchants to operate in the city itself and in its important river port on the Po. At the time of the account book, the *Visdomini* acted also as magistrates for Venetian merchants. The anonymous French author of a treatise on the Venetian government reports that it was a well-paid public post.¹¹ Leonardo belonged to the main Sanudo branch, whose palace still exists at the edge of the parish of San Giacomo dall’Orio, where the family was registered for tax purposes, and San Zan Degolà, that is St John the Beheaded. He was born on 25 January 1425, probably *more veneto*, hence 1426, and had begun his public career in 1445 when he was elected *advocato pizollo*; he died in Rome in office on 11 October 1474 during his sojourn as ambassador to pope Sixtus IV.¹² The Sanudo were traditionally considered as part of the founding hierarchy of Venice.

The Sanudo were traditionally considered among the founding rulers of Venice. Members of the family held important diplomatic

¹⁰ The small register is in Archivio di Stato di Venezia [hereafter ASVe], *Giudici di Petizion, Rendimenti di conto*, b. 2, unnumbered. It has a leather binding, and is thickly written on the inside. The ledger has been studied by Reinhold Mueller, who identified its owner. Traces of the argument that opposed two branches of the family in 1556 (and that probably motivated its presentation as a court record at one of the six Venetian tribunals) can be found in Fondazione Querini Stampalia Onlus, Venezia, *Archivio privato Querini Stampalia*, b. 2.

¹¹ Braunstein, Mueller, *Descrpcion ou Traicté*, 404-6.

¹² Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, LXXVII-LXXX; Marco Barbaro and A.M. Tasca, *Arborii de Partitii Veneti* [*Miscellanea Codici*, I, *Storia Veneta*, vols. 17-23], vol. VI, c. 560 (ASVe).

roles in the Byzantine empire in the twelfth century; they were included in the reform of 1297, the *Serrata*, which gave to the main governing body, the Great Council, a hereditary character drawing a line between the members already elected, whose families were already considered, or were close to becoming, noble, and commoners, and making “the admission of new families into the governing class [more] difficult in the future”.¹³ And, although they could not boast a *doge* among their ranks, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Sanudo continued to enjoy prestige and wealth.¹⁴ Notwithstanding their political role, the Sanudo, like most of Venetian patriciate, were deeply engaged in economic activities, practising manufacture and trade as this account book testifies; they still shared with the ruling class of other Italian cities a mixed behaviour that often puzzled members of the feudal nobility. The first entry in the book on March 1st 1455 recalls a payment received on behalf of the company formed by Leonardo and his brother Francesco, and trading operations appear on a daily basis.

This contribution therefore aims to offer an example of consumption expenses through Leonardo Sanudo’s case study, introducing two months in the life of a Venetian family belonging to the ruling class in the mid-15th century.

2 The Hazardous Reconstruction of Pre-Industrial Costs of Living

For any pre-industrial society lacking, obviously, a national statistical institution, the reconstruction, or the approximation, of a cost of living generally poses considerable challenges to researchers. In fact, they almost never have all the data they really need. According to economics, the cost of living identifies the total expenditure of a household or an individual on its own consumption. It is deemed able to measure the variation in time of such expenditure, and allows us to measure also the well-being of a society and the extent of economic inequalities within it; finally, it consents comparisons with different countries or societies. The cost of living thus depends both on the level of prices and on consumption preferences, which identify the different consumption choices. It also depends on disposable income, i.e. the financial flow from wages and annuities that allows the perpetuation of the life of a family or an individual, minus the share of direct taxes and savings. In contemporary advanced economies this indicator is calculated on the basis of a very large set of goods and

¹³ Lane, *Venice*, 113.

¹⁴ Caracciolo Aricò, “Marin Sanudo il Giovane”, 423.

services that are considered to be representative of household consumption within a nation, the so-called *basket*. And it is understood that the cost of living measured by the level of current prices implies an economic system based on market exchange.

The basic idea and concepts forming a contemporary index for the cost of living face several practical obstacles when applied to the pre-industrial age. First, it is believed that the reconstruction of a price index, which is necessary to build the cost-of-living index, in pre-industrial economies is almost never able to take into account all the different spheres of monetary circulation – that is, one related to international trade with coins issued in gold; another one using silver, which makes it possible to interpret the values expressed in money of account in ledgers and real life with real coins; and a third one consisting of coins made of a copper-based alloy, which formed the everyday circulation of low-value currency. The reconstruction of price indexes usually relies on the official lists of grain prices, which – as well as any value recorded in accounting books – refer to virtual coins (moneys of account) expressed basically in terms of silver. Between the thirteenth and the early seventeenth centuries moneys of account multiplied with the issue of a great number of new coins, especially in silver and gold to be used in the increasingly growing international commerce; the gold/silver ratio ruling the relative value of both metals also varied substantially in this period, increasing the uncertainty of the monetary means used.¹⁵ Any measure in money of account, hence, does not consider the practical difficulties of paying for anything in everyday life. Whenever recorded in accounting books, even daily purchases were in fact registered in money of account. Moreover, consumer credit was very common, and accounts were cleared in various ways several weeks, months, and even years later, to avoid the use of coins. When accounts had to be converted into real money, however, it was the so-called ‘small’ money that was used; minted in copper or metal alloy, it nearly always bore a disadvantage compared with the ‘large’ coins, i.e. those minted in gold or silver, which gave the standard of value to the moneys of account. Any price index, and any cost of living for pre-industrial periods, hence, contains distorted information, which does not represent everyday reality in the past. In Venice for instance, as in every other Italian city, the monetary circulation ran in different sectors with different coins – minted in gold, silver and alloy – with little mutual interference. Everyday life and the payment of wages mainly used alloy coins, which were continuously susceptible to government intervention to avoid their sudden depreciation, while money of account (the *ducato di conto*) remained at a fixed rate with the relative value of *lire*, *soldi* and *denari* that were to form it, and that were converted into real money.¹⁶

¹⁵ Lane, “The Mobility and Utility”.

¹⁶ Tucci, “Prezzi e autoconsumo”, 769-70.

A second difficulty emerges when grouping together different series of goods, as the building of an index requires. It is difficult to dig out coherent series of data, despite the commendable efforts made by researchers in the central decades of the twentieth century.¹⁷ In all probability, price series are heavily overbalanced in favour of cereals traded on urban markets, with a price that has been recorded (mainly wheat), at the expense of minor grains that were instead consumed by a large section of the population even in cities; or, price series consider data for international products such as pepper, which were indeed important, but could not aspire to enter into everyone's daily diet, and which are not necessarily recorded at their local market value. The function of this indicator risks, thus, to be seriously out of true.¹⁸

Finally, a price index necessarily includes only products that are to be sold on the market and receive a monetary counterpart. However, it is assumed that the share of self-consumption may be present in various ways, depending on the social level and on economic means, even within cities and also among the well-off parts of urban population. And in pre-modern society the circulation of goods connected to the practice of the gift, the resale of objects (both by ragmen and by public authorities with official auctions) and to testamentary legacies was widespread and essential for material life.¹⁹

All these different forms of circulation, and the deferment of payments through consumer credit, were used indiscriminately by everyone. To offer a Venetian example, in the 1530s the patrician Francesco Priuli went personally to the market to buy fruit and fish, to public auctions to look for bargains and buy second hand goods and clothes, and to the Ghetto to buy jewellery for his wife; other family members and the servants took care of daily shopping. Only his wife, as was common, could not go out and do shopping; but she regularly attended the annual fair of the *Sensa* in St Mark's place.²⁰

It was the same for Leonardo Sanudo. The ledger omits the name of its writer, however it is written in the first person and it is Leonardo himself who manages the money and does the shopping. Food is bought throughout the week, from Monday to Saturday; between March and April 1455 he went only twice to the rich market in Campo San Polo held weekly on a Wednesday, even if San Polo is a few minutes away from San Giacomo dall'Orio where Sanudo lived; instead he bought

¹⁷ Braudel, Spooner, "I prezzi in Europa"; Dumoulin, "Aux origines de l'histoire".

¹⁸ Romano, "Introduzione", xxv-xxx. Price series for wheat can be already found for the fifteenth century in several Italian cities. They permitted urban government to control their food policy and decide the selling price of cereals, allowing it also to set the value of rent for agricultural land, and to regulate the payment of annuities and interests.

¹⁹ Malanima, *L'economia italiana*, 155-6.

²⁰ Welch, "Sites of Consumption", 229-30; cc. 201-9.

food nearly every Saturday, possibly at the weekly market in Piazza San Marco where he had to attend his public duties, and in Rialto where an important market operated daily.²¹ He purchased food, candles, soap and offered *soldi* in charity nearly every day he went shopping. Wine, an essential part of the daily diet, is missing: March 1455 fell under the period of Lent (Easter day being April 6), and the diet was usually affected (no meat was bought, see [table 1](#)), however wine was probably provided by other members of the expanded family (the brothers lived together in the same palace), as was firewood which must have been essential at least in March.²² Both were probably provided as part of a common way of living together under the same roof and of sharing affairs among the male members of a family branch, the *fraterna*, a family partnership that allowed to share profits and expenses. The only entry for wine, on April 14, refers to a short trip to the nearby province of Padua, to buy wool. On this occasion Leonardo and maybe one of his brothers took cheese, eggs, oranges, twine and needles to bring home the wool; they paid the ferrymen in the inner canals (the ledger does not mention horses) and Venetian officers. The total amount of the expenses for their trip was less than a ducat; the wool they bought from three shepherds exceeded 87 ducats. When compared to a company's expenses, everyday necessities ask for a very low sum of money. And, in general, drawing a sketch of the cash flows, the ledger contains, in March and April 1455, food expenses and a few others related to everyday living, such as clothes, candles, the purchase of services such as the weekly barber paid 4 *soldi* to shave Leonardo, made up a very small fraction of the weekly expenses, mostly related to the trade in wool cloth (*panni bassi*, which were relatively inexpensive) and pepper. A very rough estimate of the cost of living for Leonardo and his family, excluding firewood, however, can be put together summing up his expenses, and providing a comparison with his cash flow. His income pertained mostly to the family company's affairs and to the revenue he obtained from his public post, 8 *ducati* every two months (see [graph 1](#)).²³ Missing data between the fourth

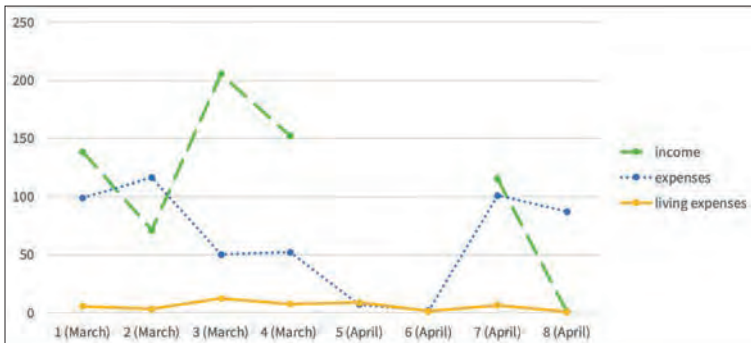
21 Welch, "The Fairs of Early Modern Italy", 31.

22 Wine was an important part of the average diet. In February 1458, when Leonardo was in Ferrara and hence outside the *fraterna*, he had to buy wine for himself: red wine, white wine, *malvasia*.

23 Values in [\[graph 1\]](#) are given in *ducati* as money of account. The ledger calculates 1 ducat at 124 *soldi*, although the *ducato di conto* was officially set at 124 *soldi* (that is, 6 *lire* and 4 *soldi di piccoli*) only in 1456 (Lane, Mueller, *Coins and Moneys of Account*, 362). Sanudo observes that the account books of his family's company use a ducat of account set at 122 *soldi*, and some of the contracts he writes down in his personal ledger assume the ducat of account at 6 *lire* and 3 or 3½ *soldi*. This uncertainty between a ducat of account and its exchange value in coins on the market was officially resolved by Venetian government in 1456, fixing the value of a ducat at 124 *soldi*. *Ducato* "meant the gold coin or the money of account based on gold, which was used for wholesale and

week of March and the second week of April indicate that there was no income recorded in the ledger, but it was Easter week, and it seems that Leonardo took his family and relatives to at least two conventual churches (San Pietro Martire in Murano and the Croce) to hear mass and confessions, as his precise registration of money for alms testifies.

Graph 1 Cash flows per week and daily expenses, March-April 1455. Values in *ducati*. Source: ledger



3 Baskets

What does a pre-industrial basket contain? The law theorised by the statistician Ernst Engel in the nineteenth century identifies an inverse relationship between disposable income and survival expenditure: the lower the income, the higher the percentage of expenditure dedicated to food, which possesses a limited adaptability to variations in price: despite adjustments in quantity made by consumers, it is necessary to have food and, even with indiscriminate price increases, at least a small quantity of food has to be bought. Food hence weighs heavily in the composition of a basket, especially taking into account the structural presence of poor people and families who need continuous assistance to survive, and the innate insecurity of working life: individuals and their families could find themselves in complete poverty from one moment to the next by sudden reversals of fortune. The share of structural and potential poor was estimated in Venice as ranging from 30 to 60% of the urban population in 1661, a figure in line with other cities in early modern Europe.²⁴

international trade and some salaries, while the *lira di piccoli*, based on silver, was used for wages and retail trade” (Lane, Mueller, *Coins and Moneys of Account*, 362-3).

²⁴ Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 989-90.

There has been a long debate on the supposed deterioration in the living conditions of wage-earners as a result of the industrial revolution; undoubtedly, even in the centuries preceding the eighteenth, living conditions depended drastically on fluctuations in the price of cereals, and consequently on the annual policies of the city governments. Yet research conducted in the last three decades has shown how, from the sixteenth century onwards, the progressive globalisation of trade brought undoubtedly several benefits in contexts that indeed were not so dramatic in Europe, mainly in urban settings.²⁵ The situation was better especially in the urban centres of the most developed areas of Europe (north-central Italy and the Netherlands), which were crossed by international trading routes and water courses.²⁶ And, starting with Richard Goldthwaite's studies, attention has been paid to the growing demand for durable goods expressed in central-northern Italian cities in the 15th and 16th centuries. This relatively new demand obviously involved members of the ruling and wealthy classes, but it also shifted downwards, towards the less well-off, changing the appearance and perception of homes, expanding their spaces and filling them with new objects and furniture.²⁷ Food, then, was essential, but was not the only category of expenditure.

For low-income families of urban workers – in the nineteenth century, a much later period than the one this paper considers –, Paul Bairoch estimates the percentage of disposable income devoted to non-essential expenses, that is, different from food, clothing, heating and lighting, at 8-9%, taking into account an intake of around 2,000 per day as average amount of calories.²⁸ The availability of consumer goods the industrial revolution fostered throughout the nineteenth century obviously begs comparisons with previous periods, however the amount of non-essential expenses in the previous centuries might be debatable, since consumption levels do not seem to change much up to the threshold of the contemporary era. In Roman times, for instance, a 'respectability basket' allowed a worker to consume 182 kg of bread per year, along with legumes, meat (about 26 kg), cheese, eggs and wine (almost 70 l per person). The subsistence basket, on the other hand, included only about 10 kg less bread, and bread was much cheaper than meat, fish, eggs and cheese.²⁹ In the fourteenth century in the cities of

25 Shammass, "Standards of Living". The standard of living indicates the portion of disposable income spent on food, clothing, housing, fuel.

26 Bairoch, "Écarts internationaux des niveaux de vie", 145.

27 Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 212-43; Ajmar-Wollheim, "Sociability", 206-7.

28 Bairoch, "Écarts internationaux des niveaux de vie", 149-53.

29 Scheidel, "Real Wages in Early Economies", 430 tab. 1; Allen, "How Prosperous Were the Romans?", 333 and 340.

central and northern Italy the consumption of bread, or wheat, might have varied between 550 and 700 gr per capita per day, resulting in an annual amount varying between an astonishing 2 and 2.5 tons, and seemed to remain stable for the next two centuries, rising to 800 gr in the sixteenth century.³⁰ However, calculations are often distorted by official rules on prices; having to compensate for fraud and omissions on food rations for soldiers and seafarers, governments usually raised caloric requirements while diminishing the real calories they distributed. Venetian sailors, who were undoubtedly employed in an exhausting job, received in *biscotto*, that is hard tack, and soup 3,636 daily calories in the fourteenth century, and only 3,187 in 1538.³¹ But wheat was not the only available resource: in the mid-seventeenth century a worker at the Venetian Arsenal consumed 700 gr of *polenta*, cooked maize flour, per day, allowing him an intake of about 1,500 calories, together with wine, five sardines and one onion.³²

What about salaries, then? Available data seem to demonstrate some stability in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a progressive worsening in the following decades. Estimates on real average wages (compared with cereal prices) in Tuscany remain stable and at a high level between 1350 and 1450, with a progressive decrease up to 1600.³³ Wages of Lombard bricklayers collected by Giovanni Vigo and expressed in kg of bread increase from 7 kg per day in 1391, to 10-13 kg in 1411-1419, to 11-13 kg in 1423-1439, to 13-16 kg in 1462-1474, progressively worsening later (it has to be noted that working days were roughly 2/3 of the entire year).³⁴ In the following decades wages would probably fell due to the difficult political situation in northern Italy, ravaged by military campaigns at the beginning of the sixteenth century during the so-called Italian Wars, while cereal prices increased. The increase in prices of manufactured goods, on the contrary, was not so marked, thus favouring the wealthier classes whose component of food expenditure remained proportionally lower than that of the families of employees.³⁵ This was the case of Leonardo Sanudo.

30 Montanari, *La fame e l'abbondanza*, 132.

31 Tucci, "L'alimentazione a bordo", 143. The Venetian government estimated its cereal needs - for a population of 190,000 people at the beginning of the fifteenth century - in 1422 at over 23,000 hl per month, but just over 16,000 in 1465, a quarter of which had to be employed in hard tacks for sailors; estimates of food needs in wheat, however, are among the first global figures of its economic policy, since wheat had very often to be imported. Tucci, "Prezzi e autoconsumo", 298.

32 Pezzolo, "L'economia", 375 tab. 3.

33 Malanima, "Wages, Wages Productivity", 151.

34 Vigo, "Real Wages of the Working Class", 387-8.

35 Pezzolo, "Prezzi, moneta e stato", 299-300.

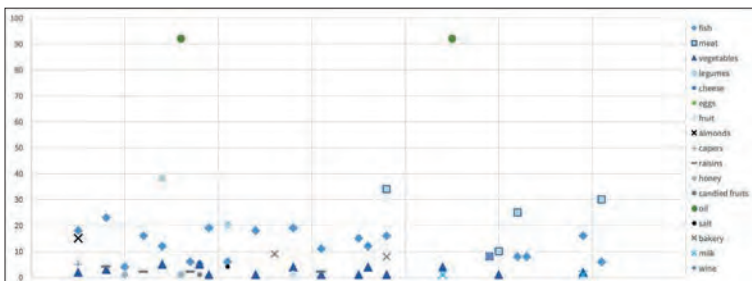
4 Shopping in Renaissance Venice

What made up Leonardo's basket? Its diet is interestingly more varied in March, where some limitations were imposed by religious practice in time of Lent, than in April, after Easter had passed [table 1]. If it is Leonardo doing the food shopping, the book however does not tell how many mouths were to be fed. Leonardo married three times, and in 1455 he was probably living with his wife and possibly two girls and a boy, Jacomo.

Table 1 Food expenses per week in March and April 1455. Values in *soldi*

weeks	March				April				Sums
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
fish	61	42	24	45	28		16	22	238
meat					34		43	30	107
vegetables	5	11	1	6	5	4	1	2	35
oil		92				92			184
wheat							447		447
legumes		38	20						58
cheese							8		8
eggs							8		8
fruit		1		1			8		10
almonds	15								15
capers	5								5
raisins	6	2		2					10
honey	1	1							2
candied fruits		1							1
salt			4						4
bakery					8				8
milk						1		1	2
wine							8		8
Total amount spent in food									792

Graph 2 Daily distribution of expenses by food category, March-April 1455. Values in *soldi*. Source: Table 1. Wheat is not included



The basic necessities for Sanudo are mostly for fish and meat, which is of course completely absent in March (Easter fell on April 6, 1455) and is replaced by legumes; varieties of fish are not specified, however dried fish and one turbot are recorded. Vegetables (*erbe*) are also a constant supply, rarely with the addition of fruit (just 2 *soldi* in March). Cheese and eggs, two dairy products which are supposed to be consumed frequently, appear instead only when Leonardo goes outside Venice to buy wool, as a sort of packed lunch: but we might wonder if they are supplied by some other members of the Sanudo *fraterna*. Even milk appears only twice. This situation seems to contradict what general models of food consumption attest. Sanudo was of course a member of the ruling class, who could afford a varied diet where no lack of vitamin intake from vegetables emerged, and where carbohydrates were present; his and his family's diet over two months depended on seasonality, although religious traditions had a bearing, but dairy products seem completely absent.

Fish is purchased constantly, apart from one week in April, and remains the largest food expenditure; when Lent has passed, however, Sanudo buys more meat than fish. A large supply of oil goes into the basket; large quantities are bought every month, it seems, for family use, and its expense is registered in the second week of both March and April with the same amount, 92 *soldi* for 1 *miaro* of oil and its transport to his house.³⁶ But the largest amount spent is on wheat. On April 14 Sanudo records the purchase of nearly 190 kg of wheat for 3 ducats and 75 *soldi*; the wheat is then ground and 32 *soldi* are due for this service, and baked at a baker's shop as was customary.³⁷ This purchase affects the trend of food expenses, which seems otherwise fairly constant along the eight weeks considered [graph 3]. Fluctuations, however, responded probably to family and daily needs: in a society with no effective ways to store fresh food and where waste was banned and recycling the norm, daily expenses varied according to necessity.

³⁶ One *miaro* corresponds approximately to 16 litres. Luzzatto, *Studi di storia economica*, 294, giving a measure for edible oil in mid-fourteenth-century Venice. Mattozzi, "Crisi, stagnazione e mutamento", 199, refers to a different value for one *miaro* (corresponding to 631 litres) three centuries later. The high amount of oil could be explained considering the extensive consumptions of the *fraterna*, and the food for servants.

³⁷ Sanudo bought 3 *stara* of wheat at 4 *lire* and 10 *soldi* per *stara*. One *stara* is approximately 63 kg. Mattozzi et al., "Il politico e il pane".

Graph 3 Weekly expenses in food, March-April 1455. Values in *soldi*. Source: ledger

A second, and relevant, expense involves wardrobe [table 2]. Leonardo spends for his wife and children, buying cloth, shoes, silk to prepare belts, and pays a tailor and a shoemaker; a pattern for a gown (*forma da veste*) is mentioned as well. The highest sum goes, however, to two separate purchases of wool cloth for Celestina (it is not possible to know if she is his wife or one of his daughters or a female relative), and to ermine and vair skins, both for himself and for Celestina. He buys as well a few second-hand ermine and squirrel furs, which he specifies 'of good quality' (*bone*), from one of his relatives.

Even wardrobe expenses, however, seem to take place on a weekly base, apart from the last two weeks of April.

Table 2 Wardrobe expenses per week, March-April 1455. Values in *soldi*. Source: ledger

Weeks	March				April				Sums
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
ermine skins	380			420	260	47	16	22	1,107
wool cloth	7			960	680		43	30	1,647
silk cloth		7	1	6	5	4	1	2	57
second-hand furs		7				92			19
leather							447		22
canvas		38	20						15
belts	10						8		10
bags							8		12
hose		1		1			8		12
shoes									48
Total amount spent in clothes and accessories									2,949

Leonardo's basket was thus made up with food and clothes: in two months he spent something more than 6 ducats in food (less than the salary for his public post), and nearly 24 in wardrobe items. His expenses for services such as the barber, though regularly registered, counted barely half a ducat, as with the money he spent on alms. Apparently his case study denies the material variety that in the fif-

teenth century should have filled up private spaces: he buys a huge marble portal for the restoration work on the family palace for 900 *soldi*, approximately 7 ducati, and furnishes his gondola with a new oar for 24 *soldi*, an oarlock for 8 and a pair of wooden benches for 5, but hardly any other commodities appear. His material world, however, extends throughout the entire period the ledger covers: he registers for instance fifty pieces in pewter in June 1456, and in Ferrara he pays regularly two miniaturists to illuminate a manuscript. And his spending in food and wardrobe is varied, though seen only over a two-month period. His pattern of consumption was probably common to other members of the Venetian patriciate, and contributed to render the city a wonderful market.

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La compravendita di libri nella contabilità dei mercanti fiorentini

Un confronto coi prezzi dei generi di prima necessità nella seconda metà del XV secolo

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Abstract The account-books of Florentine merchants are full of purchases and sales of books. In particular, the ledgers of the company of Francesco and Bernardo di Niccolò Cambini offer, for the second half of the 15th century, numerous records. Unfortunately, the conciseness of the accounting does not allow us to know all the characteristics of these books; however, the registrations always indicate the monetary value, thus enabling us to reconstruct the average selling price for various types of books. In this paper, we aim to compare this information with the price series of two goods – wheat and wine – that constituted the basis of the diet for the majority of the population, to better understand what the purchase of a book meant for the society of the period and to perceive more clearly its value.

Keywords Prices. Wages. Purchasing power. 15th century. Books. Wine. Wheat.

Sommario 1 Premessa. – 2 I dati. – 3 Un tentativo di percezione. – 4 Alcune provvisorie conclusioni.



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1 Premessa

Inizieremo questo lavoro proponendo considerazioni ormai scontate sulla ricchezza degli archivi toscani, soprattutto in ordine alla conservazione dei documenti di carattere contabile compresi fra il XIV e il XVI secolo. Si tratta però di un'affermazione che va rispolverata ogni volta che si presentano risultati di ricerca che, come in questo caso, non avrebbero potuto rivelare fonti di natura diversa. Nel registro di conti del mercante toscano, avvezzo a procurarsi guadagno non solo dall'attività principale e a sfruttare ogni opportunità di profitto, anche qualora provenisse da commerci non consueti, troviamo lo scambio di innumerevoli beni estranei al mercato dei prodotti tessili, che costituivano l'interesse prevalente. In particolare analizzando per altri motivi i libri della compagnia fiorentina di Francesco e Bernardo di Niccolò Cambini, ci siamo accorti che questi mercanti non disdegnavano di commerciare un particolare oggetto, il libro, e che i loro registri ne ricordano con frequenza l'acquisto e la vendita. Tra l'altro le annotazioni appartengono a un periodo particolare dal punto di vista della storia del libro. I registri, conservati a Firenze nell'Archivio dell'Ospedale degli Innocenti, sezione Estranei, sono infatti libri di *Ricordanze* relativi al periodo 1463-1477,¹ quando ancora il manoscritto conviveva col nuovo arrivato, il libro a stampa.

Nel nostro lavoro presenteremo questi dati, anche se, come vedremo, l'estrema sinteticità delle registrazioni contabili non ci permetterà che di essere piuttosto approssimativi in merito alle caratteristiche dei libri commerciati. Proporremo inoltre un confronto tra il prezzo dei libri che appaiono nella contabilità dei Cambini e il prezzo del pane e del vino, generi di prima necessità fondamentali per la sopravvivenza della maggior parte della popolazione, per capire meglio cosa significasse dal punto di vista economico acquistare un libro nel periodo considerato e percepirne più chiaramente il valore.

2 I dati

I dati sui prezzi dei generi fondamentali, grano e vino, provengono da studi che abbiamo condotto con riferimento alla realtà toscana e i cui risultati sono stati oggetto di discussione in alcuni convegni internazionali, ultima la Settimana Datini del 2016 dedicata al prezzo delle cose.² La schedatura e l'analisi attenta di 189 registri di *Entrata e Uscita* dell'Ospedale della Misericordia di Prato, caratterizzati

¹ Archivio dello Spedale degli Innocenti di Firenze (d'ora in avanti ASiFi), *Estranei*, 225, 226, 228, 232, 234, 235, 236.

² Pinelli, «I prezzi del grano e del vino».

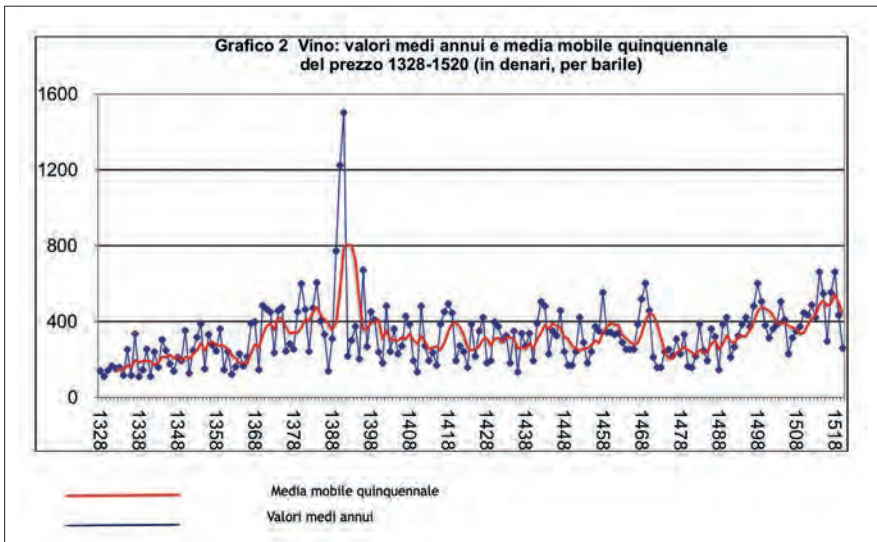
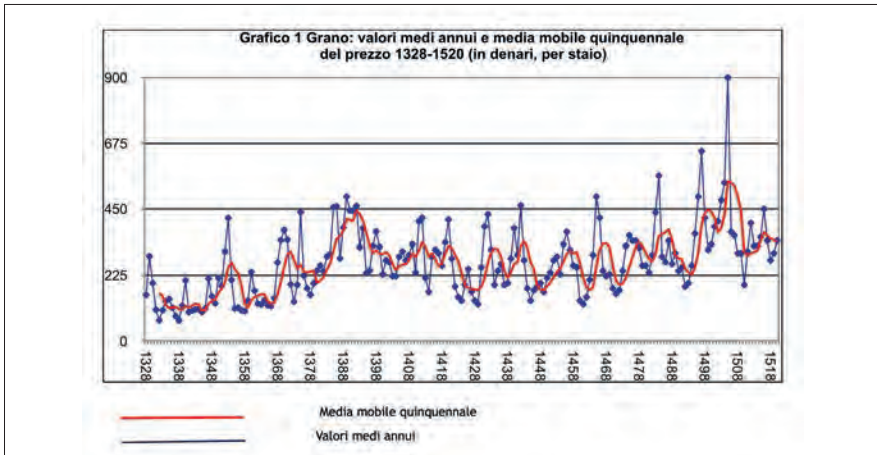
da un'assoluta continuità a partire dagli inizi del Trecento, ci ha consentito di misurare i prezzi medi dei due fondamentali sopra richiamati a partire dal 1328 sino al 1520, anno dal quale iniziano le serie elaborate da Giuseppe Parenti negli anni '40 del secolo scorso, basate sulla contabilità di alcuni enti assistenziali senesi e fiorentini.³

Senza volere in questa sede addentrarci sulle possibili cause né approfondire le questioni metodologiche, le serie dei prezzi del grano che abbiamo elaborato indicano la generale tendenza a un innalzamento nel periodo considerato [grafico 1]. L'aumento fu soprattutto evidente a partire dagli anni '80-'90 del Trecento, quando i valori spesso raddoppiarono o triplicarono. In seguito, a parte alcune brusche impennate o alcuni consistenti abbassamenti caratteristici del mercato di questo prodotto, i valori si attestarono su livelli piuttosto elevati, per poi tendere nuovamente a innalzarsi in maniera significativa raggiungendo, a partire dal XVI secolo, i valori più alti dell'intero periodo considerato. Anche l'andamento dei prezzi del vino fu caratterizzato da forti fluttuazioni, all'interno di un quadro che vide la loro generale tendenza all'aumento sino ai primi decenni del Cinquecento. Il mercato presentò notevole instabilità per tutto il periodo osservato e le oscillazioni ebbero addirittura un carattere più pronunciato di quelle del grano [grafico 2]. Dunque nel periodo considerato il prezzo dei generi alimentari di prima necessità mostrò un andamento marcatamente nervoso che vide la generale tendenza all'aumento a differenza dei salari nominali i quali, sempre secondo quanto emerge dalla contabilità dell'ospedale pratese, pur tra tipiche e frequenti oscillazioni, si mantennero invece relativamente stabili. In altri termini, il potere d'acquisto dei lavoratori venne riassorbito in maniera consistente dall'aumento del prezzo del grano e del vino [grafico 3].⁴

I dati sui libri invece derivano, come abbiamo detto, dalla contabilità della compagnia fiorentina di Francesco e Bernardo di Niccolò Cambini. Come si può vedere [tabella 1], il primo aspetto che può essere rilevato è l'ampia varietà dei libri commerciati: si va dai libri di legge (*Bartolo*, *Pandette*), ai testi di grammatica (*Erotemata*), a quelli di carattere religioso (Bibbia, salteri, breviari, libri di prediche o sermoni), ai testi filosofici, storici e letterari, latini e greci. Non mancano libri di autori per così dire moderni, a partire dal Boccaccio per arrivare al Petrarca e al Landino. I testi per i quali disponiamo di maggiori dati sono quelli di legge, in particolare i *Bartolo*, oltre ai testi di Platone, Plutarco, Cicerone e Virgilio. Purtroppo però la sinteticità della documentazione contabile ha permesso raramente di distinguere i volumi manoscritti da quelli stampati. Tra l'altro

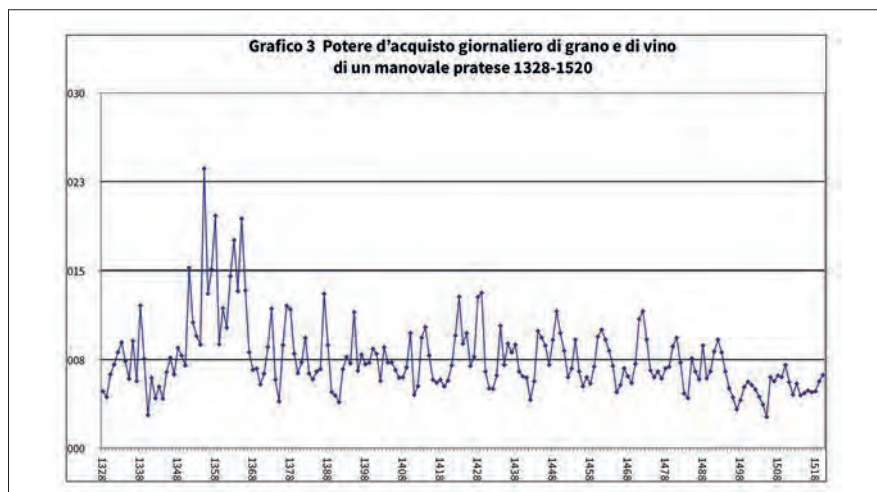
³ Parenti, *Prime ricerche*; Parenti, «Considerazioni su recenti indagini»; Parenti, *Prezzi e mercato del grano*.

⁴ A tale proposito si rinvia a Pinelli, «I prezzi del grano e del vino».



il fatto che nel periodo considerato gli incunabili tendessero a imitare i manoscritti e spesso venissero composti con caratteristiche del tutto simili, o venissero miniati, anche «magnificamente», riccamente legati e coperti, non ci aiuta, nel silenzio delle fonti, a determinare la natura della maggior parte dei volumi.

In soli tre casi i libri commerciati dai Cambini vengono indicati come stampati. Nel 1476 Francesco Cambini vendeva a un cartolaio fiorentino un *De amicitia, senectute et paradoxis* di Cicerone per lire 12, anche se, affermava il mercante, si trattava di un volume che va-



leva di più.⁵ Il libro, stampato in lettera antica, era di capretto, miniato, legato, «messo d'oro» e coperto di cuoio paonazzo. Sempre nel 1476 Francesco ci parla di un altro volume stampato, il *De fastis* di Ovidio. Il volume era «mescolato», cioè di carta bambagina e di pergamena, legato bene, coperto di montone rosso e aveva un valore di lire 6.⁶ Allo stesso modo, qualche anno prima, nel 1469, viene indicato come stampato un volume di Virgilio, che sappiamo essere stato bellissimo, in capretto, magnificamente miniato dal fiorentino Gherardino del Fora con un «principio a più facce e 11 lettere fiorite», coperto di cordovano e legato, del valore di lire 15. L'unica edizione possibile è quella delle opere del poeta, stampata a Roma dai prototipografi Sweynheym e Pannartz.⁷

Sappiamo invece che si trattò di manoscritti nel caso di tre copie delle *Opere* del grammatico romano Servio: una scambiata nel 1464, stimata lire 8, sciolta e in bambagina; una venduta nel 1476 del valore di lire 20, in bambagina, miniata e legata, coperta in montone rosso; l'ultima, venduta sempre nel 1476, del valore di lire 40, destinata a un membro della famiglia Medici, in capretto, ben legata dal cartolaio fiorentino Tuccio di Agnolo Tucci, «magnificamente» miniata

⁵ ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 54r. Molteplici le edizioni possibili, stampate a Roma, Venezia, Fivizzano, Milano, Napoli, Brescia, Parigi e Colonia entro questa data.

⁶ ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 63r. Ovidius Naso, Publius, *Opera*. Ed: Franciscus Puteolanus. Bologna: Balthasar Azoguidus, 1471. Folio. 192 fogli. GW M28557; ISTC io00126000.

⁷ ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 34v. Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Opera* [Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis, with argumenta]. Additional texts. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [1469]. Folio. 202 fogli. GW M49932; ISTC iv00149000.

dal sopracitato Gherardino, che sicuramente si occupò di «un principio a tre facce e altri due principi fioriti e di sedici lettere paliate».⁸ Si trattò di manoscritti anche nel caso di alcune copie delle *Decadi* di Livio: la *Decade De Bello Macedonico* in carta bambagina venduta nel 1476 a lire 12 soldi 6 e, sempre nello stesso anno, la *Decade Ab Urbe Condita* in capretto, miniata «magnificamente» e legata, destinata a essere donata ancora a un Medici, con una stima di lire 30.⁹ Allo stesso modo sono indicate come manoscritte alcune copie delle *Vite* di Plutarco: se si escludono quelle commerciate nel 1469 e nel 1476, per le quali non abbiamo altre indicazioni se non il loro scarso valore, rispettivamente lire 2 soldi 10 e lire 3, i Cambini commerciarono nel 1464 un esemplare del valore di lire 14 in carta bambagina, legato, miniato e coperto di rosso, ma anche due copie, nel 1468 e nel 1470, del valore di lire 28 e lire 30, entrambe vendute a esponenti di spicco della società fiorentina, in bambagina, coperte di rosso, egregiamente miniate da Gherardo di Fora e dal fratello Bartolomeo con «un principio con coda e lettere viticate».¹⁰

Da questi dati sembrerebbe emergere che il prezzo di un volume sicuramente variava a seconda che esso fosse manoscritto o stampato, ma che su di esso influivano molti altri elementi e poteva accadere che un volume stampato costasse più di una copia di mano per i materiali utilizzati o la fattura: un volume in carta bambagina costava meno di uno in pergamena, uno sciolto meno di uno legato e certamente molto dipendeva dalla carta, dal tipo di legatura, dalla coperta o dalla presenza e la qualità delle miniature.¹¹

Per i volumi commerciat dai Cambini abbiamo potuto individuare tre fasce di prezzo. Una prima fascia compresa tra lire 2 e lire 4, che probabilmente fa riferimento a testi stampati o manoscritti di modesta qualità. Riteniamo possano essere esempi in questo senso due copie del *De arte amandi et remedio amoris* di Ovidio commercializzate nel 1469 per lire 2, una «mescolata», cioè in bambagina e pergamena, e non legata, l'altra legata, ma in bambagina;¹² il *De finibus bonorum et malorum* di Cicerone venduto nel 1477 a lire 2 soldi 2, miniato;¹³ gli *Erotemata*, mai scambiati a più di lire 4 soldi 6, e altre opere che, forse per la loro stessa natura e il più vasto pubblico cui potevano essere destinati, si prestavano meno alla miniatura o all'utilizzo di materiali di pregio, come gli scritti di fra Roberto da Lecce.¹⁴ Questa classe di

8 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 225, c. 38v; 235, c. 60v.

9 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 82r.

10 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 225, c. 45r; 235, c. 65r.

11 Cf. a questo proposito anche il saggio di Neil Harris in questo volume.

12 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 232, c. 64r.

13 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 87r.

14 ASIFi, *Estranei*, 235, c. 60v.

stima era propria, secondo il *Diario* della stamperia di Ripoli a Firenze, pubblicato nel 1999 da Melissa Conway e relativo al periodo compreso fra il 1476 e il 1484, anche di alcuni libri a stampa popolari, cioè che incontravano maggiormente i gusti, le capacità di lettura e di comprensione, in quanto caratterizzati da ripetitività e da una semplice sintassi, oltre che economiche, delle classi meno elevate della popolazione.¹⁵ La seconda fascia comprende un ragguardevole numero di libri con un prezzo compreso tra lire 6 e lire 8. Nella terza fascia si possono infine individuare i libri di maggior pregio, certamente destinati a un pubblico selezionato, con un valore compreso tra lire 20 e lire 30.

In generale tuttavia, anche quando ci troviamo di fronte a volumi non pregiati, possiamo affermare che il profilo della compagnia e l'alto livello degli acquirenti, nei rari casi in cui vengono indicati, fa presupporre che quelli commerciati dai Cambini fossero libri destinati a un pubblico dotato non solo di capacità economiche, ma anche colto e culturalmente preparato. D'altra parte, un primo frettoloso confronto con le portate catastali fiorentine del 1427 e del 1470, su cui ci riserviamo di tornare con maggiore puntualità nel prosieguo delle ricerche, sottolinea come le tipologie di libri indicate nella contabilità fiorentina fossero soprattutto presenti nella disponibilità di famiglie altolocate.¹⁶ Dunque potrebbe sembrare azzardato confrontare i prezzi di questi libri con il prezzo dei beni di prima necessità che influenzavano soprattutto la capacità d'acquisto dei ceti urbani più disagiati. Nonostante la Toscana fosse una «regione con la penna in mano» e anche in ambito rurale quasi tutti sapessero leggere e scrivere, pur con livelli di apprendimento diversi,¹⁷ sappiamo benissimo che il contadino che si occupava del podere di Francesco di Marco Datini, Piero di Lenzo detto Schiavo, il quale scriveva al mercante pratese lettere che presentavano una grafia piuttosto corretta e una sintassi non disprezzabile,¹⁸ non avrebbe mai acquistato un Tacito, un Seneca, un Ovidio, ma piuttosto libri caratterizzati, oltre che da un prezzo non elevato, da una certa facilità di lettura e comprensione come i *Libri da compagnia*, le vite di santi o i testi di preghiera. Ma l'intento, lo ribadiamo, è cercare di capire cosa significasse per la società del periodo l'acquisto di un libro e percepirne più chiaramente il valore.

¹⁵ Conway, *The Diario*, 78.

¹⁶ Sul Catasto fiorentino del 1427 e del 1470 si veda Herlihy, Klapish-Zuber, *I Toscani e le loro famiglie*.

¹⁷ Balestracci, *La zappa e la retorica*, 15. Per un quadro dell'alfabetizzazione in Toscana si veda inoltre sempre Balestracci, *Cilastro che sapeva leggere*.

¹⁸ Archivio di Stato di Prato, *Datini*, busta 1101, inserto 50, codice 132494, Piero di Lenzo detto Schiavo a Francesco di Marco Datini, Palco-Firenze, 29 ottobre 1401; busta 1089.02, inserto 44, codice 6300742, Piero di Lenzo detto Schiavo a Margherita Datini, Palco-Prato, 8 gennaio 1403.

3 Un tentativo di percezione

Con riferimento al XV secolo, vi sono stati studi che hanno cercato di determinare quantitativamente e qualitativamente i consumi tipo della maggioranza della popolazione. Pensiamo a Giuliano Pinto, che ha ipotizzato per un adulto una composizione della spesa alimentare che vede al primo posto il pane (50%) seguito dal vino (25%), la carne di castrone (15%), l'olio e la legna (10%).¹⁹ La valutazione, secondo Richard Goldthwaite, è sostanzialmente confermata dai dati raccolti dal fiorentino Lodovico Ghetti, che intorno al 1445 concludeva per un costo totale del fabbisogno quotidiano di cibo compreso tra 17 e 21 denari, con un'incidenza del 43% del grano, 38,5% del vino, 12,5% della carne e 6% dell'olio.²⁰

Anche le fonti del già richiamato ospedale pratese della Misericordia possono offrire un aiuto in tal senso. Tra i numerosi documenti compulsati abbiamo infatti individuato alcuni contratti di «commissione» che possono offrire un'idea di quanto i contemporanei giudicassero generalmente necessario per vivere. Si tratta di contratti attraverso i quali individui che avevano perduto ogni capacità lavorativa per vecchiaia o malattia, o che non avevano nessuno che si prendesse cura di loro, chiedevano assistenza all'ospedale, cedendo in cambio le proprie magre sostanze, magari una piccola casa o un modesto appezzamento di terreno. Si trattava dunque di persone di estrazione modesta, cui l'ente offriva in cambio condizioni di sostentamento proporzionate. In base a questi contratti, la Misericordia si impegnava a fornire ogni anno 12 staia di grano e 6 barili di vino, oltre che lire 6 per le altre spese alimentari, lire 7 soldi 8 per vestirsi, lire 3 soldi 14 per l'olio, la legna e pagare le tasse. In altri termini, ciò significa che a queste persone venivano assicurati ogni giorno circa 600 grammi di grano - da cui si ricavavano 800 grammi di pane - e 3/4 di vino, oltre a denari 4 da spendere per l'acquisto di companatico; denari 2,4 per acquistare olio, legna e pagare le imposte e denari 4,9 per vestirsi. Ora, se prendiamo i prezzi medi annui del grano e del vino e li moltiplichiamo per le quantità giudicate sufficienti per vivere nei contratti di «commissione», rileviamo che in anni normali un adulto spendeva circa il 72% del proprio reddito giornaliero, intorno a 29 denari, solo per acquistare grano e vino, mentre la spesa alimentare complessiva, comprensiva del companatico, incideva per circa l'82%, grossomodo 33 denari, suddivisi approssimativamente in 49% grano, 39% vino, 12% altri alimenti. La spesa per il vestiario incideva per poco più del 12%; quella per illuminazione, riscaldamento e imposte per il 6% circa. Il costo giornal-

¹⁹ Pinto, «Personale, balie e salariati», 158; Pinto, «I livelli di vita», 171-2.

²⁰ Goldthwaite, *La costruzione*, 475-8.

mente sostenuto per «sostentare» la vita si aggirava dunque intorno a 40-41 denari, poco meno di 3 soldi e mezzo. Si tenga comunque ben presente come la cifra non inglobasse la spesa per l'affitto e come la proprietà dell'abitazione non fosse frequente. Ogni supposizione in merito agli acquisti costituisce inoltre una semplificazione della realtà che non tiene conto di tutta una serie di fattori quali i gusti e le esigenze personali, ma soprattutto, poiché le preferenze sono determinate dalle condizioni sociali, per cui fra gli innumerevoli atti individuali di scelta compaiono regolarità determinabili, del fatto che la composizione dei consumi varia in quantità e qualità a seconda della congiuntura economica e dello stato di occupazione. Ricordiamo infine come quello dell'occupazione sia un tema estremamente delicato e complesso. È stato calcolato per Firenze che le giornate lavorative non fossero in media più di 20 al mese, un giorno di riposo ogni due di lavoro, per un totale di circa 250 giorni lavorativi l'anno in condizioni di pieno impiego: situazione, come si può ben comprendere, che non veniva quasi mai raggiunta soprattutto dai salariati edili e agricoli, costretti a giorni di riposo forzato dalla cattiva stagione o la pessima congiuntura, dai frequenti infortuni ma anche, soprattutto per l'edilizia, dall'incapacità del datore di lavoro di far convogliare sui progetti finanziamenti costanti nel tempo.²¹

Possiamo dunque ragionevolmente supporre che nel periodo considerato, caratterizzato da un contesto nel quale la spesa alimentare aveva un ruolo fondamentale e una forte incidenza sul budget, per capire cosa significasse l'acquisto di un libro, in primo luogo possa essere utile verificare quanto grano o quanto vino potessero essere acquistati in alternativa. Ne è risultato [tabella 2] che nel periodo considerato l'acquisto di un volume che si collocava nella fascia più alta di prezzo corrispondeva all'acquisto di grano sufficiente al sostentamento di una persona per un periodo compreso tra un minimo di 10 e un massimo di 43 mesi, più di tre anni e mezzo, oppure di vino per un minimo di 16 sino a un massimo di 86 mesi, più di 7 anni. Naturalmente la situazione migliorava per i libri caratterizzati da una stima più modesta, compresa tra lire 2 e lire 4, all'incirca equivalente alla somma che un adulto avrebbe speso per procurarsi il grano necessario per vivere per un periodo compreso tra uno e sei mesi o il vino per un periodo compreso tra uno e dodici mesi.

Formulando poi alcune ipotesi ardite, cioè la piena occupazione durante l'anno e che quanto rimaneva del reddito escluse le spese alimentari - 18% circa - non venisse speso per abbigliarsi, calzarsi, acquistare la legna e il materiale per l'illuminazione, ma per acquistare libri, possiamo forse ancor più rendere l'idea. Ci rendiamo infatti conto che, dopo aver soddisfatto le priorità alimentari, per la mag-

²¹ Pinto, «Personale, balie e salariati», 143; Nigro, *Il tempo liberato*, 21-8.

gior parte della popolazione non sarebbe stato possibile acquistare più di otto libri l'anno di bassa fascia e solo due di quelli con un costo che rientrava nella fascia di prezzo intermedia; acquistare un volume di fattura pregiata avrebbe significato rinunciare a vestirsi e calzarsi, fare fuoco e luce per un periodo compreso tra uno e due anni.

Indugiando ancora, se confrontiamo il costo complessivo per «sostentare» la vita di ogni giorno col prezzo delle diverse categorie di libri nelle quali abbiamo suddiviso i dati delle nostre fonti, possiamo aggiungere che la maggioranza della popolazione avrebbe dovuto rinunciare a qualsiasi tipo di spesa, compresa quella alimentare, da un minimo di 11-12 giorni a un massimo di 22-23 per acquistare un libro compreso nella fascia di prezzo più bassa; un libro con un costo medio avrebbe invece assorbito la spesa necessaria per vivere per un periodo compreso tra un mese e un mese e mezzo circa. Acquistare infine un libro pregiato avrebbe significato rinunciare a qualsiasi cosa, compreso mangiare, per 4-6 mesi.

4 Alcune provvisorie conclusioni

Naturalmente abbiamo proposto delle simulazioni, a tratti anche ardite, che servono però, come abbiamo indicato nelle nostre intenzioni, a dare un'idea, sono cioè utili per avere la sensazione del rapporto tra il prezzo di un libro e il prezzo dei beni considerati fondamentali per la sopravvivenza e capire se nel periodo considerato questi particolari oggetti potessero essere alla portata di molti. Anche se, come abbiamo detto, si tratta di un arco temporale rivoluzionario dal punto di vista del costo e della produzione del libro, abbiamo però anche visto come le fonti contabili fiorentine ci restituiscano un'immagine che, sino alla fine degli anni '70 del Quattrocento, non riflette pienamente gli effetti dell'invenzione della stampa. I registri annotano come manoscritti e volumi a stampa convivessero e come su quest'ultimi intervenissero miniature, legature e coperte che, insieme ad altri elementi, influivano in maniera determinante sul prezzo, che altrimenti si sarebbe abbassato per la maggiore rapidità e possibilità di copie indotta dal processo di stampa. Per questi motivi, volumi manoscritti e stampati potevano presentare stime anche piuttosto vicine; esistevano cioè sul mercato, con riferimento allo stesso testo, manoscritti che costavano quanto un volume stampato, ma anche stampati di pregio che costavano più di un manoscritto: molto dipendeva dai materiali utilizzati e dal tipo di fattura. Dunque per comprendere cosa significasse nel periodo considerato l'acquisto di un libro e percepirne più chiaramente il valore, la distinzione tra manoscritto e stampato sembrerebbe avere, almeno sulla base delle nostre fonti, un significato limitato; piuttosto dovremmo distinguere i volumi a seconda della loro classe di prezzo. Utilizzando questo ti-

po di classificazione abbiamo potuto evidenziare come in realtà, in un'epoca caratterizzata da una scarsa capacità di acquisto determinata da un livello tendente verso il basso dei salari nominali, dalle scarse possibilità di impiego a tempo pieno e da una tendenza verso l'alto del livello dei prezzi dei generi alimentari maggiormente consumati, le possibilità di acquisto di libri fossero in generale estremamente basse, anche con riferimento alle edizioni di minor pregio. In una società nella quale, nella maggior parte dei casi, più del 70% del reddito giornaliero veniva assorbito dall'acquisto del pane e del vino, la capacità di procurarsi questi particolari oggetti era estremamente bassa. Anche nel decennio successivo, quando sicuramente l'invenzione della stampa si era ampiamente diffusa con i conseguenti effetti sul prezzo dei libri, il già citato *Diario* di Ripoli ci fa vedere come la maggior parte dei libri stampati, di argomento popolare e con un prezzo piuttosto basso, al di sotto di una lira, fossero acquistati soprattutto da membri del clero, al limite da piccoli artigiani e bottegai.²² Infatti se un lavoratore urbano avesse voluto acquistarli, avrebbe speso l'equivalente della somma necessaria per procurarsi il grano o il vino per circa quindici giorni. Anche qualora avesse acquistato uno dei libri più economici venduti dalla stamperia fiorentina, come ad esempio una copia di *Salmi Penitenziali*, che generalmente costava 2 soldi, ciò avrebbe significato rinunciare al pane o al vino per uno-due giorni. E tutto ciò, lo ripetiamo ancora una volta, nell'ipotesi, che quasi mai si verificava, che si trovasse impiego, e dunque si disponesse del salario, tutti i giorni. Certo è che la stampa determinò l'avvio di un processo rivoluzionario dal punto di vista dei costi del libro e della sua diffusione; purtuttavia bisognerà ancora attendere prima che questo particolare oggetto possa entrare nella disponibilità della maggior parte della popolazione, intenta per lo più a sopravvivere e per la quale anche eventuali maggiori disponibilità, dovute a un abbassamento dei prezzi dei generi alimentari o all'innalzamento del livello dei salari nominali, si trasformavano in primo luogo in mutamenti quantitativi e qualitativi della dieta giornaliera.

22 Conway, *The Diario*, 78 e soprattutto l'appendice III.

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Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Opera* [Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis, with argumenta]. Additional texts. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [1469]. Folio. GW M49932; ISTC iv00149000

Appendici

Tabella 1 Prezzo dei libri commerciati dalla compagnia di Francesco e Bernardo di Niccolò Cambini (1463-1477)

	1463	1464	1465	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1476	1477
Acrone, <i>Sopra le opere di Orazio</i>					lb. 6		lb. 6				lb. 14 (eccetto epistole)	
arcivescovo Antonino di Firenze, <i>Seconda parte</i>												lb. 6 s. 15
arcivescovo Antonino di Firenze, <i>Libretti di opere</i>												lb. 4 s. 5
Leonardo Aretino, <i>Epistole</i>		lb. 16									lb. 14	
Aristofane					lb. 4							
Aristotele	lb. 30	lb. 40										
Aristotele, <i>Etica et Economica</i>							lb. 6 s. 6				lb. 6	
Aulo Gellio					lb. 10 s. 6						lb. 10 s. 6	
Bartolo, <i>Sul Digesto vecchio</i> in 2 libri											lb. 14	
Bartolo, <i>Sulla prima parte del Digesto Nuovo</i>											lb. 8	
Bartolo, <i>Sulla seconda parte del Digesto Nuovo</i>											lb. 8 s. 6	
Bartolo, <i>Sulla seconda parte del Codice</i>											lb. 6	
Bartolo, <i>Sulla seconda parte de l'inforzato</i>											lb. 8	
Bartolo, <i>Trattati e questioni</i> in 2 voll.											lb. 6 s. 6	
Bibbia											lb. 14	lb. 4 s. 5
Boccaccio, <i>Estratto delle favole</i>					lb. 4							
Boezio, <i>De consolatione</i>											lb. 2	
Breviario	lb. 36											

17 • La compravendita di libri nella contabilità dei mercanti fiorentini

Quintiliano, <i>Estratto</i>		lb. 12									
Quintiliano, <i>Institutio</i>				lb. 15							
Sallustio, Iugurtino e Catilinario		lb. 4				lb. 8 s. 10				lb. 8	
Salterio				lb. 1 s. 16							
San Tommaso, <i>Prima</i>											lb. 4 s. 10
San Tommaso, <i>Seconda Seconda e Tabula</i>											lb. 8 s. 7 d. 6
San Tommaso, <i>Summa contra gentiles</i>											lb. 2 s. 5
Servio	lb. 20										
Servio, <i>Tutte le opere</i>		lb. 8								lb. 20 lb. 40	
Strabone		lb. 10									
Terenzio		lb. 10									
Tullio, <i>Arte Nuova</i>				lb. 6 lb. 10			lb. 6			lb. 4 s. 6	
Tullio, <i>Arte vecchia</i>										lb. 4 s. 6	
Tullio, <i>Arte vecchia, tre orazioni</i>							lb. 4 s. 6				
Tullio, <i>De amicitia, senectute et paradoxis</i>										lb. 2 lb. 4 lb. 12	
Tullio, <i>De finibus bonorum e malorum</i>										lb. 6	lb. 2 s. 2
Tullio, <i>De natura deorum et divinatione</i>				lb. 12			lb. 12			lb. 12	
Tullio, <i>De oratore</i>				lb. 4							
Tullio, <i>De oratore, ad Quintum fratrem</i>							lb. 12			lb. 10	
Tullio, <i>De oratore perfecto, Brutus, Partitioni, Topica</i>							lb. 14				
Tullio, <i>Epistole</i>				lb. 20						lb. 18	
Tullio, <i>Epistole familiari</i>							lb. 18				
Tullio, <i>Tuscolane</i>							lb. 6			lb. 6	
Tullio e Ovidio										lb. 6	
Valerio Massimo							lb. 6				
Virgilio				lb. 15							
Virgilio senza <i>Bucolica e Georgica</i>					lb. 14						
Virgilio, <i>Bucolica</i>	lb. 10										
Virgilio, <i>Bucolica e Georgica</i>										lb. 6	
Virgilio, <i>Eneide</i>	lb. 8	lb. 30								lb. 12	

Tabella 2 Grano e vino acquistabile in alternativa ai libri commerciati dai Cambini nelle diverse fasce di prezzo (1463-1477)

Anni	Fasce di prezzo dei libri commerciati dai Cambini	Grano	Vino
1463	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	2,2-4,4 staia 6,6-8,8 staia 22-33 staia	1,8-3,6 barili 5,5-7,3 barili 18-27 barili
1464	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,4-2,8 staia 4,3-5,7 staia 14-21 staia	1,1-2,2 barili 3-4 barili 11,4-17 barili
1465	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	0,9-1,8 staia 3-4 staia 9,8-14 staia	0,8-1,6 barili 2,4-3,2 barili 8-12 barili
1468	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,9-3,8 staia 6-8 staia 20-30 staia	2,2-4,4 barili 6,6-8,8 barili 22-33 barili
1469	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	3-6 staia 8,5-11,4 staia 30-43 staia	3-6 barili 8,5-11,4 barili 30-43 barili
1470	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	3-6 staia 8,5-11,4 staia 30-43 staia	3-6 barili 8,5-11,4 barili 30-43 barili
1471	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	3-6 staia 8,5-11,4 staia 30-43 staia	2,1-4,2 barili 6,3-8,4 barili 21-32 barili
1472	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	3-6 staia 8,5-11,4 staia 30-43 staia	1,7-3,4 barili 5,2-6,9 barili 17,4-26,1 barili
1473	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,8-3,6 staia 5,5-7,3 staia 18-27 staia	2,1-4,2 barili 6,3-8,4 barili 21-32 barili
1474	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,4-2,8 staia 4,4-5,9 staia 14-22 staia	1,9-3,8 barili 6-8 barili 20-30 barili
1476	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,9-3,8 staia 6-8 staia 20-30 staia	1,6-3,2 barili 4,8-6,4 barili 16-24 barili
1477	lb. 2-4 lb. 6-8 lb. 20-30	1,4-2,8 staia 4,3-5,7 staia 14-21 staia	3-6 barili 8,5-11,4 barili 30-43 barili

Costs We Don't Think About An Unusual Copy of Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum* (1474), and a Few Other Items

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Abstract Rubrication (from Latin, *ruber*, red), or the hand-finishing of manuscripts and (very) early printed books falls between several areas of competence. Often, however, it tells us important things about the book and its early history; it also represented an additional expense for the purchaser, so that in description it is important to distinguish between 'professional' and 'amateur' rubrication. A copy of a Venetian incunable – the *Opus restitutionum* by Franciscus de Platea – printed in 1474 in the collections of the Boston Public Library has on its final leaf a contemporary rubricator's note, with the summary of the costs of illumination and rubrication. The edition concerned was maybe sold through the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, the ledger of a Venetian bookseller, which records the sales of some 25,000 books between 1484 and 1488. These sales, however, mostly concerned books sold as unbound sheets, though occasionally bound copies are recorded with a consequent increase in price. Comparison of the price recorded in the *Zornale* with the costs in the rubricator's note makes it possible to determine the expense of decoration in the purchase of a 15th-century book and to compare the same to salaries and to the cost of living. The article cites four other instances of rubricator's notes in incunabula, found in another copy of Franciscus de Platea in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence; in a Bernardus Claravallensis printed c. 1472 in Strasbourg in the Marciana Library, again with an indication of the costs; in an edition of Aquinas published in Venice in 1481 at the Beinecke Library; and in an edition of Orosius published in Vicenza c. 1475 at Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

Keywords Rubrication. Decoration. Incunabula. Book prices. Booktrade. Venice.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Franciscus de Platea and the *Opus restitutionum*. – 3 The Copy at the Boston Public Library and the Cost of Rubrication. – 4 Prices and Salaries in 15th-Century Venice: A Comparison. – 5 Further Examples of Rubrication Notes in Incunabula. – 6 Conclusions.



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1 Introduction

Bookbuying is not commonly considered a dangerous business, one likely to reveal unexpected and unpleasant surprises. Up to a few years, or rather decades ago, it was common practice, when one went to a bookshop, to ask the employee behind the counter if they had such and such a title, the said employee disappeared into a store at the back and, after a certain period of time, emerged with a dusty copy, or the admission that it seemed that they no longer held it (and perhaps had not held it for the previous fifty years); nowadays, browsing is the name of the game, and bookshops, which are also places where one buys music and DVDs of films and next year's calendars and innumerable other book-related objects, are textual supermarkets, where one can spend the day reading without actually buying the items. I can still remember my provincially English astonishment, in the seventies, at going into the FNAC at the bottom of Les Halles in Paris and seeing crowds of young people, sitting in groups on the floor, blatantly perusing the *bandes dessinées* for hours at a time. Umberto Eco once observed that, in the supermarket-style bookshop, books were certainly easier to steal, but also that they sold many more books than the traditional models, and in the last fifty years or so they have prevailed more or less everywhere. Now of course, when browsing, even in the idlest of fashions and without the slightest intention of making a purchase, one always glances at the price, which is generally printed on the back in a very visible fashion. Necessarily so, since publishers have understood that book purchasing is sometimes a spur-of-the-moment impulse and, if the price cannot be seen, the buyer might well become a non-buyer.

There are of course commodities where purchasing is less clear cut and involves complications. For instance, motor cars, where rather notoriously, the price advertised is often for the basic model, for instance, at € 9,999 (and one wonders why not say € 10,000 and have done with it? But apparently the single euro reduction works wonders). If, however, one goes to the dealer and tries to purchase the car at this essential price, one soon discovers that there are extras: GPS navigator, radio with a DVD reader, sunroof, chrome wheel hubs, passenger ejector seats for James Bond aficionados, and so on and so forth, so that the initial bargain soon turns into something less of a bargain. Here as well, talking about books, albeit fifteenth-century books, the emphasis is going to be extras, and what extras cost.

2 Franciscus de Platea and the *Opus restitutionum*

The principal item described here is a copy of Franciscus de Platea (as GW and ISTC call him), or, more simply, and as he becomes in the sixteenth century (and is denominated in Edit16), Francesco Piazza. As with many such figures, active in the first half of the fifteenth century, relatively little is known about him outside of his writings. He was probably born between 1390 and 1400, entered the Franciscan order at some point, and in 1424 became professor of Canon law at the University of Bologna, where he remained up to his death in 1460. His best-known work (and also the only important one to find its way into print) is the *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*, a medium-sized treatise, which is considered, among other things, one of the earliest published works in the field of economics. It was briefly a successful title for early printers, across Europe. The first edition is unsigned and attributed by incunable repertories to Padua in c. 1472, and another appeared in the same city in 1473; it was printed three times in Venice, in 1472, 1474, and 1477; in Cologne in 1474; in Paris in 1476-77; and in Speyer in 1489. So nine editions in less than twenty years, after which it disappears, and has never been reprinted since. In fact, the only title to appear under Piazza's name in the sixteenth century was a *Tractato delli defecti della messa vtile per li sacerdoti semplici*, published in Florence in 1503. He belongs therefore to the largish category of late Medieval writers, whose works are initially successful in the new medium, but swiftly drop off the map as the nature of texts and communication irremediably change.

The edition concerned here is the second Venetian one, published by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, on 25 March 1474.¹ The same two printers also produced a page-by-page reprint on 22 January 1477.² It is not a rare book: for the first of these editions, ISTC records at present just over a hundred copies, including some fragments, in 84 institutions, and further copies are available in the antiquarian book trade; the second survives slightly less well, but still in considerable numbers. The 1474 edition is in quarto format, on Me-

¹ Platea, Franciscus de, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 25 Mar. 1474. 4°. GW M00828, ISTC ip00755000. On sheet-sizes in early printing and the consequent sizes in the various formats, cf. Harris, *Paper and Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence*, 43. Browsing the various catalogues that provide reliable measurements of the size of copies, in particular BMC and the Bodleian, as well as the descriptions available in MEI, the largest copy so far recorded appears to be that at the Biblioteca Civica "Angelo Mai" in Bergamo, which measures 237 × 173 mm.

² Platea, Franciscus de, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 22 Jan. 1477. 4°. GW M00831; ISTC ip00758000. On the basis of the state of the gothic type 76G^b in this edition, BMC V, 227 argues that the date cannot be considered *more veneto*.

dian sheets, and contains 152 leaves. The gatherings are unsigned and therefore the repertories differ as how to describe the book, but the version of the Bodleian catalogue of incunabula (Bod-inc) appears as convenient as any: [a-b⁸ c-d¹⁰ e-f⁸ g¹⁰ h¹² i-p¹⁰ q⁸]. As the slightly irregular make-up of some gatherings implies, the sheets were cut in half before printing and impressed with the 'one-pull' technique, i.e. a page at a time in *seriatim* fashion.³ This still primitive technology necessarily had knock-on effects for the cost of labour, the time taken to print the book, and thus for the eventual price.

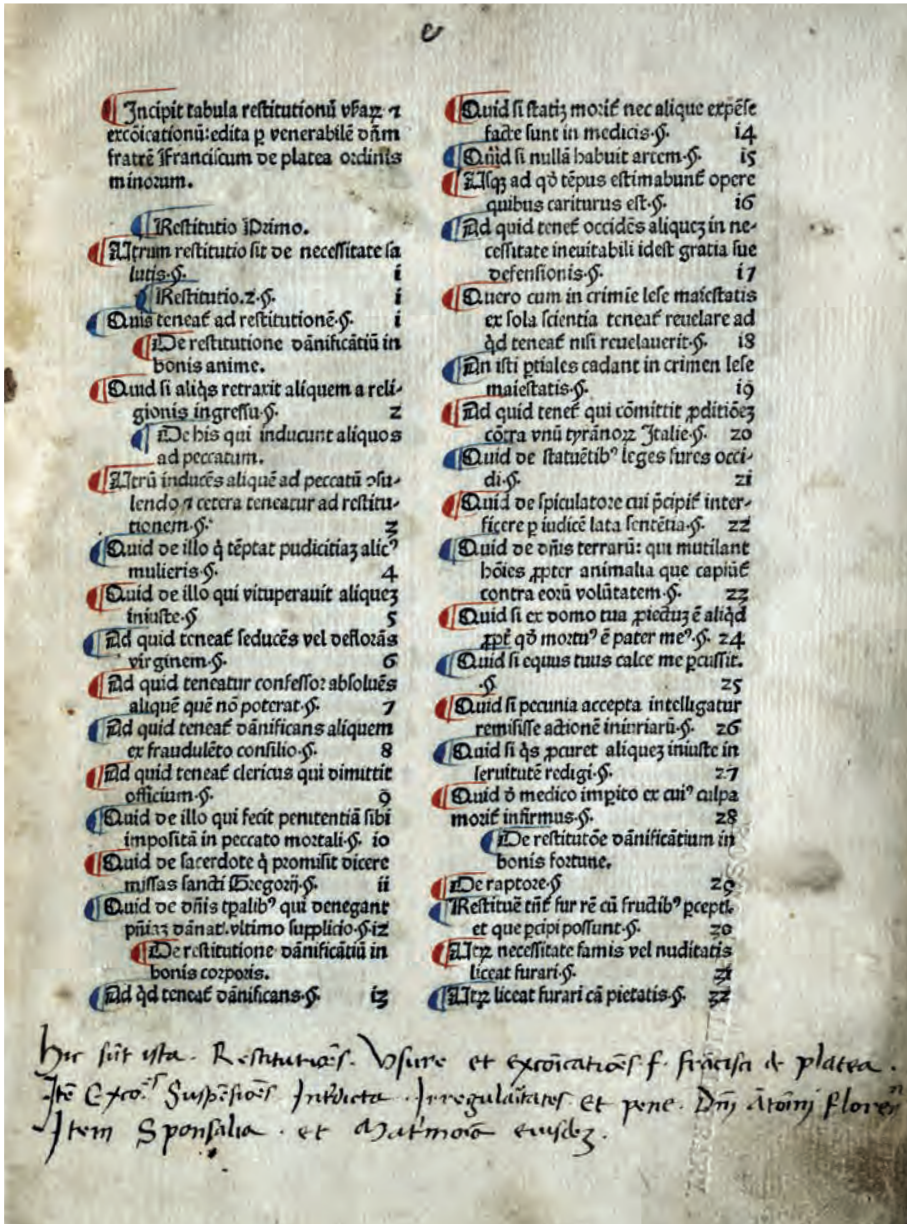
3 The Copy at the Boston Public Library and the Cost of Rubrication

With an edition that survives in such large numbers, dispersed in libraries all over the world, it is implausible that a scholar should want to see more than a few copies, or indeed any at all. New technologies are providing new forms of access to early books, however, especially to copies in less well-known, less-regarded collections. A year or so ago, by pure chance, my attention was drawn to the copy owned by the Boston Public Library (not the real Boston in England, which has a magnificent collection of early books in the tower of St. Botolph's church,⁴ but its namesake in the United States), through the twitter-feed conducted by Daryll Green, librarian at Magdalen College, Oxford (@ilikeoldbooks), who retweeted a post by the BPL's librarian and curator of manuscripts and early printed books, Jay Moschella.⁵ The American Boston, of course, has of course a world-renowned incunabula collection in the several Harvard libraries at the other end of town, technically Cambridge (another imitation), but the discovery of the scale and importance of the holdings in the city library was a surprising one. The other question to be answered is

³ On the one-pull press in early printing, where for quarto formats the sheets were often cut in half before printing, cf. Hellinga, *Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing*; Peric, *Il commercio degli incunaboli a Padova nel 1480*. In the instance of the 1474 Platea, the distribution of the watermarks - dragon, scales, and column - in the copies examined in the course of this research unequivocally shows that the sheets were divided before printing; close scrutiny also reveals the presence of pin holes in the outer margins of each leaf, which is also another sign of the early procedure.

⁴ *Boston Parish Library Catalogue*. Cf. also the review of the same by Neil Harris in *The Library*, 7(10), 2009, 221-3.

⁵ For the record, the original tweet was posted by Jay Moschella on 3 February 2017 and the present writer contacted the author, with a request for further information, three days later. I take the opportunity to thank him and the Boston Public Library for their support and interest in producing this article, including the images published here, which appear with the kind permission of the BPL. Unfortunately, in 2018, on a visit to Boston on my part, the library was closed for building work and it was not possible for me to view the copy at first hand.

Figure 1 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. 1474.

Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Boston, Boston Public Library, Q.404.8, f. [a]1r.

Examples of rubrication and contents note

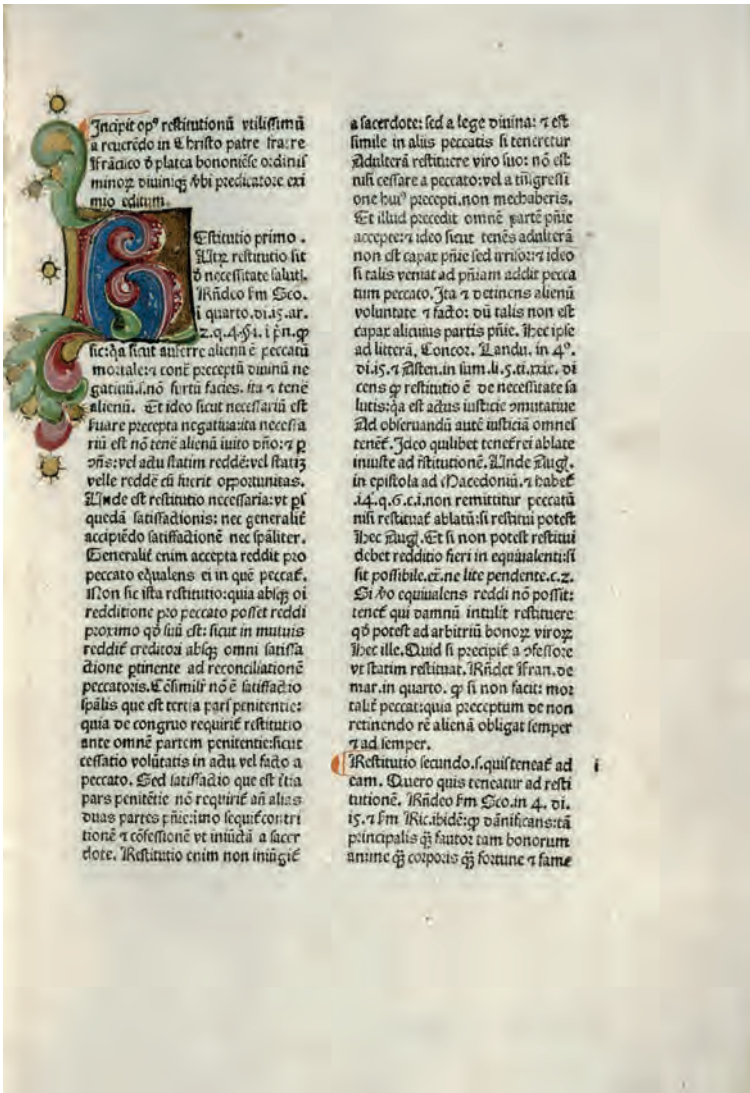


Figure 2 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. 1474. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Boston, Boston Public Library, Q.404.8, f. [c]1r. Illuminated letter



Figure 3 Francisus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*, 1474. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Boston, Boston Public Library, Q.404.8, ff. f4v-5r, h12v-11r. Examples of flourished letters

why I was browsing a twitter-feed, and the answer to that is, inevitably, idleness, or its synonym, curiosity.

Before explaining why this item captured my attention, a brief description of the copy now in Boston – pressmark Q.404.8 – and its history may be helpful. The volume has a modern binding, probably Italian from the second half of the nineteenth century, made of parchment on boards. It has conserved, however, the original parchment endleaves, of which the front one is formed of an early fifteenth-century legal manuscript with the text of the Justinian codex (book VI, title xi, and following); the back endleaf comes from the text of a notary document, again probably fifteenth-century. A pencil annotation on the recto of the front endleaf, “Dr. W. N. Bullard | Nov. 18, 1896”, identifies the modern provenance of this incunable as from the collection of William Norton Bullard (1853-1931), who graduated from Harvard in 1875 and received his M.D. from Harvard Medical School in 1880. Bullard specialised in medical incunabula and at his death left his library, as well as a bequest of \$ 50,000 for the further purchase of manuscripts and early printed books, to Boston Medical Library.⁶ Probably on account of its mainly legal content, Bullard ‘discarded’ this item from his collection by giving it to the BPL, whose catalogue of incunabula, published in a series of instalments in the twenties and thirties in the library’s in-house journal, confirms the date of the donation in November 1896.⁷

On account of the numerous short paragraphs, the copy is extensively rubricated [figs. 1-3] and, following the first two gatherings taken up by the content index, also has an illuminated initial at f. [c]1r to mark the beginning of the text proper [fig. 2]. A word about rubrication, from Latin, *rubere*, red, or the hand-finishing of manuscripts and (very) early printed books, which somehow falls between sever-

⁶ For a profile, cf. Walsh, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-century Books*, 5: 69. I thank John Lancaster, who has described many of Bullard’s incunabula in MEI, for his assistance in this identification.

⁷ Cf. Haraszki, “XVth-Century Books in the Library”, 376 (the notice erroneously gives the date of the edition as 1475, describes Piazza as a Dominican, indicates the height of the copy as 268 mm instead of 234 mm, and pays no attention to the rubricator’s note). A cut-out copy of the same is pasted onto the final leaf of the incunable, just above the rubrication note [fig. 4]. The contents note in an early 16th-century hand on the first leaf [fig. 1] reads: “Hic sunt ista. Restitutiones Usure et excommunicationes f. francisci de platea. Item Excommunicationes Suspensiones Interdicta Irregularitates et pene Domini Antonini Florentini. Item Sponsalia et Matrimonia eiusdem”. The second and third items were not extant as titles in print and appear to be extracts from the *Summa theologica* of Saint Antonino of Florence. It would appear therefore that they were manuscripts and that the Platea was bound up in a miscellany with a practical intent. Of Hungarian origin, Zoltán Haraszki (1892-1980) began working at the BPL in the twenties and was responsible for many of the acquisitions of Medieval manuscripts and incunabula that distinguish today’s collections. The in-house magazine *More Books* was designed to provide knowledge about the collections and their significance.

al areas of competence, most of which liquidate it as a SEP (Someone Else's Problem). Since no words are involved, palaeographers dismiss it as mere decoration; since it is mainly produced with a pen and there are no pictures, art historians regard it as falling outside their sphere of influence; since it is not part of the printing process and differs from copy to copy, bibliographers and incunabulists do not consider it part of the edition; since it is inside the book, scholars of bindings hold that it has nothing to do with them; and so on and so forth. On the other hand, rubrication often tells us important things about the book and its early history; it also had a cost, and in description it is useful to distinguish between 'professional' and 'amateur' rubrication. It is of course a left-over from manuscript practice, wherein the alternation between red and blue pilcrow (or paragraph marks) marked the beginning of new sections in the text and thus aided the eye of the reader. In a context where parchment was costly, paragraph signs saved space and also created the dense blocks of text that are so characteristic of manuscript layout. Early printers imitated the system by leaving small spaces to be filled in by hand with the alternating colours; the ever-increasing quantity of copies churned out by the new technology, however, soon made this solution impracticable and large numbers of early incunabula have reached us devoid of any decoration. The modern solution of paragraphing on a new line with an indent begins with Aldus Manutius in two famous books of 1499, his collection of astronomical treatises known as the *Scriptores astronomici veteres* and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.⁸

The fact that the Boston incunable is rubricated is not surprising for a book of 1474, especially for a legal text, and a check on the descriptions available for copies of this edition available in published catalogues such as BMC and online resources such as MEI, well as digital copies, shows that plenty have contemporary hand-added decoration. The work in this particular copy is of high quality: the basic pilcrow are done in alternating red and blue; for the flourishes of the more elaborate letters that mark the chapters a third colour, lilac, is added; the illuminated capital at the beginning of the text is likewise professionally executed in tempera, with a layer of gold leaf, and is related to what art historians in this field describe as "Roverella style", that typifies the famous copy of the *Decretum Gratiani* of 1474 on parchment owned by the Museo Schifanoia at Ferrara.⁹ Similar letters typify a large number of early Venetian incunabula, as well as manuscripts of

⁸ Cf. Harris, "Aldus and the Making of the Myth", 361-3. Rubrication and pen-added ornament has inevitably received much less attention than illumination, especially in printed books. One pioneering study is Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing*, while printed books are considered in Korteweg-van Heertum, *Pen Flourishing in Manuscripts and Incunabula*.

⁹ Cf. Mariani Canova, *Ferrara 1474*. I thank Lilian Armstrong for her opinion on the style.

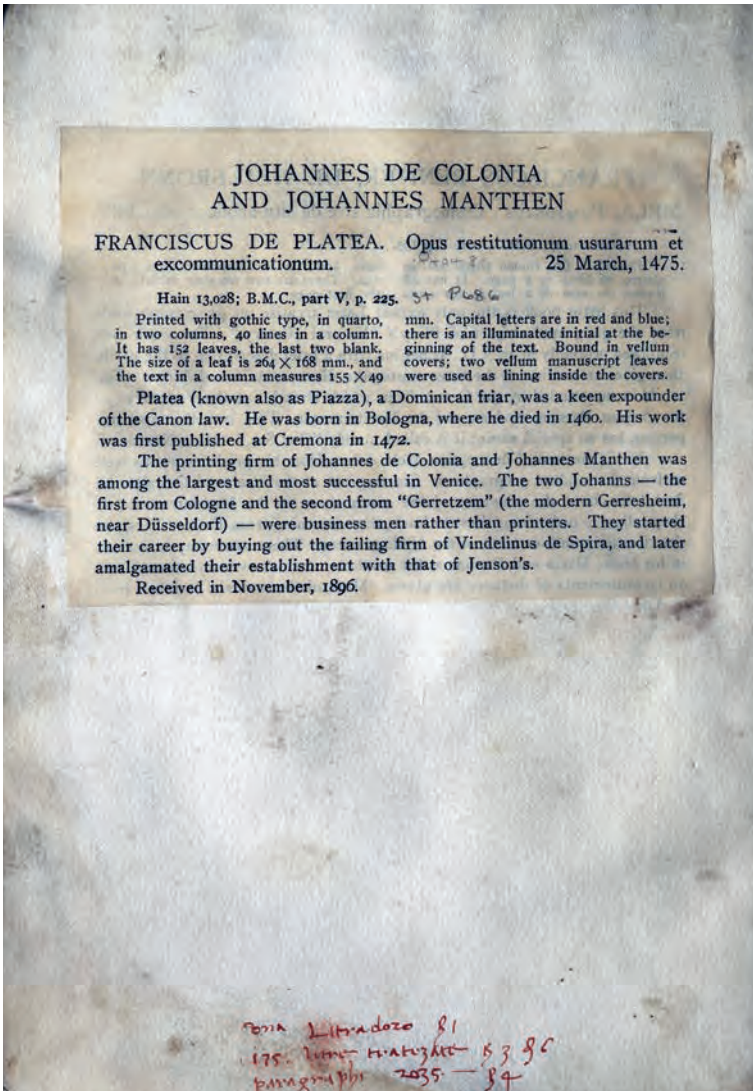


Figure 4 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. 1474. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Boston, Boston Public Library, Q.404.8, f. [q]8v

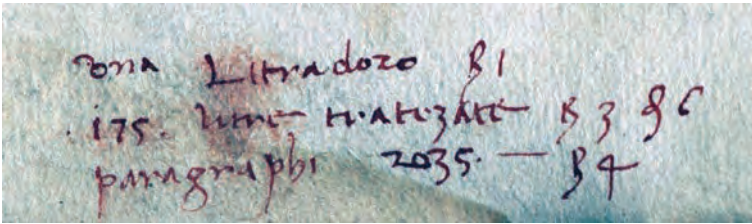


Figure 5 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. 1474. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Boston, Boston Public Library, Q.404.8, f. [q]8v. Detail with the rubricator's note

the same period, and were probably produced by one or more workshops with a standardised method, making it difficult to distinguish individual artists.

What makes the Boston copy exceptional is, however, the final blank leaf, on the verso of which, at the bottom, appears in red ink the following succinct note [figs. 4-5]:

vna litra doro s 1
175 litre tratezate s 3 d 6
paragrafti 2035 s 4

Obviously this is the summary of the charges made by the rubricator for his work. Translating and amplifying the somewhat condensed Italian, it reads as follows: one illuminated letter with gold leaf (*lettera d'oro*), 1 *soldo*; 175 flourished chapter letters (*lettere tratteggiate*), 3 *soldi*, 6 *denari*; and 2,035 pilcrow, or paragraph marks, 4 *soldi*, making a total of 8 *soldi* and 6 *denari* (or 102 *denari*).

4 Prices and Salaries in 15th-century Venice: A Comparison

How much is this in late fifteenth-century terms? Albeit much older in some respects, the Venetian currency of the time was reformed in a series of measures between 1471 and 1473 by doge Nicolò Tron, who in particular established that, at the top end of the scale, the gold ducat, which previously had oscillated against other coinages, had a fixed value of 6 *lire* and 4 *soldi* or, more simply, 124 *soldi*. In 1472 he minted the first silver *lira* with a value equivalent to 20 *soldi*, each of which was in turn made up of 12 *denari* (the Venetian model was widely imitated all over the Europe of the time and, in the guise of pounds, shillings, and pence, survived in Britain up to decimalization in 1973, while the curious twisting sign for sterling on our keyboards

Name	Unit	Value
Giovanni & Gianluca	n. 1 q	1 100
Giovanni & Giovanni	n. 1 q	2 100
Giovanni & Roberto	n. 1 q	1 100
Giovanni & Alfonso	n. 1 q	2 100
Giovanni & Roberto	n. 1 q	3 100
Giovanni & Michele	n. 1 q	1 100
Giovanni & Giovanni	n. 1 q	5 100
Giovanni & Michele	n. 1 q	1 100
Giovanni & Roberto	n. 1 q	1 100

Figure 6 The *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, f. 68v. 8 January 1487. Sale of a copy of “Franc. de la piazza” for £ 1 s 10. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Ital. XI, 45 (7439). Detail

is in fact the antique Italian abbreviation for *lira*).¹⁰ The two smallest coinages are the ones employed by our rubricator and suggest that his work was not especially well remunerated, or perhaps that earnings were based on flourishing and illuminating a large number of copies on a more or less daily basis, in order to accumulate a decent salary. Though the figures above are necessarily rounded off, if they are broken down a tiny bit further, the cost of the illuminated letter was 12 *denari*, each flourished letter cost 0.274 *denari*, and each individual pilcrow 0.024 *denari*.

What did the expense for good-quality rubrication contribute to the final purchase price of the book? One exceptional source for information about book prices in Venice in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis. Discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this document is a ledger of 160 leaves, still in its original parchment cover, which records the daily activity and sales of a Venetian bookshop for a period of three years, eight months, and one week, from 17 May 1484 to 23 January

¹⁰ Cf. Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia*, 2: 8-9; Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 80-5; Lane, Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, 1: 617 (table D.3: “Domestic exchange: The ducat in soldi di piccolli, 1305-1508”).

1488 (ff. 1v-114r), as well as the inventory of the stock-in-trade for just over one year, again from 17 May 1484 to 4 June 1485 (ff. 141r-149v). To give an idea of the scale of the document, a provisional count of the *Zornale's* contents lists 6,950 sales, comprising 11,100 entries and over 25,000 individual copies. Numerous features of the register suggest that the establishment was a new one, which opened its doors for the first time, coincidentally and significantly, on a Monday. The opening date is a mere decade and a half after the first appearance of printing in the city: this record therefore reveals in unprecedented detail the reaction of not quite the first, but certainly the second, purchasing public to the novelty of printed books. The relatively early date also makes it simple, with a few exceptions, to identify the titles and editions sold through the bookshop, a task that might have proved more complex had the document belonged to the final years of the fifteenth century when output had increased almost tenfold.¹¹

Very helpfully for our purposes, the *Zornale* records three sales of copies of the *Opus* of Franciscus de Platea; rather less helpfully, on two occasions – on 31 May 1485 and on 1 December 1486 – as part of bulk purchases where it is not possible to determine the price of a single title. The third time, on the other hand, on 8 January 1487 (f. 68v), the title – “Franc. de la piazza” – is on its own for the price of £ 1 s 10, or 30 *soldi* [fig. 6]. It is probable that the edition sold by de Madis is not our edition of 1474, but the later, albeit almost identical, reprint from the same printers of 1477, though in practical terms there is little difference, since the edition is also printed on divided Median sheets, using a one-pull press. Both editions comprise 38 sheets, which, on the basis of our standard analysis of edition costs, amounts to 9.47 *denari* per sheet, putting the *Opus* at the more expensive end of the scale.¹² On the other hand, the fact that the *Zornale* sells only a few copies, as well as the decade or so between the publication and the sale, suggests that this is oldish stock; in 1474, therefore, when the book was new and printed books were much more expensive than

¹¹ Discovered early in the nineteenth century, the *Zornale* is now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Ital. XI, 45 (7439). A full transcription and commentary of the *Zornale* is being prepared by Cristina Dondi and the present Author, while some preliminary conclusions are described in the four articles listed in the bibliography. I express gratitude to the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana for permission to reproduce the image here.

¹² The calculation is based on the total of *denari* in the price divided by the number of sheets in the book. The use of *denari* avoids inconvenient decimals that would be inevitable if the calculation instead employed *soldi*. Most prices in the *Zornale* fall within a range of 5 to 12 *denari* per sheet, cf. Dondi, Harris, “Oil and Green Ginger”. A similar analysis is being conducted for the three Aldine catalogues of 1498, 1503, and 1513, where the prices are also recorded, cf. Harris, “Aldo Manuzio, il libro e la moneta”.

in the 1480s, the purchase cost was plausibly higher.¹³ Unfortunately we have no means of determining what the original sale price might have been. The other extra element that has to be considered is the binding, given that in the majority of instances the prices recorded in the *Zornale* are for unbound sheets. Again the mark up is difficult to establish with any sort of accuracy, since binding costs were obviously subject to numerous variables, such as the quality of the materials and whether several items were bound together in a miscellany, as has indeed happened with several copies of the 1474 edition. On the basis of some sales in the *Zornale*, however, where bound copies (recorded as *ligato*) were sold for prices comparable to the same title in its unbound version, the standard increase appears in the order of 70%. The consequent calculation of the book price and its necessary extras therefore appears as follows:

Purchase of the book in unbound sheets	=	360 <i>denari</i>
Illumination (1 letter) and rubrication	=	102 <i>denari</i>
Binding (70% of purchase price)	=	252 <i>denari</i>
Total	=	714 <i>denari</i> (or 69 <i>soldi</i> , 6 <i>denari</i> , or £ 2 s 19 <i>den.</i> 6)

So the final expense works out at slightly more than half a ducat, for not a particularly large book, while the cumulative extras almost double the price. Hypothetically therefore, the single illumination and the rubrication add about 15% to the cost of the book for the purchaser.

On the whole, the cost of rubrication here does not appear extraordinarily high when compared to known salaries, especially in the lower echelons of society. The 'gold standard', or the effective value of the ducat in metal, meant that Renaissance prices and earnings, though they could vary according to seasonal factors, such as harvests, were essentially stable, at least up to the early years of the sixteenth century and there was little or no underlying long-term inflation, as in our post-Keynesian era. Comparisons of prices from different periods are possible therefore, though they have to be applied with circumspection. Records shows that in Venice, for instance, the daily wage of a master builder between 1460 and 1505 oscillated between

13 In the slightly earlier list of books consigned by Antonio Moretto for sale in Padua in 1480, in which the prices are again shown in ducats, *lire* and *soldi*, where a title is common also to the de Madiis *Zornale*, the indications are significantly higher; cf. Peric in this volume. There seems to be no doubt, in fact, that, from the introduction of printing in Venice in 1469, prices dropped rapidly, in part due to the intense competition, in part due also to technological improvements, such as the introduction of the two-pull press, larger print-runs, and more economical layouts and formats, which saved significant quantities of paper.

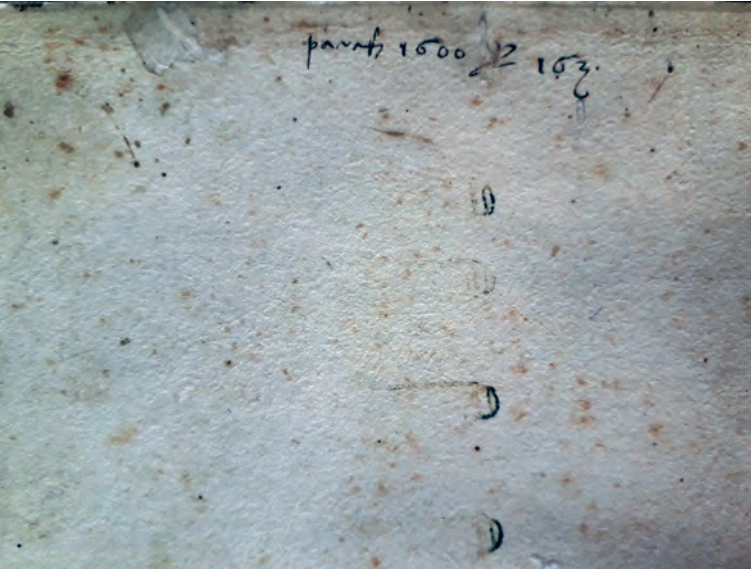


Figure 7 Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. 1474. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. A.7.29, f. [q]8v. Detail with the rubricator's note

20 and 36 *soldi*, likewise that of a 'lavorante', or ordinary workman, between 12 and 17 *soldi*, while child labourers and apprentices were paid even less, not more than 10 *soldi* a day. Changing profession, in the printing trade the three ducats per month which a compositor earned in Padua during 1475, with board and lodging included, was the salary of a skilled technician in a new ground-breaking field (in fact, much the same sum was offered in 1492 by the Venetian republic to obtain the services of an experienced hydraulic engineer).¹⁴ The same source suggests that in this halcyon period a proto, or the foreman, in these shops, which had several presses and a large number of workman, commanded a salary of between five and nine ducats a month. The prices for comestibles, where the records survive, should not be treated as the equivalent of what we find on modern supermarket shelves. A chicken was a luxury food, and so in about 1460 a pair of them cost 9 *soldi*, a plump goose likewise 12 *soldi*, and a large tasty eel 4 *soldi*, and so on.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the impression is that the costs of the rubrication in the 1474 *Opus* are not exaggeratedly high and correspond, very approximately, to the day's wage for

¹⁴ Sartori, "Documenti padovani sull'arte della stampa nel secolo XV".

¹⁵ Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*.

an ordinary workman, perhaps something less. On the other hand, the annotation does not tell us the whole picture and so, until more data is available, especially the full picture of the prices in the *Zornale* compared to contemporary salaries and prices, the indication here has to be taken *cum grano salis*.

5 Further Examples of Rubrication Notes in Incunabula

A major *desideratum* would be for scholars and cataloguers to report purchase prices and also costs for rubrication in incunabula in a more systematic fashion. Nowadays huge amounts of information are becoming available in catalogues and in online databases, with an increasing amount of attention for copy-specific information. In the sheer abundance of data, however, it is not easy to make such fleeting detail easy to find. While records for the purchase prices of books are not rare, although never enough to give a full picture of the fifteenth-century book trade, rubricators' notes, even ones that do not indicate prices, are necessarily much rarer. Nevertheless, by sheer good fortune, another four examples, of which one already described in the previous secondary literature, have recently become known to me.

The first of these, quite simply, is in another copy of the 1474 edition of the Franciscus de Platea at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, which I looked at in order to familiarise myself with the edition. The copy has been professionally rubricated with letters and pilcrows, alternating red and blue, and also has an illuminated initial at f. [c]1r. The note, again on blank f. [q]8v, albeit this time at the top of the page, much more succinctly, reads: "parafi 1600 Litere 163" [fig. 7]. The first figure is clearly rounded-off and an approximation; the second is inaccurate, since my count of the letters numbers 154, and of course no mention is made of the illumination. An annotation on the first leaf records that the book was purchased in 1505 by brother Benedetto ser Meliori Manetti de Masinis for the monastery of San Michele at Fiesole; the decoration, however, appears earlier and is probably Venetian.¹⁶

For knowledge of the next example, I am indebted to the generosity of Sabrina Minuzzi, who discovered it in a copy in the Marciana Library in Venice of the *Epistolae* and other tracts by Bernardus

¹⁶ Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. A.7.29; the library holds another copy at Nencini inc. 45. This note is not mentioned in the recent catalogue of the incunabula of the BNCF, cf. Scapecchi, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, 337, no. 2253. I express gratitude to the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and to the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze for permission to reproduce the image here.



Figure 8 Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epistolae*. [c. 1472]. [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein]. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132, f. [a]1r. Two large flourished letters

rietas et mundus est. / fuit esse cu pe meo q dicit
 si hie dedito quippe adolefcentulo auteris rite
 ran- et metu duris nimis-mblante tractat. / hie
 eni et pns quondam aduerfium me quatuor nomi
 murmurare folebat. / hinc et nuc frax audiu red
 abfenti derogare no rcllas. / hie nbi impuntar-pof
 fem forfitan epulare et dicere quia fe lafura paret
 cie motus-concedi erant ac rubibus anis dorbant
 tur afpera illa difcipline diltitudo miaa fcrip
 ra amoluit que ait. / Porro filium tuu ergo- et h
 berabis aiq eius a morte. Et rursum. / Quos no ui
 ligis dñs corripit. / fflagellat aut omg filio qui re
 cipit. Et illud. / Delioza fuit uulnera amici q ofula
 inimici. / Sed fuerit ot dñi mee culpe q difceffit pe
 dum de reatu ppenatione rōmūlar emendado
 retardare. / Adure hoc paxalobio mripit eife
 et tue fi non parcas penitenti- / indulgeas confitenti
 qua polui aliq quidem in aliquibus fuiffe erga
 te mōderatus- fi rite non maffuolus. / Quod fi i
 nuro bant ipfam mōderationem meam fufpention
 has. / Pleuris me tam no eife q huiusq uer te pu
 to fore qui fuiffi. / Quatuz mutata intueris - et
 quem āra mēdūeas magiftrū comitem amplecti
 re fecurus. / Itaq sine culpa mea rōfiteris ut tu pu
 tas- et ego non excofo- fure tua ut inuili putat et fi
 ego non aucto. / Hinc mea fimal e tua- qd ego ma
 gis puco. Et hoc tam fi redire rōmūlar- foleas paco
 fto mterfalubilis eris. / Vis ab omni culpa liber
 eife- reuere. / Et tuam culpam agnofce- / Ignofce.
 Ignofce et tu michi-obi meam agnofce. / Alioqui
 aut nbi nimis indulgeas- quia tua culpam et agno
 fceas et diffimilis- aut michi mō mōderate- et tu me fa
 fiffantem ignofcebis puat. / Am fi reuere rōfita
 aliam qre occafionem. / Unde falfio blandiarie co
 fite tur- q non mī uira qd fomidare dēbas dñi
 gore diltitudo mee. / flegit eni fomidandi eī- q
 futurus fūm pñi fomidofofus- nūi adūe abim-
 tēto fūm rōde pofitatus - rōta abfentis diltitudo
 bus. / Humilitatem rēbulo caritatem pmitto et tu
 times. / Intrepidus uiri quo te uocat hū uilitas-
 trahit caritas- rōmūlar- rēbulo pmetus obi
 fofibus. / fflagitū frui- reuere ad māfionem. / fēu
 ore te mea lenitas- cuius frumitas effugant. / Unde fi
 li qui te cupio dñs- non huius fūmūlar- mēti m timore
 re- fi fūm adpōpion filioz- in quo dūant et tu fi
 rōfideris abla pater. / Causam uirū tūm dōfōra
 mī non mīa apud te- fi blandiōmīa pēbibus ū
 rōmūlar agm. / Alius forfitan alii fūmptat et de
 re que alius nō magis diltitudo rēu et mēter
 rē mī. / non opponit pōti et pōpōmī mōfūm
 ū argueret mōdōrē et pōpōmī apollare- qd
 de tūda ad pōfūlar- de cōmibus ad dēlan- qd de
 mīq ad dūmīa de pūpōrēte tranfūm. / Sed ego
 noui aim tuū q facilius pōfūm emere flōū- qd tenu
 pelli fūmōr. / Amiq quid mēfio eī- hū pūgere fi
 rōmūlar- rē uale mīdō magis pōrē- qd te fūm ena
 beffentem cōfūmō amplius- nūi fūa rōfō magiftrū
 rui pōpōra cōfūla uirga et mēgmita uerūda leg
 difcipule eī. / Quō fi cui mirum uideat quomodo
 puer uerūda fūmplex et fūmōmū - autem fuerit
 cōfōlitate fūm- magiftrū pēnti - regulare dērtā

Dicitur hie obitus sancti uiri be-
 nardi monachus et fūi caroni
 pōpōmī- quoniam in adolefcentia fua
 quondam pūfione dēceptus
 diuicati fele cōfūlar. / Demat
 bilis aut pī pōfita qui diltitudo
 lauit mōde fūm fūmū p epifto
 la rōmōrē. / Quō dicitur. / Uenabilis- qui- / fū
 ual- pōfita monachery pūmū abbas i mēdama for
 bis eūde rōfūlar epifm. / Eūm aut ambo pūfū
 fūo dūo dēntes. / Ad dicitur quippe fūmūlar fep
 ta monachery egrēffū fūit fuerat. / Subito aut mō
 pūmūlar pūmūlar erupit- et ipfe qui fūmūlar fūe p
 fo rōfūlar diltitudo caritatem pōpōrē poluit. / Ad
 quem pater fūmōm. / Opus mēq dū eī fūmūlar te fi
 mea. / fūmūlar ergo epifmū in medio pūmūlar fūm
 pūmūlar. / Cum eni uirūq pūmūlar- caritatem pōfūmūlar
 uirtus opertuit caritatis. / Et qui dicitur epifm- rō
 dūmūlar qd pū cōmūlar. / Et hie quid epifmūla ob i
 grande miraculo in codice epifmūlar eius a fūmūlar
 nec in mēfio pūmūlar oīnata eī

Incipit Epistola. Sancti bernardi. Abbatis Cla-
 ravalensis. Ad robertum nepotem suū qui de or-
 dine claustralium ad diuicaciones transferat. /
 Quis et alius qd fūmūlar diltitudo
 quifine fili. / Robere si fūmūlar dūe pū
 las et tuam p fe- et meam p te alia
 dignaretur mūfere et tibi- mīpū
 rando falutare cōpūmūlar mībz d
 tuas falute letitiam. / Et qui uirū ad
 hūc fūmūlar mīf amō ad rōfūlar mēa ia non
 ualeo rōpōrē uolentem mēu- auter- abon rēpūe diltitudo
 mūlar rōfūlar. / Unde et eūm iuris uirūm cogoz
 reuere- et fūmūlar- rē q me fūmūlar- rēpūe cōmūlar
 rōmūlar- et inuaria pūmūlar- mūmūlar- fūmūlar. / fūmūlar
 re dūmūlar a quo rōgari dēbuitam. / Doloz quippe mī
 mīam non diltitudo- non uerūdar- non cōfūlar
 rōmūlar- non mīmūlar diltitudo dūmūlar- legi non dē
 tamper- nō ar- qd fūmūlar- et mōd ignozat et o
 diltitudo- et oīmōd et fūmūlar- fatagat- aia- quo uir
 careat qd fe dōlar- uirū- baluat quo fe dōlar- rō
 rōmūlar. / Et mōmūlar- ne fūmūlar- qmūlar- mī- fūmūlar- fi fūmūlar-
 uis pōfūlar- ego- ac mūfūlar- fūmūlar- fūmūlar- fūmūlar- mī- fūmūlar-
 fūmūlar- mēu. / Cui inuaria fūmūlar- et fi inuaria fūmūlar. / An
 non mōmūlar- pūmūlar- rōmūlar- qd qd rōfūlar- fūmūlar- rōmūlar-
 tem quā rōfūlar- fūmūlar- fūmūlar- / Non ut cōmūlar-
 erit hie fi ut cōmūlar- diltitudo- fūmūlar- pūmūlar- rōmūlar-
 tem non eī culpa fūmūlar- fūmūlar- pūmūlar- / Non
 cōmūlar- omīto quod fūmūlar- eī- non rōmūlar-
 aut uirū quomūlar- factū eī. / Culpas non diltitudo- mō
 rōmūlar- cas- inuaria non rōmūlar- / Solent eni hie
 magis mīfūlar- quā mīfūlar- diltitudo- / Solunt
 qd mēbz magis eī rōmūlar- hūmūlar- cur mīfūlar- qd rō
 careo- qd te non uideo- qd fūmūlar- te pūmūlar- pūmūlar- qd mībz
 mōmūlar- eī- fūmūlar- quo uirū- mōmūlar- non ego autem
 ro cur abieris- fi cur hūmūlar- non rōmūlar- quomūlar- / Ad
 eā diltitudo- fūmūlar- mōmūlar- caufoz rōmūlar- / Uerū
 mī fūmūlar- et pūmūlar- rōmūlar- et fūmūlar- fūmūlar- / Non eni qmūlar-
 rōmūlar- et letus clabo- mortuus fūmūlar- et rōmūlar- pūmūlar-



Figure 9 Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epistolae*. [c. 1472]. [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein]. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132, f. [a]1r. Detail of the flourished letter

Claravallensis, unsigned but attributed to Strasbourg and the press of Heinrich Eggestein early in the 1470s (a purchase date 1474 in the copy of the Wellcome Library sets a temporal limit, while on the basis of paper evidence, a date for printing has been proposed in 1472).¹⁷ The edition is on Royal sheets, was printed on a one-pull press with pages in *seriatim* order, and contains a total of 90 leaves. As above and not surprisingly given the early date, the gatherings are devoid of printed signings, but have an early manuscript signing, on some leaves lost due to the binder's plough. Unfortunately, in the Venice copy the signings are wrong and misplace gathering [c] to a later point in the book; corrected, the formula reads: [a-d¹⁰ e⁸ f-g¹⁰ h⁸ h¹⁰ k⁴]. The rubricator's note of expenses is written in the bottom left-hand corner of the final verso and reads, without the abbreviations [figs. 11-12]:

litre florite 2	soldi iij ^o
litre piccole 180	soldi 8
parafi 362	soldi 2

¹⁷ Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epistolae*. [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472]. Royal folio. GW 3923; ISTC ib00383000. The description of the collational formula in GW places the gathering with the table of contents at the beginning of the book, i.e. [a⁴ b-e¹⁰ f⁸ g-h¹⁰ j⁸ k¹⁰], whereas in the Marciana copy it is at the end; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132. The leaves are numbered 1-89, with a 64 *bis*, in an early hand, while the misplaced gathering [c], signed 'f' in ms., corresponds to ff. 49-58. Full details of the volume, including its subsequent history, are provided by Sabrina Minuzzi in entry MEI 02017950. I express gratitude to the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana for permission to reproduce the images here, and I also thank Susy Marcon for an opinion about the decoration.



Tabula . Epistolarum . Bernardi . Abbatis Claravallensis

Ad . H . bertu(m) nepotem suu(m) qui de oz dme . Cisterciensium . ad Clunacenses transierat . Prima

Ad Fulbone(m) adulescentem . qui postea fuit . Hingonensis . archidiaconus qui et de religione sua exierat et no lebat reuerti . inducitur ut rediret Secunda

Ad quosdam canonicos regulares . q . conquerebas . n . ur de quibusdam fuisse . n . stratis . p . eo qd ad ordinem cisterciensium . transierant . Tercia

Ad Arn . ldu(m) . Abbatem . Ozimudi . q . loco eade(m) uolebat . et vitam ducere solitariam . ne gregem suu(m) de serat . rati . n . abili . p . n . asionib . u . s . adhortatur . Quarta

Ad adam monachum . exhortans eum ad . Constancia(m) in ordine cisterciensium . et m . t . e . r . e . p . s . u . s . e . i . de mutato . t . a . u . i . p . r . o . p . o . s . i . t . i . q . p . r . e . d . i . c . t . o . a . b . b . a . t . i . a . d . h . a . s . i . t . Quinta

Ad Hingone(m) coloniensem . ut labore quatuor . h . i . s . i . r . e . s . q . cum amoldo abbate supradicto vagabantur ad ead . e . m . cisterciensium . reuertantur . Sexta

Ad cum que supra . Adam(m) monachum . exhortans ut ad suu(m) rediret monasteriu(m) q . seductus . ab . i . t . Septima

Ad Brunone(m) coloniensem . r . e . s . p . o . n . d . e . s . c . o . n . s . u . l . t . a . t . i . e . i . q . m . c . o . n . s . e . n . t . i . u . r . d . e . b . e . a . t . e . l . e . c . t . i . o . n . e . m . q . u . e . d . e . f . e . t . u . s . e . s . s . e . t . facta fuerat . Octaua

Ad eundem ia archiepiscopum coloniensem . exhortatoria ad beneficiandum . et in dei simone pastorale officium exercendum . Nona

Ad eundem hostans . ut m . u . d . a . t . u . m . p . a . p . e . u . i . r . i . l . i . t . e . r . e . x . e . q . u . a . t . u . r . e . t . s . i . c . u . i . n . d . i . c . e . t . f . a . c . i . u . s . p . r . o . q . p . a . p . a . s . c . r . i . b . i . t . e . t . a . l . i . j . a . s . i . m . i . l . i . b . u . s . c . o . m . p . e . s . c . i . t . u . r . Decima

Ad caritatem . m . i . t . a . i . l . l . i . c . p . o . n . i . t . d . e . c . a . r . i . t . a . t . e . e . t . u . e . r . b . a . p . u . l . c . h . a . m . i . n . t . e . r . r . e . l . i . g . i . o . s . o . s . c . o . m . p . e . t . i . t . i . a . Undecima

Ad eosde(m) exhortatoria . q . eos . p . p . t . e . r . o . c . c . u . p . a . t . o . r . e . s . i . n . i . s . n . e . t . r . a . n . o . u . i . s . t . a . u . i . t . r . o . g . a . s . u . t . o . r . e . p . e . c . o . xij

Ad honoriu(m) papa(m) . r . o . m . e . n . s . i . s . e . l . e . c . t . u . m . c . a . t . h . a . l . a . n . e . n . s . e . m . e . t . s . u . p . p . l . i . c . i . a . s . p . c . o . n . f . i . r . m . a . t . o . r . e . e . l . e . c . t . i . xiiij

Ad eundem supplicatoria . p . m . o . n . a . c . h . i . s . d . i . u . i . o . n . e . n . s . i . b . u . s . q . s . l . u . s . o . n . a . e . s . . s . u . p . q . u . i . b . u . s . d . a . e . o . r . u . m . p . o . s . s . e . s . s . i . o . n . i . b . u . s . i . n . d . e . s . b . i . t . e . u . x . a . b . a . t . xiiij

Ad ahmericu(m) . Cancellariu(m) sedis aplice . supplicans e . i . u . t . c . a . u . s . a . m . m . o . n . a . c . h . o . r . u . m . d . i . u . i . o . n . e . n . s . i . u . m . d . e . q . u . a . s . u . p . r . a . h . a . b . e . a . t . c . o . m . e . n . d . a . t . xvj

Ad dominu(m) petru(m) p . s . b . i . t . e . r . u . m . C . a . r . d . i . n . a . l . e . m . . p . e . i . s . d . e . i . n . c . a . u . s . a . e . a . d . xviij

Ad dnu(m) petru(m) diaconu(m) cardinalem . exhortatoria . q . n . o . a . c . c . e . s . s . i . t . a . d . e . u . m . e . t . m . u . i . t . a . t . i . p . s . u . m . a . d . u . i . s . t . a . d . u . m . m . o . n . a . s . t . e . r . i . u . s . s . u . u . m . e . t . f . r . a . t . r . e . s . . a . c . p . m . i . s . i . t . c . o . p . i . a . s . c . r . i . p . t . o . r . u . m . xviij

Ad eundem scribens . u . e . r . b . a . a . s . s . e . r . t . o . r . i . s . e . t . c . a . r . i . t . a . s . i . n . t . e . r . a . n . i . c . o . s . xviij

Ad eundem ut p . m . i . s . s . u . m . s . i . b . i . s . e . r . u . e . t . e . t . c . o . m . p . l . e . a . t . xix

Ad ahmericu(m) sedis aplice . Cancellariu(m) p . m . o . u . e . n . s . i . s . a . p . d . i . l . l . u . m . n . e . g . o . c . i . u . m . r . e . n . d . e . q . d . a . d . c . u . r . i . a . m . s . e . r . u . a . t . u . r . xx

Ad . O . t . t . a . u . i . l . e . g . a . t . u . m . u . t . s . i . b . i . p . a . r . e . a . t . q . n . o . c . o . m . p . l . e . u . i . t . m . a . d . a . t . u . m . i . p . i . u . s . i . n . p . r . o . d . i . c . i . t . i . l . l . u . m . s . u . a . i . n . f . i . r . m . i . t . a . t . e . xxi

Ad Umbaldu(m) lugdunensem . Archiepiscopum . p . r . o . e . o . xxi

Ad . A . l . d . e . s . i . u . t . n . o . n . f . a . u . e . a . t . c . o . n . q . u . e . r . e . n . t . i . b . u . s . a . p . u . d . i . l . l . u . m . d . e . i . p . o . xxij

Ad altonem trecentem Episcopum q . febre contracto pau peribus omnia dederat . comendans eum pro huius mo(i) et laudis peupate xxij

Ad mgm . H . i . s . e . l . b . e . r . t . u . m . U . n . i . u . e . r . s . i . t . a . t . e . m . l . o . n . d . o . n . e . n . s . i . m . c . o . m . e . d . a . s . e . i . q . b . o . n . a . s . u . a . d . i . s . p . e . r . i . t . p . a . u . p . i . b . u . s . e . t . d . e . l . a . u . d . e . i . u . s . t . i . c . i . e . e . t . p . a . u . p . t . a . t . i . s . xxiiij

Ad . V . g . o . n . e . m . I . s . t . o . t . h . o . n . a . g . e . n . s . e . m . A . r . c . h . i . e . p . i . s . c . o . p . u . l . t . a . s . u . t . e . u . s . i . t . c . o . l . l . i . t . u . s . i . n . t . e . r . u . a . l . o . s . e . t . m . a . l . i . s . p . h . i . p . a . c . i . e . n . t . i . a . i . n . e . t . e . r . n . s . m . a . n . e . a . t . i . p . e . b . o . n . u . s . xxv

Ad Guindone(m) lausane(m) episcopum . h . o . r . t . a . n . s . e . u . m . a . d . e . p . a . l . e . o . f . f . i . c . i . u . m . b . e . n . e . e . x . e . r . c . e . n . d . u . m . xxvi

Ad ardione(m) gebennense . l . e . c . t . i . U . t . e . x . a . l . t . a . t . o . e . m . s . u . a . g . r . e . d . e . i . n . o . s . u . i . s . m . e . r . i . t . i . s . a . s . c . r . i . b . a . t . xxviij

Ad eundem ia episcopum hostatona . U . t . u . e . t . r . a . p . e . n . i . t . e . x . u . i . s . u . i . r . t . u . t . i . b . u . s . s . t . u . d . e . a . t . i . n . f . i . d . e . a . r . e . xxviij

Ad . S . t . e . b . a . n . u . m . m . e . t . e . n . s . e . p . i . s . c . o . p . u . l . t . a . t . o . n . e . q . u . e . d . u . i . s . e . h . a . b . e . a . t . p . o . s . t . c . r . e . a . t . o . e . m . s . u . a . xxix

Ad alberone(m) p . r . i . m . i . c . i . u . m . m . e . t . e . n . s . e . m . xxx

Ad . V . g . o . n . e . m . C . o . m . i . t . a . m . C . a . m . p . a . n . i . e . m . i . n . t . i . l . i . t . e . m . t . r . i . p . l . i . f . a . c . t . u . m . xxxi

Ad abbatem sancti . I . s . t . i . c . a . s . i . I . s . t . e . n . e . n . s . i . s . o . b . a . c . o . n . s . o . l . a . t . i . o . n . i . s . i . n . t . r . i . b . u . l . a . t . o . n . e . q . u . a . p . a . s . t . e . t . p . q . d . a . m . f . r . a . t . r . e . q . d . i . s . c . e . s . s . e . r . a . t . e . t . t . r . a . s . i . e . r . a . t . a . d . a . l . i . a . r . e . l . i . g . i . o . n . e . m . xxxii

Ad . V . g . o . n . e . m . p . e . t . r . i . a . n . e . n . s . i . s . a . b . b . a . t . e . m . e . x . c . u . s . a . n . s . s . e . p . q . d . a . m . m . o . n . a . c . h . o . q . u . e . a .d . a . l . i . a . t . r . a . s . i . e . r . a . t . r . e . l . i . g . i . o . n . e . m . xxxiiij

Ad . V . g . o . n . e . m . m . o . n . a . c . h . u . m . e . x . h . o . r . t . a . t . o . r . e . s . a .d . c .o .n .s .t .a .n .t .i .a . e . t . p .r .e .u .e .r .a .t .i .a . i .n .c .e .p .t .o .p .p .o .s .i .t .o . xxxiiij

Ad mgm . V . g . o . n . e . m . f . a . r . t . i . u . m . i .n .t .e .r .c .e .d .e .n .s . p . q .d .a .m . o .p .p .o .s .i .t .o . e .t .e .x .c .u .s .a .n .s .s .e .d .e .q .b .u .s .d .a . xxxv

Ad eundem exhortatoria . q . c .o .p .e .n .d .i .o .s .e . r .e .s .c .r .i .p .t .i .s . r .o .g .a .s . q . m .o .r .t .u .i .n .o .p .l .e .q .u .a .t .u .r . xxxvi

Ad . C . o . m . i . t . e . m . T . h . o . b . a . l . d . u . m . I . s . t . o . g . a . s . p . q .d .a .m . f . . s .u .p .r .a .d .i .c .t .o . U .n .d .e .r .t .o . u .t .c .u .m .c .o .m .i .s .t .e .c .o .r .d .i .t .e .r .a .g .a .t .g .r .e .q .u .e .r .e .f .e .r .i .s .p . b .e .m .b .a .r .d .o .i .n .i .p .i . i .n .f .i .r .m .i .t .a .t .e . xxxviij

Ad eundem exhortatoria . de . f .r .e .q .u .e .n .t .i .a . l .i .t .t .e .r .a .r .u .m . a .g .e .n .s .g .r .a .t .i .a . e .i .q .u .i .a .m .i .s .e .r .u .s .f .u .e .r .a .t .p .r .o .q .u .o .r .o .g .a .n .t .u .r .h .a .b .e .r .i .s .e .d .e .t .c .o .q .u .e .r .e .s .q .n .o .s .e .r .u .a .b .a .t .q .u .o .d .s .i .b .i .p .m .i .s .e .r .a .t . xxxviij

Ad eundem supplicans . p . q .b .u .s .d .a . o .p .p .r .e .s .i .s . e .t .e .x .c .u .s .a .n .s .q .e .a .p .d .c .u .t .a .m .f .r .e .q .u .e .n .s .i .n .p .e .l .b .i .e .s .t . xxxix

Ad eundem p . q .d .a .m . p .a .u .p .e .p .r .e .s .e .t .c .o .m .e .d .a .t .o .r .e .s . xxxix

Ad eundem p . r .e .s .p .r .o .q .u .o .d .a .d .e .i .s .e .r .u .o .e .t .e .x .c .u .l .t .e .s .e .d .e .f .r .e .q .u .e .n .t .i .a .s .c .r .i .b .e .d .i . xl

Ad henricu(m) . H . o . n . o . r . i . i . a . r . e . b . i . e . p . i . s . c . o . p . u . l . t . a . t . o . n . i . a . i .n .f .o .r .m .a .t .o .n .e .e .t .i .n .m .i .s .t .i .s .u .i .l .i .s .u .a .l .d .e .e .t .b .o .n .a . xli

Ad eundem supplicans . p . e .c .c .l .i .a . m . o .l .i .s .i .n .e . xliij

Ad eundem adhuc supplicat . ut . e .x .c .u .l .t .a .t .u .r .p .r .e .c .i .b .u .s .p .r .o .e .a .d .e .c .c .l .i .a . xliij

Ad . Q . u .a .d .i .a .g .e .s .i .m .a .q .u .i .n .t .a .e .p .i .s .t .a .h .i .c .n .o .h .a .b .e .r .u .t .a .d .h .u .d .o .u .i .a .n .r .e .g .e .f .r .a .n .c .o .r .u .m .i .n .t .e .r .p .e .d .o .n .e .s .e .a .d .p .a .c .e .e .t .c .o .o .r .d .i .a .m .r .e .f .o .r .m .a .n .d .a .m .i .n .t .e .r .i .p .s .u .m .e .t .e .p .i .s .c .o .p .u .l .t .e .m .p .a .r .i .s .e .n .s .e .m . xliij

Ad dominu(m) papa(m) honoriu(m) . supplicans . p . r .e .f .o .r .m .a .t .o .n .e .q .u .a .r .t .u .d .a .m .l .i .t .t .e .r .a .r .u .m .s .u .b .e .p .t .i .c .i .a .r .u .m .i .n .t .e .r .p .a .r .a .t .u .m .c .o .n .t .r .a .e .p .o .s .f .r .a .n .c .i .e . xliij

Ad eundem ep . p . l . o . n . a . C . a .n .t .i .d .i . C .a .r .n .o .t .e .n .s .i . e .p .i .s .c .o .p .i .s .u .p .p .r .o .t .i .o .n .e .g .e .n .t .o . xliij

Ad ahmericu(m) sancte . I . s .t . o .m .n .e .s .e .d .i .s .c .a .n .c .e .l .l .a .r .i .u .m .d .e .p .l .a .t .a .m .a .t .e .r .i .a .e .t .c .o .n .t .r .a .o .b .t .r .e .c .t .o .r .e .s .u .m .s .u .p .p .l .i .c .a .n .s . xliij

Figure 10 Bernardus Claravallensis, Epistolae. [c. 1472] [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein]. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132, f. [k]1r. Detail of the rubrication

Soma lire soldi 14

So again, just to put it into a more comprehensible terminology: two large letters with flourishes, 4 *soldi*; 180 small letters, 8 *soldi*; and 362 pilcrows, 2 *soldi*, for a total of zero *lire* and 14 *soldi*. Compared to the previous note, these charges are rather more respectable. Each of the large letters, at 2 *soldi*, or 24 *denari*, is exactly double the price of the illuminated initial in the other book; the smaller chapter letters cost 0.533 *denari* each and the individual pilcrows 0.066 *denari*, so in the first instance double and in the second almost triple. An examination of the book shows that there are indeed two large initial letters, realised with elaborate penwork, though the gold is paint rather than applied gold leaf, both at f. [a]1r [fig. 8], where the final flourish at the bottom of the page becomes a rabbit [fig. 9]. On the other hand, according to my count, the rubricator has seriously understated the number of small letters, which number 306 instead of 180, and also of pilcrows, which number 489 instead of 362. What the reason might be for this resounding discrepancy is impossible to say. The same close scrutiny also shows that someone went through the book, before the rubricator, and marked in ms. what the coloured initials were to be [fig. 10].

A note on the front flyleaf of the Marciana copy informs that it once belonged to Celso Maffei, a member of the order of Canons Regular of the Lateran, or Augustinian Canons, in Verona, who is known to have died in 1508. It is plausible that he was the first owner of the book and thus commissioned both the decoration and the binding, though the latter is no longer original and dates from the eighteenth century. The early provenance of the copy, as well as the choice of Italian for the rubricator's note in the Venetian currency of the time, suggests that this book, printed in Strasbourg, reached Italy at an early date in an unbound state. The original front flyleaf, with the note relating to Maffei on the verso, is unwatermarked, but seems to be Italian. The style of the flourishing of the two large letters on f. [a]1r is common to a fairly large area of Northern Italy, while the Venetian territory of the time, including Verona, reached almost to the outskirts of Milan.

Although the *Zornale* of De Madiis does register a handful of titles from outside Italy, it would be too much to hope to find this Bernardus Claravallensis therein. On the other hand, a hypothetical reconstruction of what a client might have paid for it is possible. The edition is composed of 45 sheets of Royal paper: the largest copy recorded so far in MEI, at Harvard, measures 402 × 282 mm, only slightly more than that in the Marciana. For such a book, taking into account also the foreign provenance, the price might be at the top end of the scale, in the order of 16 *denari* a sheet, giving a total of £ 3 or 60 *soldi*. So, along the same rationale as the previous calculation:

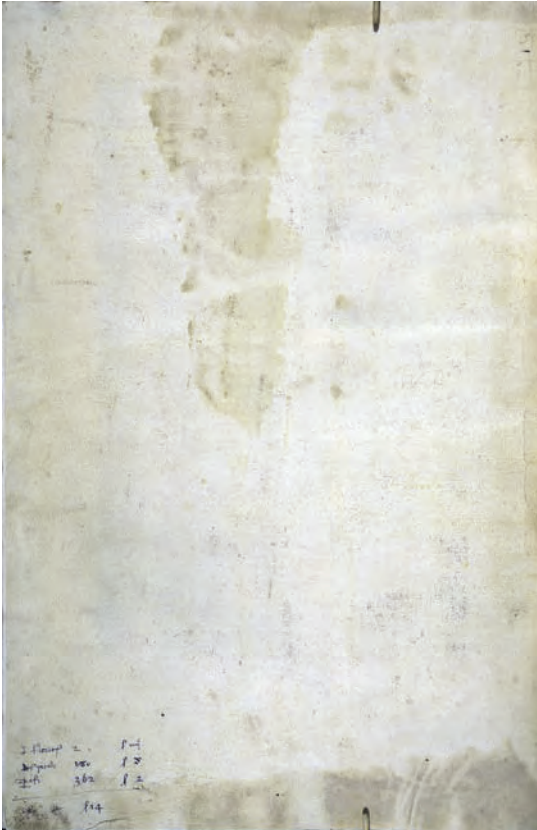


Figure 11 Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epistolae*. [c. 1472] [Strasbourg; Heinrich Eggestein]. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132, f. [k]4v

Purchase of the book in unbound sheets	=	720 <i>denari</i>
Rubrication	=	168 <i>denari</i>
Binding (70% of purchase price)	=	504 <i>denari</i>
Total	=	1392 <i>denari</i>
		(or 116 <i>soldi</i> , or £ 5 s 16)

And therefore, very hypothetically indeed, the rubrication would have added about 12% to the overall cost of the book. What needs to be emphasised, certainly, is that these two indications for the cost of manuscript decoration differ considerably and so, until fuller information about rubrication costs, as distinct from other expenses, can be established, these payments should not be considered as typical.

1 florin	2	1 m ^o
1 p ^o	180	1 s
1 p ^o	362	1 2
		1 14

Figure 12 Bernardus Claravallensis, *Epistolae*, [c. 1472] [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein]. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 132, f. [k]4v. Detail with the rubricator's note

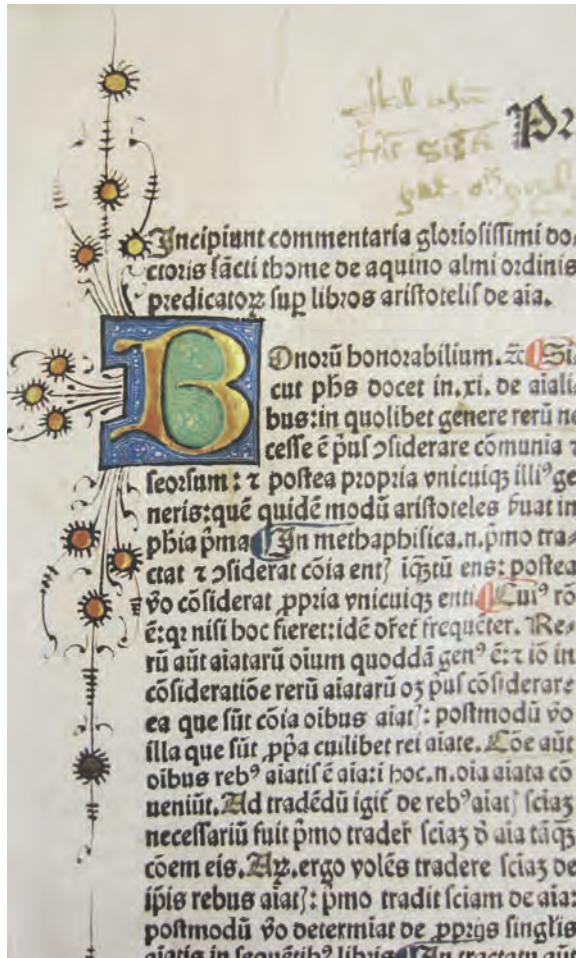


Figure 13 Aquinas, *Commentarius in librum Aristotelis De anima*. 1481. Venice: Raynaldus de Novimagio. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2001 +150, f. a1r. Detail of the illuminated letter

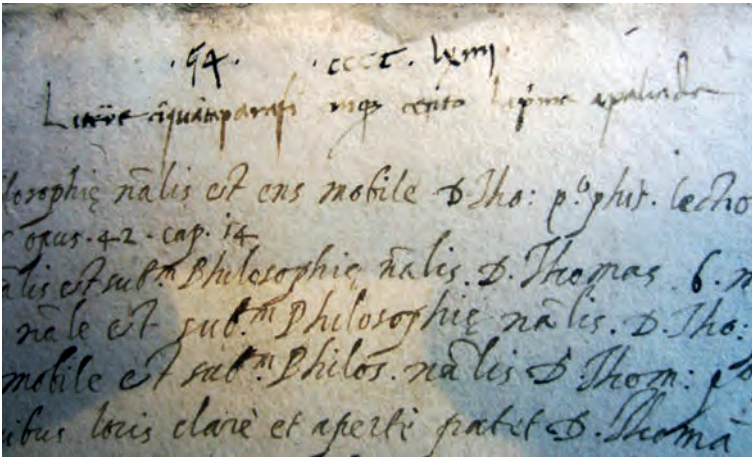


Figure 14 Aquinas, *Commentarius in librum Aristotelis De anima*. 1481.

Venice: Raynaldus de Novimagio. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2001 +150, f. k6v. Detail with the rubricator's note

The penultimate example of a rubricator's note in an incunabula - known to me at present - is found in a copy held by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University of the *Commentarius in librum Aristotelis De anima* of Thomas Aquinas, published in Venice by Raynaldus de Novimagio on 22 May 1481.¹⁸ The edition is in folio format, comprising 62 leaves in Chancery sheets, with the collational formula: $m^2(m1+a^6) b-k^6$. The annotation appears on the verso of the final blank leaf (k6); underneath a later, probably seventeenth-century, hand has written eight lines of notes relating to the contents of the work. The note, which does not register any changes, but merely the amount of work done, reads as follows [fig. 14]:

¹⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Commentarius in librum Aristotelis De anima*. Venice: Raynaldus de Novimagio, 22 May 1481. Chancery folio. GW M46045; ISTC it00237000. The formula here differs from that found in the standard repertories for incunabula, in particular GW, which describe the first gathering as a^8 . The first sheet, however, appears to have a wrap-around function, possibly due to an error in casting-off, while analysis shows that the edition was printed on a two-pull press. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2001 +150. The binding is modern (20th century), Italian, but little else can be deduced about its previous provenance, apart from the fact that the language of the rubricator's note and the style of the illumination suggest that the book was decorated in or near Venice. The copy has been significantly cropped in rebinding (286 × 198 mm), though the two blank leaves at the beginning and end of the book have been preserved. The Beinecke Library holds a second copy of the edition at Zi +4439.3, in an eighteenth-century Italian binding (probably from Rome) and has been less cropped (307 × 208 mm). I take the opportunity to thank the Beinecke Library for the award of the H.P. Kraus Fellowship in Early Books and Manuscripts in 2018, which led to the discovery of this annotation.

.54. .cccc. lxiiij.
Litere cinquanta parafi cinque cento la prima apaliada

The interpretation is not entirely straightforward. The lower line records fifty rubricated letters, corrected numerically in that above to 54; next 500 pilcrows, again corrected to 464; the final reference is to the illuminated initial on f. a1r [fig. 13]. The term 'apaliada' (or 'paliata'), which in Renaissance Italian is the equivalent of 'miniata' in more modern terms, is found also in the contract to illuminate the Florentine manuscripts of the King of Portugal.¹⁹ A count suggests that the figures given for the total number of decorated letters and pilcrows is substantially correct.²⁰ Just for the record, 16 copies of Aquinas' *De anima* are sold in the *Zornale* of De Madiis.²¹ These are unlikely to belong to the *editio princeps* of 1472, while the first two sales recorded on 8 August and 3 September 1484, respectively for 24 and 25 *soldi*, almost certainly belong to the 1481 edition. On 31 May 1485, a new edition was published by Antonello di Barasconi and Gulielmus Anima Mia, still in folio format, but with an important reduction in the number of leaves, 48 instead of 62. It is significant, therefore, that in most of the single sales, or sales that can be reasonably calculated, of the title after that date the price falls to between 10 and 20 *soldi*. So, with a little bit of reverse bibliographical engineering, taking the second of the two rubrication notes above as possibly more representative in terms of probable costs, if the illuminated initial were to be charged at 2 *soldi* (or 24 *denari*), the total of the rubricated initials at 2 *soldi*, 5 *denari* (or 29 *denari*), and that of the pilcrows at 2 *soldi*, 7 *denari* (or 31 *denari*), the cost would be 7 *soldi*, or 84 *denari*. As in the procedures above, taking the slightly lower first price for the purchase of the book, i.e. 24 *soldi* (or 288 *denari*), with the presumption once more that the binding was the equivalent of 70% of the purchase expense (or 202 *denari*), the rubrication in

19 Melograni, "Tipologie e costi della miniatura fiorentina di fine Quattrocento", 119, suggests the interpretation "decorare con motivi ornamentali sottili di colore chiaro, nel nostro caso in oro, un fondo scuro".

20 My count agrees with the rubricator as regards the total of 54 letters, but finds 467 pilcrows.

21 Single sales of the title appear on 19 January 1486 for 15 *soldi* and on 26 August 1486 for 10 *soldi*; on 12 April 1486 six copies are sold for £ 6, or 20 *soldi* each (here the lack of a more significant reduction is surprising if the sale involves the 1485 edition, so it might instead concern a residue block of the 1481 edition); on 7 July 1486 one copy is sold, together with the "Quaestiones Johannis Janduni" (usually priced at £ 1 s 12, or 32 *soldi*), for £ 2 s 6, or 46 *soldi*, therefore the single price works out at 14 *soldi*; and on 7 September 1486 one copy is sold, together with the "Tabula Alfonsi" (usually priced at £ 1 s 4, or 24 *soldi*), for £ 1 s 16, or 36 *soldi*, so by deduction the single price is 12 *soldi*. The other four sales involving the title on 23 November 1485, 20 January 1486, 15 October 1487, and 14 January 1488, are all part of bulk purchases (defined as more than three items), where it is not practicable to deduce single prices.

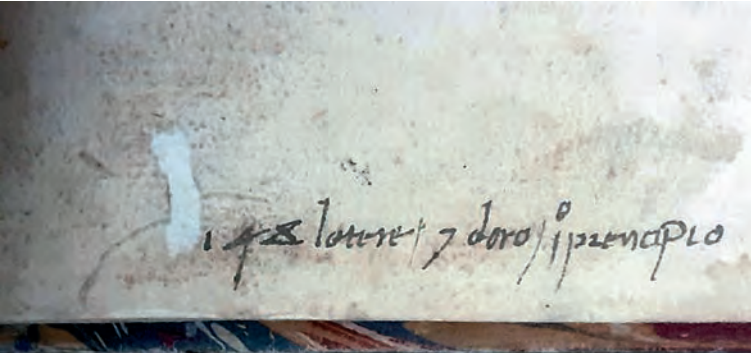


Figure 15 Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*. [Vicenza]: Hermann Lichtenstein, [c. 1475]. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Grylls 3.459, f. [n]6v

this instance would work out at 14% of the overall cost for the buyer.

The final instance of a rubricator's note in an incunable is the only one – to my knowledge – that has been previously transcribed and reproduced in the previous literature, in an excellent article by Jonathan J.G. Alexander in 2012 [fig. 15].²² It is to be found at the bottom of the final blank leaf of one of the two copies in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, of the *Historiae adversus paganos* by Paulus Orosius, printed in Vicenza by Hermann Lichtenstein some time around 1475.²³ The note reads: “148 [correcting 142] lettere / 7 dorō / j° principio” and might possibly be in the hand of the illuminator of the volume, Giovanni Vendramin. The interpretation is fairly straightforward, since the volume contains 142 large rubricated letters in Roman style (so the figure originally written appears to be correct), seven larger illuminated initials, and one full-blown illuminated incipit page; the text did not, on the other hand, require the addition of pilcrows, which therefore are not mentioned in the summary. Born in or near the modern city of Braga in Portugal in c. 375, Paulus Orosius completed his history of the pagan peoples up to the spread of Christianity shortly before his death in c. 418, and the text

²² Alexander, “A Copy of Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*”, 294, where the note is transcribed as “14x [i.e. 140] lettere/ 7 dorō/ i° principio”. The reading of the third figure in total as a Roman numeral appears dubious; my own interpretation is that it was originally written as a ‘2’ and corrected into an ‘8’ with a stroke of the pen. Cf. also the brief mention in Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 348, and the extensive description in Andriolo, Reynolds, *A Catalogue of Western Book Illumination*, 200, whose reading of the note follows that of Alexander.

²³ Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Grylls 3.459. I am grateful to Lilian Armstrong for bringing this example to my attention and to Nicolas Bell, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his help and guidance. I further thank the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for their kind permission to reproduce the note here.

was a major source for historians of the Roman world. As well as a rich manuscript tradition, six editions were published in the fifteenth century, beginning with the *princeps* at Augsburg in 1471, another two in Vicenza in c. 1475 (to which the copy here described belongs) and c. 1482, and three in Venice in 1483, 1499, and 1500, as well as a French translation in Paris in 1491. Twelve copies are sold in the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, though these almost certainly belong to the more compact 1483 Venice edition: most of the entries form part of block purchases, but on 21 July 1484 and on 7 May 1487 it sells for 20 *soldi* and on 5 March 1487 for 18 *soldi*. The difference in the quality of the decoration by a known and important artist makes it impossible in this instance to calculate the expense of the same; presumably, however, it was significantly higher than in the instances above.

Just by way of contrast, perhaps even a startling one, some documents relating to costs of rubrication and illumination in manuscripts are also known. For instance, in 1461 Domenico Domenici, bishop of Torcello, received the copy of an Aulus Gellius that he had commissioned and paid for, so that he annotated inside the front cover, as was his habit, a break-down of the costs, as follows: parchment, 4 ducats (or 5,952 *denari*); the copying of the text, 7 ducats, with a further ducat for the insertion of the phrases in Greek, so 8 ducats altogether (11,904 *denari*); for the illumination of the first proper opening of the book, two sumptuously decorated pages, 2 ducats (2,976 *denari*); for the rest of the rubrication and illumination, 8 ducats (11,904 *denari*); for the solid binding, leather on wood boards, 2½ ducats (3,720 *denari*), and for the clasps and other silverwork that ornamented the binding again 2½ ducats, for a final total of 27 ducats (or 40,176 *denari*).²⁴ Though the various figures seem rounded-off and should not be taken too literally, the material support represented 14,8%, the work of the copyists 29,6%; the illumination and rubrication 37%, and the binding 18,5%. This particular case occurs only years after the first advent of printing in Europe and so still reflects the previous market, where manuscripts of this kind were luxury objects for the extremely rich. A later document, striking also for its anachronism in a period in which the printed book had come to dominate the market, is the contract - stipulated in Florence on 23 April 1494 - furnishing the prices applied by the Florentine artists guild (in Venetian currency!) for the illumination of two manuscripts on parchment commissioned by Manuel I (1469-1521), King of Portugal, the *Sententiae* of Petrus Lombardus and the so-called *Biblia dos Jeronimos* in seven volumes.²⁵ The agreement between the Florentine merchant, Clem-

²⁴ Speranzi, "Mani individuali e tipi grafici dei *graeca*", 247; Omero, *i cardinali e gli esuli*, 113-14. I thank the author who drew my attention to this example.

²⁵ Melograni, "Tipologie e costi della miniatura fiorentina di fine Quattrocento".

ente di Cipriano di Sernigi, who acted as intermediary on behalf of the Portuguese monarch, and the famous illuminator, Attavante degli Attavanti (1452-c. 1525), specifies – for the duration of the project – a monthly stipend of 25 ducats for the latter (more or less the salary of a successful football player in our day and age). As for charges applied to the decoration of the Bible, a fully illuminated bifolium, of which there is one in each volume, costs 25 ducats (or 37,200 *denari*); the illumination at the beginning of a single leaf, i.e. in the opening of a new book of the Bible, 3 ducats (or 4,464 *denari*); the illumination of the borders on three sides of a page, used mainly for paratextual elements, such as proems, three-quarters of a ducat (or 1,116 *denari*), or simpler borders on only two sides, a mere $\frac{1}{4}$ ducat (or 372 *denari*); a large illuminated initial, involving 10-11 lines of text, a $\frac{1}{2}$ ducat (or 744 *denari*); a small illuminated initial, involving 6-7 lines of text, a $\frac{1}{4}$ ducat (or 372 *denari*); a large rubricated initial with flourished extension into the margin 4 *soldi* (or 48 *denari*); a large decorated initial, with no extension, 2 *soldi* (or 24 *denari*); and small rubricated initials in red, blue, or green 4 *denari*.²⁶ Compared in particular with this last price list, the charges in the incunabula described here appear very small beer, akin to purchasing a Fiat rather than a Ferrari, while the sheer extremes of wealth and power in the final quarter of the fifteenth century continue to surprise and astonish, except perhaps in modern-day California, or Singapore.²⁷

6 Conclusions

Conclusions in an academic article are as unavoidable as a moral in a fairy tale, though in this particular instance it is not possible to conclude a great deal. Obviously I believe that there are further rubricators' notes of this kind in incunabula that are still waiting to be examined, or have been examined but the note has not been recognised for what it is, or perhaps need to be tagged more accurately in order to become findable, especially in very large catalogues or databases, or even in long-published items of secondary literature. The more the data is assembled, the more convincing eventual conclusions might well become. However slight, on the other hand, there is already enough information here to suggest that professional rubrication, with at least one illuminated initial, did represent a meaningful increase in cost for a book purchaser in the '70s and '80s of the

²⁶ Melograni, "Tipologie e costi della miniatura fiorentina di fine Quattrocento". The books concerned are held at Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, mss. CF 145 (Petrus Lombardus) and mss. CF 161/1-7 (Bible).

²⁷ Kwan, *Crazy Rich Asians*.

fifteenth century, oscillating between 10% and 15% of the total expense. Notwithstanding, though again the paucity of the data makes it a potentially dangerous assumption, compared to some known prices for manuscripts, it appears that publishing was forcing down the costs of hand-finishing during the all-too-short period in which customers were still willing to pay for incunabula to be rubricated and illuminated. In an increasingly competitive and cut-throat market, however, commercial book-producers quickly obviated the necessity for this extra charge, introducing elements such as decorative woodcut initials and new forms of lay-out, most importantly modern paragraphing, that made hand-added decoration redundant. The outcome, of course, was a book that, instead of brightly coloured, was almost entirely black and white, but that was the Brave New World of publishing.

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Il commercio degli incunaboli a Padova nel 1480: il *Quaderneto* di Antonio Moretto

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Abstract In 1480 publisher and bookseller Antonio Moretto delivered a total of over 900 incunabula to be sold in his shop in Padua. The details of this business transaction survive in a small paper gathering of 8 leaves, known as the *Quaderneto*, in which the titles of the books, the number of copies available, and the sale prices fixed by Moretto himself are listed. It is an important source for our knowledge of Italian Renaissance book-trade and – thanks to a comparison with the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis – provides valuable information about book prices and sales towards the end of the 15th century.

Keywords 15th century. Padua. Incunabula. Book trade. Book prices.

Sommario 1 Un accordo per la vendita di libri. – 2 Descrizione e contenuti del manoscritto. – 3 Il *Quaderneto* come fonte documentaria. – 4 I prezzi dei libri a stampa: un confronto con il *Zornale*. – 5 Conclusioni. – 6 Appendice.

1 Un accordo per la vendita di libri

Padova, 1480. Un noto libraio ed editore di origine bresciana, Antonio Moretto, affidava a un certo Domenico Giglio da San Germano (Vercelli) la gestione della sua bottega in città, e gli consegnava più di 900 incunaboli, appartenenti a circa 213 edizioni, da vendere al prezzo da lui stabilito. Questo è forse solo uno dei tantissimi accordi di vendita su commissione, affidati a uno scritto fra le due parti, che vennero presi nel secondo Quattrocento tra editori o commercianti all'ingrosso di libri a stampa e rivenditori al dettaglio. Tra gli anni '70 e '80, in modo particolare, l'attività commerciale si sviluppò in mo-



do sempre più capillare, irradiandosi dai maggiori centri tipografici verso nuovi mercati; si moltiplicarono le botteghe librerie, soprattutto nelle città dove si prospettava un'alta concentrazione di potenziali acquirenti, come le sedi di *studia* universitari. I grandi editori e tipografi colsero le potenzialità di città quali Bologna, Pavia, Ferrara e Padova, aprendovi botteghe di medie o piccole dimensioni per smerciare la propria produzione e che affidarono a librai locali. Nicolas Jenson, ad esempio, fin dagli anni '70 possedeva una bottega a Pavia;¹ Giovanni da Colonia ne aprì una a Brescia, forse già nel 1473,² e nel 1478, insieme al suo socio Giovanni Manthen, stipulò un contratto di tre anni con il libraio Simone Verde da Firenze, residente a Padova, per la vendita di libri e altre merci.³ Le condizioni di questi accordi erano fissate attraverso contratti notarili o scritture private, di cui solo una piccola parte si è conservata fino ad oggi. Quello di Antonio Moretto e Domenico Giglio è un caso fortunato, noto grazie a un piccolo fascicolo cartaceo di otto carte, che sul primo recto porta il titolo: *Quaderneto de li libri lassati a Padoa in custodia de ser Domeneco da san Germano* (d'ora in avanti, *Quaderneto*).

A scoprire questo documento fu Bartolomeo Cecchetti,⁴ intorno al 1880, all'Archivio di Stato di Venezia: si trovava all'interno di un faldone miscellaneo, in una busta denominata *Lettere-Lonato*, insieme a un contratto di società per la stampa di testi giuridici firmato nel 1507 tra i fratelli Battista e Silvestro Torti, Lucantonio Giunta il Vecchio, Amedeo Scoto, Giorgio Arrivabene e lo stesso Antonio Moretto. La provenienza di questi documenti prima del loro rinvenimento non è purtroppo conosciuta. Il ritrovamento venne segnalato allo storico Rinaldo Fulin, che vi dedicò un articolo in *Archivio Veneto*, la rivista da lui fondata nel 1871 insieme ad Adolfo Bartoli e nella quale pubblicava i frutti delle sue ricerche d'archivio sulla storia veneziana. Il contributo di Fulin, intitolato «Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana», si inseriva idealmente nella più ampia raccolta dei «Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana», pubblicata nello stesso volume della rivista, confermando la particolare attenzione riservata all'editoria veneziana del XV e XVI secolo e alle relative testimonianze. In questa sede, Fulin offrì un'accurata trascrizione del *Quaderneto* e un breve accenno al suo contenuto: scusando la sinteticità dell'articolo con la sua poca esperienza in campo bibliografico e di storia del libro antico e inten-

1 Nuovo, *Il commercio*, 77.

2 Veneziani, «La stampa a Brescia», 1.

3 Sartori, «Documenti», XL.

4 Bartolomeo Cecchetti (1838-1889) fu docente di Paleografia all'Archivio generale dei Frari, direttore e soprintendente degli archivi del Veneto e dal 1884 direttore della rivista *Archivio Veneto*.

dendolo come una semplice segnalazione, auspicava che studiosi più competenti avrebbero approfondito le ricerche.⁵ A essi suggeriva alcune piste d'indagine, scrivendo: «ai bibliografi piacerà forse sapere di quali opere fosse provveduta nel 1480 una bottega di libraio [...] in Padova, sede d'una università rinomata» e «credo che l'indicazione dei prezzi sarà gradita ai bibliografi».⁶ L'importanza del *Quadernetto* come fonte per lo studio della distribuzione e della circolazione del libro negli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento è stata effettivamente riconosciuta dagli specialisti di questo settore: lo citano Angela Nuovo ed Ennio Sandal nei loro studi sul libro nel Rinascimento⁷ e Cristina Dondi e Neil Harris, per i paralleli con il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis;⁸ è inoltre imprescindibile, come conferma l'attenzione di Patricia Osmond e Ennio Sandal,⁹ per ricostruire la figura di Antonio Moretto come libraio-editore, e la fisionomia e l'estensione delle sue attività commerciali. Tutti i contributi citati, tuttavia, si basano ancora sull'articolo di Fulin, che da quasi un secolo e mezzo è l'unica fonte primaria di informazioni su questo documento; per quanto scritto con la cura e la precisione che hanno sempre contraddistinto questo studioso, non può che apparire limitato, per la sua natura solamente informativa, e ormai datato. Anche la trascrizione, per quanto attenta, necessita di alcune correzioni oltre che, dal punto di vista formale, di un'applicazione più rigorosa delle tradizionali norme per l'edizione dei testi documentari. Obiettivo di chi scrive è dunque un'edizione critica del *Quadernetto*, che offra, nel contesto di uno studio più approfondito delle caratteristiche di questo documento, una nuova trascrizione¹⁰ e un apparato critico in forma di indice discorsivo di tutte le edizioni in esso citate, di cui si dà un campione in Appendice.

5 «Mi accorgo per altro d'essermi trattenuto soverchiamente intorno ad un argomento, nel quale confesso di non avere alcuna competenza. Le dotte induzioni, a cui può dare occasione questo Catalogo, mi verranno comunicate, lo spero, dagli eruditi amici che [...] mi hanno promesso cortesemente l'aiuto della loro dottrina» (Fulin, «Nuovi documenti», 393).

6 Fulin, «Nuovi documenti», 390-1.

7 Nuovo, *Il commercio*; Nuovo, Sandal, *Il libro*.

8 Dondi, Harris, «I romanzi cavallereschi»; «Oil and Green Ginger».

9 Osmond, Sandal, «La bottega»; Osmond, «Il testamento». Ulteriori studi dei due autori sul Moretto sono in corso.

10 Tutte le citazioni dal *Quadernetto* presenti in questo articolo sono tratte da una nuova trascrizione realizzata da chi scrive. I criteri seguiti sono quelli dei testi normativi per l'edizione dei documenti: Pratesi, «Una questione» e Tognetti, «Criteri».

2 Descrizione e contenuti del manoscritto

Il *Quaderneto* è tuttora conservato all'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, all'interno della *Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio*, presumibilmente la stessa consultata da Cecchetti e Fulin, in un faldone segnato 'b 21'. Dal punto di vista fisico, si tratta di un fascicolo cartaceo di 8 carte, che misura 310 millimetri in altezza e 107 in larghezza; ha un formato di in-quarto oblungo in otto, è costituito cioè da due fogli, di formato cancelleresco, piegati due volte parallelamente al lato corto, inseriti l'uno dentro l'altro e infine cuciti al centro, tra la quarta e la quinta carta. Entrambi i fogli presentano una filigrana con il disegno di tre cime montuose ('trimonzio') sormontate da un'asta con una croce in cima, motivo assai comune nella carta usata nel Nord Italia, e in particolare a Padova.¹¹

Il documento può essere suddiviso in quattro sezioni, redatte in tempi diversi. La prima, che ne costituisce il corpo principale, è datata 27 febbraio 1480, e comincia a carta 2 recto con una descrizione sintetica del contenuto [fig. 1]:

Qua dentro questo quaterneto se describano li libri qualli lasa M(agistro) Antonio Moreto in la botega da Padua in custodia e a vender a Domenigo Gillio de sancto G(erma)no Vercellensis diocesis, per numero e precii infrascripti et è per zascaduno libro, como pare qua de sotto.

Antonio Moretto (o Moreto) è un personaggio ben noto agli studiosi del libro rinascimentale: di origine bresciana, visse tra il 1445-50 e il 1518 e si distinse sia nel campo editoriale, sia in quello commerciale. Tra il 1472 e il 1513 curò o fece stampare per proprio conto più di cinquanta edizioni, specialmente classici latini, ricevendo gli elogi e gli apprezzamenti di insigni umanisti.¹² Come imprenditore, puntò sul commercio di carta e acquistò svariate cartiere sulla riva bresciana del Garda, grazie alle quali riforniva regolarmente le tipografie veneziane.¹³ Si dedicò, inoltre, al commercio di libri e,

¹¹ Entrambi i fogli presentano la stessa filigrana, e non, come pure sarebbe stato possibile, due gemelle; questa misura 80 mm in altezza e 25 in larghezza, e ha una distanza dal filone di sinistra di 3 mm; è simile, ma non identica, ai numeri 11754 e 11755 del repertorio di Briquet, individuati dallo studioso ginevrino in due documenti padovani, datati rispettivamente 1479 e 1484. Cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 593.

¹² Per un elenco delle edizioni cui il Moretto partecipò come curatore o promotore si veda Monfasani, «The First Call», in particolare l'*Appendix II, Editions of Antonio Moreto*, con le precisazioni e aggiunte di Osmond e Sandal in «La bottega» e di Pellegrini in «'Cheir cheira niptei'» e in «Marcantonio Sabellico».

¹³ In più di un caso intervenne provvidenzialmente a consegnare la carta mancante per il completamento di un'opera. Soccorse per esempio Dionisio Bertocchi e Gabriele da Brescia per la stampa della *Lectura* sulle *Decretales* di Nicolò Panormitano tra il

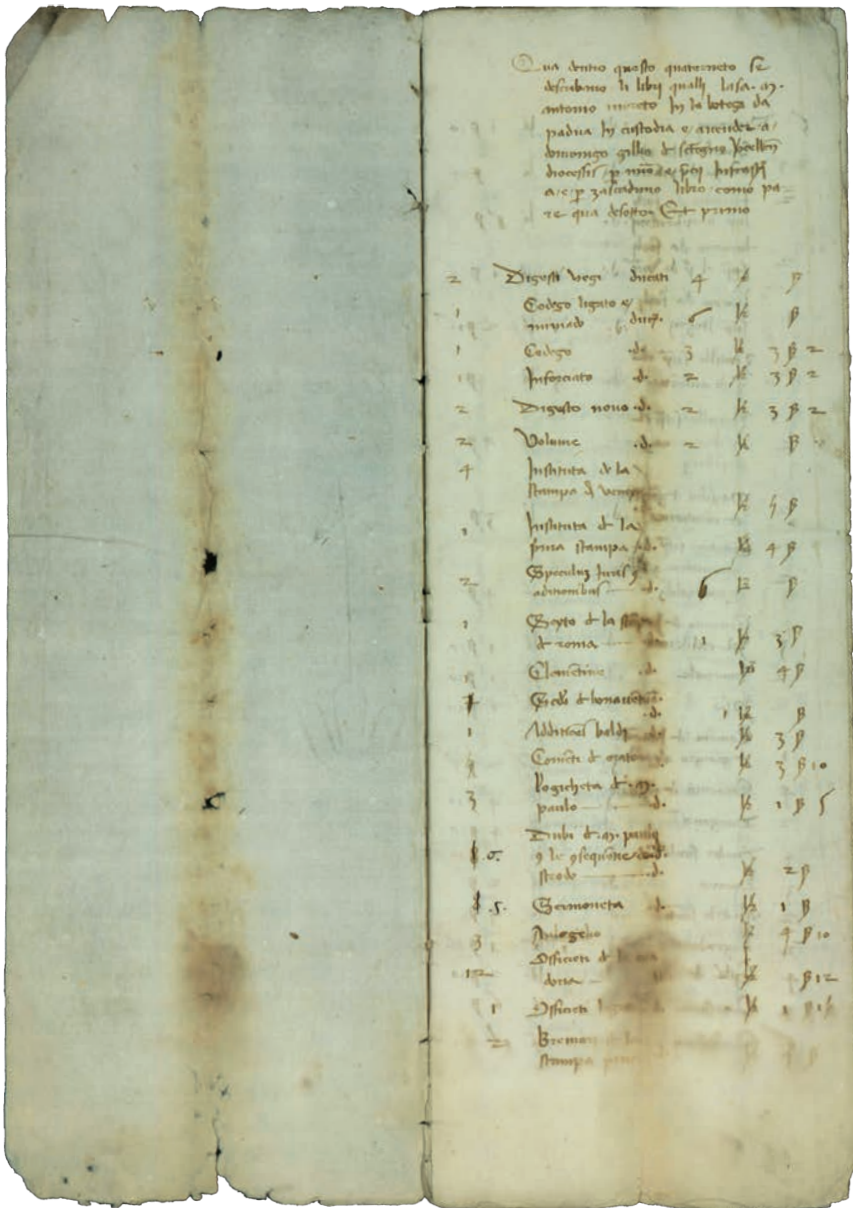


Figura 1 Venezia, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b 21, *Quadernetto de li libri lassati a Padoa in custodia de ser Domeneco da san Germano*, cc. 1v-2r. Si ringrazia l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia per l'autorizzazione alla pubblicazione delle figg. 1, 2, 5

come si ricava dalla lettura del suo testamento, possedeva diverse botteghe «Venetiis et alibi»¹⁴ e alcuni magazzini.¹⁵ Quello padovano doveva quindi essere solo uno dei molteplici esercizi commerciali in cui su articolava la sua rete nell'entroterra veneto.

Sul conto di Domenico Giglio (o Gillio) si sa invece poco: nel *Quaderneto* dice di essere originario «de sancto G(erma)no Vercellensis diocessis», ossia quello che ancora oggi è il comune di San Germano Vercellese, in provincia di Vercelli. Il suo nome compare in un atto notarile padovano del 1478, dove è parte in causa contro Michele Capitevini per la dote che da costui doveva ricevere per averne sposato la figlia;¹⁶ qui è nominato «Ser Dominicus de Verxelis q(uondam) Germani scriptor librorum habitator Veneciis in contrata sancti Canciani»: esercitava dunque il mestiere di copista, a Venezia, e risiedeva in campo San Canzian, come in quegli stessi anni anche Nicolas Jenson.¹⁷ La controversia con Michele si risolse con un compromesso, e nel 1480 Giglio, come scrive nel *Quaderneto*, abitava a Padova nello stesso quartiere, San Leonardo, e forse anche nella stessa casa del suocero. Sul margine dell'atto, in verticale, il notaio annotava dunque «compromissum magistri Dominici stampatori [sic]» e Antonio Sartori, notando l'attribuzione a Giglio della qualifica di tipografo, cercò di identificare edizioni da lui prodotte, in territorio veneziano o piemontese, ma senza successo, e la difficoltà rimane ancora oggi, pure con l'ausilio dei moderni repertori. Potrebbe trattarsi di un semplice malinteso del notaio,¹⁸ oppure, se ipotizziamo che Giglio avesse davvero esercitato l'arte tipografica, e che lui e il Moretto si conoscessero da prima dell'affare padovano, potrebbe essere un motivo per identificarlo con uno dei due ignoti tipografi veneziani che prima del 1480 stamparono edizioni curate dal Moretto, ossia il 'Printer of Brunus Aretinus (H 1565)', cui sono assegnate le *Epistolarum*

1491 e 1493 (ISTC ip00053000), e Democrito da Terracina e Demetrio Coletti per quella delle *Enneades* del Sabellico nel 1498 (ISTC is00007000). Cf. Nuovo, Sandal, *Il libro*, 172; Fattori, «Democrito da Terracina»; Osmond, Sandal, «La bottega», 235.

14 Osmond, «Il testamento», 543; quella di Venezia era situata nel quartiere delle Mercerie, e il Sabellico, nelle *Emendationes, seu annotationes in Plinium*, la definì *celebre emporium* in quanto luogo abituale di incontro per gli intellettuali veneziani, dove si discutevano progetti editoriali e questioni erudite. Cf. Osmond, Sandal, «La bottega», 213.

15 Uno dei suoi magazzini era collocato, almeno dal 1510, a Rialto. Cf. Nuovo, *Il commercio*, 57.

16 Il documento è citato in Sartori, «Documenti», 153 e si trova a Padova, Arch. Stato Notarile, t. 247, c. 11.

17 Sartori, «Documenti», XXXVI.

18 Anche Lorenzo Berot, libraio a Perugia nei primi anni '80, è definito «impressore» in un atto notarile, senza che però gli si possa attribuire alcuna edizione e, in generale alcun impegno editoriale. Cf. Ricciarelli, «Mercanti», 8. Non era infrequente che il notaio, pure persona *fide digna* per definizione, impiegasse in modo impreciso la terminologia riferita alla professioni del libro.

familiarium libri VIII di Leonardo Bruni (1472, ISTC ib01242000) e le *Comoediae* di Terenzio ([1472], ISTC it00066500), o il 'Printer of Domitius Calderinus', che pubblicò i *Commentarii in Juvenalem* di questo autore ([1476-77], ISTC ic00035000). O ancora, più semplicemente, Giglio avrebbe potuto lavorare come tipografo in officine altrui e perciò il suo nome non compare in alcuna edizione. L'ultimo accenno sul suo conto si trova negli *Acta graduum academicorum* dell'ateneo patavino: nel novembre del 1480 'mag. Dominicus de Zilio' presenzia come testimone alla laurea in diritto civile e canonico del concittadino (*civis Vercellarum*) Stefano.¹⁹

Tornando alla struttura del documento, al breve *incipit* iniziale segue l'elenco dettagliato, comprendente 192 voci, dei 722 libri lasciati in bottega il 27 febbraio 1480 (cc. 2r-5v). Per ogni voce viene indicato il numero di copie disponibili, il titolo dell'opera in forma abbreviata e infine il prezzo, in numeri arabi incolonnati a seconda che rappresentino ducati, lire o soldi, la moneta veneziana corrente.²⁰ Al termine di questa lista (c. 6r) vi sono tre sottoscrizioni [fig. 2]: la prima è di Giglio, che conferma di aver ricevuto i libri elencati e si impegna a venderli ai prezzi stabiliti dal Moretto:

E mi Domenico de Gilio de sancto Germano habitator in Padua in la contra de sancto Leonardo recevi tuti quanti li suprascripti libri da Messer Antho(nio) Moreto, per vender a so nome per li presi suprascripti et in fede de questo fecii questo scripto de mia propria mane a dii 27 februarii 1480.

Seguono quelle di due testimoni. Il primo redige poche linee in volgare, con una scrittura mercantile dal tratto incerto: ha nome «Michiel» ed è con ogni probabilità Michele Capitevini, il cognato di Domenico già nominato; se i due vivevano insieme a Padova, doveva essere un testimone immediatamente reperibile in caso di bisogno. Michele controfirma, cioè convalida, quanto scritto dal genero, facendosi da garante per eventuali discrepanze tra i titoli consegnati e quelli effettivamente venduti:

¹⁹ *Acta graduum*, nr. 688.

²⁰ Il sistema monetario veneziano impiegava come monete il ducato, la lira, il soldo e il denaro. Il ducato d'oro, usato come moneta di scambio anche fuori dalla Repubblica, aveva un cambio fisso di 6 lire e 4 soldi, ossia 124 soldi; una lira equivaleva infatti a 20 soldi. Questa fu coniata per la prima volta nel 1472, in seguito alle disposizioni del doge Nicolò Tron. Cf. Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia*, pt. 2: 4-5. Il denaro era la moneta di minor valore, impiegata per le spese quotidiane: 12 denari valevano un soldo e, in ragione di questo rapporto, il sistema si caratterizza come duodecimale. Simili sistemi monetari sono stati impiegati nella Francia del XVI secolo e in Gran Bretagna, fino al 1973.

E mi Michiel li fazo segurtà de le dite chose sopra scripte zoè ser ge ne manchase veruno al suprascripto ser Antonio Moreto per el soprascripto Domenego contrafermo el soprascripto de Domenego in lo suo scritto. Mi Michie scrissi de mia man propria.

Il secondo testimone, che prende atto con una formula latina della volontà di entrambe le parti, è Johannes Nicolaus Frontinus, in italiano Giovanni Nicolò Poletti:²¹

Ego Iohannes Nicolaus Frontinus iuris utriusque scholaris interfui suprascriptis conventionibus ac de ambar[um] partium voluntate me subscripsi die millesimo suprascripto.

Giovanni è figura non ignota al mondo della tipografia e il suo nome ricorre più volte in fonti documentarie relative al decennio 1475-85. Al tempo della redazione del *Quaderneto* era da alcuni anni studente di diritto canonico e civile a Padova, e apparteneva al Collegio Campion, detto anche tornacense perché posto sotto l'invocazione di Santa Maria di Tournai, il più antico e longevo tra i collegi istituiti in questa città per mantenere gli studenti *pauperes*.²² In questi stessi anni svolgeva anche il mestiere di correttore, a Venezia e a Padova.²³ I suoi contatti con i tipografi padovani erano frequenti e non sempre pacifici.²⁴ Nel 1483 Pietro Maufer lo nominò procuratore a Padova di

21 Fondamentale per riferire le due forme del nome alla stessa persona è la nota di acquisto autografa apposta da Giovanni sulla sua edizione delle *Epistolae* di Geronimo (ISTC ih00160800), ora conservata all'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts di Parigi, dove si firma sia come «Frontinum» che come «de Pollectio». Cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École*, 118.

22 Giovanni Poletti studiava a Padova già nel 1476, e alla fine del 1478 era sicuramente entrato nel Collegio Campion, cf. Piovan, «Antonio Francesco Dottori», 204. Il 19 luglio 1480 presenziava, insieme ad altri *scolares*, alla laurea in diritto canonico di Matteo Contareno, cf. *Acta graduum*, nr. 662. Non possediamo il suo atto di laurea, ma dovette ottenerlo nella seconda metà del 1485, dato che il 7 dicembre dello stesso anno, già *legum doctor*, entrava nel Collegio Giurista padovano, cf. Padova, Archivio storico dell'Università, 135, f. 301, citato in Piovan, «Antonio Francesco Dottori», 206.

23 Nel 1479 Antonio da Strata da Cremona lo aveva chiamato da Venezia, dove stava lavorando come correttore, a Padova, per correggere un'opera di Avicenna, probabilmente il *Canonis libri V*, pubblicato in questa città tra il 19 agosto e il 6 novembre 1479 (ISTC ia01419000). Il tipografo e il giovane correttore non riuscirono ad accordarsi sull'ammontare dello stipendio di quest'ultimo, e la lite proseguì davanti al giudice delle Vettovaglie. Cf. Rigoni, «Stampatori», XXIX. È inoltre possibile che fosse lui il *quidam alius scolaris* che, insieme a Matteo Albrizzi e Pietro da Trezzo, in quegli anni priore del Collegio Campion, aveva aiutato Angelo degli Ubaldi da Perugia nella correzione del *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, per l'edizione di Jacopo Rosso del 1477 (o 1478 *more veneto*). Cf. Rigoni, «Stampatori», XXVIII.

24 Nel 1482 era in causa contro Giovanni de Gregori e Ettore Busca, ma nel 1484 fece da procuratore per lo stesso de Gregori in una lunga e ben documentata controversia con Zaccaria Zaccarotto, concernente il commento di Bartolo da Sassoferrato al *Corpus Iuris*. Cf. Sartori, «Documenti», LXXVII, LXXXIV-LXXXV, LXXXVII.

tutti i suoi affari;²⁵ fu anche responsabile di stime di libri e nel 1485, mentre redigeva l'inventario del deceduto Vincenzo Malaffi, approfittò dell'asta per procurarsi diversi volumi di diritto canonico.²⁶ Dato che sul *Quaderneto* manca la firma del Moretto, è possibile che Giovanni ne facesse le veci: i due avrebbero potuto conoscersi a Padova, o a Venezia, dove frequentavano lo stesso ambiente editoriale.

A carta 6v troviamo la seconda sezione del documento, costituita solo da una breve nota di Giglio datata 12 marzo, in cui attesta la ricevuta di cinque lire dal Moretto «per il pagamento de alcuni libri venduti per mi per parte sua», mentre il resto della facciata è vuoto. A carta 7r comincia la terza sezione, redatta il 3 aprile 1480 e costituita da 40 voci, in cui Giglio elenca, seguendo le stesse modalità della prima lista, i 155 libri consegnatigli da Antonio in questa occasione: si tratta per lo più di rifornimenti dei testi che vendevano meglio. La lista si conclude sul verso della pagina, dove si trova anche l'ultima sezione, comprendente 21 voci per un totale di 46 libri, ricevuti da Giglio il 4 maggio dello stesso anno. L'ultima carta del fascicolo è bianca, sia sul recto sia sul verso.

La mano che redige il *Quaderneto* quasi interamente, in un'elegante umanistica corsiva, appartiene a Giglio, come conferma lui stesso («fecii questo scripto de mia propria mane»); fanno eccezione le sottoscrizioni dei due testimoni già descritte e il titolo sul primo recto, che è vergato in una grafia attribuibile al Moretto, sulla base del confronto paleografico con altri suoi autografi.²⁷ Il colore dell'inchiostro, decisamente più scuro, associato a questa mano, induce ad ascrivere all'editore anche alcuni interventi di correzione inerenti la quantità di copie consegnate, suggerendo una revisione piuttosto meticolosa del documento. La presenza di alcuni errori d'anticipo, ossia la trascrizione di una o più parole in un punto precedente rispetto a quello corretto, esito frequente della copiatura di parole e numeri fittamente incolonnati, fa inoltre supporre che Giglio stia copiando questi dati da un'altra lista, forse quella che accompagnava la partita dei libri, o una copia personale del Moretto.

25 L'occasione era nata dalla testimonianza prestata da Giovanni all'accordo tra Pietro Maufer e Antonio Francesco Dottori per la stampa di un'edizione del *De testamentis* di Angelo Gambiglioni. Cf. Piovan, «Antonio Francesco Dottori», 202.

26 Cf. Skemer, «Book Auctions»; «Inside a Book Auction».

27 Il confronto con una condizione di decima da lui compilata (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Redecima 1514, b. 81, S. Zulian 30), porta, ad esempio, a riconoscere la stessa forma della 's' alta con uncino pronunciato, la stessa conformazione della legatura tra le lettere 'b' ed 'r', e, in generale, il tratteggio irregolare e la forma piuttosto schiacciata delle lettere.

3 Il *Quaderneto* come fonte documentaria

Il *Quaderneto* è un documento di natura particolare: non si tratta di un contratto vero e proprio, innanzitutto perché è redatto in forma privata, senza essere formalizzato da un notaio; inoltre, la firma del Moretto è assente e non sono precisate tutte le condizioni dell'accordo tra lui e Giglio. Se alcune possono essere ipotizzate - la ricevuta di f 5 già citata, ad esempio, induce a ritenere che Giglio venisse pagato per provvigione, e non avesse uno stipendio fisso; le date del secondo e del terzo elenco, poi, fanno pensare che le consegne dei libri avessero regolare cadenza mensile - molti dettagli rimangono ignoti: dove si trovasse la bottega, quanto dovesse durare l'accordo tra i due, dato che il *Quaderneto* si interrompe bruscamente senza lasciare indizi al riguardo, o quando e come il Moretto ritirasse i suoi guadagni. Tuttavia, dei contratti per vendita su commissione possiede i due elementi fondamentali: la registrazione molto accurata del materiale oggetto dell'accordo, controllata e corretta dallo stesso Moretto, al fine di monitorare l'andamento degli affari ed evitare future contestazioni e controversie,²⁸ e l'indicazione del prezzo da applicare a ciascuno dei libri consegnati, sulla base del quale calcolare l'ammontare da consegnare al proprietario dei volumi a vendita avvenuta, una volta raggiunta una certa somma, e che il ricevente si impegna a rispettare. Queste caratteristiche, insieme alle sottoscrizioni dei due testimoni, inducono ad attribuire al *Quaderneto* un valore maggiore rispetto a quello di un semplice inventario del materiale consegnato in bottega, e in ciò va probabilmente individuata la ragione della sua sopravvivenza fino ai giorni nostri.

Come notava già Rinaldo Fulin, si tratta di un documento di notevole interesse, e per molteplici ragioni. Può, ad esempio, fornire una panoramica dei testi disponibili, e che i librai prevedevano di vendere con maggiore facilità, in una bottega libraria di medie dimensioni, situata in una città universitaria. Padova era alla fine del Quattrocento un importante mercato librario, di manoscritti e libri stampati, oltre che un rinomato centro per la decorazione dei volumi.²⁹ L'ateneo era stato fondato ufficialmente nel 1222, in seguito a un massiccio spostamento di studenti e professori provenienti da Bologna: allo studio del diritto civile, del diritto canonico e della teologia (*Univer-*

28 «Un momento importantissimo nell'affidamento dei libri da vendere ai cartolai rivestiva la redazione esatta dell'elenco delle opere depositate: redazione vale a dire ricevuta, da vergarsi da parte del cartolaio, di sua mano, sul giornale (o quadernuccio, o inventario) del fornitore, produttore, grossista, agente che fosse, a scanso di qualunque contestazione. [...] Da parte sua, ogni cartolaio possederà un suo 'quadernetto', o inventario, in cui di volta in volta registrare gli arrivi» (Nuovo, *Il commercio*, 110).

29 Cf. Montobbio, *Miniatori*; Mariani Canova, *Bibliofilia nel Rinascimento*; Martellozzo Forin, *Flessibilità medioevale*; Hobson, *Bookbinding in Padua*.

sitas Juristarum) si era aggiunta, a partire dal 1399, sotto il patronato di Francesco II da Carrara, l'*Universitas Artistarum*, per gli studi di astronomia, dialettica, filosofia, grammatica, medicina e retorica. Dopo il 1405, con la conquista della città e di molte zone dell'entroterra, l'ateneo patavino entrò nell'orbita veneziana; nel 1444 venne approvato dal Senato e applicato in modo rigoroso un decreto che proibiva ai cittadini della Repubblica di frequentare *studia* diversi da quello di Padova. In questo modo Venezia, che non aveva un'università, fece proprio questo ateneo nell'entroterra; grazie a cospicui finanziamenti assicurò la solidità dell'istituzione, ma le sue ingerenze nell'amministrazione determinarono un lungo periodo di tensioni con il Comune.³⁰ Nel 1471 Padova avviò con Lorenzo Canozzi la propria produzione tipografica, dedicata soprattutto ai testi di medicina, diritto e teologia ad uso universitario, in grossi volumi in folio.³¹ Il periodo incunabolistico durò ufficialmente fino al 1493, ma già dalla fine degli anni '70 la competizione con le officine veneziane era diventata insostenibile. Le imprese editoriali padovane, organizzate in modo saltuario grazie al patrocinio dei dottori dello studio e di altri intellettuali, non potevano reggere il confronto con le potenti e solide società per la produzione di libri che si stavano invece formando a Venezia. Pensavano anche politiche protezionistiche, come quella che obbligava le tipografie padovane ad acquistare la materia prima dalla cartiera Battaglia, al prezzo da questa stabilito; inoltre, nel 1474 il doge veneziano Niccolò Marcello aveva ordinato ai rettori di Padova di non far pagare gabelle a chi introduceva libri in città e, viceversa, di imporre dazi a chi ne esportava, colpendo duramente l'editoria della città.³² Molti stampatori, che avevano avviato qui la loro attività, si spostarono in questi anni a Venezia, dove le condizioni erano più favorevoli, grazie alla concessione di privilegi, all'assenza di dazi, e a un'apertura internazionale del mercato. Padova rimase comunque un dinamico mercato librario e numerose botteghe, librerie e cartolaie, erano disseminate nei quartieri universitari, Santa Caterina e Ca' de Dio.³³

Anche quella del Moretto, di cui non conosciamo l'esatta ubicazione, era probabilmente situata in queste zone, e la sua offerta era rivolta proprio a soddisfare le esigenze degli studenti e i professori che

30 Per una storia dell'istituzione dell'ateneo patavino cf. De Sandre, *Dottori, università*.

31 Il primato dell'introduzione della stampa in città è stato tolto a Bartolomeo Valdezocco da Ridolfi, *Nuovi contributi*.

32 Per le misure della politica protezionistica di Venezia cf. Colla, «Tipografi, editori», 57.

33 Sartori, «Documenti», IX, X, XIV, XIX, XXIII, XL, LI, LXIV, LXVII, LXXXI.

le frequentavano.³⁴ Il genere più rappresentato era quello letterario (26%),³⁵ nel quale erano compresi moltissimi classici latini; questi, insieme alle opere specificatamente rivolte allo studio della grammatica (7%) e della retorica (9%), erano utilizzati come testi didattici per l'apprendimento delle *Artes*. Dato che una laurea in questa facoltà era requisito necessario, oltre che propedeutico, per accedere al *curriculum* medico, gli studenti che la frequentavano – e perciò potenziali acquirenti – dovevano essere numerosi. A seguire, i testi per la facoltà di legge (17%), ossia i fondamentali *Corpora* per lo studio del diritto, canonico e civile, e gli inerenti commenti, e per quella di teologia (13%), che a Padova era particolarmente rinomata e aveva due cattedre di metafisica, a indirizzo rispettivamente tomistico e scotista. Molti erano anche i volumi per l'apprendimento della filosofia, che in questo ateneo era studiata nella sua declinazione logica, oltre che naturale (7%). Anche gli studenti di medicina avrebbero potuto trovare nella bottega di Moretto le opere indispensabili alla loro formazione (7%) e diversi erano i *Pronostica* (3%), brevi opuscoli assai diffusi nel Quattrocento, che descrivevano i fenomeni astrali dell'anno venturo e gli effetti dei loro influssi sugli uomini, necessari per lo studio dell'astrologia, oltre che genere di vasto consumo. Tra i testi non direttamente legati alle esigenze universitarie vi erano opere per la devozione personale e una piccola selezione di letteratura in volgare.

Se il riconoscimento dei titoli citati nella lista è sufficientemente facile e agevole, identificare l'edizione di riferimento è più complesso. Le singole voci sono infatti espresse come stringhe di autore e/o opera, e seguono 'norme bibliografiche' della massima sinteticità, in cui il rimando è generalmente all'opera e non all'edizione, dato che ciò bastava a rendere nota la disponibilità di un determinato testo in bottega. Rispetto ai tempi di Fulin, che da un lato rinunciava («peccato che le indicazioni bibliografiche siano molto imperfette, cosicché da questo catalogo non si rileva di quali edizioni, di quali commenti e, talora, di quali opere si parli»)³⁶ e dall'altro proponeva alcune identificazioni sulla base del solo catalogo allora disponibile, il *Repertorium bibliographicum* di Ludwig Hain, oggi abbiamo migliori risorse su cui fare affidamento. In particolare, i repertori elettronici, come l'*Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), forniscono un notevole aiuto, grazie alla possibilità di impostare ricerche complesse e utilizzare caratteri di troncamento e filtri. Talvolta sono le

34 Sugli insegnamenti dell'ateneo padovano, e sui testi in uso nelle diverse facoltà cf. Grendler, *The Universities*.

35 Le percentuali sono state calcolate attribuendo a ciascun titolo le categorie di genere e periodo assegnate al *corpus* della produzione incunabolistica nell'ambito del progetto 15cBOOKTRADE, e tenendo conto della consistenza in termini di fogli e del numero di copie, affinché le proporzioni siano il più precise possibile.

36 Fulin, *Nuovi documenti*, 391.

stesse formulazioni della lista a venirci in aiuto: per Giglio, come per ogni libraio, era fondamentale identificare rapidamente la merce a disposizione e quando vi era il rischio di ambiguità, aggiungeva ulteriori qualifiche: 'litterale'/'vulgare', se il testo poteva presentarsi sia in latino che in volgare, 'con el comento'/'senza comento', 'de li pizoli'/'de li grandi', a seconda del formato, e 'prima stampa'/'ultima stampa', in relazione alla data di pubblicazione; delle edizioni non differenziate in base alle loro caratteristiche fisiche poteva essere precisato il luogo di stampa ('de Roma'/'de Venexia'/'da Bologna'), il tipografo o l'editore ('de Magistro Francesco'). Il principio generalmente seguito, per identificare le edizioni citate all'interno di liste di libri e inventari, consiste nel ricondurre ciascun titolo alla tipografia locale come prima scelta³⁷ e, tra le edizioni compatibili, a quella più recente, sulla base di un principio di economicità e dell'assunto che le edizioni più nuove fossero quelle più facilmente disponibili. Per quanto riguarda il *Quaderneto*, il riferimento è dunque alla più recente edizione padovana o veneziana *ante* 1480 (27 febbraio, 3 aprile o 4 maggio, a seconda della sezione in cui il titolo è incluso). Se è evidente che l'applicazione di questo criterio è solo un compromesso, e che un margine di errore caratterizzerà necessariamente le identificazioni proposte, il segmento temporale individuato dal nostro documento è circoscritto, e i repertori danno risultati univoci in circa un terzo dei casi. Ne risulta che almeno il 65%³⁸ delle edizioni (130 di 200 edizioni individuate, escluse quelle certamente perdute) era stato stampato a Venezia: il dato è coerente con il profilo del mercato padovano già descritto, in cui la debolezza delle tipografie locali favoriva i prodotti delle officine rivali veneziane. Le edizioni pubblicate a Padova sono 22, e rappresentano circa l'11% del totale: si tratta quasi esclusivamente di titoli che, fino al 1480, erano stati stampati solo dai tipografi di questa città, i quali erano dunque riusciti a conservare, almeno temporaneamente, l'esclusiva su alcuni testi. Da Bologna, altra città universitaria e sede di importanti tipografie, provenivano certamente almeno 14 edizioni, corri-

37 Questa è la scelta anche di Alberto Del Prato nel 1904 per gli inventari parmensi («si è partiti dal presupposto che le opere stampate [...] provenissero o da tipografi locali o da tipografi parmigiani o dei centri più prossimi e notevoli di produzione libraria», «Librai e biblioteche», 3), e di Domenico Fava nel 1941 per l'inventario di Sigismondo dei Libri a Bologna («ho seguito il criterio, che mi è sembrato più naturale e secondo ragione, dando la preferenza alla tipografia bolognese, tutte le volte che un'opera dello stesso titolo apparisse stampata anche a Bologna anteriormente al 1484», «Un grande libraio», 89). Anche per l'edizione del *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis, in preparazione, il riferimento è di norma alle edizioni veneziane, a meno che queste siano incompatibili temporalmente o un prezzo troppo alto o troppo basso segnali anomalie. Cf. Dondi, Harris, «Oil and Green Ginger», 353.

38 In questa percentuale sono incluse le edizioni *sine notis* che i repertori assegnano a questa città.

spondenti al 7%, mentre le rimanenti vengono localizzate a Roma, Milano, Vicenza e altre città.

L'analisi dei titoli citati nel *Quaderneto* ha portato a individuare diversi riferimenti a edizioni che, pubblicate prima del 1480, non sono però sopravvissute in alcun esemplare (una ventina circa, ossia il 9% di tutte le edizioni citate).³⁹ Il nostro documento costituisce quindi una preziosa fonte indiretta dal punto di vista bibliografico, dando prova dell'esistenza di incunaboli perduti e fornendo un termine *ante quem* per la loro datazione. In alcuni casi si tratta di testi di grande successo, di cui intere tirature sono state azzerate da una lettura intensa e distruttiva e di cui una massiccia e continua produzione ha reso velocemente obsolete le prime stampe: nella bottega padovana erano presenti le *Facetiae* di Poggio Bracciolini in italiano, la cui più antica edizione esistente, sopravvissuta in copia unica, fu stampata a Venezia da Bernardino Celerio nel 1483, le *Heroides* di Ovidio pubblicate a Venezia, di cui non si ha traccia nei repertori, o ancora il romanzo cavalleresco *La Spagna*. Di quest'opera, le cui più antiche edizioni rimaste datano al 1487 (Bologna) e al 1488 (Venezia), già il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis aveva suggerito l'esistenza di una o più edizioni *ante* 1484, termine che grazie al *Quaderneto* viene anticipato al 4 maggio 1480, giorno in cui una copia del romanzo viene consegnata in bottega. In altri casi, il *Quaderneto* testimonia l'esistenza di edizioni di opere di cui non si conosceva alcuna tradizione a stampa, né nel XV secolo né posteriore: il *De syndicatu officialium*, trattato attribuito a Baldo degli Ubaldi, un commento *In artem veterem* di Francesco de Meyronnes, e il *Liber Experimentorum Mirabilium de Annulis Secundum xxviii Mansiones Lunae*, opera di magia e negromanzia assegnata tradizionalmente a Pietro d'Abano. Numericamente, le edizioni sicuramente perdute sono 13, ossia il 6%. In altri casi ancora, un'edizione compatibile esiste, ma la tipologia del genere cui appartiene e le condizioni della sua trasmissione rendono assai più probabile l'esistenza di un'edizione compatibile andata perduta. Si tratta di grammatiche (come l'*Ars minor* di Elio Donato o i *Disticha de moribus*), opere per la devozione personale o la liturgia (le *Horae secundum usum romanum*, il *Breviarium*, il *Diurnale Romanum*, il *Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia*), *ephemera* come almanacchi, calendari, lunari, *judicia*. Specialmente di questi ultimi, il *Quaderneto* registra una notevole quantità (più di 250 esemplari), di diversi autori, sia in latino sia in volgare, tutti probabilmente riconducibili, in ragione dell'obsolescenza connaturata a questa tipologia testuale, a edizioni perdute. Se consideriamo anche queste occorrenze, la percentuale di edizioni perdute sale ad almeno l'11%.

³⁹ Per una trattazione delle principali questioni in materia di edizioni perdute cf. almeno Harris, «La sopravvivenza» e Bruni, Pettegree, *Lost Books*.

4 I prezzi dei libri a stampa: un confronto con il *Zornale*

Fra i vari contributi che il *Quaderneto* offre agli studi sulla distribuzione e circolazione del libro a stampa rinascimentale, l'indicazione dei prezzi fissati per la vendita di ciascun libro presente in bottega è probabilmente il più importante: per la quantità di dati (il riferimento è a più di 200 edizioni) e per la datazione alta. Dei prezzi stabiliti da Antonio Moretto non interessa tanto il valore monetario in termini assoluti, ma quello relativo, sia rispetto al potere d'acquisto della moneta contemporanea, per comprendere quanto fosse costoso procurarsi un libro a stampa, sia in relazione ad altre registrazioni di prezzo, per esaminare quali variazioni potessero interessare l'andamento del mercato librario. Tralasciando la prima questione, di cui si occuperanno gli storici dell'economia, vorrei concentrarmi sulla seconda. La lista padovana può essere infatti confrontata con il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis, registro delle vendite di una bottega situata a Venezia, a Rialto, tra il 1484 e il 1488 e che, per quantità e dettaglio dei dati in esso contenuti, è la più importante fonte a nostra disposizione per i costi dei libri a stampa nel XV secolo. Tra i due documenti esistono diverse affinità: entrambi si riferiscono con buona approssimazione allo stesso segmento temporale e alla stessa area geografica; sono strutturati secondo identiche modalità e la valuta impiegata è la medesima. Il periodo in oggetto, inoltre, è caratterizzato da condizioni di stabilità per ciò che concerne la moneta, oggetto pochi anni prima della riforma del doge Nicolò Tron;⁴⁰ le due serie di dati rispettano quindi le condizioni di omogeneità imprescindibili per impostare confronti e paralleli. In aggiunta, l'edizione critica di entrambi i documenti è condotta secondo gli stessi criteri, ossia riconducendo i titoli citati alla più recente edizione della tipografia locale.⁴¹ Come premesso, si tratta di un metodo che produce risultati di necessità approssimativi, per cui anche la comparazione tra i due documenti ne risulta condizionata.

Diversi dei titoli elencati nei due elenchi coincidono; in circa una trentina di casi, anche le edizioni sono probabilmente le medesime, mentre negli altri la distanza temporale che separa i due documenti o l'aggiunta di specifiche relative alla lingua, all'editore, o al formato, inducono a scegliere edizioni diverse. In generale, i prezzi indicati dal *Quaderneto* sono maggiori di quelli del *Zornale*, e la differenza è spesso significativa, anche qualora il riferimento sia plausibilmente alle stesse edizioni [fig. 3]. Ad esempio, in entrambi sono riportate le

⁴⁰ Cf. Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia*, pt. 2: 4-5.

⁴¹ Quella del *Zornale*, a cura di Cristina Dondi e Neil Harris, e quella del *Quaderneto*, a cura di chi scrive, sono entrambe ancora in preparazione. Ringrazio dunque i curatori dell'edizione del *Zornale* per avermi fornito alcuni dati in anteprima.

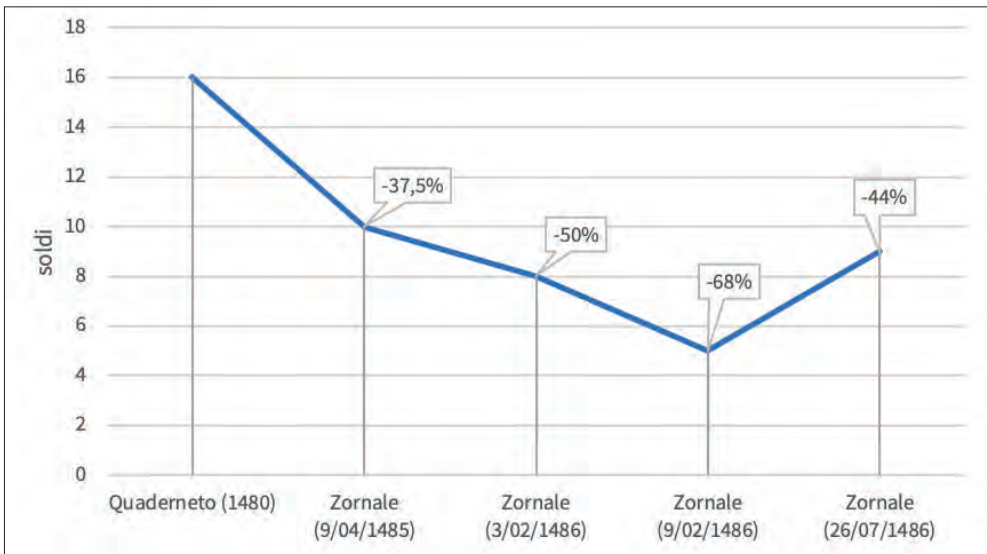
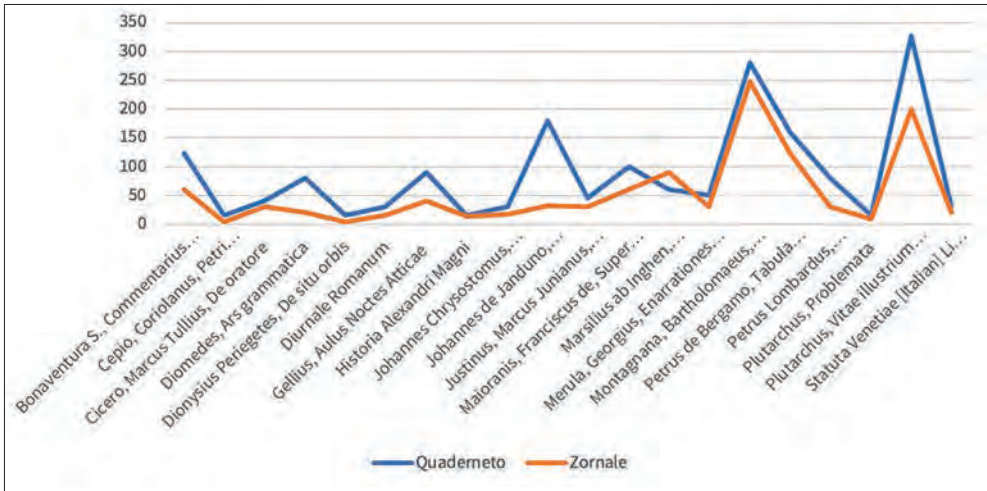


Figura 3 Il grafico mette a confronto i prezzi del *Quaderneto* e quelli del *Zornale* per le edizioni comuni ad entrambi i documenti

Figura 4 Il grafico confronta il prezzo del *Quaderneto* e quelli del *Zornale* per l'edizione del *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta* (Venezia, 1477)

Noctes Atticae di Aulo Gellio; l'edizione più recente è quella stampata a Venezia da Andrea Paltasichi, nel 1477 (ISTC ig00121000). Moretto indica un prezzo di £ 4 e 10 soldi, mentre nel *Zornale* è registrata la vendita di una copia a £ 2 e 10 soldi, il 44% in meno. In termini di costo per foglio, si passa da 10,9 a 6,1 denari.⁴² Anche per i *Sermones de Sanctis* di Leonardo da Udine, nell'edizione veneziana di Giovanni da Colonia e Giovanni Manthen del 1475 (ISTC il00157000) o in quella vicentina di Stefano Koblinger del 1480 (ISTC il00162000), alternative plausibili per entrambi i documenti, il *Quaderneto* presenta un prezzo di £ 4 (7,6 o 12,2 denari al foglio rispettivamente), mentre il *Zornale* di £ 2 e 10 soldi (6,7 o 10,8 denari al foglio), ossia il 37,5% in meno. Si potrebbero fare numerosi altri esempi di questo tipo.

Riduzioni così consistenti sono probabilmente il risultato di più fattori convergenti. Il primo elemento da tenere in considerazione è la diversa tipologia dei dati contenuti nei due registri. Nel *Quaderneto* sono infatti riportati i prezzi fissati dal Moretto per la vendita: sono detti di primo livello commerciale, perché stabiliti come vincolanti dagli editori o dai tipografi sulla base dei costi di produzione sostenuti per realizzare l'edizione, al fine di recuperare le spese e realizzare un guadagno. Nel *Zornale*, invece, vengono annotati i prezzi effettivamente pagati dagli acquirenti al momento della compravendita, cioè di secondo livello commerciale.⁴³ Tra i due importi potevano esserci delle variazioni, determinate innanzitutto dalle condizioni del mercato: se un'edizione si vendeva con difficoltà, era possibile che il libraio, per ragioni di opportunità commerciale, applicasse il prezzo minimo, rinunciando al proprio margine di guadagno. Viceversa, se l'edizione rispondeva bene agli interessi del pubblico, e le copie si esaurivano rapidamente, il suo valore rimaneva alto; in riferimento a ciò bisogna anche considerare che le edizioni presentate come novità editoriali a Padova nel 1480 erano già datate per i clienti di de Madiis. Il momento della vendita era poi determinante: la pratica della contrattazione era abituale e il prezzo poteva calare in virtù di un rapporto confidenziale tra commerciante e acquirente, dell'acquisto di più volumi, o della loro condizione (pagine danneggiate, fascicoli mancanti). Un esempio emblematico è quello del *Petri Mocenigi imperatoris gesta*, una breve opera di argomento storiografico, stampata solamente una volta a Venezia, nel 1477, da Bernhard Maler, Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein (ISTC ic00378000), e che ancora oggi sopravvive in una sessantina di copie; si tratta perciò dell'unica edizione cui i due do-

⁴² Utile per confrontare edizioni tra loro, e come parametro per agevolare la scelta tra edizioni ugualmente probabili, il costo per foglio viene calcolato, come per l'edizione del *Zornale*, convertendo il costo di ogni edizione in denari e dividendolo per il numero di fogli che la costituiscono.

⁴³ La distinzione tra prezzi di primo e secondo livello commerciale è in Nuovo, «Il commercio», 115.

cumenti possano riferirsi [fig. 4]. Nel *Quaderneto* il libro viene stimato 16 soldi (14,2 denari al foglio); la bottega rialtina ne vende diverse copie: a 10 soldi il 9 aprile 1485 (8,9 denari al foglio, 37,5% in meno), a 8 soldi il 3 febbraio 1486 (7,1 denari al foglio, 50% in meno), a 5 soldi il 9 febbraio dello stesso anno, in occasione della vendita di due copie insieme (5 denari al foglio, 68% in meno), a 9 soldi il 26 luglio 1486 (9 denari al foglio, 44% in meno). L'acquisto di più copie è quindi decisivo nel determinare – all'interno di una situazione di calo generale dei prezzi – uno sconto aggiuntivo, fino a una cifra del 50% più bassa rispetto al prezzo di partenza. Un altro elemento che, caratterizzando il mercato, contribuisce a differenziare i dati del *Quaderneto* e quelli del *Zornale* è la concorrenza: a quanto si ricava dalle testimonianze contemporanee, a Venezia questa era spietata e influenzava pesantemente il prezzo finale: «a book cost as much as its seller dared ask when he could be sure that someone round the corner would be selling it for less». ⁴⁴ A Padova, invece, il mercato era meno competitivo, complice la meno fitta presenza di officine tipografiche, e quindi i prezzi potevano assestarsi su valori più elevati.

Finora abbiamo cercato di spiegare quali fattori possano causare la diminuzione dei prezzi che si riscontra fra il *Quaderneto* e il *Zornale* in riferimento alle edizioni condivise dai due documenti. In realtà, il calo dei prezzi è un fenomeno più vasto, che interessa il mercato del libro in generale negli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento e con effetti significativi anche nel breve periodo, come si riscontra, per l'area veneziana, paragonando i dati forniti da una serie omogenea di documenti: le liste dei libri inviati da Bernardo di Bartolomeo al fratello Simone a Firenze per conto di Francesco della Fontana, ossia Franz Renner, nel 1477, ⁴⁵ il *Quaderneto* (1480) e il *Zornale*, per il periodo dal 1484 al 1488. Spiegare questa contrazione non è facile né immediato: l'ipotesi più economica consiste nell'attribuirle a una normale reazione dei mercati in seguito all'introduzione di una novità tecnologica quale fu la stampa tipografica, i cui prodotti hanno all'inizio un costo assai elevato, che diminuisce però gradualmente, grazie al miglioramento delle tecniche di produzione e all'assestamento delle strutture produttive e soprattutto commerciali. In quest'ottica, il *Quaderneto* documenta per gli incunaboli una situazione anteriore rispetto al *Zornale*, in cui il loro prezzo è più alto.

Proprio tra la metà degli anni '70 e il decennio successivo, inoltre, le opere di maggior successo vennero ristampate in nuove edizioni, in cui il testo era ridotto in un minor numero di pagine, adattato a un formato più piccolo, o ancora stampato su fogli di misura inferiore; tutti questi espedienti erano applicati allo scopo di risparmiare carta,

⁴⁴ Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 190.

⁴⁵ Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 63.

la voce di spesa più importante in tipografia. Non solo queste edizioni erano meno care delle precedenti, ma - immesse sul mercato - causavano di necessità la caduta dei prezzi di quelle più grandi e costose ancora disponibili.⁴⁶ Questa tendenza si può riscontrare confrontando il *Quaderneto* e il *Zornale* quando fanno riferimento a edizioni diverse degli stessi titoli. Prendiamo come esempio il *De proprietate verborum* di Giuniano Maio: nella bottega padovana è presente l'edizione stampata a Treviso da Bernardo da Colonia (1477, ISTC im00096000), mentre in quella veneziana la più recente stampa veneziana di Ottaviano Scoto (1482, ISTC im00098000). La prima è un in folio di 330 carte e i fogli impiegati sono mediani, misurano cioè all'incirca 345 × 515 mm; la seconda è sempre un in folio, ma i fogli impiegati sono cancellereschi, all'incirca 315 × 450 mm,⁴⁷ e il numero di carte è ridotto a 286. Il prezzo, per questa e altre ragioni, è quindi molto diverso: 160 soldi nel *Quaderneto* e solo 60 nel *Zornale*, con una riduzione del 62,5% (da 11,6 a 5 denari al foglio).

Un altro fattore da tenere in considerazione è un'innovazione tecnologica di fondamentale importanza, che interessa proprio gli anni della redazione della nostra lista e che, incidendo sul ritmo e la capacità produttiva della tipografia, risulta determinante anche per il costo finale dei volumi: il torchio a due colpi, a sostituzione del precedente modello ad un colpo.⁴⁸ Si realizzava così un importante miglioramento tecnico: se con il modello a un colpo era possibile stampare, a ogni passaggio sotto il torchio, solo metà della superficie di un foglio, corrispondente a una pagina di un in folio o a due di un in quarto, con quello a due colpi diventava possibile imprimere, con un immediato secondo colpo, anche l'altra metà. È tuttora difficile capire il dettaglio tecnico delle modifiche apportate, dato che nessun torchio antico è sopravvissuto, e le fonti iconografiche non sono chiare in proposito. L'introduzione di questo nuovo strumento avvenne forse a Roma, non molto dopo il 1470, ma la sua diffusione nel resto d'Europa fu lenta e richiese almeno una decina d'anni per stabilizzarsi; spesso il passaggio non fu netto e in molte tipografie nuovi e

46 «The new smaller editions [...] contributed to reducing book prices both directly, because they were produced at a lower cost, and indirectly, because they forced booksellers to reduce the price of editions in larger formats already on the market» (Nuovo, «The Price of Books», 114).

47 Si tratta delle misurazioni prese da C.-M. Briquet sulla pietra di Bologna; sulla loro assoluta precisione è possibile avanzare dei dubbi. Cf. Needham, *Format and Paper Size*; Harris, *Paper and watermarks*.

48 «Nel 1484, quando iniziò la compilazione del *Zornale*, l'industria editoriale e libraria era in forte evoluzione: l'introduzione pochi anni prima del torchio 'a due colpi' aveva accelerato il ritmo produttivo, per cui gli editori erano alle prese con una potenziale sovrapproduzione che aumentava la concorrenza. Da un lato questo significava fabbricare libri più compatti [...] dall'altro significava trasmettere il risparmio al consumatore offrendo lo stesso libro ad un prezzo più basso» (Harris, «Aldo Manuzio», 101).

vecchi torchi continuarono a lavorare l'uno di fianco all'altro per diversi anni.⁴⁹ Ancora tra la fine degli anni '70 e l'inizio del decennio successivo, lavoravano prevalentemente con torchi a un colpo tipografie piccole, situate in località periferiche rispetto ai grandi centri produttivi, dove non vi erano né i capitali né la ricettività necessari all'aggiornamento degli strumenti tecnologici.⁵⁰ L'uso del nuovo strumento cambiò profondamente la gestione del materiale testuale, che doveva essere ora stampato e composto per forme, e non più *seriatim*, ossia secondo l'ordine naturale di lettura. Dal punto di vista economico, consentì di velocizzare notevolmente le procedure di stampa, aumentando la quantità di lavoro che, nel medesimo tempo, poteva essere svolta dagli operai della tipografia. Ciò probabilmente incentivò, insieme al contemporaneo sviluppo di una struttura commerciale efficiente, l'aumento delle tirature, il quale a sua volta, ammortizzando le spese di produzione, consentiva di abbassare il prezzo della singola copia. Inoltre, all'uso del torchio a due colpi si associò il successo della misura di foglio più piccola e meno costosa, il cancelleresco, mentre i formati più grandi come il reale e il super-reale rimasero a lungo legati all'uso del modello ad un colpo, più efficiente e preciso su un'area di stampa così grande. Il nuovo tipo di torchio non fu quindi la sola causa dell'abbassamento dei costi, ma vi contribuì catalizzando altre innovazioni e cambiamenti. Un esempio tratto dal confronto tra il *Quaderneto* e il *Zornale*; una copia dell'*Historia naturalis* di Plinio il Vecchio è stimata, nel *Quaderneto*, £ 6 e 10 soldi: si tratta dell'edizione trevisana di Michele Manzolo (ISTC ip00791000), un in folio di 360 carte stampato nel 1479 su fogli cancellereschi, impiegando un torchio a un colpo. Nel *Zornale*, invece, l'edizione venduta è quella pubblicata da Reynaldo Novimagio a Venezia nel 1483 (ISTC ip00794000): ha una consistenza quasi identica (356 carte) e benché i fogli siano più grandi, cioè mediani, viene venduta a £ 3 e 10 soldi, ossia il 46% in meno rispetto al *Quaderneto* (da 8,7 a 4,7 denari al foglio); era stata stampata con un torchio a due colpi.

49 Hellinga, «Press and Text».

50 Ad esempio, delle edizioni padovane citate nel *Quaderneto* e datate alla fine degli anni '70, quasi tutte erano state stampate con un torchio a un colpo. Identificare il tipo di torchio impiegato per la stampa di un'edizione è possibile attraverso un esame di natura bibliologica incentrato sul rapporto tra impressione e controimpressioni del foglio, distribuzione del testo, eventuale impiego di mezzi fogli, modalità di apposizione della segnatura, regolarità della messa a registro ed eventuali errori di stampa. La natura di questo tipo di analisi non consente sempre di raggiungere una conclusione certa, soprattutto perché le condizioni non ottimali di alcuni esemplari, rilegati più volte e quindi oggetto di molteplici procedure di pressatura e rifilatura, hanno reso difficile e talvolta impossibile l'interpretazione dell'evidenza materiale.

5 Conclusioni

Il *Quaderneto* e il *Zornale* sono due documenti fondamentali per comprendere le dinamiche del commercio librario e la sua evoluzione, in un momento delicato per il suo sviluppo quale fu la fine del XV secolo: il loro confronto documenta una caduta dei prezzi che diversi fattori, enumerati e descritti nel presente contributo, concorrono a spiegare. Molti aspetti non sono ancora chiari, ed è difficile quantificare il peso di ciascun elemento e il suo apporto alla causa generale; soprattutto rimane ignoto quanto queste fonti documentarie siano rappresentative ed esemplari rispetto alle tante altre non sopravvissute, e quanto invece rispecchino, pur fedelmente, una situazione particolare ed eccentrica rispetto alla 'normalità' che sarebbe oggetto privilegiato d'indagine.

6 Appendice

La trascrizione del *Quaderneto* è corredata da un apparato di commento in forma di indice discorsivo e che, per agevolare confronti e paralleli, adotta i criteri previsti per l'edizione critica del *Zornale*. Ogni voce del documento è ricondotta a un'opera, di cui vengono indicati autore e titolo nella forma moderna adottata dal repertorio ISTC, e a un'edizione, ossia quella più vicina in termini temporali e geografici. Le forme originali della lista sono elencate in ordine alfabetico, con rimando alle voci principali dell'indice, le quali sono ordinate alfabeticamente per autore; ad esempio *Spegio de crose vulgare* rimanda a Cavalca, Domenico. Un'attenzione particolare è posta alle caratteristiche fisiche delle edizioni citate, di cui si indicano il formato, la dimensione del foglio,⁵¹ il tipo di torchio impiegato per stampa, quando individuato, la formula collazionale⁵² e il numero di carte. Seguono i riferimenti bibliografici dei repertori di incunaboli, che si è scelto di limitare ai maggiori, identificati attraverso le seguenti sigle:

51 Per l'importanza di riportare, oltre al formato, anche la dimensione dei fogli su cui fu stampata l'edizione oggetto di analisi cf. Needham, «Format», 64. Per raccogliere questo dato, oltre alle misure prese personalmente in diverse biblioteche, sono stati consultati il repertorio della Bodleian Library, il BMC e le schede del repertorio MEI (Material Evidence in Incunabula).

52 Le formule collazionali sono state ricavate in prima istanza dai repertori che le trascrivono, come il GW; quando possibile, specialmente nei casi problematici, sono state controllate sulla base dell'esame diretto degli esemplari e delle copie digitali disponibili in rete. Quando ritenuto opportuno, al fine di migliorare la comprensione della struttura fisica del volume e risolvere ambiguità, sono state apportate le necessarie modifiche, sulla base delle indicazioni di Fredson Bowers nel capitolo 5 del suo *Principles of Bibliographical Description*.

1 Fran libro p^o zecora rto p^o ¹⁴⁸⁰ ~~incunabile~~ li libri
 Inforsk de. d. p^o m^och antonio moretto
 g h p^o hyst^o y zaldama. Et p^o.

2	Franisco vocabulista	1/2	8	8	
2	Dionisio alchirisco	1/2	0	9	7
3	Prediche fra zotto vulg ^o	1/2	1	8	10
5	Spogio d'cole - vulg ^o	1/2	1	8	7
6	Salmista	1/2	1	8	5
2	Eufobio d'pprazia ^o curia galica	1/2	3	8	
4	Elegante d' dala	1/2	4	8	
1	Quinto magore	1/2	4	8	
3	funeral g' el cometo d' d calderino	1/2	2	8	
3	Nicolo d' liza sup li acti d' li apli.	1/2	2	8	10
2	Zanola d' s ^o thomaso	1/2	8	8	
1	Cometo d' alexandrio s ^o th ^o huenole	1/2	2	8	10
2	Sermone s ^o to tobe g ^o so simo	1/2	1	8	10
1	Lappagna d' zolando	1/2	2	8	10
1	Xogilio g ^o rio	1/2	0	8	7
1	Sute le ope d' andro	1/2	9	8	
2	Festivo d' az. leonardo da vidine	1/2	4	8	
2	Ope d' oratio	1/2	2	8	
1	Aulo gelio	1/2	7	8	10
1	huffozzato	1/2	5	8	
1	Teretio	1/2	0	8	7

Figura 5 Venezia, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b 21, *Quadernetto de li libri lassati a Padova in custodia de ser Domeneco da san Germano*, c. 7v, dettaglio

- BMC: Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum [British Library] (London, The Trustees of the British Museum [The British Library], 1908-2008);
- C: Walter A. Copinger, Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum or Collection towards a New Edition of that Work (London, H. Sotheran and Co., 1895-1902);
- GW: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann 1925-40 [vols. 1-8]; poi Stuttgart, 1973-2008 [vols. 8-11];
- H: Ludwig F.T. Hain, Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur (Stuttgartiae, J.G. Cotta, 1826-38);
- IGI: Indice generale incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia (Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1943-81);
- ISTC: Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, online all'indirizzo www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/;
- R: Reichling, Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum Additiones et Emendationes, Milano: Görlich, 1953.

Infine, si indica il prezzo di vendita stabilito per ciascuna copia dal Moretto e il costo in termini di denari per foglio.

Si presenta di seguito la trascrizione e l'indice discorsivo dell'ultima sezione del *Quadernetto*: si trova su carta 7 verso ed è composta da 21 voci, in cui Domenico Giglio elenca i 46 libri ricevuti il 4 maggio 1480 [fig. 5]. A differenza della prima sezione, datata 27 febbraio 1480, i prezzi sono qui indicati solamente in lire e soldi, e non in ducati lire e soldi.

c. 7v

Item mi Domenico scripto recevi a dì 4° Mazo⁵³ li libri infrascripti da el soprascripto Messer Antonio Moreto con li preci infrascripti per zascaduno. Et primo:

Nr. di copie	Stringa identificativa	Prezzo (lire)	Prezzo (soldi)
2	Iuniano vocabulista	£ 8	
2	Dionisio Alicarnaseo	£ 6	s 4
3	Prediche fra Roberto vulgare	£ 1	s 10
5	Spegio de crose vulgare	£ 1	s 4
6	Salmista	£ 1	s 5
2	Eusebio de praeparatione evangelica	£ 3	
4	Elegantie del Vala	£ 4	
1	Ovidio mazore	£ 4	

53 \Mazo/] corr, >[averile]<.

3	Iuvenal con el comento del Calderino	£ 2	
3	Nicolo de Lira supra li acti de li Apostoli	£ 2	s 10
2	Tavola de sancto Thomaso	£ 8	
1	Comento de Alexandreio supra Iuvenale	£ 2	s 10
2	Sermone sancto Iohanne Grisostino	£ 1	s 10
1	La Spagna de Rolando	£ 2	s 10
1	Vergilio con Servio	£ 6	s 4
1	Tute le opere de Ovidio	£ 9	
2	Festivo de M(agistro) Leonardo da Udine	£ 4	
2	Opere de Oratio	£ 2	
1	Aulio Gelio	£ 4	s 10
1	Infforziato	£ 15	
1	Tortelio	£ 6	s 4

Aulio Gelio, si veda Gellius, Aulus.

Caracciolus, Robertus, *Le prediche di frate Roberto (Prediche fra Roberto vulgare)*

Il frate francescano Roberto Caracciolo (1425-1495) scrisse diverse raccolte di sermoni, in latino e in volgare, che tra il XV e il XVI secolo vennero edite in più di un centinaio di edizioni. In questo caso, il riferimento è ai *Sermones quadragésimales* e l'edizione potrebbe essere quella stampata nel 1476, assegnata a Venezia e a Tommaso de Blavis. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio ad un colpo]: a¹⁰b-n⁶, 82 cc. (HC(Add) R 4445; BMC V 246; GW 6088; IGI 2484; ISTC ic00153000). In alternativa potrebbe trattarsi dell'edizione pubblicata a Treviso da Michele Manzolo il 1° marzo 1480. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio ad uno e due colpi]: a-e⁸f-g⁶h-i⁸k-l⁶, 80 cc. (CR 1449; GW 6092; IGI 2487; ISTC ic00154500). Tre copie di questo testo venivano consegnate in bottega, da vendere a £ 1 e 10 soldi l'una; il costo per foglio sarebbe quindi stato di 8,8 denari, per l'edizione veneziana, o 9 per quella trevisana.

Cavalca, Domenico, *Specchio di croce (Spegio de crose vulgare)*

Lo *Specchio di croce* del domenicano pisano Domenico Cavalca (1270-1342) fu un'opera intensamente letta tra il XIV e il XVI secolo, come dimostrano i più di cento codici e le circa quaranta edizioni giunti fino a noi. Le cinque copie consegnate a Giglio potrebbero appartenere alla *princeps*, stampata a Venezia non dopo il 1476, forse da Juvenis Guerinus o, secondo il BMC, da Filippo di Pietro. Quarto [cancelleresco su fogli interi; torchio a due colpi]: [a]⁸b-s⁸, 144 cc. (HCR 4780; BMC V 219; GW 6414 (+Accurti (1936) p.108); IGI 2638; ISTC ic00343000). In alternativa, potrebbe trattarsi di un'edizione senza note tipografiche, attribuita a Venezia e datata intorno al 1480, assegnata a Walch da GW e IGI. Quarto [cancelleresco su fogli interi; torchio a due colpi]: a-i⁸k⁴, 76 cc. (H 4783; C 1541; BMC VII 1148; GW 6415 (+ Accurti (1936) p.109); IGI 2639; ISTC ic00343400). Il prezzo viene fissato a £ 1 e 4 soldi la copia; il costo per foglio è rispettivamente di 8 o 15,2 denari.

Comento de Alexandreio supra Iuvenale, si veda Merula, Georgius

Dionisio alicarnaseo, si veda Dionysius Halicarnaseus

Dionysius Halicarnaseus, *Antiquitates Romanae* (*Dionisio alicarnaseo*)

Le *Antiquitates romanae* di Dionigi di Alicarnasso, storico e retore greco vissuto nel secolo di Augusto, vennero pubblicate, nel corso del XV secolo, solamente due volte, e in traduzione latina. Il riferimento del *Quadernetto* è quindi alla *princeps*, stampata a Treviso da Bernardino Celerio il 24 o 25 febbraio 1480. Il prezzo assegnato è di £ 6 e 4 soldi. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: [a¹⁰ b-g⁸ h-i⁶ k-z⁸ A-O⁸ P⁶], 300 cc. (HC(+Add) 6239*; H 6239* (b); BMC VI 895 (b, d, f); GW 8423; IGI 3484; ISTC id00250000). Il costo per foglio è di 9,9 denari.

Elegantie del Vala, si veda Valla, Laurentius

Eusebio de praeparatione evangelica, si veda Eusebius Caesariensis

Eusebius Caesariensis, *De evangelica praeparatione*

(*Eusebio de praeparatione evangelica*)

Il *De evangelica praeparatione* dello scrittore e vescovo di Cappadocia Eusebio di Cesarea (265-340 circa) venne stampato per la prima volta a Venezia, nel 1470, da Nicolas Jenson e poi in altre cinque edizioni nel corso del XV secolo. Il riferimento è qui probabilmente a quella pubblicata a Treviso da Michele Manzolo il 12 gennaio 1480. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: a¹⁰ b-n^{8/6} o⁶ p⁸, 108 cc. (HC 6702*; BMC VI 888; GW 9443; IGI 3757; ISTC ie00121000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 3, quindi il costo per foglio è di 13,3 denari.

Festivo de M(agistro) Leonardo da Udine, si veda Leonardus de Utino

Gellius, Aulus, *Noctes atticae* (*Aulio Gelio*)

Le *Noctes atticae*, dello scrittore e giurista romano Aulo Gellio (c. 125-180), vennero pubblicate per la prima volta nel 1469 da Sweynheym e Pannartz a Roma, e poi in almeno una decina di altre edizioni nel corso del XV secolo. Quella più vicina alla redazione della nostra lista è datata 1477 e stampata a Venezia da Andrea Paltasichi. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: a¹⁰ b-x⁸ y-z⁶ A-B⁸, 198 cc. (HC *7520; BMC V, 251; IGI 4189; GW 10596; ISTC ig00121000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 4 e 10 soldi, 10,9 denari al foglio.

Horatius, *Opera* (*Opere de Oratio*)

Delle opere del poeta latino (65 a.C.-8 a.C.), Giglio aveva già ricevuto alcune copie il 27 febbraio e il 3 marzo; dovevano vendere piuttosto bene, se in data 4 maggio giungevano altre due copie, da vendere a £ 2 ciascuna. La più recente edizione veneziana è quella pubblicata nel 1479 da Filippo di Pietro. Folio [cancelleresco]: a-o⁸ p⁶, 118 cc. (HR 8875; GW 13455; BMC XII 15; IGI 4878; ISTC ih00444000). Il costo per foglio risulta di 8 denari.

Infforziato, si veda Justinianus

Iuniano vocabulista, si veda Maius, Junianus

Iuvenal con el comento del Calderino, si veda Juvenalis, Decimus Junius

Johannes Chrysostomus, *Sermones morales XXV*

(*Sermone sancto Iohanne Grisostino*)

La prima opera del celebre oratore sacro Giovanni Crisostomo (344/354-407) ad essere pubblicata in Italia furono i *Sermones morales XXV*, probabilmente per l'officina tipografica di Giorgio Lauer a Roma nel 1470. Dato che non esistono edizioni di questo autore stampate a Venezia prima del 1480, l'ipotesi più economica è che Moretto disponesse della stampa bolognese dei *Sermones morales XXV*, pubblicata da Baldassarre Azzoguidi nel maggio 1475. Quarto [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: a-l⁸m⁶n-o⁸, 110 cc. (HC(Add)5043*; BMC VI 800; GW M13341; IGI 5210; ISTC ij00301000). Due copie vengono consegnate il 4 maggio, e il prezzo è fissato a £ 1 e 10 soldi, quindi il costo per foglio è di 13 denari.

Justinianus, *Infortiatum* (*Infforziato*)

Nella bottega di Moretto erano disponibili edizioni di tutte le parti del *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, la maggior parte delle quali veniva consegnata con il primo lotto, il 27 febbraio. Il 4 maggio viene aggiunto un volume dell'*Infortiatum*, nell'edizione stampata da Jacopo Rosso, il 31 maggio 1477. Folio [super-reale; probabile torchio ad un colpo; stampa bicroma in rosso e nero]: a¹⁰ b-d⁸ e⁶ f⁸ g-h⁶ H⁸ i-n⁸ o-p¹⁰ q-s⁸ t-x¹⁰ y-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ aa-ee⁸ ff-gg⁶ GG⁸ hh-oo⁸, 338 cc. (H 9564*; BMC V 216; GW 7679; IGI 5474; ISTC ij00555500). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 6 e 4 soldi, cioè 22 denari al foglio.

Juvenalis, Decimus Junius, *Satyrae*, Comm: Domitius Calderinus.

Add: Domitius Calderinus: *Defensio adversus Brotheum* (*Iuvenal con el comento del Calderino*)

Le *Satyrae* di Giovenale con il commento di Calderini disposto ai margini venivano lasciate nella bottega di Moretto nell'edizione veneziana pubblicata il 24 aprile 1475 dalla tipografia di Jacopo Rosso, l'unica compatibile. Quarto [reale su mezzi fogli; torchio ad un colpo]: [a-b¹⁰ c-i⁸ k-l¹⁰], 96 cc. (HC 9688*; BMC V 214; GW M15783; IGI 5575; ISTC ij00642000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 2 per ciascuna delle tre copie consegnate, per cui il costo per foglio è di 20 denari.

Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones de sanctis* (*Festivo de M(agistro)*

Leonardo da Udine)

Se l'autore è certamente Leonardo da Udine, interpretare il titolo di *Festivo* è meno immediato: se non si tratta dei *Sermones quadragesimales*, cui Giglio si era già riferito in un'altra sezione della lista con il termine 'quadragesmales', il riferimento potrebbe essere all'altra opera più famosa di questo autore, ossia i *Sermones de sanctis*.⁵⁴

54 Questa è anche l'ipotesi di Elda Martellozzo Forin nell'interpretare la stringa «Festive de Udine» nell'inventario della bottega padovana di Battista e Silvestro Torti (1488). Cf. Martellozzo Forin, *Flessibilità medioevale*, 77.

Sicuramente compatibile è l'edizione pubblicata a Venezia da Giovanni da Colonia e Giovanni Manthen nel 1475. Quarto [mediante su mezzi fogli; torchio ad un colpo]: a-l¹⁰ m¹² n⁸ o-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ aa-cc¹⁰ dd-ee¹², 314 cc. (HC 16132*; BMC V 226; GW M17905; IGI 5739; ISTC i00157000). Le due copie sono stimate £ 4 l'una, quindi il costo per foglio risulta di 12 denari. Va considerata come alternativa anche l'edizione vicentina di Stefano Koblinger, datata al 1480, nel caso fosse stata stampata nei primi quattro mesi dell'anno, informazione che non è data dal colophon. Quarto [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: a-c¹² d-y⁸ [1-18]⁸ 19¹² 20¹², 356 cc. (HC 16136*; BMC VII 1043; GW M17910; IGI 5743; ISTC i00162000). Il costo per foglio è in questo caso di 10,8 denari.

Maius, Junianus, *De priscorum proprietate verborum* (Juniano vocabulista)

La *princeps* del *De priscorum proprietate verborum* dell'umanista napoletano Giuniano Maio (1430 circa-1493) uscì a Napoli nel 1475 presso Mattia Moravo. Non venne mai stampata a Padova, e a Venezia non prima del 1482, quindi l'edizione cui appartenevano le due copie consegnate a Giglio era quella pubblicata a Treviso da Bernardo da Colonia nel 1477. Folio [mediante; torchio ad un colpo]: a-c¹⁰ d-f⁸ g-r¹⁰ s¹⁰ t⁸ v¹⁰ x⁸ y¹⁰ aa¹² bb-ll¹⁰, 330 cc. (H 10540*; BMC VI 892; GW M20099; IGI 6037; ISTC im00096000). Il prezzo era fissato a £ 8, 11,6 denari al foglio. In alternativa potrebbe trattarsi della più recente edizione, sempre trevisana, del 31 marzo 1480, per i tipi di Bartolomeo Confalonieri, qualora si possa ipotizzare una distribuzione tanto veloce da portare le copie di questo testo nella bottega padovana il 4 maggio. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: a-c¹⁰ d-f⁸ g-r¹⁰ s-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ A-K⁸, 324 cc. (HC 10541*; BMC VI 893; GW M20099; IGI 6038; ISTC im00097000). Il costo per foglio varia di poco (11,9 denari).

Merula, Georgius, *Enarrationes Satyrarum Juvenalis*. Add: *Adversus Domitii Calderini commentarios in Martialem*. *Annotationes in orationem Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario* (Comento de Alexandreo supra Iuvenale)

Giorgio *Alexandreo* è certamente Giorgio Merula, che era nato appunto ad Alessandria nel 1430-31 e si era dato il nome latino di Georgius Merula Alexandrinus. Le sue *Enarrationes* su Giovenale vennero stampate durante tutto il XV secolo solo due volte, nell'anno 1478, a Treviso e a Venezia. L'edizione cui si riferisce il Moretto nella sua lista sarà più probabilmente quella veneziana, stampata nell'officina di Gabriele di Pietro tra il 15 marzo e il 6 maggio. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: A⁴ a¹⁰ b-s⁸, 150 cc. (HC 11090; GW M22916; BMC V 202; IGI 6377; ISTC im00501000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 2 e 10 soldi, 8 denari al foglio.

Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super Actus Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicales et Apocalypsim* (Nicolò de Lira supra li acti de li apostoli)

L'opera di esegesi teologica in cui il dottore francescano commentava gli Atti degli Apostoli venne stampata per la prima volta a Mantova da Paolo de Butzbach il 30 marzo 1480, e questa è l'unica edizione temporalmente compatibile con il *Quaderneto*. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: A⁸ a⁸ b⁶ c¹⁰ d⁸ e-f⁶ g-o⁸, 116 cc. (HC 10395; BMC VII 932; GW M26482; IGI 6824; ISTC in00115000). Giglio riceveva tre copie di questo testo e il prezzo unitario era fissato a £ 2 e 10 soldi, per cui il costo per foglio risulta di 10,3 denari.

Nicolò de Lira supra li acti de li apostoli, si veda Nicolaus de Lyra.

Opere de Oratio, si veda Horatius.

Ovidio mazore, si veda Ovidius Naso, Publius.

Ovidius Naso, Publius, *Metamorphoses* (*Ovidio mazore*)

Con l'espressione 'Ovidio maggiore' si intende di regola l'opera maggiore del poeta latino, ossia le *Metamorfosi*. Questo testo veniva pubblicato da solo, ma più spesso in edizioni che raccoglievano anche le altre opere dell'autore, e di cui poteva costituire un volume autonomo. L'edizione qui citata doveva appartenere a questa tipologia, e sarà stata la stessa cui appartenevano le opere di Ovidio «senza el mazore», citate altrove nella lista; mancando edizioni veneziane compatibili, bisognerà rivolgersi a quella stampata a Milano da Antonio Zarotto nel 1477, in due parti, con colophon separato. La prima contiene le *Metamorphoses* ed è datata 11 settembre 1477. Folio [cancelleresco]: $^{\pi}3a^6 a-k^{10} l^4 m-r^{10} s^{12}$, 182 cc. (H 12139 (I & II) = H 12135? = HC(Add) 12139 (2 I, 1 imperfect); BMC VI 715; GW M28563; IGI 7045; ISTC io00130000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 4, quindi il costo per foglio è di 10,5 denari.

Ovidius Naso, Publius, *Opera* (*Tute le opere de Ovidio*)

Diversamente dalla voce appena commentata, il riferimento è qui ad un'edizione unica contenente l'opera omnia di Ovidio, ossia quella stampata a Venezia da Jacopo Rosso nel 1474. Folio [cancelleresco; probabile torchio ad un colpo]: [a-e¹⁰ f⁸ g-m¹⁰ n-o¹² p-q¹⁰ r-s⁸ t¹⁰ u¹² x⁸ y⁶ z¹⁰ A-B¹⁰ C¹² D-H¹⁰ I⁸ K⁶ L-M¹⁰ N¹² O-T¹⁰], 412 cc. (HC(+ Add) 12138; GW M28590; BMC V 214; IGI 7043; ISTC io00128000). Il prezzo stabilito è di £ 9, per cui il costo per foglio è di 10,5 denari.

Petrus de Bergamo, *Tabula operum Thomae Aquinatis* (*Tavola de sancto Thomaso*)

Il teologo domenicano Pietro da Bergamo, al secolo Pietro Maldura (-1482), compilò una *Tabula* per le opere di San Tommaso, un indice di lemmi in ordine alfabetico, accompagnati da precisi riferimenti al testo. L'edizione disponibile nella bottega padovana era la *princeps* di questo testo, stampata, vivente l'autore, l'11 marzo 1473 a Bologna da Baldassarre Azzoguidi, dato che per un'edizione veneziana bisogna attendere il 1497. Folio [cancelleresco; orchio ad un colpo]: [a-m¹⁰ n⁸ o⁴ p-u¹⁰ x⁸ y¹² z¹⁰ A-C¹⁰ D⁸ E⁶], 266 cc. (HC(Add) 2816*; BMC VI 799; GW M32088; IGI 7613; ISTC ip00450000). Giglio ne riceveva due copie, da vendere a £ 8 ciascuna; il costo per foglio risulta dunque di 14,4 denari.

Prediche fra Roberto vulgare, si veda Caracciolus, Robertus

Psalterium Romanum (*Salmista*)

Con la stringa *Salmista* o *Palmista* veniva indicato generalmente il libro dei Salmi dell'Antico Testamento; la più recente edizione veneziana è quella pubblicata da Jacopo Britannico e Tommaso de Blavis il 18 aprile 1480. Ottavo [cancelleresco]: a-o⁸ p⁴, 116 cc. (R 1849; IGI 8153; GW M36321; ISTC ip01041350). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 1 e 5 soldi, 10,3 denari al foglio.

Salmista, vedi *Psalterium Romanum*

Sermone sancto Iohanne Grisostino, si veda Johannes Chrysostomus

Spagna (La Spagna de Rolando)

L'edizione più antica del poema cavalleresco *La Spagna* che sia sopravvissuta di questo testo è bolognese e datata al 1487 (ISTC is00636300); questa voce del *Quaderneto*, così come la registrazione nel *Zornale* di vendite multiple di quest'opera, dimostra chiaramente che la *princeps* e, quasi sicuramente, diverse altre edizioni posteriori, sono andate completamente perdute.⁵⁵ L'edizione bolognese è un in folio di 64 carte, mentre quella veneziana dell'anno successivo è un in-quarto di 104 carte. In base al prezzo stabilito nel *Quaderneto* (£ 2 e 10 soldi) possiamo immaginare che l'edizione perduta avesse dimensioni un poco più consistenti e fosse per esempio un in folio di circa 80 carte.

Specio de crose vulgare, si veda Cavalca, Domenico

Tavola de sancto Thomaso, si veda Petrus de Bergamo

Tortelio, si veda Tortellius, Johannes

Tortellius, Johannes, *Orthographia (Tortelio)*

L'*Orthographia* di Giovanni Tortelli, studioso di greco a Costantinopoli agli inizi del XV secolo, è un corposo trattato di ortografia e fonetica. Alle prime due edizioni (1471, Venezia e Roma) seguirono molte altre, tutte in area veneta. Compatibili con il *Quaderneto* è quella trevisana del 1477, di Ermanno Liechtenstein per Michele Manzolo. Folio/quarto [cancelleresco/reale; torchio ad un colpo]: A¹² B-G¹⁰ H⁸ I¹⁰ K-N^{6/8} O¹² a-e¹⁰ f-i^{8/10} k-l⁶ m-o⁸ p⁶ q-s¹⁰ t¹² u-y¹⁰ z⁶ &¹⁰, 346 cc. (HC 15565; GW M47213; BMC VI 887, 891; IGI 9683; ISTC it00396000). In alternativa si può considerare la più recente edizione vicentina, pubblicata il 13 gennaio 1479 da Stefano Koblinger. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio ad un colpo]: A¹² B-G¹⁰ H⁸ I¹⁰ K-N^{6/8} O¹² a-e¹⁰ f-i^{8/10} k-l⁶ m-o⁸ p⁶ q-s¹⁰ t¹² u-y¹⁰ z⁶ &¹⁰, 346 cc. (HC 15566*; GW M47233; BMC VII 1043; IGI 9684; ISTC it00397000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 6 e 4 soldi e, dato che il numero di carte è identico, il costo per foglio (e mezzo foglio per l'edizione del 1477, che ha formato misto) è in entrambi i casi 8,6 denari.

Tute le opere de Ovidio, si veda Ovidius Naso, Publius

Valla, Laurentius, *Elegantiae linguae latinae (Elegantie del Vala)*

Le *Elegantiae linguae latinae* di Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) vennero pubblicate per la prima volta nel 1471, da Nicolas Jenson a Venezia, e in almeno un'altra trentina di edizioni nel corso del XV secolo. Giglio ne riceve quattro copie, da vendere a £ 4 l'una; potrebbero appartenere all'edizione veneziana del 1476, stampata da Jacopo Rosso e con la curatela del Calturnio. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio a due colpi]: A⁸ a-m⁸ n⁶ O⁶ o-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]¹⁰, 214 cc. (HC 15806*; BMC V 216; GW M49317; IGI 10085; ISTC iv00055000). Non si può poi escludere, dato che non sappiamo il mese di pubblicazione, la sua più recente ristampa del 1480. Folio [cancelleresco; torchio

⁵⁵ Cf. Strologo, *La Spagna*.

a due colpi]: π⁸ a⁸ b⁶ c-g⁸ h⁶ i⁸ k⁶ l-m⁸ n-q⁶ r⁸ s⁶ t⁸ u⁶ x-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸, 190 cc. (HC 15809*; BMC V 298; GW M49299; IGI 10088; ISTC iv00058000). Il costo per foglio oscilla in ogni caso tra i 9 e i 10 denari.

Vergilio con Servio, si veda Vergilius Maro, Publius

Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Opera* (comm. Servius) (*Vergilio con Servio*)

Il commento di Servio, grammatico latino vissuto tra il IV e il V secolo d.C., all'*Eneide*, alle *Bucoliche* e alle *Georgiche*, corredò a partire dagli anni '70 del Quattrocento molte delle edizioni dell'opera di Virgilio. Il *Quadernetto* potrebbe riferirsi alla *princeps*, che si ritiene stampata da Jacopo Rosso a Venezia tra il 1475 e il 1476, anche se alcuni esemplari portano la data '1480'. Folio [mediano; torchio ad un colpo]: [a-i¹⁰ k⁸ l-o¹⁰ p-q⁸ r-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ aa-cc¹⁰], 284 cc. (C 6043 = 6041; R 357; BMC V 214; GW M49800; IGI 10192; ISTC iv00166000). In alternativa, l'edizione, anche questa interessata da problematiche relative alla data di pubblicazione, di Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, datata '1486', che però si considera un errore per '1476'. Folio [mediano]: a-y¹⁰ z⁸ A⁸ [B-E]¹⁰ [F-G]⁸, 292 cc. (C 6044; BMC V 240; GW M49821; IGI 10194; ISTC iv00167000). Non si può, poi, escludere la più recente edizione vicentina, pubblicata nel 1479 da Leonardo Achates: a suo favore, il fatto che fosse stata curata dal Calturnio, amico e collaboratore del Moretto. Folio [cancelleresco]: π⁶ a-i⁸ k⁸ (k2+χ1) l-z⁸ aa-ee⁸ ff⁶ A-F⁸, 285 cc. (C 6045; BMC VII 1031; GW M49803; IGI 10200; ISTC iv00168000). Il prezzo è fissato a £ 6 e 4 soldi, e a seconda dell'edizione oscilla tra i 10,1 e i 10,4 denari al foglio.

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From the *Corpus Iuris* to ‘psalterioli da puti’, on Parchment, Bound, Gilt... The Price of Any Book Sold in Venice 1484-1488

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Abstract The ledger of the Venetian bookseller Francesco De Madiis, known as the *Zornale* (1484-88), which is currently being studied by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris, offers a unique insight into the market value of the earliest printed books, of any sort. The essay offers the analysis of a variety of subjects, prices, sales, customers, and comparison with the cost of living in Renaissance Venice, the largest place of production and distribution in 15th-century Europe. The focus is first and foremost on the cheapest and most popular items, a production and trade enabled by the new technology.

Keywords Incunabula. Book trade. Book prices. Corpus Iuris. Francesco De Madiis.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Most Expensive Books. – 3 The ‘Middle of the Road’ Books. – 4 The Cheapest and Best Selling Books. – 5 On Parchment, Bound, Gilt... – 6 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

The fall in book prices stimulated by the new printing technology was gradual, as can be ascertained by the surviving evidence: first, the purchase notes written inside the books by the early owners, then documentary evidence of various kinds which attests to actual transactions (booksellers’ records), or more indirect references, such as mentions in letters or legal documents.



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The essays in this part of the volume provide the evidence of a progressive reduction in the price of printed books, from the new specimens of the 1460s, still as expensive as manuscripts, to the first drop in the 1470s. A subsequent, very noticeable, decrease in price during the 1480s continues, on a substantial level, in the 1490s. The drop in price coincides with the growth of demand for printed books, and with the increase in production and its diversification, but most of all, with the development and refinement of distribution capacities which establish an international market for the new business.

The transition from a known market to an unknown one was a key stepping stone in this new business. The much repeated crisis of overproduction of 1472 should more correctly be seen as a phase in the new enterprising activities when mass production was not yet supported by a trade network which could reach unknown customers outside the immediate circle of the producer, the possible financial backer or patron, and the local seller of books, the stationer.¹

Having had the enjoyable experience of perusing all the papers in this volume ahead of their publication, I have noticed how, on the one hand, the contributors have been furnishing very sound evidence about the increasing affordability of printed books; on the other, in some cases, however, they seem almost to disbelieve the evidence, or to consider it perhaps as insufficiently credible, since it appears to go against the trend of what has been written by economic historians, who up to now have consistently asserted that early printed books were expensive and remained a luxury commodity for a privileged few. Such has been the mantra, even though little or no financial data have been produced to support the claim, whether specific in its reference to the years in question, or on a wider scale and more comparative, of the kind and extent discussed in this volume and soon to appear online for anyone to use. Yet again, only by bringing together the evidence into one single, searchable place will we resolve this impasse and enable a proper assessment to be made of the economic and social impact of the appearance of early printed books in European society.

As a step towards this goal, I will offer here some clear examples of the fall in prices over forty years, before focusing on my main documentary source, the *Zornale* of the Venetian bookseller Francesco de Madiis, who sold around 25,000 copies of printed books in slightly less than four years, between May 1484 and January 1488.²

¹ The earliest instance of the argument seems to have been by Victor Scholderer with reference to Venice, Scholderer, "Printing at Venice to the end of 1481". The observation has since been repeated by Martin Lowry and most other scholars, without the data being subjected to serious scrutiny, cf. Lowry, "La produzione de libro", 378.

² The ledger employs the Venetian currency of the time, established through the monetary reform of doge Nicolò Tron between 1471 and 1474, with prices marked up in duc-

Printed books in the 1460s were indeed still expensive, as expensive as their manuscript counterparts. A copy of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* printed in Mainz in 1459 and purchased in 1461 by the Benedictines of S. Giorgio Maggiore of Venice cost 18 ducats (that is 1240 *soldi*).³ While acknowledging the impressive nature of a distribution channel that conveyed the volume from Mainz to Venice in only a couple of years after publication, 18 ducats for one in folio volume of 160 leaves is very expensive. It is almost double the amount of money paid for the most expensive, and largest, set of books recorded in the *Zornale*, 26 years later: a set of the *Glossa ordinaria* in six in folio volumes for a total of 1628 leaves, that is ten times the number of leaves, which sold in 1487 for 10 ducats (but were printed on paper). Indeed several copies of the *Rationale*, in an edition printed in Venice in 1482, comprising 202 leaves, are sold in the *Zornale* for £ 2 s 10, that is 50 *soldi*.⁴ These books testify to a fall in price from 1240 to 50 *soldi* over a period of 26 years.

Another bulky Medieval text, which swiftly made its way into the new medium, the *Catholicon*, in a copy printed on parchment, in Augsburg in 1469, was purchased by the Augustinians of Passau in the same year for 48 Rhenish Florins:

Anno domini Millesimo cccc° lxxvii[ij]°. Comparatus est jste Katholicon.
tempore Johannis Hachinger huius ecclesie [Passau, St. Nikola,

ats, *lire*, and *soldi*. According to the exchange rate in the 1472-1508 period, the gold ducat was calculated as the equivalent of 6 *lire* and 4 *soldi*, or, more simply, 124 *soldi*. The *lira*, for which we employ the £ symbol, was the equivalent of 20 *soldi*. The *Zornale* does not record prices involving the fourth and smallest coin of the time, the *piccolo* or *denaro*, 12 of which made up a *soldo*; Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia*, 2: 8-9; Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 80-5; Lane, Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, 1: 617 (table D.3: «Domestic Exchange: The Ducat in Soldi di Piccoli, 1305-1508»). To recap: 1 ducat (d) = 124 *soldi*; 1 *lira* (£) = 20 *soldi*; 1 *soldo* (s) = 12 denari. Cf. Illustration 6 “Currencies in Venice”.

3 Duranti, Guillelmus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 6 Oct. 1459. Folio. 160 leaves. CIBN D-278; GW 9101; ISTC id00403000; MEI 02011878; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Vélins 125; inscription on the last leaf: “Iste liber est congregationis monachorum sancte Justine | deputatus monasterio sancti Georgii maioris venetiarum ac signatus numero 315 | Constitit ducatorum decem octo emptus anno 1461”. Interestingly, another copy of this edition was owned by the Carthusians of S. Andrea de litore in Venice, suggesting a targeted distribution; MEI 02004088; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 3074. As noted in ISTC, all known copies are printed on parchment, except for the copy in Munich which however appears to be made up from a set of proof sheets.

4 Duranti, Guillelmus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Ed: Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus. Venice: Georgius Walch, 18 May 1482. Folio. 202 leaves. GW 9124; ISTC id00426000. Evidence on the *Glossa ordinaria* and the 1482 *Rationale* comes from the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis. They are copies printed on paper and sold unbound. If the purchaser wanted to add rubrication, illumination, and binding a further cost would have been incurred; cf. in this volume the articles of Harris and Armstrong on the mark ups caused by these additional crafts.

Augustinians under prior Johann Hächinger] pro tunc immeriti praepositi. pro xlvij Aureis Rh. florenis taxatus pro vii solidis xx denaris faciunt in moneta vsuali xlvj talenta.⁵

Another copy of the same edition was purchased in Bamberg in 1470 for 47 Florins and one lira:

XLVII Florenos 1 libram pro libro qui dicitur Katholicon et continet LXV quaternos de impressa littera bona et illuminata.⁶

Another, also on parchment, was purchased in Schnals, Tyrol, in 1470 for 32 ducats:

Anno domini 1470 Dominus fridericus prior monasterij Montis omnium angelorum in Snals ordinis Cartusiensis emit hunc librum pro xxxij ducatis.⁷

Less than ten years later, a copy of a newer edition of the same work, printed in Strasbourg in around 1477 was purchased in 1478 by Paul III, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Lilienfeld, Lower Austria, for 7 Rhenish Florins including the binding:

Anno domini M° cccc° septuagesimo octavo hic liber comparatus est per reverendum [...] Abbatem dominum Paulum monasterij Campiliorum unacum ligatura pro 7 florenis Renensibus.⁸

In 1484, that is 15 years later, unbound paper copies of a Venetian edition of the same work were sold for less than one ducat, £ 6 (or 120 *soldi*).⁹

⁵ Balbus, Johannes, *Catholicon*. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 30 Apr. 1469. Folio. 522 leaves. BSB-Ink B-9; GW 3183; ISTC ib00021000; Munich BSB, 2° Inc. s.a. 101.

⁶ Bamberg SB, Inc. typ. N. I. 2. Here the price includes parchment as support and illumination.

⁷ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 4.B.4 Bde 1-2; MEI 02107816. During the period here considered, 1469-1501, the standard of the Rhenish Florin (Rheinischer Gulden), which was minted in different places (Cologne/Mainz), was lower than the Venetian ducat: that is to say it was slightly lighter and slightly less fine. At the beginning of this period the gold weight of each coin was 2.7 modern grams, by 1500 it was down to 2.5. The Venetian ducat remained totally stable at 3.4 grams and nearly complete fineness. In this period therefore the ratio of the standards of the two coins varied between $2.7:3.4 = 0.79:1$ and $2.5:3.4 = 0.74:1$ (ex inf. Dr Julian Baker, Assistant Keeper, Medieval and Modern Coins, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford).

⁸ Balbus, Johannes, *Catholicon*. [Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), between 1475-77]. Folio. 372 leaves. GW 3185; ISTC ib00023000; MEI 00559043; Cambridge UL, Inc.0.A.2.2 [79].

⁹ Balbus, Johannes, *Catholicon*. Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 24 Sept. 1483. Folio. 356 leaves. GW 3188; ISTC ib00026000. Evidence from the *Zornale*.

A copy of the Bible in German printed in Strasbourg in 1466 was purchased in Augsburg the same year for 12 Florins. It bears the arms of Hector Müllich and Otilia Cüntzelmeim and the inscription "1466 27 Junio ward ditz buch gekaft vneingepunden vmb 12 gulden".¹⁰

Another copy, also purchased in Augsburg and today in Cambridge, cost 16 golden Rhenish Florins:

Dise Bibel hat Bartolme rem der Elter zu augspurg kaufft umb 16 guldin reinisch.¹¹

A copy of Cicero's letters printed in Rome in 1467 was purchased in the city in 1468 for 4 Florins and brought to Memmingen by Petrus Mitte de Caprariis, a canon lawyer and Preceptor of the Antonine order in Memmingen:

Hunc librum epistolarum familiarum Ciceronis emj Rome anno domini m° iiii Ex octavo ad reponendum in libraria mea in Memmingen pro precio 4or florenis. De Caprariis.¹²

The value of the Rhenish Florin was slightly lower than the Venetian ducat at the time in question but the price was still the equivalent of several hundreds *soldi*. Twenty years on, copies of the same work printed in Venice in 1484 are sold in the *Zornale* for 40 *soldi*.¹³

In 1997 Martin Davies made an important point about prices in the 1460s: "it looks as if the earliest market in printed books was rather more stable and rational than has been credited".¹⁴

Böninger and Peric, in this volume, provide evidence of prices dropping during the 1470s, the latter explicitly in comparison with some prices in the *Zornale*. For the mid-1480s the de Madiis ledger provides a very large body of evidence of the substantial reduc-

¹⁰ *Biblia* [German]. [Strasbourg; Johann Mentelin, before 27 June 1466]. Folio. 406 leaves. BSB-Ink B-482; GW 4295; ISTC ib00624000; Munich BSB, Rar. 285.

¹¹ Cambridge UL, Inc.1.A.2.1[52]; MEI 00558537; the inscription is in a contemporary hand.

¹² Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1467. 4°. 246 leaves. GW 6799; ISTC ic00503500; Madsen 1136; Copenhagen KB, Inc. Haun. 1136; cf. also Bolton in this volume.

¹³ Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares* (Comm: Hubertinus clericus). Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula and Bartholomaeus de Blavis, de Alexandria, 31 Jan. 1483/84. Folio. 266 leaves. GW 6838; ISTC ic00524000. Among the various Venetian editions to appear by the date of the entry in the ledger, this is the most likely candidate. A total of ten copies are recorded in the initial stock in trade of Francesco de Madiis, with another bound copy among the "libri ligati". Some 139 copies are sold in the *Zornale*, from an initial price of £ 3 (60 *soldi*) then stabilizing at £ 2 (40 *soldi*), and 70 *soldi* when sold bound.

¹⁴ Davies, "Two Book-Lists", 50.

tion in prices, though even these still appear expensive in comparison with the continuous decrease of the 1490s, in conjunction with the expansion of production, as shown by Gatti, also in this volume.

A copy of the Missal for the use of Würzburg printed by George Reyser in 1481 was purchased locally, the same year, for 18 Florins. The high price included the fact that the copy was printed on parchment and had rubrication, illumination, and binding: "1481 Johannes Kewsch vicarius in ecclesia Herbipolensi hunc librum comparavit propriis expensis et pro omnibus scilicet pergamenis impressura Rubricatione illuminaturum(?) et ligatione xviii florenis 1481".¹⁵

A copy of the same Missal, printed again in 1499 by Reyser was purchased locally, two years later, in 1501, for 5 Florins. In this case we have no information about the cost of the finishing touches, although the book is still today in a contemporary binding produced locally: "Anno Domini MDI Ego Georgius Raßmann hujus veri possessor hunc librum comparavi pro florenis V".¹⁶

Did the fall in prices continue? Evidence for the following century will have to be gathered for scholars to answer this question adequately.¹⁷

There are two important points which need to be taken into consideration when using books in socio-historical studies.

First, unlike most traded commodities, not all books are the same: books always reflect the market or user they were intended for. If these users belong to different segments of society, in the 5th century as in the 15th century, that has to be taken into account. The texts of the classics sold in the document analysed by Paola Pinelli in this volume could not have been afforded by ordinary shopkeepers or labourers, but neither would they have wanted them. Historical perspective and a sound understanding of the transmission of knowledge in written form, of book production and consumption, and of library history, should guide researchers to understand that in a climate of

15 *Missale Herbipolense*. [Würzburg]. [Commissioned by Rudolphus de Scherenberg, Episcopus Herbipolensis]. Würzburg: Georg Reyser, [after 8 Nov. 1481]. Folio. 378 leaves. GW M24419; ISTC im00663900; MEI 00206257; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 1Q 1.7.

16 *Missale Herbipolense*. [Würzburg]. Commissioned by Laurentius de Bibra, Episcopus Herbipolensis. Würzburg: Georg Reyser, [after 11 Oct. 1499]. Folio. 384 leaves. GW M24435; ISTC im00666200; Hubay, *Incunabula der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, no. 1478; INKA 36001888 (ownership inscription with price, not transcribed); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. f. 26. Evidence from incunabula not in MEI or the *Zornale* comes from Dominique Coq, whom I would like to thank most warmly for sharing with me a spread sheet file with data on 650 priced incunabula which he extrapolated from printed catalogues of European incunabula collections.

17 The ERC-funded project *Early Modern Booktrade. An Evidence-Based Reconstruction of the Economic and Juridical Framework of the European Book Market*, led by Prof. Angela Nuovo at the University of Milan, should provide comparative data; <http://emobooktrade.unimi.it/content/early-modern-book-trade>. Cf. also Harris, "Aldo Manuzio, il libro e la moneta"; Davies, Harris, *Aldo Manuzio*, 101-20.

change, of the creation of a new commodity and a new market and of the expansion of literacy, over 500 years ago ordinary shopkeepers and labourers would have sought first of all a primer! And indeed the *Zornale* proves that this is what was consistently purchased in Venice in the mid 1480s. Demand and supply made these books, and ones like them, affordable.

Another approach which has stymied a broader comprehension of the place of books in the early modern economy is the custom of converting fluctuating monetary values into the more stable silver equivalent. While undoubtedly correct, this equivalent should be accompanied by the conversion into Venetian *soldi*, as the EMO Book-trade project has done, and preferably also by looser, more general comparisons with the cost of living. What we lose in precision we gain in understanding.

A book in the manuscript period was mostly unattainable for ordinary people in a way that early printed books were not; of course *mastri* and *balie* could not afford Justianian, but why should they want to anyway? *Psalterioli*, *Donati*, Books of Hours, secular literature were attainable, and the fact that these types of books were printed and purchased in droves tells us that they reached their market, one which was already expanding in the 15th century and was substantially enhanced by the printing press.

The evidence is in the account book of Francesco de Madiis, the *Zornale*. Neil Harris and myself have described this extraordinary source in some detail in previous publications; therefore I will provide here only the essential elements about the document and its background which are needed to understand the figures that I will be providing.¹⁸

The shop operated a retail rather than wholesale business. This is made clear by the fact that the majority of sales are of individual books, which are most often sold singly. When customers' names are mentioned, they are a combination of people in the trade and ordinary people, on occasion individuals of high social standing.¹⁹

The range of books traded suggests that de Madiis's bookshop was a rather large operation, where editions of best-selling works produced by some of the major printers and publishers of Venice were distinguished by the name of the same expressed in familiar terms: the Missals of *Nicolò*, that is Nicolaus de Frankfordia, the Breviaries

¹⁸ Dondi, Harris, "Oil and Green Ginger"; "Best Selling Titles"; "Exporting Books from Milan to Venice"; "I romanzi cavallereschi". Also Mansutti in this volume.

¹⁹ For example Alvise Cappello (c. 1449-1512). At the age of 35, in 1484, he purchased a large quantity of lay and devotional literature in the vernacular. He then entered public life in 1495 and was *podestà* of Chioggia in 1501, of Bergamo in 1504, a member of the Council of Ten from 1506, and was made duke of Candia in 1511 but died at sea with his family on their way to Crete. Cf. Dondi, Harris, "Oil and Green Ginger", 351, where Cappello is mentioned but not identified.

of *messer Francesco*, that is Francesco Renner who Italianised his name as Fontana, and so on. No single sheets, paper, or writing material is listed in this ledger, though this is the kind of material booksellers also used to sell. It is likely therefore that separate records were kept for non-printed material on sale in the shop.

The accounting practice, which we can see evolving in the first few pages of the ledger, suggests that this is the first record devoted to printed books of this particular business. The sheer quantity of the sales of the printed books made it necessary to compile a dedicated ledger.

Some 11,100 entries are listed in the *Zornale*, arranged according to the day of sale. Each entry consists of an edition with an author and/or a title, and sometimes with the addition of the name of the printer or publisher. Each entry/edition was sold in one or more copies; the total number of copies sold, as recorded in the ledger, comes to around 25,000. Frequently groups of entries are bracketed together as a bulk sale with a collective price, therefore the total number of sales are 6,950. Some 4,165 entries are sold as part of a bulk sale.

Of the 6,950 sales recorded in the *Zornale*, some 5,915, the vast majority, were sold for less than one ducat. Just over 1,000 sales cost more than one ducat; they are mostly bulk sales, that is groups of two or more cheaper editions sold together.

An initial impression of the monetary range related to the sale of early printed books comes from a breakdown of the overall sales into price categories: under 10 *soldi*, 10 *soldi*, between 11 and 19 *soldi*, between 20 and 59 *soldi* (1 to 3 lire), between 60 and 123 *soldi* (3 to 6 lire), over 124 *soldi* (one ducat or above).

Around 1,160 sales sold for 10 *soldi* or under; of these, 600 are sales between 1 and 9 *soldi*, 560 are sales of 10 *soldi*.

Some 875 were sold for between 11 and 19 *soldi*.

Some 2,346 are sales between 20 and 59 *soldi*, that is 1 to 3 lire.

Some 1,535 are sales between 60 and 123 *soldi*, that is 3 to 6 lire.

Finally, 974 are sales above 124 *soldi*, that is 1 ducat.²⁰

It is very important to understand what these editions are in each different price category, and to place the range of books offered by this Venetian bookselling outlet within the wider context of what was being produced and made available in Venice and in Italy during the period covered by the *Zornale*, that is until January 1488.²¹

20 43 sales still need sorting, of which 12 are below 3 *soldi*, 8 are below 10 *soldi*, 16 are below 1 ducat, and 7 are above the ducat.

21 As the last sale takes place on 23 January 1488, the cut off point for the editions considered falls at the end of 1487.

We have provisionally counted and identified 688 editions in the *Zornale*. The entries never identify an explicit edition in a purely bibliographical fashion. In many instances, however, only one imprint is possible; in others we initially applied the principle of the “Venetian edition closest in time”, unless there were reasons for thinking otherwise;²² if there is no plausible Venetian edition, we identify as the nearest in time from the centre geographically nearest to Venice, two criteria that sometimes enter into conflict; when no Italian edition is plausible, we look abroad. For some categories of titles, most importantly texts for worship, school books and chivalric texts, a very high percentage of editions has been totally destroyed, and in these instances our identifications are largely hypothetical. With these premises, the geographical mapping of the places of production presents a majority of Venetian editions (454). Other places of production represented in the ledger include Milan (55), Pavia (34), Rome (24), Padua (20), Bologna (16), Treviso (14), Vicenza (10), Brescia (8), Verona (6), Ferrara (5), Mantua (4), Parma (4), Florence (3), Naples (3), Siena (3), Cividale (2), Pojano (1), Reggio Emilia (1), Colle Val d’Elsa (1), Pescia (1), Pisa (1), Perugia (1), as well as a few non-Italian editions, from Cologne (7), Basel (9), and Reutlingen (1), making a total of 234 non-Venetian editions in multiple copies, whose presence in Venice is evidence of their national and international trade.

Some 1,435 editions had been printed in Venice by the end of 1487, out of a total of 3,788 editions printed in the city up to 1500.²³ Some 4,769 editions were printed in Italy by the end of 1487, out of a total of 10,489 printed in the country up to 1500.

This means that the *Zornale* records the trade and sale of roughly a third of the production of the city known to us today, or one sixth of the entire production of the Italian peninsula.

2 The Most Expensive Books

The number of sales superior to a ducat is small and relates mostly to bulk sales, for which the individual prices have to be calculated on the basis of single sales elsewhere.

Among the individual editions which certainly cost more than one ducat we find bulky, multi-volume, publications in the fields of law,

²² A major case in point are the many editions of the law coming from Milan, partly discussed in Dondi, Harris, “Exporting Books from Milan to Venice”.

²³ Advanced search in ISTC: “not printed after” 1488. In consideration of the fact that the *Zornale* does not include single sheets, and that the number of editions dated to ‘c. 1500’ in ISTC is noticeable, the wide representation of editions in the ledger is even more remarkable.

philosophy, theology, together with editions of the Bible, accompanied by commentaries. First and foremost, the *Glossa ordinaria*.

On 17 May 1484 a "glosa ordinaria" is listed in the stock and it is disposed of only four days later for 10 ducats (1,240 *soldi*).

The price of this extensive commentary on Roman Civil Law might have been a bit steep at 10 ducats, but it consisted of over 1,500 leaves (1,628 to be precise) in six large in folio volumes.²⁴ For the same amount of money one could probably buy a lifetime's supply of leather boots.²⁵

3 The 'Middle of the Road' Books

What were the works that sold at the middle price range of one to three lire, that is between 20 and 60 *soldi*? *Mischino, Antonina defecerunt, Lucano, Peregrinationes Ierusalem, Esopo istoriato, Dinus de regulis iuris, Paulus Orosius...*

Basically, just about anything pertaining to the classics, philosophy, theology, popular literature, devotional works, liturgy, medicine, and education when printed on parchment, for example *Donato in carta bona*.

Among the best sellers, 933 copies of Breviaries and Diurnals and 246 Bibles were sold for 60 *soldi*, the amount needed to purchase a barrel of wine - enough for one person for two months - and a well-

²⁴ Justinianus, *Codex Justinianus* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 27 Feb. 1483. Folio. 294 leaves. GW 7729; ISTD ij00579000. Justinianus, *Digestum novum* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Ed: Matthaeus Barlasina. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 25 July 1482. Folio. 356 leaves. GW 7706; ISTD ij00568700. Justinianus, *Digestum vetus* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Ed: Mathaeus Barlasina. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 26 Mar. 1482. Folio. 404 leaves. GW 7660; ISTD ij00548300. Justinianus, *Infortiatum* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 10 Oct. 1482. Folio. 284 leaves. GW 7682; ISTD ij00557000. Justinianus, *Institutiones* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius). Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 14 Oct. 1482. Folio. 72 leaves. GW 7607; ISTD ij00523000. Justinianus, *Novellae constitutiones*, etc. Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, for Petrus Antonius de Castelliono and Ambrosius de Caymis, 28 Nov. 1482. Folio. 218 leaves. GW 7757; ISTD ij00594000. Cf. also Panzanelli Fratoni in this volume.

²⁵ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Giudici di Petizion, Rendimenti di conto*, b. 955, registro senza numero, c. 104 dx, 10 ottobre 1457: "Per fatura de 1 per de stivali al [unread] d. 0:24"; the expenses registered by Sanudo are expressed in ducats and *soldi*, but the entry about the boots was apparently recorded in silver grossi, one ducat being the equivalent of 24 silver grossi (my thanks to Isabella Cecchini). Cf. also Cecchini in this volume.

fed goose; or the equivalent of six pieces of green ginger.²⁶ 272 copies of Missals were sold for 40 *soldi*, that is the amount necessary to buy enough bread for a person for a month.²⁷

Finally, 68 copies of Petrarch were sold at 50 *soldi* each, the average salary for two days of the work of a master builder. From the research of Susan Connell we know that 15 *soldi* was the daily wage of an ordinary builder in Venice in this period, and that 28 *soldi* was the daily wage of a master builder.²⁸

4 The Cheapest and Best Selling Books

In the *Zornale* are listed about 1,160 sales of books whose price is 10 *soldi* or less, that is below the daily wage of an unskilled labourer, or the cost of two chickens. These are also the books that represent the highest number of sales in the ledger:²⁹

Psalteriolo de puti

Here the reference is to one or probably several lost editions, since the *Zornale* alone sells a total of 659 copies, at a price varying from four *soldi* right down to one, in the case of a large bulk purchase. What else could be purchased in Venice for four *soldi*? A chicken, or 'an excellent eel', or a packet of sugar. And for 1 *soldo* a pound of cherries.³⁰

26 For the wine and the goose, cf. Pinelli in this volume. At 10 *soldi* each, ginger was clearly a valuable spice; cf. the example provided in a chapter about barterers in *Arte dell'abbaco*. Treviso: [Gerardus de Lisa, de Flandria], 10 Dec. 1478. 4°. 62 leaves. GW 2674; ISTC ia01141000; g4v "de raxone de barati" [...] g5r "...Sono do merchadanti che vogliono baratare...in zenzeri a ducati 8 el cento...", 8 ducats for 100 pieces of green ginger = 992 *soldi* : 100 = 9.92 *soldi* each green ginger.

27 Cf. Pinelli in this volume.

28 Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*. Appendix 1: The value of money and the cost of living, with data from Connell, *The Employment of Sculptors as Stone-masons*, 183-4 'table of day wages paid to builders and house carpenters'.

29 I provide in the Appendix a list of all the works sold for less than 10 *soldi*, arranged by popularity, that is by number of copies sold. The table also provides the subject, the format, number of leaves (when known), and ISTC number. In this way I intend to offer an immediate snapshot of the cheapest and best-selling works. The descriptions of the entries have been prepared by Neil Harris and Cristina Dondi. We distinguish our identifications with extant editions into the categories of certain, probable, and possible.

30 For the price of squid and beef cf. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, 650: "About 1460, a pair of chickens cost 9 *soldi*, a fat goose 12 *soldi*; a 'pound' of cherries 1 *soldo*, of dried figs 2 *soldi*, of raisins 2-4 *soldi*; an 'excellent' eel 3 *soldi*, 'eleven pairs' of salted eels £ 1 s 4, 100 squid 5-6 *soldi*" quoting from Cecchetti, *La vita dei veneziani*. For the haircut cf. Cecchini in this volume.

In the whole of the *Zornale*, indeed, the single best-selling title is this simplified version of the psalter, whose primary purpose was as a basic learning tool for children. It opened with the letters of the alphabet and they were followed by a sequence of common prayers and catechetical instructions, such as *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, *Salve Regina*, *Decem praecepta*, *Virtutes septem*, and a selection of psalms and Gospel readings, such as Psalms 109-113, 116, 114, *Magnificat*, *Canticum Simeonis* ("Nunc dimittis"), Psalm 129 ("De profundis"), the beginning of the gospel of St. John.³¹ If the amounts recorded by de Madiis are anything of a guide, the Venetian presses must have churned out thousands of copies, probably tens of thousands, maybe even more, of this simple book. Today only one single copy - in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich - produced previous to the end of 1487 survives. It is undated, but is signed by Erhard Ratdolt, and is attributed by the repertories to 1486.³² Another was printed in Venice by Johannes Hamman in 1494, also surviving in a single copy once in the library at Dresden, and at present in Moscow, Russian State Library.³³

The simple content structure of this type of work no doubt derived from the medieval manuscript tradition and took many forms in different languages. Even in the 17th century in England the contents of hornbooks are recognisably similar and these books are today equally rare.³⁴

Offitieti pizoli

A total of 121 copies are listed in the stock in trade and 483 copies of small Books of Hours are sold overall. Their price was also 4 *sol-di* for the ordinary, paper copies.³⁵

31 Dondi, Harris, "Best Selling Titles", 67-8.

32 *Psalterium puerorum*. [Venice]: Erhard Ratdolt, [not after 1486]. 4^o. 8 leaves. BSB-Ink P-853; GW M35931; ISTC ip01073500 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Rar. 863, also available in digital copy. On these early learning texts, cf. also Leidinger, "Über ein Bruchstück eines unbekanntes Holztafeldruckes des XV. Jahrhunderts", 32-42 and plates 8-11; Wagner, "Alphabet, Paternoster und andere Gebete (Abecedarium)", 28-33, with a colour reproduction of a1r on 31.

33 *Pater noster*. Venice: Johannes Hamman, 1494. 4^o. 8 leaves. GW M29758; ISTC ip00148470; cf. also Schulz, "Das erste Lesebuch an den Lateinschulen des späten Mittelalters", 18-30.

34 For the tradition in Italian, the "Babuino", cf. Lucchi, Piero, "La santacroce"; "Leggere, scrivere e abbaco"; "La prima istruzione"; "Nuove ricerche sul Babuino". An English hornbook is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. A f.11; my thanks to my former colleague at the Bodleian Library, Alan Coates, for bringing this volume to my attention; cf. *William Shakespeare*, no. 2.

35 Dondi, Harris, "Best Selling Titles", 63-82; Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*.

A number of Books of Hours are specifically listed with the name of their printer, Jacobus Britannicus, Antonius de Stanchis de Valentia, and Petrus de Plasiis: none of these editions survive. Two other editions, by the Compagnia and by Boninus de Boninis in Verona, still survive today, each in a single copy.³⁶

Donado / Donati da puti

Donatus, Aelius, *Ars minor*. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, about 1478]. 4°. 24 leaves. GW 8991; ISTC id00341930. Probable.

Twenty copies are recorded in the first year stock in trade, some on parchment and some bound. One copy on parchment is sold on 3 June 1484 for £ 2, while two – again on parchment – are sold at the slightly discounted price of £ 3 s 10 on 12 June. Two copies of “donati da puti” on paper are sold on 23 June for 6 *soldi* and afterwards the price seems to stabilise at 5 *soldi*, the price of a kilo of beef, or 100 squid, or the payment for a haircut. A total of 258 copies are sold, so it is possible that these belonged to multiple editions.

Regule de Guarino

Guarinus Veronensis, *Regulae grammaticales*. Add. *Carmina differentialia. De diphthongis*. Venice: [Henricus de Harlem?], 10 Apr. 1484. 4°. 38 leaves. GW 11653; ISTC ig00536500. Only extant copy, formerly in Dresden, now in Moscow. Probable.

Six copies are recorded in the initial stock in trade. 252 copies of the grammar of Guarino Veronese are also sold for 4 *soldi* each.³⁷

De contemptu mundi

Gerson, Johannes [pseudo-; Thomas a Kempis], *Imitatio Christi*. Venice: Peter Loeslein, 1483. 4°. 52 leaves. GW M46816; ISTC ii0000500. Certain.

³⁶ *Horae ad usum Romanum*. Verona, Boninus de Boninis de Ragusia, 24 Oct. 1481, 16°. 182 leaves. GW 13389; ISTC ih00357600; MEI 00200541. Probable. The only surviving copy, printed on parchment, is held by the Biblioteca Civica of Bassano del Grappa. Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, no. 16. *Horae ad usum Romanum*. [Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula], for Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson and partners, 22 Dec. 1481, 32°. 160 leaves. GW 13362; ISTC ih00357700; MEI 00200543. Certain. The only surviving copy, printed on paper, is found in the Library of the Monastery of San Lazzaro degli Armeni in the Venice lagoon. Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, no. 18.

³⁷ Cf. note 30.

The opening of the edition has: "Incipit liber primus Johannis Gerson cancellarij parisiensis. De imitatione Christi et de contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi"; and the colophon: "Johannis Gerson cancellarij parisiensis de contemptu mundi devotum et vtile opusculum finit M.ccc.lxxxii..."

32 copies in stock. 135 copies are sold, initially at 10 soldi, dropping to 8 soldi by the end of 1484 and even 6 soldi in 1488.

Meditatione de la passione

Bonaventura, S. [pseudo; Johannes de Caulibus], *Meditationes vitae Christi* [Italian] *Le deuote meditatione sopra la passione del nostro signore*. Venice: Petrus Maufer de Maliferis and Nicolaus de Contugo, 10 Mar. 1483. 4°. 52 leaves. GW 4789 and ISTC ib00918000 (under Bonaventura, S.). Probable.

Ten copies are recorded in the first year stock in trade. 115 copies are sold, generally at 8 soldi, then down to 6.

Dotrinale

Three editions of this work are sold in the *Zornale*, either with or without a commentary: *Dotrinale con commento pizoli*; *Dotrinale con commento*; *Dotrinale senza commento*.

Alexander de Villa Dei, *Dotrinale (Comm: Ludovicus de Guaschis)*. Venice: Johannes Walbeck and Henricus de Harlem, 25 Apr. 1483. 4°. 132 leaves. GW 988; ISTC ia00425700. Probable.

Alexander de Villa Dei, *Dotrinale (Comm: Ludovicus de Guaschis)*. Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis and Johannes de Leodio, 27 July 1483. Folio. 68 leaves. GW 989; ISTC a00426000. Probable.

Alexander de Villa Dei, *Dotrinale*. Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 17 Dec. 1484. 4°. 32 leaves. GW 957; ISTC ia00421680. Probable.³⁸

A total of 33 copies are in stock the first year. 105 copies are sold, generally at 9 soldi, the equivalent of a pair of chickens.

³⁸ For other Milan editions sold in Venice cf. Dondi, Harris, "Exporting books from Milan to Venice"; this as well as several other editions had not been identified as coming from Milan during the preliminary survey.

Logica de Pergola

Paulus Pergulensis, *Compendium logicae*. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Dec. 1483. 4°. 46 leaves. GW M30240; ISTC ip00191000. Probable.

Twenty copies are in stock during the first year. 103 copies are sold, generally at the price of 10 soldi, in later years dropping to 8 soldi.

Overall, the affordable strong sellers listed in the Appendix are represented by five works of grammar and five of devotional literature, four works of lay literature, two works of logic, astrology, rhetoric and geography respectively, and individual works of liturgy, pastoral theology, history, and physics. Six of them are classical works, eleven medieval and nine either humanist or contemporary. Most editions are in quarto format (20), four are in folio, one in octavo, and one in 16°.

5 On Parchment, Bound, Gilt...

In the *Zornale*, books printed on parchment generally cost six times as much as copies of the same edition printed on paper. It should be noted, however, how few books printed on parchment are sold by this shop: only 77 books are recorded as being "in carta bona", out of the 25,000 copies recorded. We find 27 copies of Donatus, 25 of Books of Hours, 13 copies of the small Psalter (*Psalteriolo*), seven Missals, two Benedictine Diurnals, two Breviaries, and – the one important exception – a copy of Dante.

Books bound generally cost double the price of those sold unbound.³⁹ In the *Zornale*, the type of book which best represents the variation in price determined by the different support, as well as the expensive hand-finishing, is the Book of Hours, as outlined in a previous article.⁴⁰ It will be helpful to reproduce the data in that earlier article in this context:

Type	Printer	Bound	Parchment	Gothic Illustration type	Price in soldi	Comment
officio	Bressan				10	
officio	Bressan	X			20	Double
officio	Bressan		X		60	Six times

³⁹ Some 1,070 volumes are sold already bound, but only seven are further described as "indorati", with gold-tooling. Bound books present a further complexity, since it is sometimes possible that a volume is 'second-hand' and has been bound up by a previous purchaser, which might explain some discrepancies in price.

⁴⁰ Dondi, Harris, *Best Selling Titles*, 63-82.

officio	Bressan		X	8	
officio	Bressan	X	X	20	Double
off. piccolo	Bressan	X		15	Double
off. grande	Bressan			7-8	
officio	Piero veronese	X		20	Double
officio	Compagnia	X		20	Double
officio	Compagnia		X	60	Six times
officio		X	X	20	Double
officio			X	60	Six times
officio		X	X	90	Six times
off. grande				7-8	
off. grande		X		20	Double
off. istoriato				X	8-10

6 Conclusion

The *Zornale* is the largest single surviving set of prices for objects sold over the counter for the whole of the 15th century and, as such, it is a source of immense value, not just for bibliographers and book historians, but also for economic historians and historians in the widest sense of the word.

While it is not possible to compare these 15th-century prices with today's ones, it is both possible and necessary to make the effort to understand them.

The Rialto outlet of Francesco de Madiis was by no means the only book selling shop in Venice. To what extent is it representative of the category and of the book trade as a whole? It is impossible to say with any certainty, though the transactions involving other booksellers discussed in this volume may suggest that the size of the business of this bookshop was somewhat above average. On the other hand, the scale of the Venetian trade, as witnessed by what is clearly the fraction that does survive today, was enormous. The sheer wealth generated is shown by the fact that the Venetian printers and publishers, many of whom supplied the Rialto shop, took over the running of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco only a few years after its foundation. As today, a seat on the board of an important charity was not obtained without becoming a major benefactor.⁴¹

⁴¹ Dondi, "Printers and Guilds".

Part of the long-term project plan is to make the spreadsheets with the entire transcription, identification, and classification of the *Zornale* available to everyone. They will consist of an entry number, a computer friendly date, the day of the week (an item of information that the original does not include), the number of books bought every day, the date as it appears in the ledger (i.e. more veneto, with the start of a new year on 1 March), the different degrees of identification (certain, probable, possible) of editions; the edition's ISTC and GW numbers; standard author and title. Further, they will provide a transcription of the text as written in the *Zornale*, the number of copies sold, the price, subdivided in ducats, lire, and soldi, the overall price in soldi, the price per copy (when multiple copies are sold), the hypothetical value (when part of a bulk sale), whether a book is bound, or is part of a group sale, the number of books sold in each sale. Whether a book is additionally described as printed on parchment, with woodcut illustration, with hand-decoration, or gold-tooled. The name of the printer and of the purchaser, when mentioned; and the bibliographical identification, including format, number of leaves, and sheet-size. Finally, its subject, time period,⁴² and the time which has elapsed between its publication and its appearance in the ledger.

This benchmark will help anybody researching any work printed in the late 15th century to understand its economic value; it will also provide economic historians with the good quality, comprehensive, measurable, sets of data that they can crunch according to their own practices. Data which cannot, and should not, be ignored any longer.

Abbreviations

BSB-ink = <https://inkunabeln.digitale-sammlungen.de/sucheEin.html>

CIBN = Bibliothèque Nationale. *Catalogue des incunables*. Paris: BnF, 1981-2014

GW = <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>

INKA = <https://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/>

ISTC = https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search

MEI = https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search

⁴² Cf. Illustration 4 for a break down of editions according to the period in which the (main) work they include was composed, and Illustration 5 for subjects.

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- Sallustius Crispus, Gaius, *Opera*. Venice: [Nicolaus Girardengus, de Novis], 1480. Folio. GW M39660; ISTC is00067000

Appendix

Entries in <i>Zornale</i>	Identification	Copies sold	Subject	Period	Price (soldi)	Format	Leaves	ISTC
Psalteriolo de puti	<i>Psalterium puerorum</i>	659	grammar	medieval	1	quarto	8?	lost edition
Ofitieti pizoli	Officium BMV	483	liturgy	medieval	4	16°?	192?	lost edition
Donado	Donatus, <i>Ars minor</i>	258	grammar	classical	5	quarto	24	id00341930
Regule de Guarino	Guarinus Veronesis, <i>Regulae grammaticales</i>	252	grammar	humanist	4	quarto	38	ig00536500
De (con)te(m)tu mundi	Thomas a Kempis, <i>Imitatio Christi</i>	135	literature-devotional	contemporary	6	quarto	52	ii00005000
Meditatione de la passione	Caulibus, Johannes de, <i>Meditationes vitae Christi</i>	115	literature-devotional	medieval	6	quarto	52	ib00918000
Dotrinale senza (commento)	Alexander de Villa Dei, <i>Doctrinale</i>	105	grammar	medieval	9	folio	32	ia00426000
Logica de P(er)gola	Paulus Pergulensis, <i>Compendium logicae</i>	103	philosophy-logic	contemporary	7	quarto	46	ip00191000
Esopi pizoli	Aesopus <i>moralizatus</i>	69	literature	classical	4	octavo	18	ia00125500
Michel Schoto	Scotus, Michael, <i>Liber physiognomiae</i>	62	astrology	medieval	8	quarto	48	im00551800
Elegantiole Augustini Dati	Datus, Augustinus, <i>Elegantiolae</i>	55	rhetoric	humanist	4	quarto	20	id00069600
Logicha de M.ro Paulo (da) Venetia	Paulus Venetus, <i>Logica</i>	54	philosophy-logic	medieval	8	quarto	50	ip00226000
Transito de s. Ieroni(m)oli(te)r(al)e	Hieronymus, <i>Vita et transitus</i>	50	literature-devotional	medieval	8	quarto	44	ih00243000
Erotemata greca	Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i>	46	grammar	humanist	5	quarto	32	ic00494000
Formulario de li(te)re	Landinus, Christophorus, <i>Formulario di lettere e di orazioni in volgare</i>	46	rhetoric	humanist	4	quarto	44	il00037500
Fior de uirtu	<i>Fiore di virtù</i>	43	literature-devotional	medieval	4	quarto	32	if00178800
Antoni(n)a p(er) volgare	Antoninus Florentinus, <i>Confessionale: Omnis mortalium cura</i> [Italian]	42	theology-pastoral	medieval	6	quarto	50	ia00852000

Entries in <i>Zornale</i>	Identification	Copies sold	Subject	Period	Price (soldi)	Format	Leaves	ISTC
Persio [con] (commen)to	Persius, Aulus Flaccus, <i>Satyrae</i> , with the commentary of Bartholomaeus Fontius	42	literature	classical	6	folio	22	ip00345000
Salustio	Sallustius Crispus, Gaius, <i>Opera</i>	39	history	classical	8	folio	52	is00067000
Ars ciromantie	Chiromantia [Italian]	33	astrology	contemporary	5	quarto	28	ic00467600
Proportionario de Alberto	Albertus de Saxonia, <i>De proportionibus</i>	33	physics	medieval	3	quarto	12	ia00342000
Canzo[ne]te de Iustiniano	Justiniano, Leonardo, <i>Canzonette</i>	32	literature	contemporary	5	quarto	44	ij00501000
Pomponio Mela	Mela, Pomponius, <i>Cosmographia</i>	32	geography	classical	7	quarto	48	im00452000
Burcelo	Burchiello, <i>Sonetti</i>	29	literature	contemporary	8	quarto	64	ib01289000
Fioreti de la Bibbia piccoli	<i>Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia</i>	29	literature-devotional	medieval	6	folio	58	if00171950
Dionisio de sic<tu> horbis	Dionysius Periegetes, <i>De situ orbis</i>	27	geography	classical	5	quarto	36	id00254000

«Con un altro piccolo Indice in 4° bislungo» Un inventario di libri conservato dentro il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis

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Abstract In the Marciana library the pressmark Classe XI, 45 (7439), as is well known, stands for Francesco de Madiis's *Zornale*. What is less well known is that it actually refers to two manuscripts. Together with the *Zornale*, usually placed inside the front cover, is kept another, much smaller, manuscript list of books. The records of the library show that the two documents arrived together in 1812, after their discovery in the attics of Palazzo Ducale. So far the second manuscript has not drawn the attention of scholars and no study on the *Zornale* has ever mentioned it; the relationship between the two is nevertheless worth clarifying. The manuscript, a quarto in agenda format, consists of sixteen leaves and the list is composed of 262 entries, among which there are 235 printed books. Its transcription and analysis allow the identification of the books and, in some cases, of the editions, revealing the presence of a significant number of books printed beyond the Alps, most of which are related to the Reformation, thus giving a clue to the identity of the owner, as well as a date, showing that the list could not have been written earlier than 1543.

Keywords Manuscript. Inventory Of Books. Printed Books. XVI Century. Reformation. Catholic Church. Theology.

Sommario 1 Introduzione. – 2 Prima dell'arrivo in Marciana. – 3 L'inventario. – 3.1 La carta, il formato, le filigrane. – 3.2 Un inventario post mortem? – 3.3 La mano che scrisse l'inventario. – 3.4 Una proposta di datazione. – 3.5 Al di qua e al di là delle Alpi. – 3.6 Il possessore della raccolta: un identikit. – 4 Conclusioni.



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"I was born to be your rival," she [Anne] said simply.
 "And you mine. We're sisters, aren't we?"
 (Philippa Gregory, *The Other Boleyn Girl*, 2001)

1 Introduzione

Nel 2001 Philippa Gregory pubblica il romanzo storico *The Other Boleyn Girl*. Nel 2008 la storia viene riproposta sul grande schermo, interpretata da Natalie Portman, nel ruolo di Anna Bolena, e Scarlett Johansson, in quello di Maria Bolena. Il bello e tenebroso attore australiano che indossa i panni di Enrico VIII non risulta invece degno di nota. Le vere protagoniste sono due donne, sorelle e al contempo rivali: la prima, Anna, ampiamente conosciuta e documentata sul piano storico, fu la seconda moglie di Enrico VIII e la prima - ma non l'ultima - a morire per decapitazione; la seconda, Maria, è sempre rimasta nell'ombra, pressoché ignota, fino al romanzo della Gregory. Non si tratta però di una finzione letteraria: Maria Bolena è storicamente esistita, fu l'amante di Enrico VIII prima della sorella Anna e da lui ebbe forse un figlio, Henry Carey, riconosciuto dal marito di Maria, William Carey.

Mutatis mutandis, questa situazione si ripropone anche per il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis. In tutta la letteratura sul codice Marciano Italiano, classe XI, 45 (7439) si parla solo e soltanto di un manoscritto: il *Zornale*, protagonista indiscusso della mostra *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500. I cinquant'anni che hanno cambiato l'Europa*, nonché del convegno i cui atti sono raccolti in questo volume. Ma, in realtà, i manoscritti sono due e in questa circostanza si svelerà la storia del secondo, ossia 'the other Zornale manuscript'. Il parente dimenticato del *Zornale* è un piccolo fascicolo composto da sedici carte, in formato in quarto oblungo, che misura 29 × 11 cm. A prima vista appare come una mera lista di libri e altri oggetti, alquanto anonima, senza annotazioni di date, né luoghi, né note di possesso. A una più attenta analisi, però, si scopre che le 262 voci scritte comprendono: 235 libri a stampa, dieci manoscritti, due voci indicanti fogli di carta non ancora utilizzati e 15 voci riguardanti indumenti e stoffe.

Il fascicolo, privo di coperta, è stato inserito, a un certo punto della storia, all'interno del *Zornale*. Il nodo centrale da sciogliere è quando ciò sia avvenuto: prima o dopo l'arrivo del manoscritto in Marciana? E inoltre, qual è il legame tra questi due documenti?

2 Prima dell'arrivo in Marciana

Per cercare di dipanare la matassa, un buon punto di partenza è il catalogo manoscritto dei codici italiani della Marciana, nel quale si legge:

Cod. XLV. Cart. Sec. XV. In f° bislungo. (Arch. Pub.)

CATALOGO di Libri, con un altro piccolo Indice in 4° bislungo [dello stampatore Franc.o de Madiis].¹

La voce rientra nei cataloghi designati come *Appendici*, perché registrano i manoscritti entrati nella biblioteca dopo la pubblicazione dei cataloghi a stampa dello Zanetti nel 1740-1741, e sembra essere stata scritta dalla mano di Pietro Bettio (1769-1846), vice-custode della biblioteca Marciana e bibliotecario, alla morte di Jacopo Morelli (1745-1819).² Fu proprio il Bettio a cominciare la compilazione delle *Appendici*, sebbene non tutte le registrazioni siano di suo pugno, dal momento che questi cataloghi continuarono a essere aggiornati nel corso dell'Ottocento e anche nel Novecento. Si deduce dunque che l'inventario era già all'interno del *Zornale* quando quest'ultimo venne catalogato, non oltre il finire della prima metà dell'Ottocento.

La piccola noticina tra parentesi tonde segnala la provenienza dall'Archivio Pubblico, mentre nell'etichetta di carta incollata sul primo risguardo del *Zornale* è indicato l'Archivio di Stato, indicazione che ha portato diversi studiosi a credere che i due manoscritti fossero stati conservati nel complesso dei Frari, sede dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, prima di essere trasferiti alla Biblioteca Marciana.³ La notizia è incorretta, e per tale ragione diventa indispensabile chiarire l'arrivo del *Zornale* e dell'inventario alla Marciana. Bartolomeo Cecchetti (1838-1889), sovrintendente per gli archivi del Veneto, fu il primo a menzionare il *Zornale* in un articolo, nel 1885, all'interno della rivista da lui diretta *Archivio veneto*.⁴ Racconta che il manoscritto fu consegnato al bibliotecario della Marciana Jacopo Morelli il 13 agosto 1812 e cita un fascicolo della Procura Generale presso la Regia Corte di Appello, oggi conservato all'Archivio di Stato di Ve-

¹ Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Codici italiani. Appendice, vol. VI, classe XI, Miscellanea, c. 164. Parentesi tonde e quadre così nella fonte.

² Nel 1871, all'inizio del volume quarto delle *Appendici* ai manoscritti italiani, contenente la classe VII sulla storia veneziana, Giovanni Veludo scrisse una nota, specificando a quali voci corrispondessero le mani dei compilatori succedutisi. Il confronto tra questo volume e quello della classe XI fa supporre che la mano che redasse la voce del *Zornale* sia stata quella del Bettio.

³ Dondi, Harris, «Oil and Green Ginger», 341.

⁴ Cecchetti, «La stampa tabellare in Venezia», 87-91.

nezia, riguardante il ritrovamento di vecchie carte nei sottotetti della Basilica di San Marco e di Palazzo Ducale.⁵

Leggendo il fascicolo, si scopre che da tempo girava voce che, in un locale sotto il tetto della Basilica di San Marco, esistessero delle vecchie carte, tutte ammucchiate, polverose, ammuffite. Nel 1811 la notizia arriva ad orecchie attente, quelle del Vice Conservatore dell'Archivio Notarile, che si insospettisce. Nell'archivio in cui lavora mancano i codici precedenti al XIII secolo per quanto riguarda i testamenti e i codici precedenti al XV secolo relativamente alle abbreviature. Sono stati tutti distrutti dagli incendi o, voglia il caso, potrebbero trovarsi in quel deposito in soffitta di cui gira voce? Egli avvisa il suo superiore, il Conservatore dell'Archivio Notarile, che scrive al Procuratore Generale presso la Regia Corte d'Appello in Venezia, chiedendogli se ha notizia di questo deposito di documenti e se sia possibile fare un sopralluogo. Il Procuratore, a sua volta, scrive al Prefetto dell'Adriatico che, finalmente, il 4 dicembre 1811 risponde alla domanda posta varie missive prima:

È di fatto che sotto il tetto della Regia Basilica di San Marco esistono delle carte, e tanto attesta la commissione incaricata a vegliare sulla manutenzione della Chiesa e del Regio Palazzo.

Tanto io quanto la commissione predetta ci presteremo ben di buon grado alla visita unitamente a quelle persone, ch'Essa crederà di seco condurre.⁶

Confermata l'esistenza del deposito, poco dopo, nel gennaio 1812, il Conservatore dell'Archivio Notarile Giovanni Matteo Maderni (fl. 1776-1829)⁷ compie l'ispezione, accompagnato dal suo vice, Giovanni Filippo Maderni (fl. 1781-1823),⁸ e dal riordinatore dell'Archivio di Deposito Giudiziario, tale Girolamo Romano. Il 17 gennaio invia una relazione al Procuratore Generale:

Verificatosi col fatto la reposizione da tempo immemorabile degli antichi documenti in un locale posto sotto il tetto della Chiesa di San Marco [...] Contiene la stanza o il locale di cui sopra una serie non mediocre di atti notarili autentici, cioè testamenti, contratti, titoli originari di beni stabili, inventari nuziali etc. in rotoli in pergamena di antichissime date, cioè dei secoli X, XI, XII, XIII,

⁵ ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119. Note su questi depositi documentari sono anche presenti in Tiepolo, «Venezia», 1062-5.

⁶ ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 1609/1811.

⁷ Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, 238.

⁸ Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, 238.

XIV, XV, quali si scorgono confusi, assai polverosi, malconci, abbandonati, e fuori di attività con verosimile pericolo di distruzione e corruzione; non essendo per quanto abbiamo potuto ritraere dalla loro posizione, e dalle prese informazioni, custoditi da alcuno; d'altronde abbiamo occasione di subordinarLe, signor Barone Procuratore, quanti utili risulterebbero dalla reposizione regolare di detti preziosi fragmenti nell'Archivio d'Ispezione a riempire que' vacui, che dalla mala custodia, dagli incendi, e da altre eventualità per li tempi occorsi si trova troppo depauperato di materie ai secoli succennati appartenenti, di quali, non di rado succedono ricorrenti nazionali per esigere le copie.⁹

L'archivista, compresa la preziosità dei documenti, comunica la sua forte preoccupazione per il loro stato di conservazione, cercando contemporaneamente di convincere il Procuratore a trasportarli in un luogo più consono, così da poter anche arricchire l'archivio di cui è a capo.

Inaspettatamente, durante la visita, gli archivisti ispettori scoprono un altro deposito documentario, situato nell'edificio vicino, Palazzo Ducale.

Contiene l'altra stanza esistente sotto il tetto d'una sala del Palazzo della Comune, volgarmente detta la Sala dello Scrutinio una più grande quantità di carte, parte riposte in cassoni già aperti, in parte gettate in confuso sul pavimento, logore anch'esse, malconcie, ed in istato di deperimento, e dispersione, per mancanza di sorveglianza e custodia. Consistono queste in manoscritti, fascicoli, quinterneti in pergamena di rimotissimi tempi, processi, e carte sciolte anche di epoche non tanto rimote.¹⁰

Informato, il Procuratore propone al Prefetto che le carte siano portate nell'ex-convento di San Giovanni in Laterano, dove erano stati collocati gli archivi giudiziari, secondo la divisione, decisa nel 1807 in seguito all'aggregazione del Veneto al Regno d'Italia, degli archivi della Repubblica in tre sedi: politica, giudiziaria e fiscale.¹¹ Nell'aprile 1812 avviene lo spostamento delle carte e a luglio iniziano i lavori della commissione preposta. Essa è composta da i già citati Giovanni Filippo Maderni e Girolamo Romano, e da Marco Solari, nominata dal Prefetto. Il primo si occupa dei documenti provenienti dalla

⁹ ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 80/1812.

¹⁰ ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 80/1812.

¹¹ Tiepolo, «Venezia», 873.

Basilica di San Marco; gli altri due si dedicano alle carte ritrovate sotto i piombi di Palazzo Ducale. Non si tratta di un vero lavoro di riordino, piuttosto di un riconoscimento e separazione delle carte per categoria, secondo le istruzioni fornite dalla Prefettura Generale degli Archivi. Le carte devono essere smistate in tre classi: carte notarili; carte giudiziarie; carte diplomatiche, politiche, amministrative ed economiche.

Il 7 agosto 1812, Maderni e Romano inviano al Procuratore Generale il primo rapporto, in cui elencano alcuni oggetti degni di nota ritrovati durante i primi mesi di lavoro:

Nelle carte di provenienza di Candia si è trovato il noto manoscritto del Cardinal Bessarione in carattere greco, or consegnato alla Reale Biblioteca per ordine Superiore Governo e contro ricevuta di quel Signor Bibliotecario Cavaliere Abate Morelli.¹²

Si è trovato pure un catalogo di un bibliopola di opere di quattrocentisti con i prezzi de' libri stati venduti, e vendibili, che conta l'epoca del 1484. Desso può somministrare un'idea dei primordi letterari, e dell'invenzione della stampa.¹³

12 I documenti provenienti da Candia sono conservati in Archivio di Stato, si veda *Guida generale*, 1008: «L'archivio del duca e quello dei notai di Candia furono portati a Venezia nel 1670 dopo la perdita della città e dell'isola al termine del venticinquennale assedio (1645-1669) e a palazzo ducale vennero affidati al profugo Tommaso Sacchellari, notaio e ultimo vicecancellier grande, nominato custode dell'archivio delle scritture di Candia. Ancora accessibili alla metà del Settecento, le carte cretesi, insieme a molte altre, furono riscoperte in due momenti distinti e in sedi separate all'inizio del sec. XIX: parte nel 1811 in un ambiente di palazzo ducale sovrastante la sala dello scrutinio, parte nel 1819 nel deposito degli archivi demaniali a S. Provolo, e da apposite commissioni furono suddivise in notarili, giudiziarie, politico-diplomatiche per essere consegnate ai competenti istituti».

Il manoscritto greco menzionato è stato identificato con il Codice Gr IV, 52 (=1366) della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Nel fascicolo della Procura Generale presso la Regia Corte d'Appello è conservata la ricevuta firmata da Jacopo Morelli:

Venezia 29 Luglio 1812. Dalla R.a Bibliotheca

Certifico io sottoscritto che oggi delli Sig.ri Delegati all'esame delle carte trovate sotto li Piombi della Chiesa di S. Marco e del Palazzo ex ducale di questa città è stato a me consegnato un Libro Manoscritto Greco del secolo XV. legato in pergamena composto di fogli scritti n° quarantauno, contenente una Lettera del Card.le Bessarione a Teodoro Gaza, e la Risposta di questo, relative alla Controversia Letteraria del Card. le Bessarione con Giorgio da Trebisonda calunniatore di Platone (ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 937/1813)

Il manoscritto contiene una lettera di Bessarione, scritta nel 1456 o all'inizio del 1457, e un trattato di Teodoro Gaza scritto in risposta e composto nella seconda metà del 1458 (Labowsky, «An Unknown Treatise by Theodorus Gaza», 177-8). Labowsky afferma che il manoscritto appartiene a un'unica mano e suppone che si tratti di quella di Teodoro Gaza (173-4).

13 ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 1107/1812.

Senza dubbio, questa è la prima descrizione del *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis. Come per il manoscritto greco sopra menzionato, il *Zornale* non viene considerato un documento archivistico e per questo, pochi giorni dopo, è consegnato alla Biblioteca Marciana, dietro ricevuta firmata da Jacopo Morelli. La stessa destinazione riceveranno anche altri manoscritti d'opere letterarie, ritenuti privi di alcun legame con l'Archivio Notarile o Giudiziario. Di seguito il testo della ricevuta del *Zornale*:

Venezia, li 13 Agosto 1812.

Certifico io sottoscritto, che oggi dalli signori delegati all'esame delle carte ritrovate sotto i piombi della chiesa di San Marco, e del Palazzo ex-Ducale di questa città sono stati a me consegnati

Primo. Un codice cartaceo coperto con tavolette, logoro quasi del tutto, di carte scritte in parte, in parte no, n° 44, continente il principio della Iliade di Omero in verso latino, ed alcuni frammenti di Ovidio.

Secondo. Un giornale tenuto da un libraio, che sembra essere Felice Minuziano, dei libri dallo stesso venduti dalli 17 maggio 1484 sino alli 22 gennaio 1487 con altre annotazioni di libri entranti nel di lui negozio, di carte scritte, e bianche n° 159.

Terzo. Un cataloghetto, o inventario dei libri di un privato, che sembra scritto nel principio del secolo XVI; di carte scritte n° 5. a questi da conservarsi nella Regia Biblioteca, a mia cura.¹⁴

La descrizione del terzo manoscritto è palesemente quella dell'inventario di libri oggi all'interno del *Zornale*: i due documenti, dunque, sono stati sicuramente conservati insieme almeno a partire dall'entrata in Marciana, nel 1812. Come si apprende inoltre dalla relazione stesa da Girolamo Romano al termine del suo lavoro, il 30 giugno 1813, sia il *Zornale* sia l'inventario giacevano tra le carte ritrovate a Palazzo Ducale, nell'ambiente sovrastante la Sala dello Scrutinio. Sorge naturale il dubbio che i due manoscritti già in questo luogo si trovassero uno all'interno dell'altro, o perlomeno vicini. L'ammasso di carte trasportate da Palazzo Ducale all'ex-convento di San Giovanni in Laterano era molto consistente, 352 sacchi, e gli archivisti impiegarono un anno intero per smistare tutti i documenti nelle tre classi, concludendo solo a giugno 1813. Considerata la vastità del deposito, può essere solo una coincidenza il ritrovamento sia del *Zornale* sia dell'inventario nei primi mesi di lavoro e la loro congiunta consegna alla Biblioteca Marciana? La possibilità che si trovassero già vicini rimane aperta, anche se non ancora confermata.

¹⁴ ASV, Procura Generale presso la Corte d'Appello di Venezia, Atti, b. 59, fasc. 119, prot. nr. 937/1813.

È certo, invece, che all'inizio della loro storia i due manoscritti ebbero 'vite' separate. Su tutte le sedici carte dell'inventario, infatti, sono presenti minute lacune dovute ai camminamenti di anobidi, ovvero tarli;¹⁵ esse sono posizionate al centro della pagina, leggermente spostate verso il margine interno, impedendo in alcuni casi la decifrazione della scrittura. Lacune simili non sono state riscontrate nel *Zornale*, prova che i due manoscritti furono conservati separatamente per un certo lasso di tempo iniziale, quanto bastò agli anobidi per compiere il loro dannoso lavoro sull'inventario.

3 L'inventario

Dopo aver ricostruito un breve tratto della misteriosa storia del *Zornale*, è giusto lasciar spazio al suo piccolo parente dimenticato: l'inventario. Esso non è mai stato menzionato da nessuno tra gli studiosi che si sono occupati del *Zornale*, sebbene, come si è dimostrato, è stato conservato al suo interno perlomeno a partire dal 1812.¹⁶

3.1 La carta, il formato, le filigrane

Partendo dalla descrizione del supporto, l'inventario è composto da un unico fascicolo di sedici carte, di formato in-quarto oblungo. I filoni sono verticali e le vergelle orizzontali; i quattro fogli di carta sono stati quindi piegati due volte a metà, parallelamente al lato corto, venendo a creare un formato oblungo, estremamente funzionale per la compilazione di una lista, perché l'altezza della pagina è di molto maggiore alla larghezza.

La carta utilizzata per l'inventario presenta due elementi peculiari. Il primo riguarda la posizione della filigrana. Essa è un agnello pasquale iscritto in un cerchio, simile alle filigrane numeri 47-49 in Briquet, il quale le ha individuate in documenti datati: Venezia, 1484 (nr. 47); Firenze 1498 (nr. 48); Firenze 1511 e Treviso 1514 (nr. 49). Le filigrane si trovano nelle prime quattro carte del fascicolo. Nelle

¹⁵ Ringrazio la dott.ssa Silvia Pugliese, coordinatrice del Dipartimento Tutela, Conservazione, Prevenzione e Restauro della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, per le informazioni riguardanti la causa delle lacune dell'inventario e le operazioni di restauro del *Zornale*.

¹⁶ Gli studi e gli articoli sul *Zornale* consultati, in cui non viene segnalata la presenza dell'inventario, sono i seguenti: Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 36-9, 431-52; Saccardo, *Il "Zornale" di una libreria veneziana*; Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing*, 173-206; Dondi, Harris, «Oil and Green Ginger», 341-406; «Best Selling Titles and Books of Hours», 63-82; «Exporting Books from Milan», 121-48; «I romanzi cavallereschi nel Zornale», 251-99.

cc. 1-2 la bandiera dell'agnello pasquale è stretta e la filigrana misura 44 mm di diametro; nelle cc. 3-4, invece, la bandiera è larga e la filigrana ha un diametro di 42 mm. Si è dunque in presenza di filigrane gemelle: quella con la bandiera stretta è la filigrana di destra, si trovava cioè nella metà destra del rispettivo modulo; quella con la bandiera larga è la filigrana di sinistra. Nei fogli usati per l'inventario, la filigrana non è però posizionata al centro di una delle due metà, ma spostata leggermente verso il vero centro del foglio. Si ricorda che nelle cartiere rinascimentali di Fabriano avvenne un cambiamento strutturale per cui si aggiunse, nella forma, un filone supplementare disposto tra due filoni maggiormente distanti tra di loro e a cui venne ancorata la filigrana: questa innovazione comportò lo spostamento della filigrana di circa un filone verso il vero centro del foglio. Non si è però ancora riusciti a stabilire se la carta dell'inventario provenne da Fabriano o da cartiere limitrofe, anche a causa della presenza del secondo elemento peculiare: il tranciafilo. Esso è un filo d'ottone posizionato tra l'ultimo filone e il bordo del modulo e cucito con una catenella alla forma. È privo di colonnello e il suo scopo è quello di rinforzare i lati corti della forma, particolarmente vulnerabili perché le estremità delle vergelle non sono fissate. Il tranciafilo è una caratteristica tipica della carta prodotta Oltralpe, si diffuse a partire dalla Francia sud-orientale fino a raggiungere l'Olanda e non è solitamente presente nella carta italiana. Esistono però alcuni esempi di carta con tranciafilo usata a Roma nel Cinquecento.¹⁷

L'analisi della posizione delle filigrane, presenti nelle prime quattro carte del fascicolo, e dei tranciafilo, che compaiono lungo tutta la seconda metà, ha permesso di ricostruire l'allestimento del fascicolo: i quattro fogli di carta furono posizionati uno sull'altro, piegati tutti insieme, cuciti con due punti di filo e tagliati lungo i bordi. Questa struttura assicura che il fascicolo fu progettato fin dal suo inizio di sedici carte e che né furono aggiunte carte, né furono tolte.

3.2 Un inventario *post mortem*?

Dimostrare l'interezza del fascicolo è importante, dal momento che la maggior parte delle carte non sono scritte. L'inventario, infatti, inizia a c. 2r e continua per metà di c. 2v, dove si interrompe con la voce nr. 49; la seconda metà di c. 2v rimane bianca e l'inventario riprende a c. 3r per proseguire fino a tre quarti di c. 4r. Seguono due car-

¹⁷ Sia per la posizione della filigrana nella carta di Fabriano, sia per il tranciafilo, si è fatto riferimento a Harris, *Paper and Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence*. Per l'uso di carta con tranciafilo a Roma nel Cinquecento: Harris, «Printing the Gospels in Arabic», 148 nota 8.

te bianche (cc. 4v-5r) e la registrazione di nuove voci riparte a c. 5v fino a c. 6v, dove termina la parte relativa a libri e manoscritti con il nr. 247. A c. 7r sono registrate 15 voci riguardanti vesti e panni (nrr. 248-262) e qui si conclude definitivamente l'inventario. Le carte restanti (cc. 7v-16v) sono bianche.

Qual è il motivo di questo alternarsi di pagine scritte e pagine bianche? Esso crea delle sotto-liste, all'interno delle quali, però, i libri e i manoscritti non appaiono suddivisi secondo alcuna logica, per esempio il soggetto o la lingua. Il compilatore li registra così come li trova, sulla mensola o nella cassa dove sono riposti, senza alcuna intenzione di ordinarli. Questo aspetto è particolarmente evidente nelle opere in più tomi, i quali non sono necessariamente accostati nelle voci della lista. Un esempio sono i quattro tomi del commento di Tommaso d'Aquino alle *Sentenze* di Pietro Lombardo: il terzo e il quarto tomo sono le voci nrr. 169-170 alla c. 5v, il primo e il secondo si trovano invece registrati nella pagina successiva, c. 6r, ai nrr. 196-197. Anche nel caso di volumi della stessa edizione registrati vicini, il compilatore non li riordina. Così a c. 3r, il nr. 70 registra la terza parte della *Summa Theologica* di sant'Antonino, il nr. 71 la seconda parte, il nr. 72 la prima e il nr. 73 la quarta. Solo gli indumenti e le stoffe si trovano tutti raggruppati in un'unica sotto-lista a sé, a c. 7r.

La prima sotto-lista dell'inventario, cc. 2r-v, si conclude con la voce *5 borse de pergamino con scripturas trobadas enla camara doue dormeua meo signor en vn armaruolo* (c. 2v, nr. 49); la seconda, cc. 3r-4r, con la semplice indicazione *Erasmi opuscula* (c. 4r, nr. 149); la terza, cc. 5v-6v, termina con l'indicazione *Certi libri di conti e paqueti di litere che stauano inel studieto /o/ camareta picoleta* (c. 6v, nr. 247); la quarta, c. 7r, comprende gli indumenti. Sintomatico il fatto che le uniche due indicazioni di luoghi fisici dell'intero inventario, la *camara* e lo *studieto o camareta picoleta*, compaiano esattamente in corrispondenza del termine di due delle quattro sotto-liste. Il compilatore sta dunque elencando libri e oggetti presenti in diversi ambienti della casa o conservati in diversi luoghi, una cassa, uno scaffale, un *armaruolo*, e l'alternarsi delle pagine scritte e bianche nel manoscritto rispecchia proprio la disposizione dei libri in diversi luoghi della casa.

Considerato tutto ciò, l'inventario potrebbe essere stato redatto in vista di un trasloco, per controllare che nulla fosse andato perduto al termine dei lavori, o, ipotesi più probabile, come un inventario *post mortem*. Come si è giunti a questa conclusione? In primo luogo, la lista appare chiaramente come la biblioteca di un privato: non sono presenti titoli doppi, se non in due casi,¹⁸ e l'intento del compilato-

¹⁸ I due titoli doppi sono: *De magistratibus sacerdotiisque Romanorum* di Andrea Ficocchi (c. 3v, nr. 108; c. 4r, nr. 129) e gli *Opuscula* di Erasmo (c. 4r, nr. 149; c. 6r, nr. 203); nulla esclude che si tratti di edizioni differenti.

re è quello di identificare il volume, non l'edizione. Nelle voci, infatti, egli scrive solo l'autore e/o il titolo dell'opera, tralasciando ulteriori informazioni bibliografiche: esse non sono necessarie, perché il titolo solo basta a identificare il libro, dal momento che nella biblioteca c'è un'unica edizione di quell'opera e non possono sorgere fraintendimenti. Solo talvolta il compilatore aggiunge al titolo la specificazione della lingua, greca o ebraica, non tanto per distinguere l'edizione latina da quella greca, quanto per segnalare la presenza di un testo in lingua diversa dall'abituale latino. Il metodo del compilatore, anche se sintetico, risulta comunque efficace: prova ne è il fatto che ancora oggi si sono riusciti a identificare 229 titoli dei 235 libri a stampa presenti nell'inventario. A favore di un inventario *post mortem*, inoltre, la sopraccitata voce che conclude c. 2v assume una notevole rilevanza. Il verbo usato al tempo imperfetto, *enla camara doue dormeua meo signor*, indica forse che il possessore della raccolta era morto e un suo segretario o maggiordomo aveva ricevuto l'incarico di redigere la lista dei libri e oggetti del suo defunto signore.

3.3 La mano che scrisse l'inventario

La voce *5 bolse de pergamino con scripturas trobadas enla camara doue dormeua meo signor en vn armaruolo* (c. 2v, nr. 49) prova anche che il possessore della raccolta e il compilatore sono due identità distinte, ma indizi di ciò si rintracciano anche in altri punti dell'inventario. Il compilatore, la cui scrittura si colloca alla metà del Cinquecento, appare come un uomo istruito e colto, ma non un erudito. A differenza del possessore, che vanta nella sua biblioteca libri in ebraico, grammatiche e lessici per lo studio della lingua ebraica, il compilatore non conosce questa lingua. In due casi, infatti, scrive solo *vn libro ebreo* (c. 5v, nr. 165; c. 6r, nr. 221), senza nessun'altra specificazione: egli non è in grado di comprendere il contenuto del libro perché non conosce l'ebraico, e non trova alcuna indicazione in latino, stampata sul frontespizio o apposta manoscritta, che possa venirgli in aiuto. Per quanto riguarda il greco, invece, non è chiaro se il compilatore lo sappia leggere o meno. A c. 2v scrive *Vn libro greco di mano antiquo* (nr. 48) senza darne il titolo; in altre occasioni, tutte relative a libri a stampa, registra invece, in caratteri latini, titoli e autori di opere greche, ma non è da escludere che i frontespizi fossero sia in greco sia in latino.

La lingua maggiormente utilizzata dal compilatore è il latino, anche quando si tratta di trascrivere i pochi titoli di opere in volgare presenti. Il volgare e lo spagnolo emergono quando il compilatore descrive degli oggetti e non è vincolato dai frontespizi dei volumi. Per esempio, a c. 6v troviamo, una di seguito all'altra, la voce in italiano *vn libreto /e vna carta di quarto di folio per scriuere memorie* (nr. 231)

e la voce in spagnolo *dos quinternos y medio de carta de forma mediana /e vna pauta* (nr. 232). Mentre per i libri a stampa il compilatore fornisce solo titolo e/o autore, nel caso di manoscritti specifica che sono scritti a mano e, in due casi, aggiunge un giudizio sulla consistenza o grandezza dell'oggetto: *gramatica greca in sex folii de carta* (c. 3v, nr. 89) e *de astrologia piccolo manu* (c. 3v, nr. 110).

Il compilatore è inoltre attento nel segnalare libri in lingua diversa dal latino o dal volgare. Per esempio, nel caso di Aristofane, il volume in greco è registrato come *aristofanes greco* (c. 3v, nr. 98), mentre per la traduzione latina, *comedie aristhofanis* (c. 6v, nr. 233), non è aggiunta alcuna specificazione sulla lingua, poiché è dato per scontato che il volume sia in latino. L'eccezione che conferma la regola è a c. 3r, *thicipides latinus* (nr. 59): al di là dell'errore sul nome, il compilatore sottolinea che si tratta della traduzione latina. Egli è dunque a conoscenza che l'opera originale è in greco, che viene stampata sia in greco sia in traduzione latina, e che quindi, a scanso di equivoci, è più saggio specificare la lingua dell'edizione, anche se nell'inventario non è presente un'altra opera di Tucidide in greco. A questo indizio che rivela come il compilatore sia una persona istruita, con una buona preparazione, avvezzo a maneggiare libri e consapevole dei titoli che si trova di fronte, se ne aggiunge un altro. La voce *Erasmii quarta editio noui testamenti* (c. 3r, nr. 80) non indica solamente il Nuovo Testamento tradotto da Erasmo, ma ne specifica l'edizione. L'informazione della quarta edizione è scritta sul frontespizio del libro che il compilatore ha tra le mani ed egli, dimostrandosi consapevole delle differenze tra le varie edizioni del Nuovo Testamento di Erasmo, ritiene opportuno segnalare qual è quella presente nella raccolta.

Nel redigere le voci, il compilatore prende spunto dai frontespizi, senza però copiare pedissequamente. Per esempio, alla voce nr. 10 (c. 2r), egli si trova probabilmente tra le mani l'edizione dei *Rhetores greci* stampata da Aldo Manuzio nel 1508-1509, il cui frontespizio recita *Rhetores in hoc volumine habentur hi* e prosegue con l'elenco di quindici voci di autori e rispettive opere. Il compilatore legge il frontespizio, conta il numero dei retori e scrive nell'inventario la voce *XV retores greci*, dimostrando la sua capacità di sintesi; altrettanto accade con i *galeni libelli nouem* (c. 6r, nr. 215). Se il titolo è troppo lungo, la voce si conclude con un *et cetera*, mentre nel caso di due edizioni rilegate nello stesso volume, il compilatore le segnala entrambe, come per *gregorius turonensis et annonius* (c. 3r, nr. 66). Volumi miscelanei più estesi vengono indicati in modi diversi: registrando la prima opera e tralasciando le altre, come nella voce *gregorii nasanzeni sermones et quaedam alia* (c. 4r, nr. 130); o con un'espressione collettiva, per esempio: *libelli diuersi in materia lutherana* (c. 6v, nr. 236). Tirando le fila, il compilatore appare un uomo meno dotto rispetto al possessore, comunque non estraneo ai titoli dei volumi che ebbe tra le mani; non copia semplicemente le prime parole che trova stampa-

te sui frontespizi, ma comprende quello che è scritto e sa cosa è importante indicare per un'identificazione veloce e precisa dell'opera.

3.4 Una proposta di datazione

Analizzato il metodo di lavoro del compilatore e citati qua e là alcuni titoli, è giunto il momento di esaminare più sistematicamente il contenuto della raccolta, per cercare di ricostruire l'identikit del possessore, nonché stabilire quando e dove visse. Per quanto riguarda la datazione cronica, l'analisi delle voci, in particolare di quelle riguardanti i libri a stampa, ha permesso di stabilire un *terminus non ante quem* per la redazione dell'inventario. La voce *Ecelini vita* (c. 2r, nr. 31) corrisponde all'opera *Vita et gesti d'Ezzelino terzo da Romano*, attribuita allo storico Pietro Gerardo e stampata per la prima volta a Venezia nel 1543. Quest'opera è quella la cui *editio princeps* è più recente e l'inventario non può dunque essere stato redatto prima del 1543.

In 46 casi, inoltre, si è riusciti a identificare non solo l'opera, ma anche la specifica edizione che il compilatore ha tra le mani: o perché è stampata una sola volta nel periodo preso in esame, o perché è riconoscibile grazie a una specifica formula usata dal compilatore nella voce e rintracciata sul frontespizio [tab. 1]. Le edizioni certe permettono di comprendere la distribuzione temporale della raccolta, anche se in modo parziale. Sebbene siano presenti alcuni incunaboli, forse ereditati o acquistati nel commercio di seconda mano, è chiaro come la raccolta si fa più consistente a partire dal 1505 circa e che gli anni Dieci e Venti del Cinquecento sono il periodo di maggiore attività del possessore [graf. 1]. Dagli anni Trenta, invece, sempre meno libri entrano nella raccolta. Si consideri, infatti, il numero di *editiones principes* a partire dagli anni Trenta: quattro titoli sono stampati per la prima volta nel 1531, uno nel 1537, uno nel 1538 e uno, infine, nel 1543. Sebbene le *principes* non siano necessariamente le edizioni registrate nell'inventario, è evidente il decrescente interesse del possessore per le novità editoriali.

In un inventario del genere, inoltre, anche le assenze sono significative. Il possessore nutre un particolare interesse per il mondo protestante e sono presenti molti autori e protagonisti della Riforma, come Lutero, Melantone, Carlostadio, Ecolampadio. La mancanza, invece, di opere di Giovanni Calvino e degli apostati italiani Curione, Ochino, Stancarò, Vergerio, Vermigli, esuli in Svizzera dagli anni Quaranta e inseriti negli *Indici dei libri proibiti*,¹⁹ prova che l'allestimento di questa raccolta non si protrasse oltre la metà del secolo XVI. In questo inventario, si riscontra quindi la tendenza tipica

19 Grendler, *L'inquisizione romana e l'editoria*, 123-31.

della formazione di una biblioteca privata, non solo del Cinquecento ma anche di oggi. Il possessore, nato verosimilmente intorno al 1490, acquista e accumula un gran numero di libri quando è giovane e nei primi anni della sua attività lavorativa; con il passare degli anni, la stanchezza o pigrizia che dir si voglia ha diminuito l'interesse del possessore per i libri, facendo entrare la biblioteca in una fase di stasi. È verosimile pensare quindi che il possessore sia morto tra gli anni Quaranta e Cinquanta del Cinquecento e che l'inventario non sia stato redatto oltre gli anni Cinquanta.

Tabella 1 Numero delle edizioni identificate con certezza per anno di stampa

Anno di stampa	Numero di edizioni certe	Anno di stampa	Numero di edizioni certe
1480	1	1517	1
1481	1	1518	1
1483	1	1519	1
1495	1	1520	2
1496	1	1521	2
1501	1	1522	2
1506	2	1523	4
1509	1	1525	1
1512	2	1526	3
1513	2	1527	2
1514	3	1529	6
1515	1	1530	2
1516	1	1531	1

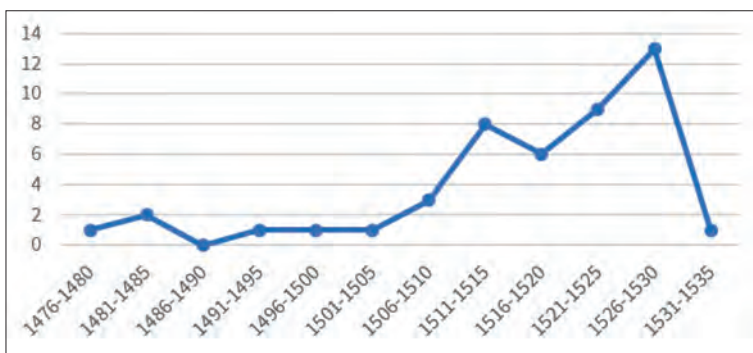


Grafico 1 Distribuzione delle edizioni identificate con certezza su base quinquennale

3.5 Al di qua e al di là delle Alpi

Individuato il decennio, sarebbe utile riuscire anche a circoscrivere l'area geografica dove il possessore della raccolta visse e dove l'inventario venne stilato. L'unica certezza è che, all'inizio dell'Ottocento, l'inventario si trovava a Venezia, ma i libri e le persone viaggiano, non solo oggi, anche nel Cinquecento. Prova di ciò sono gli stessi libri contenuti nell'inventario: la raccolta, infatti, è contraddistinta da un forte carattere sovranazionale. Considerando i luoghi di stampa di 72 edizioni, le 46 certe più 26 voci, le cui opere furono stampate più volte ma in un'unica città, la classifica dei luoghi di stampa certi vede al primo posto Parigi, seguita da Basilea, Venezia, Milano e Roma [tab. 2]. Di queste edizioni il 64% è stampato Oltralpe: provengono non solo dai centri maggiori della stampa, come le già citate Parigi e Basilea, ma anche da luoghi più periferici, come la cittadina di Breslau (la polacca Wrocław) in Slesia [graf. 2]. Questi dati sono ovviamente parziali; considerando l'inventario nella sua interezza, infatti, il numero delle edizioni impresse a Basilea, Lione e Venezia sarà certamente maggiore: per le opere più stampate non è stato possibile identificare l'edizione a cui la voce della lista si rifà e quindi i *best-seller* del tempo, come Erasmo, ricadono, nella maggior parte dei casi, al di fuori di questo tipo di analisi.

Tabella 2 Luoghi di stampa identificati con certezza

Luoghi di stampa	Numero di edizioni certe	Luoghi di stampa	Numero di edizioni certe
Parigi	15	Augusta	1
Basilea	11	Avignone	1
Venezia	10	Breslau	1
Milano	5	Cremona	1
Roma	5	Lipsia	1
Hagenau	4	Lovanio	1
Firenze	3	Magonza	1
Colonia	3	Napoli	1
Lione	2	Urach	1
Norimberga	2	Vicenza	1
Anversa	1	Zurigo	1

Colpisce il notevole numero di edizioni parigine, stampate principalmente nei primi vent'anni del XVI secolo. Il possessore della biblioteca aveva una certa facilità nell'ottenere libri impressi a Parigi e non si esclude un suo viaggio o una sua temporanea permanenza nella città francese. Per quanto riguarda l'area tedesca e svizzera, invece, le edizioni di Basilea ricoprono un ruolo centrale, ma non sono le

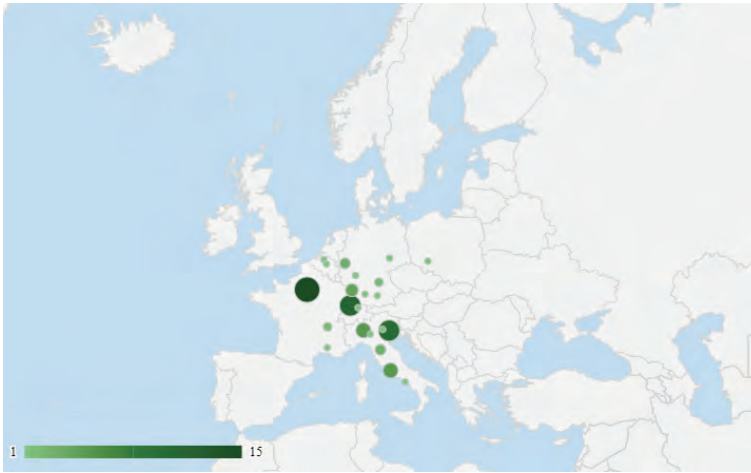


Grafico 2 Distribuzione geografica dei luoghi di stampa identificati con certezza

uniche. In particolare, per i libri collegati alla Riforma protestante, il possessore poté godere di un notevole assortimento e il numero delle edizioni è destinato a salire considerando l'intera lista, poiché molti autori protestanti, come Bugenhagen, Melantone, Lutero, Carlstadio, Ecolampadio, Ulrich von Hutten, Johannes Agricola, Brunfels, vennero stampati più e più volte in varie città dell'area tedesca e svizzera, impedendo oggi l'identificazione della specifica edizione. È certo che il possessore ebbe dei contatti con il mondo protestante, anche se è da stabilire la natura del rapporto. Sembra inoltre non aver alcuna difficoltà nel rifornirsi di libri di argomento protestante e lo stesso compilatore non cerca in alcun modo di mascherare il nome di questi autori, come se non fosse da lui percepito come pericoloso, alla metà del Cinquecento, possedere titoli eretici. Ciò può essere dettato dall'uso privato che si prospettava per l'inventario o motivato dal fatto che il possessore, per il ruolo che ricopriva, aveva il permesso di possedere questi testi.

Benché molte edizioni provengano da Oltralpe, nessuna opera della lista è in francese o in tedesco. Si crede che chi possedette questa raccolta fosse di 'nazionalità italiana' o, per essere più corretti, nato al di qua delle Alpi. Considerando 239 voci di libri a stampa e manoscritti (245 meno le 6 non ancora identificate), 207 sono in latino; 3 sono edizioni sia in latino sia in greco; 10 sono scritti in greco; 4 sono opere di grammatica o lessicografia collegate allo studio del greco; 2 voci indicano dei libri in ebraico, di cui non si conosce il titolo; 4 riguardano lo studio dell'ebraico; una voce indica un diziona-

rio trilingue: ebraico, greco, latino; 6 voci sono in volgare; in più, sono elencati un vocabolario e una grammatica spagnoli. Tra i testi in volgare sono compresi: quattro libri a stampa, la *Vita et gesti d'Ezzelino terzo da Romano* (c. 2r, nr. 31), l'*Isolario* di Benedetto Bordon (c. 2v, nr. 38), una raccolta poetica di Girolamo Benivieni (c. 3v, nr. 103), il rifacimento in terza rima e in volgare della *Geografia* di Tolomeo (c. 5v, nr. 150), e due manoscritti, che si presumono essere in volgare (*5 bolse de pergamino con scripturas trobadas*: c. 2v, nr. 49; *Certi libri di conti e paquets di litere*: c. 6v, nr. 247). La maggioranza dei testi, dunque, è in latino e le uniche edizioni a stampa in volgare sono in italiano, mentre, come già anticipato, sono assenti del tutto le altre lingue europee. Si tende quindi a collocare il possessore in ambito italiano. Oltre allo studio del greco e dell'ebraico, egli rivela anche un certo interesse per lo spagnolo, visto il vocabolario e la grammatica, anche se mancano libri interamente in questa lingua o stampati nella penisola iberica. Ciò deve essere messo in relazione con la competenza linguistica del compilatore che, come già mostrato, utilizza indifferentemente l'italiano e lo spagnolo quando descrive degli oggetti. La presenza spagnola, all'interno del panorama italiano, ci orienta verso Milano e la Lombardia. Il ducato di Milano, dopo la morte di Francesco II Sforza senza eredi nel 1535, venne rivendicato come feudo imperiale da Carlo V ed entrò così a far parte dei domini asburgici. La città era dunque sotto il controllo spagnolo negli ultimi anni di vita del possessore e quando l'inventario fu redatto. Questa circostanza motiverebbe l'interesse del possessore, indubbiamente un personaggio importante a giudicare dalla sua notevole biblioteca, a imparare lo spagnolo, così da poter entrare meglio in contatto con le alte cariche spagnole governanti la città. Da Milano, inoltre, provengono cinque edizioni della lista identificate con certezza. Oltre all'opzione milanese, rimane valida anche l'ipotesi più economica, cioè che l'inventario sia stato redatto a Venezia e sull'isola sia sempre rimasto.

3.6 Il possessore della raccolta: un identikit

Manca solo, infine, da delineare meglio l'identikit dell'ignoto possessore, per quanto si possa estrapolare dall'analisi dei libri che egli lesse. Sicuramente la raccolta testimoniataci dall'inventario, così preziosa sia per il numero di volumi sia per l'assortimento, aveva un cospicuo valore monetario e il suo possessore apparteneva quindi a un ceto medio-alto, dal momento che ebbe la disponibilità economica per allestirla. Scorrendo la lista, si leggono sì titoli di classici greci e latini, di opere storiche, retoriche, filosofiche (in particolare Aristotele e suoi commentatori), ma è la teologia a fare la parte del leone, occupando circa la metà dell'intera raccolta [graf. 3].

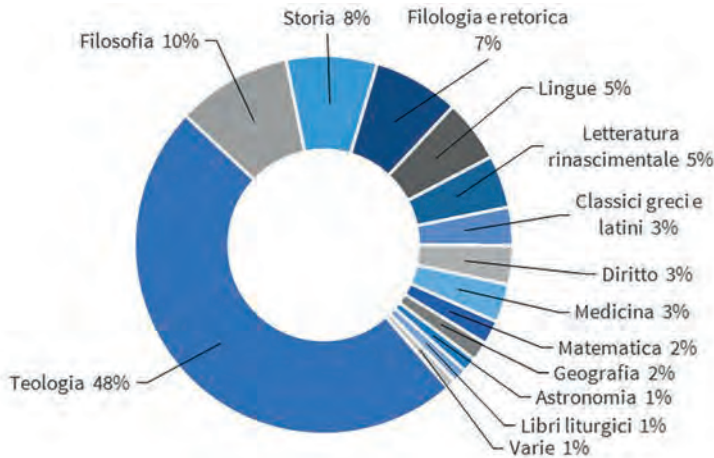


Grafico 3 Soggetti

Tra le opere teologiche si individuano tre importanti temi che attraversano la raccolta. Il primo riguarda il rapporto tra la supremazia papale e il concilio generale, già discusso nel XIV e XV secolo e acuitosi dopo la convocazione del concilio antipontificio a Pisa e, in seguito, con lo scoppio della Riforma. Il possessore approfondì la questione sia su trattati trecenteschi come il *De planctu ecclesiae* di Alvaro Pelagio (nr. 33), il *Defensor pacis* di Marsilio da Padova (nr. 37), la *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate* di Agostino d'Ancona (nr. 244); sia quattrocenteschi come il *De potestate Papae et concilii generalis*, falsamente pubblicato con il nome di Torquemada (nr. 75), e il *Tractatus de potestate imperatoris et papae* del giurista Antonio Roselli d'Arezzo (nr. 76). Non mancano, inoltre, i testi più attuali in difesa del primato pontificio, scritti nel secondo decennio del Cinquecento da Tommaso De Vio (nr. 107), Giovanni Francesco Bracciolini (nr. 124) e Isidoro Isolani (nr. 126).

Il secondo tema sono le opere di esegesi biblica e di traduzione della Bibbia. In questo campo, Erasmo assume una posizione di primo piano, con la sua traduzione latina del Nuovo Testamento, nella quarta edizione (nr. 80), corredata dalle *Annotationes* (nr. 62). Il possessore è aggiornato anche sul dibattito che la traduzione erasmiana fece sorgere, con le *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum Erasmi* di Edward Lee (nr. 117). Non sono queste le uniche opere di Erasmo all'interno della lista, l'elenco è lungo, ad ulteriore testimonianza della passione degli italiani del Cinquecento per l'umanista olandese. Sono infatti presenti i seguenti titoli: *Adagia* (nr. 4); *Moriae encomium* (nr. 121); *Hyperaspistes* (nr. 137); *Parabola e Antibarbari* (nr. 139);

Epigrammata (nr. 167); *Paraphrasis in epistolas Pauli* (n. 176); *De conscribendis epistolis* (n. 177); *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (nr. 179); *Enchiridion* (nr. 183); *Colloquia e Ciceronianus* (nr. 207); *Spongia adversus aspergines Hutteni* (nr. 242). Ritornando ai commenti biblici, oltre a quelli di Lefèvre alle epistole paoline, alle lettere cattoliche e ai Vangeli (nrr. 43, 47, 82), svariati provengono dall'ambito protestante: Lutero sui Salmi e l'epistola ai Galati (nr. 35, 155); François Lambert sul profeta Gioele, il Cantico dei cantici e il Vangelo di Luca (nrr. 114, 210, 222); Melantone sui Proverbi, il Vangelo di Giovanni e la Genesi (nrr. 134, 204); Ecolampadio sul profeta Isaia (nr. 171); Johannes Agricola sul Vangelo di Luca (nr. 175); Brenz sull'Ecclesiaste (nr. 180); Bugenhagen sulle epistole paoline (nr. 206).

L'ultimo tema preponderante è il mondo protestante. Oltre agli autori sopra menzionati, la lista contiene opere di Ulrich von Hutten (nrr. 119, 172), Carlostadio (nr. 164), Otto Brunfels (nr. 199), Christoph Hegendorf (nr. 224) e Zwingli (nr. 230). Ciò che colpisce è l'attenzione con cui il possessore seguì la Riforma nei suoi primi anni, rimanendo continuamente aggiornato su ciò che accadde. Un esempio è un testo riguardante la disputa di Lipsia, tenutasi nel 1519 tra il teologo cattolico Eck, Carlostadio e Lutero (nr. 162); un altro è la *Confessio fidei augustana*, sintesi della fede luterana, presentata all'imperatore Carlo V durante la Dieta di Augusta nel 1530 (nr. 94). Non si creda però che l'inventario sia unidirezionale, altrettanto presenti sono i trattati di parte cattolica contro Lutero: l'*Assertio septem sacramentorum* di Enrico VIII (nr. 20); il *De purgatorio contra Lutherum* di Eck (nr. 21); due scritti del cardinale De Vio, *De sacrificio missae* e *De divina institutione pontificatus* (nrr. 115, 127); due opuscoli anti-luterani, uno di Giovanni Antonio Modesti, l'altro di Isidoro Isolani, rilegati insieme (nr. 131); il *De autoritate summi pontificis* di Cristoforo Marcello (nr. 132); il *Sacramentorum brevis elucidatio* di Eustachius van Zichem, professore all'Università di Lovanio e frate domenicano (nr. 147). La maggior parte di questi scritti anti-luterani fu composta da autori italiani, ma emerge anche un'attenzione agli avversari di Lutero al di fuori dell'Italia, come Eck e van Zichem.

Giunti al termine di questa rassegna, qualcosa in più sul possessore si può cercare di dire. Considerata la presenza di molti scritti a difesa del primato pontificio, la facilità nel reperire e possedere le opere dei riformatori, il costante aggiornamento sul dibattito tra mondo protestante e cattolico, si può facilmente immaginare il possessore come un teologo, un ecclesiastico importante con ruoli di censura o di inquisizione. Il suo ben fornito assortimento di autori protestanti non nasce quindi da una condivisione delle idee di Lutero, quanto piuttosto dalla necessità di conoscere le posizioni del nemico per combatterlo.

4 Conclusioni

Alla luce di quanto detto qui, si comprende che il legame tra il *Zornale* e l'inventario non è un vincolo di sangue come quello tra le sorelle Bolena. Si tratta piuttosto di un matrimonio forzato e fortuito, ma propizio, per lo meno per l'inventario: se non fosse stato inserito all'interno del *Zornale*, sarebbe probabilmente andato perduto. E la necessità di conservazione è stata proprio la motivazione che ha spinto un imprecisato qualcuno a infilare l'inventario nel *Zornale*. I due manoscritti continuano a vivere insieme, uniti più che mai. In seguito al recente restauro del *Zornale*, infatti, l'inventario è stato montato con una sovracucitura a una brachetta, fissata poi tra le carte di guardia del *Zornale*, e le minute lacune causate dagli anobidi sono state colmate. Accantonata l'immagine di Maria e Anna Bolena, il *Zornale* e l'inventario non sono nient'altro che due buoni conviventi.

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Da Vespasiano da Bisticci a Franz Renner e Bartolomeo Lupoto

Appunti sul commercio librario tra Venezia, la Toscana e Genova (ca. 1459-1487)

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Abstract In 1967 Roberto Ridolfi presented, albeit incompletely, a series of archival documents on the Venetian-Florentine book trade in 1477. A fresh look at this and other relating material allows us to reconstruct the network of the Venetian printer Francesco della Fontana (Franz Renner) and his sponsor Leonardo Donà between Venice, Florence, Lucca and Genova. Lists of incunabula often included the expected sale prices for them, but these were subject to different forces on the local markets. Many of the books sent from Venice after 1477 were still available in Bartolomeo Lupoto's shop in Genova in 1487.

Keywords Book trade. Incunabula. Vespasiano da Bisticci. Franz Renner. Nicolas Jensen. Bartolomeo Lupoto.

Benché il commercio dei primi incunaboli abbia recentemente goduto di un sempre crescente interesse storiografico, siamo ancora lontani dall'intendere a pieno le dinamiche e il funzionamento dei mercati librari locali o internazionali. Il motore dietro la creazione del mercato del libro a stampa e della sua successiva espansione era indubbiamente a Venezia.¹ Per una maggiore

1 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*; Dondi, «The Venetian Book Trade».



comprensione dei relativi meccanismi lo studio dei reciproci rapporti commerciali con altre realtà locali è indispensabile. Tra queste spetta un posto importante a Firenze, allora una delle più forti concorrenti di Venezia sul piano economico e anche culturale. Per quanto acerrime rivali, le due città erano spesso unite da alleanze o almeno convergenze sul piano politico, oltre che da profondi legami culturali e personali.

Dal medioevo, innumerevoli famiglie di mercanti e artigiani fiorentini si trasferivano nella città lagunare, con numeri decisamente più alti di quelli dei Veneziani a Firenze.² Molti di essi si dedicarono al commercio tra i due capoluoghi, anche con riguardo ai libri. Una di queste compagnie era ad esempio quella di Giovanni e Agnolo d'Antonio Baldesi, che aveva una doppia sede, con Giovanni residente a Firenze e Agnolo a Venezia. Insieme con i loro fratelli, i Baldesi diressero per decenni, con ripetute crisi, una società con legami commerciali in tutto il Mediterraneo e anche oltralpe. Da parte sua Agnolo Baldesi apparteneva a un gruppo di amici umanisti come Donato Acciaiuoli e Vespasiano da Bisticci, e non sorprende di trovare nel suo carteggio, tuttora – anche se solo parzialmente – conservato a Venezia, lettere di essi.³ Due missive di quest'ultimo del dicembre 1459, finora inedite e purtroppo in un pessimo stato di conservazione, ci fanno conoscere le abituali, quotidiane attività della bottega libraria di Vespasiano da Bisticci:⁴

[Ami]cho carissimo etc. Io credo che lle molte ocupationi avete sieno [le c]agioni al non rispondere alle lettere v'ò iscritte. Il Tulio *De ofizis* per l'amicho [vos]tro è finito e per lo primo lo manderò senza mancho. Il libro *De remedis [utriusque] fortune* e il *Filocholo* e il libro *Delle tante chose volgari* e lla *Storia [contro] a' gotti*, se vvoi⁵ volete si mandino: avvivate e manderansi.

[...] se ha de mi' darvi un pocho di noia e questo è ch'io vorrei molto i[...] conperassi subito all'aùta di questa braccia cinque di panno [... v]eronese del più fine vi trovassi bianco e cinque brac-

² Mueller, «Mercanti e imprenditori fiorentini».

³ Lanfranchi, Lanfranchi Strina, *Inventario*, 294-5; come già notato da Mueller, molto del materiale proveniente da questo fondo è purtroppo stato disperso, Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, 274 nota 47.

⁴ Archivio di Stato, Venezia, S. Giorgio Maggiore, busta 180, i singoli documenti non sono numerati. Il fondo avrebbe bisogno di un inventario dettagliato e inoltre di uno studio storico approfondito; molti dei documenti avrebbero inoltre bisogno di un urgente restauro. Le altre lettere finora conosciute di Vespasiano si trovano online, vespasianodabisticci.letters.unibo.it.

⁵ *Segue, depennato*: lo volete. La trascrizione di queste due lettere, come di tutto il materiale citato in questo saggio, segue le regole delle edizioni semidiplomatiche; tutte le abbreviazioni sono state sciolte.

cia di nero [...] simile del più fine vi trovassi e mandatelo fuori di Firenze dove [...] vi pare. Il chosto avvisate dove s'abbi a ppagare e farassi [...]. Non potendo avere il nero mandate il bianco inn ogni modo. Non manchi da voi faticha a ssicurtà e nolo per uno a chi io sono assai obrigato, siché piacciavi falla. Né più. Christo vi guardi. In Firenze a dì 15 [di di]cenbre 1459.

Vespasiano di Filippo⁶

[Amicho c]arissimo etc. Io vi scrissi ne' di passati del panno bianco fine [verone]ze, cioè braccia cinque, e mandate del più fine è possibile [...].rovi e piacciavi mandallo il più presto è possibile, e sse nollo [volete m]andare qui mandatelo a Bologna a Nicholaio da Meletto [...].n facci la volontà mia e avisate del chosto e farollo [...] dove mi direte. E il Tulio *De ofizis* è finito e manderassi [...]no senza mancho. I libri sono tuti finiti quegli mi domandaste [... u]n *Filocholo* chonperato, il quale manderò insieme cho' gli altri, [quando] da vvoi n'arò avviso. Piacciavi questo panno bianco vero[nese i]n ogni modo mandallo per lo primo senza mancho perché [sono] pregato da uno che è uno mio charissimo amicho che diside[ro ...] di servillo. Né più. Christo vi guardi. 1459.

Vespasiano di Filippo cartoraio⁷

Le due missive dimostrano, oltre all'antica fiducia tra i due protagonisti, che le ordinazioni dei codici da confezionare nella bottega di Vespasiano partirono sì dal Baldesi, ma anche – sicuramente nel caso del *De officiis* ciceroniano – su specifico incarico di qualche cittadino veneziano.⁸ Non è certo un caso che nelle sue lettere il libraio fiorentino non menzionasse i prezzi di vendita dei suoi manoscritti che dipendevano da molte variabili, tra cui anche quella della correttezza del testo. Il Baldesi conosceva indubbiamente il prezzo di fattura richiesto per ogni codice, ma non poteva sapere con quanto guadagno avrebbe poi venduto i suoi volumi.⁹

In direzione opposta, non mancano esempi di commissioni librerie da parte di eminenti cittadini fiorentini a Venezia, come per esempio negli anni '40 quelle di Angelo Gaddi.¹⁰ Ancora nel 1475-76, la madre

⁶ A tergo: «Agnolo d'Antonio Baldesi in Vinegia. A Vinegia» (*e la nota di ricezione, da parte del Baldesi*: «1459. Da Firenze. A dì 22 di dicenbre, de' di 15 detto. Risposta a dì 24 detto»).

⁷ A tergo: «Agnolo d'Antonio Baldesi in Vinegia. A Vinegia» (*e la nota di ricezione, da parte del Baldesi*: «1459. Da Firenze. A dì 31 diciembre, de' di ... Risposta a dì 3 genaiò»).

⁸ Per l'amicizia tra Vespasiano da Bisticci e Agnolo Baldesi, cf. Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci*, 127.

⁹ Cf. Boschetto, «Una nuova lettera»; Böniger, «The Ricordanze di Lorenzo di Francesco Guidetti», 204-5.

¹⁰ *Nuovi documenti*, 13-22.

di Lorenzo de' Medici, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, incaricò a Venezia un tale «maistro Jeronimo» a decorare un non meglio conosciuto *Messale*. Questi è poi stato identificato con il miniatore Girolamo da Cremona la cui fama è legata al suo lavoro in alcuni incunaboli veneziani.¹¹ A tutti gli studiosi dell'artista sembrano tuttavia essere sfuggite le tre lettere di un mercante fiorentino a Venezia, Giovanni d'Orsino Lanfredini, che il 24 gennaio, 16 marzo e 23 marzo «1475» (*stilus incarnationis*, cioè il 1476), chiari alla nobildonna la intricata questione del *Messale* che alla fine lo costrinse a chiedere l'autorevole intervento di Giovanni Gradenigo, uno dei Procuratori di San Marco.¹²

Se prima dell'avvento della stampa il traffico dei manoscritti era verosimilmente più intenso da Firenze verso Venezia che vice versa, la tendenza si invertì in seguito, facendo pendere la 'bilancia commerciale' a vantaggio di quest'ultima. A quanto pare, i primi incunaboli veneziani destinati alla compravendita a Firenze furono spediti ai Canonici della Badia di Fiesole. Con riferimento ai prezzi realizzabili nel 1473, è fortemente indicativa una vaga nota del cartolaio fiorentino allora incaricato con la loro vendita («vale quello si venderà»)¹³. Negli anni a seguire, la *Grande compagnia* di Nicolas Jenson e Giovanni da Colonia si dimostrò molto attiva a Firenze, con una propria bottega a partire dai primi anni ottanta. Per contratto in essa i volumi dovevano essere venduti «se nonne per contanti», con certe eccezioni.¹⁴ Proprio queste regole portarono però l'esercizio alla crisi. Infatti nel 1482 una serie di emissari della *Grande compagnia* si presentarono a Firenze per prendere controllo del negozio, in cui la vendita dei libri – apparentemente non solo veneziani – a credito era invece stato all'ordine del giorno: tra i debitori dell'esercizio troviamo allora anche il noto collezionista di manoscritti Braccio di messer Domenico Martelli con il considerevole debito di diciotto fiorini d'oro e l'umanista Cristoforo Landino con altri otto fiorini d'oro.¹⁵

In analogia alla risoluzione del problema riguardante il *Messale* di Lucrezia Tornabuoni, anche nell'industria tipografica il ruolo dei cittadini patrizi finanziatori era di primaria, imprescindibile impor-

11 Cf. solo Levi d'Ancona, «Postille a Girolamo da Cremona»; Guarnelli, «Perle ai margini».

12 Archivio di Stato, Firenze (d'ora in poi ASF), Mediceo avanti il Principato, XXXII, 23 (24 gennaio 1475-76); XXXIII, 25 (16 marzo 1475-76); XXXIII, 34 (23 marzo 1475-76). Nella lettera del 16 marzo si accenna al fatto che il mai nominato miniatore «sia chiamato a Urbino a llavorare dove n'andrà alla risposta di questa». Nell'anno precedente, lo stesso Lanfredini aveva concluso con Giovanni e Agnolo Baldesi una società per l'importazione di frumento, cf. Scarton, *Giovanni Lanfredini*, 80.

13 de la Mare-Brown, «Bartolomeo Scala's Dealings», 241 nota. 23. Cf. Böniger, «Venetian Incunabula», 57.

14 Böniger, «Venetian Incunabula», 68.

15 Böniger, «Venetian Incunabula», 65.

tanza. La società tipografica veneziana formata tra il nobile Leonardo (Lunardo) Donà del ramo dei Donà «di Riva de Biasio», lo «spectabilis vir dominus Leonardus Donato domini Luce de confinio Sancte Marie Formose de Venetiis», e Franz Renner da Heilbronn ne è un buon esempio.¹⁶ Franz Renner *alias* Francesco della Fontana aveva esordito come stampatore a Venezia nel 1471 e dal 1472 firmava le sue edizioni nei *colophones*; dal 1473 al 1477 collaborava con il tipografo Niccolò da Francoforte con cui produceva soprattutto opere religiose e liturgiche, anche di grande diffusione come i vari breviari.¹⁷ L'ISTC registra quarantasette edizioni a lui attribuibili fino al 1483; il suo genere fu Francesco de Madiis.¹⁸ Nel 1484 il «magister Franciscus Renner de Albrun Alemanicus de contrata Sanctorum Apostolorum» si presentò in sostituzione di uno dei membri della Scuola dei calzolari tedeschi; la circostanza potrebbe far pensare che facesse parte della stessa confraternita.¹⁹ Più di mezzo secolo fa, Roberto Ridolfi presentò, usando alcune trascrizioni fatte da Gino Corti, un importante saggio sul suo conto.²⁰ I documenti allora pubblicati riguardavano una spedizione di libri prodotti non solo dal Renner ma anche da altri tipografi veneziani e la rispettiva rendicontazione a Firenze tre anni dopo, nel dicembre del 1480. Alcune questioni allora solo accennate meritano ora di essere approfondite.

Il primo dato da sottolineare riguarda l'attività veneziana del Renner, il quale, secondo uno dei mercanti coinvolti nella transazione, aveva una «bottegha di librero in Mercieria, che vi sta uno fiorentino che si domanda Andrea Chaccini, che per lui [*cioè il Renner*] fa la bottegha».²¹ Questi non era altro che il fratello di due cartolai fiorentini, Michele e Matteo di Biagio di Michele Caccini, ambedue attivi nel commercio librario con Venezia.²² Mentre nel 1470 troviamo Andrea ancora nominato come un cartolaio fiorentino del popolo di

16 Ringrazio l'anonimo lettore per alcune notizie su Lunardo Donà che a differenza dei suoi fratelli non aveva seguito la carriera politica (Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Venezia, Marco Barbaro. *Genealogie Veneziane*, cod. Cicogna 2500, cc. 169v-170r). Un suo lontano cugino, messer Alvise di Andrea Donà, «si era interessato al lavoro di Vindelino da Spira fin dal 1471, ennesimo esempio della continua, sebbene spesso nasosta, forza della committenza aristocratica» (Lowry, *Nicolas Jenson*, 260).

17 Squassina, «RENNER, Franz».

18 Nuvoloni, «The Woodcut as Exemplar». Come stampatore, Braunstein lo ricorda curiosamente attivo fino al 1494 (Braunstein, *Les allemands à Venise*, 843).

19 Böniger, *La 'Regula' bilingue*, XXXI (cf. anche Fattori, «Nuovi documenti», 126).

20 Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana».

21 Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 55 e 64, con un suo prevedibile commento: «Naturalmente anche lì, come nella stamperia, un fiorentino: il quinto elemento dell'universo, aveva detto un tempo papa Bonifazio».

22 Böniger, «Venetian Incunabula», 64, 66. Ovviamente Matteo e Michele vendevano anche prodotti fiorentini, cf. Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, 473; Scapecchi, *Catalogo degli incunaboli*, 188 (BNCF 939).

San Paolo, nell'anno successivo i tre fratelli avevano firmato un accordo per la divisione dell'eredità paterna; poi Andrea si era trasferito al nord, come tanti altri librai fiorentini.²³ Sebbene lavorasse come impiegato dipendente, bisogna ritenere che anche nella bottega del Renner Andrea continuasse a tenere rapporti professionali con i suoi fratelli a Firenze.

Il trasporto dei libri e la loro distribuzione era invece nelle mani di due fratelli provenienti dal contado fiorentino, Bernardo e Simone di Bartolomeo di Tommaso Verde da Borgo San Lorenzo; la loro professione veniva a volte indicata come «cartolai» o «merciai». Sebbene le fonti fiorentine sul loro conto non abbondano, i due fratelli erano sicuramente imparentati con lo «speziale» o «aromatario» Ludovico di Tommaso di Bartolo Verde da Borgo San Lorenzo, che si trova nominato più spesso.²⁴ Bernardo aveva una sua modesta attività come «merciaio in Firenze, allato dove si vende la malvagia» (cioè il dolce vino proveniente da Creta/Candia).²⁵ L'esclusiva di questo commercio era infatti della taverna o «cella del Candiotto» nel centrale popolo di San Cristofano del Corso, vicina al malfamato albergo della Macciana e al bordello pubblico.²⁶ Originariamente della famiglia dei Pecori, dal 1477 il Candiotto sembrava fosse dell'ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova quando fu dato in affitto ad Antonio di Bartolomeo del Vantaggio.²⁷ Nelle sue vicinanze si trovavano piccole botteghe per calzolai, fornai e pizzicagnoli.²⁸ Il negozio di Bernardo Verde non era quindi nell'ubicazione ideale per vendere gli alti prodotti culturali provenienti dalle tipografie veneziane. Inoltre, anche il suo matrimonio con la figlia di un tale Niccolò Giovanni del maestro Niccolò Falcucci fu rovinato dal fatto che la promessa dote di 450 fiorini di sigillo non si trovava affatto, come promesso, sul Monte delle Doti (1480).²⁹

La vicenda centrale, in parte già narrata da Roberto Ridolfi, si può riassumere così: ben protetti in due solide casse, Simone di Bartolomeo Verde, allora residente a Venezia, aveva mandato nel novembre 1477 per conto dei due soci Leonardo Donà e Franz Renner centoquarantuno volumi stampati ma non legati a suo fratello Bernardo a

23 ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 2608, c. 338v; 3177, c. 243r; 13534, c. 13v; 4885, cc. 86v-87r.

24 Per esempio in ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 19607, fol. 258r. Alcune sue cause si trovano anche nei fondi della Mercanzia.

25 Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 54, 65.

26 Mazzi, *Prostitute e lenoni*, 250-1.

27 ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 9283, cc. 208v-209r. Per un precedente tavernaio, cf. Catasto 912, c. 348r; Notarile antecosimiano, 6213, cc. 47r, 277r; 10880, c. 153r.

28 ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 7173, cc. 26v-27r.

29 ASF, Provvisoni Registri, 171, cc. 43v-44r.

Firenze, con i rispettivi prezzi («pregi per quello gl'abbi a vendere»). Questi variavano dai modesti cinque soldi per le cinquanta copie degli *Ofizioli della Conceptione di Nostra Donna*, fino ai due ducati per la *Bibbia licterali* (presumibilmente la *Bibbia latina* stampata dallo stesso Renner e Niccolò da Francoforte nel 1475, ISTC ib00541000; GW 4223). Gli argomenti dei libri toccavano i campi della teologia e della devozione, anche quello degli studi umanistici, ma non quelli della medicina o degli studi giuridici.³⁰ Come scrisse Simone Verde a suo fratello Bernardo l'8 novembre 1477, il «forte di questi libri» era infatti destinato ai conventi dei «frati di Santo Francesco oservanti, et chosi a queglii di San Domenico, cioè queglii di Santo Marco»; le vendite a dettaglio venivano invece affidate ai cartolai locali.³¹

Rimasta finora sepolta negli archivi, esiste ancora un'altra lista con i titoli e i numeri - ma comprensibilmente senza i prezzi mai realizzati - dei libri resi il 19 marzo 1479 dai fratelli Verde a un tale Cristoforo d'Arrigo da Salisburgo, il nuovo emissario dei soci Donà/Renner sulle rive dell'Arno.³² Che il documento si trovi in un registro della Mercanzia è già in sé eccezionale in quanto qui venivano solitamente copiati gli atti riguardanti le cause dibattute nello stesso tribunale, non transazioni private o semplici attestati (Appendice I). La richiesta di inserire il documento tra gli «atti straordinari» della Mercanzia di deve verosimilmente agli stessi fratelli Verde che in questo modo rendevano l'atto ufficiale, alla stessa misura di un atto notarile. Dalla lista veniamo a sapere che il precedente invio dell'8 novembre 1477 non era per niente rimasto isolato ma che fu invece seguito da una o più simili spedizioni. È pertanto chiaro che la società Donà/Renner avesse allora ancora ampliato il suo raggio d'azione; lo stesso Simone Verde nel novembre 1478 era diventato uno degli agenti ufficiali della *Grande compagnia* di Nicolas Jenson, Giovanni da Colonia e Giovanni Manthen.³³

Molti dei titoli restituiti nel 1479 erano citati in quell'occasione per la prima volta, come per esempio la popolare *Cosmographia* di Pomponio Mela, presumibilmente quella stampata dal Renner nel 1478, in sedici più otto copie (ISTC im00450000; GW M34879). Alcuni libri corrispondevano anche per il numero di copie perfettamente alla prima lista del 1477, come le otto copie del *Mammotrectus* del 1476 (ISTC im00236000; GW M20827). È tuttavia impossibile sapere se

30 I rispettivi documenti, editi da Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 62-6, si trovano in ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 5112, fascicolo III, inserto 13.

31 Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 63.

32 Nessun'altra notizia ci è finora giunta sul suo conto; verosimilmente era in relazione con un suo concittadino, il libraio Corrado di Corrado da Salisburgo che nel 1501 fece testamento nel Fondaco dei Tedeschi (Ludwig, *Contratti fra lo stampador*, 12-13 nota 1).

33 Sartori, «Documenti», 163-4, doc. XL; Fattori, «Nuovi documenti», 129-31.

poi ci fossero stati altri invii dello stesso testo, visto che nel 1478 era uscita un'altra edizione da parte del Renner insieme con Petrus de Bardua. Altri titoli non sembrano aver riscosso un grande successo a Firenze, come le *Pisanelle*, cioè il *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae* di Niccolò d'Osimo, di cui contiamo sedici copie nel 1477 e due volte quattordici riconsegnate nel marzo del 1479 (presumibilmente una delle due edizioni del Renner, stampate in folio e lettere gotiche nel 1474, con l'aggiunta dei *Canones poenitentiales* di Astesanus de Ast; ISTC in00060000, GW M26252; ISTC in00061000, GW M26249). L'unica copia della *Pisanella grande* menzionata nel 1479 riguardava invece presumibilmente lo stesso testo al quale a partire dal 1476 erano stati aggiunti dal Renner anche i *Consilia contra Judaeos foenerantes* di Alexander de Nevo (ISTC in00067000, GW M26253; ISTC in00068000, GW M26257). Ancora altri volumi venivano restituiti in un maggiore numero di quelli spediti nel 1477, per esempio il *Quadragesimale* di fra' Michele da Carcano (cioè il *Sermonarium de peccatis* del Renner del 1476, ISTC ic00194000; GW 1476; sedici copie più una resi nel 1479 rispetto ai soli otto menzionati nel 1477), oppure la (*Summa*) *Contra gentiles* di San Tommaso d'Aquino del Renner del ca. 1476 (undici più una copia rese rispetto alle tre del 1477, ISTC it00192000; GW M46570). Dall'altra parte, le tre copie delle (*Epistolae ad*) *Familiares* di Cicerone (forse quelle di Thomas de Blavis, Venezia 1476, ISTC ic00516000; GW 6819) e le quattro copie delle *Prediche volgari* di fra Roberto Caracciolo (presumibilmente quelle stampate dallo stesso de Blavis nel 1476; ISTC ic00153000, GW 6088) del 1477 potrebbero essere stati venduti *in toto*, visto che non li ritroviamo affatto nell'elenco del 1479.

Nella lettera a suo fratello Bernardo da Venezia dell'8 novembre 1477, Simone Verde aveva annunciato altri suoi viaggi per vendere non solo i titoli dei soci Donà/Renner, ma anche quelli di altri tipografi veneziani. Più specificamente aveva scritto di voler andare «chol nome di Ddio in Lonbardia e a Gienova et tornerò di hostà (cioè *in Toscana*) per riscuotere a Pisa e a Lucha danari dove lasciai libri all'altra volta».³⁴ Il saggio di Roberto Ridolfi si interrompe pur troppo a questo punto, rimandando ulteriori approfondimenti ad altre - mai più verificate - occasioni.³⁵

È perciò venuto il tempo di riprendere in mano tutti i documenti in questione. L'11 dicembre 1480 il già conosciuto emissario di Leonardo Donà e Franz Renner, Cristoforo d'Arrigo da Salisburgo, da una parte, e Simone di Bartolomeo Verde dall'altra, affidarono a Firen-

³⁴ Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 63.

³⁵ Ridolfi, «Francesco della Fontana», 61: «Ciò risulta da altri documenti, anch'essi insaporiti da lunghi elenchi di libri, che però (non abbiate paura!) illustreremo un'altra volta, non oggi: *sufficit diei malitia sua*. Per oggi, in fatto di documenti basta, e ne avanza».

ze le loro divergenze sul commercio degli ultimi diciotto mesi ad un lodo arbitrale. La scelta cadde su due notai, 'ser' Giovanni di Marco da Romena e 'ser' Stefano d'Antonio da Portico.³⁶ Meno di due settimane dopo, i due avevano già esaminato tutto il relativo materiale e pubblicarono il loro compromesso, oggi purtroppo non sempre di facile lettura (Appendice II). Dal primo dei relativi conti finali risalente al novembre 1480 - registrato dal notaio come l'ultimo documento - veniamo a sapere che a Firenze Bernardo Verde aveva venduto per conto della società veneziana libri per almeno centonovantadue lire. Di questa cifra pagava ora Cristoforo d'Arrigo quasi la metà in contanti, promettendo il resto per la fine di marzo 1481.

Dallo stesso lodo del 22 dicembre 1480, risulta inoltre l'instancabile attività di Simone Verde come venditore ambulante o 'viaggiatore commesso' con uno stipendio di tutto rispetto, cioè di tre ducati mensili. Nella città di Lucca egli aveva tenuto un deposito o magazzino di libri. I volumi conservati in esso furono riconsegnati a Cristoforo d'Arrigo qualche giorno dopo, il 30 dicembre 1480, come attestato di nuovo con un atto pubblico del notaio lucchese 'ser' Lucensio Migliori (Appendice III).³⁷ Troviamo in questo elenco per esempio una copia di «Franciscus Maronis» per quattro lire che potrebbe essere uno dei testi del frate minorita trecentesco Franciscus de Maioranis che però a Venezia a questa data non risulta ancora uscito: si potrebbe forse trattare dell'edizione *Super primo libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* stampato a Treviso nel 1476 da Michael Manzolus (ISTC im00090000; GW M22459).³⁸ Tra l'altro, una copia di «Francesco de Mayrono» è menzionata anche nell'inventario dei libri di Bartolomeo Lupoto del 1487 (nr. 281), di cui sotto. Tutti i libri riconsegnati a Lucca venivano complessivamente valutati a ventotto ducati, tredici lire e due soldi veneti.

Un secondo, più importante deposito di libri si trovava a Genova presso un misterioso «magister Bartolomeus de Navarra scriptor librorum in Carubio del Filo». Come già nel caso del deposito lasciato a Lucca, anche questo elenco dà i relativi prezzi dei singoli titoli. Il valore complessivo dei volumi lasciati da Simone Verde a Genova era di quaranta ducati, cinquantacinque lire e sei soldi veneti (Appendice II). Non di un ignoto copista spagnolo si trattava, tuttavia, ma invece del libraio originario di Grignasco presso Novara, Bartolomeo Lupoto, che nel capoluogo ligure teneva sua bottega «in carubeo Filo», nel Vico del Filo.³⁹ Nel 1961 Geo Pistarino pubblicò l'inventario

36 ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 5112, fascicolo III, inserto 18.

37 L'atto è menzionato di sfuggita - senza tuttavia la precisa collocazione - in Tazarres, *Fucina lucchese*, 137.

38 «Francesco de Maron» anche in Fulin, «Nuovi documenti», 399.

39 Ganda, «LUPOTTI».

dei libri rinvenuti dopo la sua morte nel 1487 e non stupisce che molti dei titoli lasciati in deposito da Simone Verde nel 1477 erano ancora presenti nella sua bottega un decennio dopo.⁴⁰ Altri invece erano stati venduti, come per esempio il *De civitate Dei* di Sant'Agostino, forse una delle due edizioni stampate a Venezia nel 1475 da Nicolas Jenson oppure Gabriele di Pietro, le quattro copie del *Quadragesimale* di fra' Michele da Carcano del Renner, o i tre *Mercuriali*, cioè le *Quaestiones mercuriales super regulis iuris* di Iohannes Andreae, presumibilmente stampate da Adam von Rottweil a Venezia il 4 luglio 1477 (ISTC ia00637000; GW 1737). Delle *Elegantiae linguae latinae* di Lorenzo Valla, presumibilmente l'edizione veneziana di Jacques Le Rouge stampata dopo il 5 marzo 1476 (ISTC iv00055000; GW M49317), si contavano due copie nel 1477 e ancora lo stesso numero nel 1487.⁴¹ Di altri titoli lasciati allora era invece aumentato il numero nella bottega del 1487 che tra l'altro era molto ben fornita in titoli giuridici. Per l'alto prezzo di sette ducati spiccava nel 1480 una *Bibia in volgare*, quasi sicuramente già miniata e legata.⁴²

Una valutazione economica complessiva dell'attività dei soci stampatori e librai Leonardo Donà/Franz Renner non è certamente possibile con i pochi dati a disposizione. La vendita a credito rendeva il commercio librario vulnerabile e le valutazioni dei volumi da parte dei venditori raramente corrispondevano ai loro prezzi di vendita. Le stime, per esempio da parte del tribunale fiorentino della Mercanzia, erano a volte ancora più basse.⁴³ Stupisce anche l'itinerario di Simone Verde che da Firenze si sarebbe diretto verso Pisa e Lucca e poi verso Genova, lasciando presumibilmente le altre città toscane ai venditori ambulanti o alle spedizioni da parte di suo fratello Bernardo.⁴⁴ Nessuna notizia ci è ancora giunta sulla sua attività in Lombardia. L'impressione generale, comunque, è quella di un commercio libra-

⁴⁰ Pistarino, *Bartolomeo Lupoto*, 191-217.

⁴¹ Pistarino, *Bartolomeo Lupoto*, 201 note 203 e 206.

⁴² Il 16 novembre 1478, il cittadino fiorentino Guidetto di Francesco Guidetti depositò nella corte della Mercanzia «una bibbia in volgare in due volumi in forma, legata e miniata, in fogli reali», per cui aveva speso, presso il cartolaio fiorentino Benedetto di Giovanni, non meno di diciannove lire «in fare legare e miniare detti libri» (ASF, Mercanzia, 4485, r. 88; 11759, c. 48v). La «Bibia minata» era stata acquistata dallo stesso libraio il 19 luglio 1477 per sette fiorini larghi, come parte della 'dote conventuale' per la figlia di Guidetto, «monacha di San Piero Martire» (4484, c. 304r-v).

⁴³ Nel settembre 1482, al cartolaio fiorentino Zanobi di Giovanni venivano concessi venti giorni per farsi riconsegnare dal suo creditore i seguenti libri stampati: «I° libro chiamato *Pisanella*, II° *Breviarii*, I° *Centonovelle*, le *Pistole* di Tulio, *Pistole e Vangelii* in duo volumi, II° libri *Vita patrum*, II° libri *Mamotrecti*». Tutti questi volumi insieme erano precedentemente stati impegnati per solo sei fiorini larghi (ASF, Mercanzia, 322, c. 126r).

⁴⁴ Documenti riguardanti il commercio librario di Simone Verde a Pisa non sono purtroppo emersi, cf. Verde 1973-2010.

rio veneziano organizzato sin dall'inizio in maniera molto più energica che altrove, anche a Firenze. Se la *Grande compagnia* di Giovanni da Colonia e Nicolas Jenson aveva una propria bottega a Firenze dopo il 1480, lo stesso non è ancora dimostrato per i soci Donà/Renner in questi anni. È infatti più probabile che d'allora si appoggiavano a Firenze alla rete dei loro 'concittadini' della *Grande compagnia*. L'ultimo atto fiorentino di Cristoforo d'Arrigo da Salisburgo, rogato da uno degli stessi notai che quasi un mese prima era stato responsabile del suo compromesso con Simone Verde, 'ser' Giovanni di Marco da Romena, ne è una chiara indicazione. Con questa procura del 31 gennaio 1481, infatti, Cristoforo nominò un tale «magister Arrigus Gherardi francigena mercator librorum Florentie commorans» come il suo nuovo procuratore generale.⁴⁵ Forse precedentemente attivo nella bottega veneziana di Nicolas Jenson, questo chierico francese teneva a Firenze dei saldi rapporti con la *Grande compagnia*.⁴⁶ Sembra comunque che i rapporti tra i due fratelli Bernardo e Simone Verde con Leonardo Donà e Franz Renner si fossero del tutto interrotti dal 1481.

Appendice I, ASF, Mercanzia 4486 (Atti straordinari, 1 gennaio-24 aprile 1479), c. 111v

Die XVIII martii 1478.

Constituito personalmente in giudizio dinanzi al decto ufficiale Cristofano d'Arrigo da Salzipurca della Magna habitante nella città di Vinegia procuratore et procuratorio nomine di messer Leonardo di Donato di Lucha de' confini di Santa Maria Formosa di Vinegia, e di maestro Francesco Fontana⁴⁷ impressore et stampatore di libri in forma che habita nella dicta città di Vinegia, et qualunque di loro in tutto insieme et di per se, come del suo instrumento et mandato appare publico instrumento rogato per mano di ser Girolano Bonicardi notaio vinitiano sotto di XXVIII del mese di gennaio proximo passato 1478 o in altro più vero tempo, co' lettere patente ducale et testimoniale dell'ubrigatione⁴⁸ del notaio sotto di ultimo di decto mese di gennaio o altro più vero tempo, il decto Cristofano decto nome, volendo manifestare la verità et narrare⁴⁹ il vero per sua scientia et non per errore, pubblicamente, di sua spontanea volontà et con ogni modo et forma che meglio poté, fu confesso avere et ricevuto da Si-

⁴⁵ ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 9635, fol. 218r.

⁴⁶ Böniger, «Venetian Incunabula», 59, 62-3.

⁴⁷ *Segue, depennato*: messo

⁴⁸ ubrigatione di incerta lettura

⁴⁹ *Segue, depennato*: la

mone di Bartolomeo Verde et da Bernardo suo fratello cartolaio di Firenze,⁵⁰ paghante et consegnante per se et a vice⁵¹ et nome di deceto Simone suo fratello, fiorini cinquanta d'oro larghi, cioè fiorini 50 d'oro larghi, <e> tutti li infrascripti libri et overo volumi di libri non legati, come appresso si dice:

Pisanelle n° 14
 Pisanelle grande n° 1
 Breviarii secondo *corde de prontini*⁵² n° 3
 Breviarii secondo corte n° 11
 Pomponio Mella n° 16
 Bibbia ama⁵³ n° 1
*Senecha*⁵⁴ n° 1
 Merchur(i)ale n° 13
 Valerio Maximo n° 1
 Virgilio n° 1
 Prima secunde n° 5
 Secunda secunde n° 8
 Contra gentiles n° 11
*Noctes (at)ticae*⁵⁵ n° 2
 Quadragesimale di fra' Michele n° 16
 Ovidio n° 2
 Prisciano n° 2
 Rethoricha n° 3
 Contra gentiles n° 1
 Breviario secondo corte n° 2⁵⁶
 Breviari di fra' (!) Domenico n° 4
 Merchuriale n° 7
 Breviario secondo corte⁵⁷ n° 4
 Breviario di San Domenico n° 3 /⁵⁸
 Francesco di Marone n° 1
 Versorio n° 1

50 di Firenze di incerta lettura

51 vice di incerta lettura

52 corde de prontini di incerta lettura. *Potrebbe trattare di breviari romani per l'uso francescano, stampati dal Renner già nel 1477 (ISTC ib01118000; GW 5146).*

53 ama di incerta lettura. *Trattasi comunque di una copia della Bibbia latina del Renner oppure del Jenson, già menzionata nella prima lista del 1477 (Ridolfi, Francesco della Fontana, 63, 65).*

54 Senecha di incerta lettura.

55 Noctes (at)ticae di incerta lettura.

56 2 di incerta lettura per una correzione.

57 corte di incerta lettura.

58 Inizia la seconda colonna a destra della pagina.

Spositione sopra vangeli n° 1
 Petrarca n° 1
 Reghole sepontine n° 1
 Postille (!)⁵⁹ di San Ieronimo n° 1
 Fior di virtù n° 4
 Breviario di San Domenico n° 48
 Ninfale di Fiesole n° 8
 Alessandro Magno n° 4
 Confessionale n° 50
 Officium Conceptionis n° 36
 Vite di P(l)utarcho n° 1
 Bartolo sopra lo I° dell'Infforzato n° 2
 Consigli dell'Abbate n° 1
 Pisanelle n° 14
 Marmotrecto n° 8
 Quadragesimale di fra' Michele n° 1
 Pompeo (!) Mella n° 8
 Pistole di San Ieronimo n° 1
 Secunda secunde n° 2, et
 Quadragesimale n° 1,

et renunptia esso Cristoforo alle exceptioni della corte,⁶⁰ et si <confessa haver> havuti et ricevuti pecunia, cioè in denaro⁶¹ in decta somma di fiorini 50 d'oro larghi et tutti e soprascripti libri et volumi et che esso Cristofano in decto nome⁶² ne facesse et fé quietantia⁶³ a decti Simone et Bernardo spet(iali) etc., et prom(ictens) et ob(ligans) etc., sotto etc.

Facte furono le predecte cose al bancho delle ragioni di decto ufficiale etc., sedenti ser Andrea Rigogli et Giuliano d'Antonio decto Verna⁶⁴ testimoni, dell'anno 1478, indictione II, a dì 19 del mese di marzo di decto anno.

59 *Recte:* (E)Pistolae

60 *corte di incerta lettura.*

61 *denaro di incerta lettura*

62 *Segue, depennato:* si riferisce

63 *quietantia di incerta lettura*

64 *Verna di incerta lettura.*

Appendice II, ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, 5112 (ser Cetto di Bernardo di ser Cetto da Loro, carte sciolte, 1470-1509), fascicolo III, inserto 19

⁶⁵1480, indictione XIII et die 22 decembris.

Item postea dictis anno, indictione et die, actum Florentie in populo Sancti Stefani Abatie florentine, presentibus domino Antonio Domini plebano *Colle Salvetti*⁶⁶ pisane diocesis et Baldaxarre Iacobi de Peccioli comitatus florentini⁶⁷ et Iohanbaptista Bartolomei Andree testibus populi Sancte Marie Maioris de Florentia.⁶⁸

Cum spectabilis vir dominus Leonardus Donatus quondam domini Luce de confinio Sancte Marie Formose de Venetiis et magister Franciscus della Fontana quondam ser Iohannis teutonicus impressor librorum habitator Venetiis pluribus, variis ac diversis vicibus dederunt et tradiderunt Simoni olim⁶⁹ Bartolomei Tommasii Verde de Burgo ad Sanctum Laurentium civi florentino ad vendendum nonnullas summas et quantitates librorum impressorum, ipseque Simon dictos libros partim diversis locis et temporibus vendiderit et partim reddiderit,⁷⁰ partimque ad huc in civitate Lucana et partim Ianue dicat habere, cumque etiam occasione dicatorum librorum et eorum computorum fuerint et sint suborta inter eos lites et questiones, de eis factum fuit compromissum in ser Stefanum Antonii ser Francisci et ser Iohannem ser Marci de Romena notarios florentinos tamquam⁷¹ arbitros et arbitratores, et ipsi arbitri dictas lites et questiones intellexerunt eorumque iudicium et arbitrium verbo manifestaverunt et laudaverunt et seu arbitrati fuerunt ut in predictis et infrascriptis partitis *extiterit*⁷² in presenti contractu et prout ipse⁷³ infrascriptis partis concorditer coram me notario et testibus et dictis arbitris et arbitratoribus sic laudantibus et arbitrantibus, ambobus in concordia asseruerunt (?) et confessi fuerunt,⁷⁴ unde hodie hac presen-

⁶⁵ *In alto a sinistra*: 1480. 22 Dic. / 23 dicto. 19 (in scrittura moderna). Sul margine a sinistra: Restitutum in publico prout hic dicto Cristoforo.

⁶⁶ *Colle Salvetti di incerta lettura; non vi esiste tuttavia nessun'altra pieve pisana con un nome simile (per le quali, ved. Emanuele Repetti, Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana contenente la descrizione di tutti i luoghi del Granducato, Ducato di Lucca, Garfagnana e Lunigiana, Firenze, Allegrini e Mazzoni, 1833-1846, IV, 389-392).*

⁶⁷ comitatus florentini in interlinea

⁶⁸ *Recte*: populi Sancte Marie Maioris testibus.

⁶⁹ olim in interlinea

⁷⁰ et partim reddiderit in interlinea

⁷¹ Tamquam in interlinea

⁷² extiterit di incerta lettura

⁷³ *Segue, depennato*: partitam

⁷⁴ et laudaverunt - confessi fuerunt in interlinea e sul margine sinistro

ti supracripta die Cristoforus Arrigi teutonicus tamquam procurator et procuratorio nomine predictorum domini Leonardi et magistri Francisci et cuiuslibet eorum, prout de sua procuratione et mandato sufficienti ad infrascripta constare dixit manu ser Francisci⁷⁵ Bonamici filii quondam domini Niccolai de Venetiis notarii publici sub die 12 mensis octobris proximi preteriti vel alio veriori tempore, et ad cautelam maiorem,⁷⁶ ut institor eorumdem suorum principalium et omni meliori modo quo potuit ex parte una, et dictus Simon olim⁷⁷ Bartolomei Tommasi Verde omni meliori modo quo potuit ex parte alia, audito, et approbato et ratificato vocis⁷⁸ arbitrio et iudicio dictorum arbitratorum super dictis litis et questionibus et super omnibus de quibus infra fiet mentio et dependentium, exinde pervenerunt ad invicem ad infrascriptam compositionem, conventionem, transactionem et concordiam, videlicet:⁷⁹

Inprimis quidem facto et cancelato ad invicem computo et cancelo rationum omnium dictorum librorum et dependentium ex eis, et maxime secundum formam et tenorem quorundam computorum dictorum librorum ostensorum per dictum Cristoforum que⁸⁰ computa apparent fuisse facta Venetiis, et insuper ultra computa predicta satisfacto dicto Simoni de salario sibi debito ad rationem⁸¹ ducatorum 48 pro tempore mensium decemocto⁸² et satisfacto etiam eidem⁸³ de ducatis 54 pro expensis victus pro dicto tempore ad rationem ducatorum trium pro quolibet mense, et computatis etiam expensis factis⁸⁴ ultra computa predicta per Bernardum fratrem dicti Simonis et etiam per dictum Simonem tam Florentie quam alibi pro tantis⁸⁵ cassis librorum proventus ad manus⁸⁶ dicti⁸⁷ Bernardi, que⁸⁸ ascendunt in totum in diversis partitis ad summam et quantitatem⁸⁹ ducatorum quinque et librarum 154 vel circa, et computatis et cancelatis omni-

75 *Segue, depennato*: Bonamicus

76 *maiolem di incerta lettura*

77 *Segue, depennato*: To

78 *Approbato - vocis in interlinea; vocis di incerta lettura*

79 *Segue, depennato*: quod dictus Simon restet eorum debitor et obligatus sit ut infra

80 *Segue, depennato*: app

81 *Segue, depennato*: florenorum

82 *Segue, depennato*: et computatis fl

83 *Segue, depennato*: de flor

84 *Segue, depennato*: Florentie

85 et etiam - tantis in interlinea, tantis di incerta lettura

86 *Segue, depennato*: eiusdem

87 *dicti in interlinea*

88 *Segue, depennato*: fuerunt in parte una librorum ducati duas summa (?) et (?) librarum 34 vel circa et in parte alia ducatorum duorum et librarum

89 *ascendunt - quantitatem in interlinea*

bus et singulis aliis datis et acceptis hinc inter dictas partes uni ab altera et e converso, tam in pecunia numerata quam in mercantiis, et⁹⁰ que fuerunt computanda et cancelanda inter dictas partes pro predictis et occaxione predictorum, tam sub nomine dicti Simonis quam sub nomine dicti Bernardi eius fratris, dictus Simon salvus⁹¹ omnibus infrascriptis, omni meliori modo quo potuit, ex causa transactionis et calculi et computi predicti,⁹² fuit confessus et publice recognovit penes se⁹³ habuisse et habere in civitate Lucana de dictis libris⁹⁴ infrascriptos libros hoc modo vulgariter descriptos, videlicet: Francesco di Marone n.° 1: duc. - li. 4
Spositioni sopra vangellii n.° II°: duc. - li. 5
Prima secunde n.° 2: duc. 2 li. 4 s. 2⁹⁵ in tutto
Lactanzio Fermiano n.° 3: duc. 6 in tutto
Mercuriali n.° 4: duc. 4 in tutto
Breviali di Sancto Domenico n.° 1: duc. 1
Breviali secundo corte n.° 1: duc. 2
Contra gentiles n.° 2: duc. 2 in tutto
Quadragesimali di fra' Michele n.° 2: duc. 4 in tutto /
Consigli dell'Abate n.° 1: duc. 1
Saliceto sopra il 4° del Codice n.° 1: duc. 3
Bartolo sopra il primo del Inforzato n.° 1: duc. 3,
et ipsos libros pertinuisse et spectasse et pertinere et spectare ad dictos principales dicti Cristofori et eos⁹⁶ fuisse et esse in totum valoris et estimationis ducatorum 28 librarum 13 et solidorum 2 venetorum secundum estimationes predictas penes dictos libros ut supra notatas,⁹⁷ quos quidem libros ut supra vulgariter descriptos dictus Simon promisit eidem Cristofori presenti et dicto procuratorio nomine pro dictis suis principalibus recipienti dare et tradere in dicta civitate Lucana⁹⁸ infra unum mensem proxime futurum, et casu quo eos in dicta civitate non traderit ut supra, promisit⁹⁹ estimationem dictorum librorum quos non tradiderit,¹⁰⁰ ut supra penitus¹⁰¹ dictos li-

90 datis - et in interlinea e sul margine sinistro

91 salvus di incerta lettura

92 transactionis - predicti in interlinea

93 *Segue, depennato*: et seu ad eius instantiam

94 de dictis libris in interlinea

95 *Segue, depennato*: in totum

96 eos aggiunto in interlinea

97 penes - notatas in interlinea

98 Seguono alcune parole di difficile lettura in interlinea

99 et casu - promisit in interlinea

100 quos non tradiderit sul margine sinistro; *segue depennato*: quos non daret vel solvet et stimaret (?) infra dictum tempus non redditorum

101 penitus di incerta lettura

brod expresse, singula singulis referendo, dare et solvere dicto Cristoforo dictis nominibus¹⁰² Florentie, Venetiis, Pisis reliquorumque locorum, sine exceptione aliqua.

Item ex causis predictis¹⁰³ asseruit et confessus fuit habere in civitate Ianue penes magistrum Bartolomeum de Navarra scriptorem librorum in carubio del Filo¹⁰⁴ infrascriptos libros, videlicet:

Sancto Tommaso contra gentiles n.º 6: duc. 6 in tutto

Secunda secunde n.º 5: duc. 10 in tutto

Primo Scoti n.º 1: duc. 1

Augustino de civitate Dei n.º 1: duc. 1 li. 3 s. 2

Questioni Sancti Tomme n.º 1: duc. 1 li. 3

Terenzio n.º 4: li. 10 in tutto

Rectorica nuova et vecchia n.º 2: li. 7 in tutto

De eterno temporali n. 4: li. 6 s. 8 in tutto

Eleganzia di Valla n.º 2: li. 9¹⁰⁵ in tutto

Comenti di Tulio de oratore n.º 2: duc. 1 in tutto

Quadragesimali di fra' Michele n.º 4: duc. 8 in tutto

Mercuriali n.º 3: duc. 3 in tutto /

Compendio di teologia n.º 1: li. 3 s. 2

Regole sepontine n.º 1: li. 1 s. 10

Fior di virtù n.º 4: li. 4 in tutto

Transito di Sancto Girolamo n.º 1: li. 1 s. 14

Bibia in vulgare n.º 1: duc. 7

Nicolaus de Lira sopra il Salmista n.º 1: duc. 1

Mamotrecti n.º 1: li. 4

Mamotrecti n.º 1: duc. 1

Offitii conceptionis n.º 10: li. 2 s. 10 in tutto,

et ipsos libros fuisse et esse, ut supra, de dictis libris sibi consignatis a dictis principalibus dicti Cristofori et ad eos spectasse et spectare, quapropter¹⁰⁶ dictus Simon, salvus ut supra,¹⁰⁷ promisit dicto Cristoforo ut supra presenti et recipienti ut supra dare et tradere ac restituere sibi dictos libros in dicta civitate Ianue sine aliqua exceptione vel Florentie, maribus¹⁰⁸ Ianue et alioque locorum,¹⁰⁹ eorum extimationem et valorem superius expressum, videlicet eorum librorum ex

102 dictis nominibus *in interlinea*

103 ex causis predictis *in interlinea*

104 scriptorem - Filo *in interlinea*

105 *Segue, depennato*: (li.) 9, s. 8

106 *Segue, depennato*: pro

107 Salvus ut supra *in interlinea*

108 maribus *di incerta lettura*

109 Florentie - locorum *in interlinea*

predictis quos non restitueret,¹¹⁰ infra quatuor menses proxime futuros, que stimatio adscenderet secundum superius scripta ad summam ducatorum 40 librarum 55 solidorum 6 venetorum in totum,¹¹¹ declarantes scriptam dicatorum librorum quam dictus Simon asseruit habere cum dictum magistrum Bartolomeum, de et qua cantat scriptura dicti Bartolomei et eiusdem Bartolomei manu propria facta, et quam dictus Cristofous dictis nominibus confessus fuit habuisse a dicto Simone,¹¹² fuisse et esse penes dictum Cristoferum dictis nominibus, ac etiam voluerunt dicte partes dictis modis et nominibus¹¹³ dictum Cristoforum teneri et obligatum esse ad dandum et tradendum dicto magistro Bartolomeo de Novara libros in dicta scripta contentos pro extimationi, de qua in ipsa scripta fit mentio, si¹¹⁴ eos vel ulterius eorum ipse magister Bartolomeus¹¹⁵ voluerit, ac vero declarantes dicte partes quod dictus Simon predictis libris lanue existentibus penes dictum magistrum Bartolomeum non possit nec debeat conveniri a dicto Cristoforo vel dictis eius principalibus nisi primo dictus Cristoforus vel dicti eius principales vel alter pro eis dictos libros requisiverit a dicto magistro Bartolomeo et sibi protestatus fuerit quod eos restituerat secundum formam dicte scripte manu publici notarii vel alii legi pari, et dictus magister Bartolomeus eos, facta protestatione predicta, non restituerit vel eos restituere recusaverit, et dicta scripta et cautio privata quam ut supra dictus Cristoforus ad consegnare (?) habuerit¹¹⁶ contra dictum magistrum Bartolomeum fuerit restituta dicto Simoni.¹¹⁷ /

Item remanserunt in concordia dicte partes dictis nominibus ex causa transituris predictorum quod casu quo dictus magister Bartolomeus vendiderit et seu vellet dictos libros vero¹¹⁸ pro pretio in dicta scripta contento, singula et singulis referendo, et dicto Simoni solverit,¹¹⁹ quod dictus¹²⁰ Simon non teneatur tunc¹²¹ nec obligatus sit reficere, et seu restituere dicto Cristoforo aut dictis suis principalibus residuum extimationis dicatorum librorum ab extimatione facta

110 videlicet - restitueret *sul margine sinistro*

111 *Segue, depennato*: vel

112 de et qua - dictus Simon *sul margine sinistro, segue depennato*: penes (?) se habere et p

113 ac etiam - nominibus *in interlinea*

114 *Segue, depennato*: eorum

115 ipse magister Bartholomeus *in interlinea*

116 Ad consegnare (?) habuerit *in interlinea*

117 *Segue, depennato*: et non aliter

118 vero *di incerta lettura*

119 119 et dicto Simoni solverit *in interlinea*

120 quod dictus *di incerta lettura*

121 tunc *in interlinea*

in dicta suprascripta usque ad extimationem¹²² superius in presenti contractu factam de dictis libris, singula singulis referendo, hoc¹²³ expresse declarato quod si dictus Bartolomeus dictos libros non venderit se de dictos libros penes se retinuerit de voluntate dicti Cristofori ut supra, pro pretio in dicta scripta apposito, dictus Simon pro dictis libris non teneatur reficere residuum extimationis ut supra.¹²⁴ Insuper dictus Simon ultra predicta, et salvus omnibus predictis,¹²⁵ pro residuo librorum aliorum quorumcumque¹²⁶ per eum venditorum vel ad eum computorum,¹²⁷ de libris dictorum principalium dicti Cristofori et computorum predictorum, salvis ut supra expressis et declaratis et ultra supradictos debitos per eum ut supra debitos, ex causa transactionis predictae et pro omni et toto eo quod quomodolibet ultra predicta restaret debitor,¹²⁸ fuit confessus et publice recognovit se fuisse et esse verum et legitimum debitorem dicti Cristofori dictis nominibus et dictorum eius principalium in summa et quantitate ducatorum 77 venetorum, quam summam et quantitatem dictus simon promisit et solemniter convenit dicto Cristoforo ut supra recipienti et stipulanti dare et solvere eidem Cristoforo dictis nominibus et dictis eius principalibus et cuilibet eorum in solidum et unica solutione sufficiente his temporibus, videlicet¹²⁹ ducatos 38 cum dimidio intra unum annum proxime futurum, et alios 38 cum dimidio intra duos annos proxime futuros sine aliqua exceptione¹³⁰ Venetiis,¹³¹ Florentie,¹³² Pisis et alibi ubique,¹³³ hoc expressum declarato inter partes predictas, quod si dictus Simon dictis temporibus dictam quantitatem non solverit vel solvi non¹³⁴ fecerit¹³⁵ in dicta civitate Venetiarum dicto tempore,¹³⁶ quod tunc et eo casu teneatur et obligatus sit dicto Cristoforo et dictis eius principalibus et cuilibet eorum ad refectionem omnium et singulorum damnorum, expen-

122 *Segue, depennato:* factam

123 *Segue, depennato:* decl

124 et seu restituere - ut supra *sul margine sinistro*

125 et salvus omnibus predictis *in interlinea*

126 aliorum quorumcumque *in interlinea*

127 ad eum computorum *aggiunto nella riga sottostante e di incerta lettura*

128 ex causa - debitor *aggiunto nell'interlinea*

129 *Segue, depennato:* florenos

130 *Segue, depennato:* in civitate

131 *Segue, depennato:* in civitate

132 *Segue, depennato:* in civitate

133 *Segue, depennato:* et (?)

134 non *in interlinea*

135 *Segue, depennato:* ut supra

136 dicto tempore *in interlinea*

sarum et interesse que vel quas quomodolibet facerent vel subportarent in iudicio vel extra, de iure vel de fatto, et tam in itinerariis quam aliis quibuscumque reliquiis¹³⁷ causis que quomodolibet dici vel excogitari possit, pro exigendo et consequendo dictas pecunias, et eos teneatur¹³⁸ exinde conservare indemnes et penitus sine damno. Item declaraverunt dicte partes dictis modis et nominibus quod in presenti transactione et contractu non veniant nec venisse intelligatur librae 192 solidum 1, prout patet manu mei notarii infrascripti, debitae dicto Cristoforo dictis nominibus pro libris de quibus supra fit mentio,¹³⁹ proventis ad manus dicti Bernardi. Item dicte partes dictis modis et nominibus, facientibus fermis / omnibus et singulis suprascriptis¹⁴⁰ ex causa transactionis predictae¹⁴¹ fecerunt sibi ad invicem et vicissim,¹⁴² videlicet una pars alteri et e converso, fermam remissionem, recusationem et pactum perpetuum de omnibus et singulis hiis et toto eo quod et seu que una pars ab altera et e converso usque in presentem diem¹⁴³ quomodolibet recipere, consequi vel petere possint, cum scriptura vel sine, publica vel privata, (...) ¹⁴⁴ /

1480, die 23 decembris, indictione XIII.

Item postea dictis, anno, indictione et die, actum Florentie in populo Sancti Stefani Abatie florentine, presentibus ser Iohanne ser Marci de Romena et ser Stefano Antonii ser Francisci civibus et notariis florentinis testibus etc.

Certum esse dicitur quod de presenti anno domini 1480 et die ... mensis novembris ut patet manu mei notarii, infrascriptus Bernardus filius olim Bartolomei Verde recognovit se esse verum et legitimum debitorem Cristofori Arrigi teutonici procuratoris¹⁴⁵ magistri Francisci de Fontana impressoris librorum librarum 192 solidorum ..., ¹⁴⁶ ut patet in dicto instrumento, unde hodie hac presenti suprascripta die dictus Bernardus, constitutus in presentia dicti Cristofori dicto nomine et mei notarii infrascripti et testium suprascriptorum, volens per se satisfacere et solvere dicto Cristoforo de dicta suprascripta

137 reliquiis *in interlinea*

138 teneatur *in interlinea*

139 *Segue, depennato*: pro libris

140 *Segue, depennato*: declaraverunt quod predicta

141 ex causa - *predictae in interlinea*

142 *Segue, depennato*: et e converso

143 usque - *diem in interlinea*

144 *Segue quasi una pagina con formule obligazionali giuridiche, poi i giuramenti di Simone Verde e Cristoforo d'Arrigo, e l'attestato del notaio e giudice ordinario ser Cetto.*

145 *Segue, depennato*: d

146 *Segue, depennato*: vel circa

quantitate, actualiter dedit et solvit et nummeravit dicto Cristoforo ibidem presenti et ad se detinenti libras novagenti quatuor et solidos otto in ducatos auri¹⁴⁷ sexdecim, et libras 5 solidos 18 pro quolibet floreno, prout¹⁴⁸ tantam fuisse quantitatem dictus Cristoforus ad se traens confessus fuit, et renumpsiavit exceptioni non retinere¹⁴⁹ quantitatem penitus¹⁵⁰ etc., et ex alia parte dictus Cristoforus dicto nomine fecit terminum et delationem dicto Bernardo ibidem presenti et recipienti etc., ad solvendum residuum dicte quantitatis hinc ad per totum mensem¹⁵¹ martii¹⁵² proxime futuris 1481, non obstante termino in dicto instrumento recognitionis aposito, que omnia etc. promiserunt actendere etc., sub pena etc., pro quibus etc., alibi etc., rogantes etc.

Appendice III, Archivio di Stato, Lucca (Sede Sussidiaria), Archivio dei Notari, n. 1205 (ser Lucensio Migliori, “1481”), c. 2r-v

Die XXX decembris 1481, indictione XIII.¹⁵³

Cristoforus Arrigi theutonicus ad presens Luce existens venditor librorum¹⁵⁴ procurator et procuratorio nomine domini Leonardi Donati veneti et magistri Francisci Fontana theutonici impressoris librorum habitatoris Venetiis, de quo mandato dixerunt constare publico instrumento rogato manu ..., dicto modo et nomine hoc publico instrumento etc., fuit confessus etc., Simoni Bartholomei Verde civi florentino presenti etc., se ab ipso habuisse et recepisse et sibi dicto nomine restitutos fuisse et consignatos infrascriptos libros, videlicet:

1° Franciscum Maronis

1° Expositionem super Evangeliiis

2 Prime secunde S. Thome / (v)

1° Breviarium secundum Curiam Romanam

2 Contra gentiles Sancti Thome

2 Quadragesimalia fratris Michaelis de Mediolano /¹⁵⁵

3 Lactantius Firmianos

4 Mercuriales

147 *Segue, depennato: decem et sex (?)*

148 *prout de incerta lettura*

149 *retinere di incerta lettura*

150 *penitus di incerta lettura*

151 *Segue, depennato: aprilis*

152 *martii in interlinea*

153 *Cioè il 1480 (Lucca seguiva lo stile di Pisa).*

154 *Segue, depennato: fuit confessus et publica ghua*

155 *Seconda colonna a destra del foglio*

I° Breviarium Sancti Dominici
 I° Consilium Abbatis
 I° Salicetum supra III° Codicis
 I° Bartholom super primo Inforziati,
 quos omnes libros Cristoforus fuit confessus et publice ghua-
 rentavit ipsi Simoni presenti etc., penes se esse in veritate, renun-
 tians etc., et sic ipsum Simonem liberavit¹⁵⁶ ab omni eo quod ab eo
 pro dictis libris tantum receptis petere possit liberavit, et quam libe-
 rationem fecit pro aquilianam stipulam precedenti etc., et dicto no-
 mine promixit eidem Simoni presenti etc. ipsum nec eius heredes ul-
 lo umquam tempore in perpetuum non molestare etc., que omnia etc.

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- Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles, sive De veritate Catholicae fidei*. Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, [not after 1476]. Folio and 4°. ISTD it00192000
- Valla, Laurentius, *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*. Add: *De pronomine sui*. [Venice]: Jacobus Rubeus, [after 5 Mar.] 1476. Folio. ISTD iv00055000

«Heredes de Plauto stampadore deno avere infrascritte robe e dinari»

Consumo del libro, prezzi e mercato librario a Bologna alla fine del Quattrocento

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Abstract Two archival sources of the late 15th century allow us to outline some considerations and comparisons between the cost of living and book prices in Bologna. The first reports books stored in Bologna by the printer/bookseller Francesco Platone de' Benedetti during his lifetime; the second, the most important for this particular case study, reports the prices and sales of those books made by his heirs.

Keywords Francesco Platone de' Benedetti. Bologna. History of the book. Cost of living. Early modern book prices. Incunabula.

Sommario 1 Introduzione. – 2 Sistema monetario a Bologna. – 3 Vendite e prezzi. – 4 Costo dei libri, costo della vita: qualche confronto. – 5 Conclusioni.

1 Introduction

La fama di Francesco Platone de' Benedetti, il più stimato tipografo bolognese dell'ultimo ventennio del Quattrocento, è legata anche al celebre inventario del suo magazzino di libri,¹ che conteneva tanto edizioni stampate da lui

¹ Archivio di Stato di Bologna, 1497, coll. 7/8; Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 321-42; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 203-391.



stesso quanto da altri tipografi, poiché Platone fu infatti anche libraio. Redatto *post mortem* nel 1497 a scopo unicamente patrimoniale, visto che lo stampatore l'anno precedente era morto all'improvviso e senza lasciare un testamento, l'inventario rappresenta ancora oggi una delle fonti più rilevanti per la storia del libro e del commercio librario nell'Italia padana del XV secolo, anche se i suoi redattori si limitarono a registrare solo il numero degli esemplari censiti per ciascun titolo (cioè le giacenze) tralasciando purtroppo qualunque altra informazione, con tutte le conseguenze del caso quanto all'identificazione bibliografica delle edizioni in *stock*.² Il cospicuo deposito di libri (si tratta, come noto, di oltre diecimila volumi), così come tutto il contenuto dell'officina tipografica e le varie suppellettili domestiche, passò in eredità ai legittimi successori, ragione per cui nessun volume venne prezzato e dunque il documento, da solo, non è in grado di offrire un contributo inerente al tema che qui preme.

A questo proposito, pur in assenza delle fonti più attendibili per indagare il costo dei libri (evitando, se possibile, distorsioni e approssimazioni pericolose), vale a dire scritture contabili in senso stretto e/o cataloghi di vendita dotati di prezzi - a oggi infatti nulla del genere è noto per l'officina del de' Benedetti e certamente si tratta di una lacuna pregiudizievole per questa indagine³ - è parso comunque di una qualche utilità insistere sul contenuto di un altro documento archivistico. Si tratta, nello specifico, di materiale conservato presso l'Archivio di Stato di Bologna, che consiste in un rendiconto cartaceo di spese e incassi datato 2 giugno 1498:⁴ siamo quindi un anno e mezzo dopo la stesura dell'inventario. Il rendiconto è relativo ai mesi aprile-agosto 1497 e gennaio-maggio 1498. Fu compilato in volgare da Vincenzo de' Benedetti, fratello minore del tipografo che, essendo divenuto tutore dei suoi figli, cioè gli eredi, ancora giovanissimi, fu obbligato a documentare alle magistrature competenti tutti i movimenti in denaro della famiglia, per dimostrare di agire a vantaggio esclusivo dei piccoli eredi e nipoti. Non si ha quindi a che fare con una fonte, si passi il termine, 'ortodossa' per questo tipo di indagine - i prezzi che lo scritto propone, soprattutto quelli che in questa sede interessano, sembrano infatti in larghissima parte al dettaglio, negoziati cioè su base individuale, come vedremo - né si tratta di un documento caratterizzato da una qualche struttura bibliografi-

² Occorre precisare subito che le ipotesi identificative avanzate per riconoscere (fin dove possibile) le edizioni contenute nel magazzino sono il presupposto di tutto il ragionamento che in questa sede si propone. A questo proposito mi permetto di rinviare nuovamente a Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 203-391.

³ Nuovo, «The Price of Books in Italy», 107-27; Coppens, Nuovo, «Printed Catalogues of Booksellers», 171-5.

⁴ Archivio di Stato di Bologna, 1498, coll. 7/8; Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae ad rem*, 347-57.

ca complessa, come ad esempio quella sottesa al citato inventario del magazzino. Il rendiconto, infatti, è una sorta di rudimentale partita doppia, se si vuole disordinata ma a suo modo ricca e meticolosa, dove Vincenzo de' Benedetti non solo dà conto, con relativi prezzi, delle entrate/uscite in denaro più diverse connesse alla normale gestione della quotidianità, ma nella lista delle voci in entrata per i mesi aprile-agosto 1497 precisa il prezzo cui furono vendute alcune opere presenti nel grande deposito librario del fratello Francesco, quello, cioè, che l'inventario aveva 'fotografato'.⁵ Si capisce quindi come le fonti, fatte interagire tra loro, rappresentino in un certo senso due facce di una stessa medaglia, perché le ipotesi avanzate per identificare le edizioni/giacenze del magazzino aiutano a riconoscere, o a circoscrivere, fra una rosa possibile, quelle registrate nel rendiconto, presupposto indispensabile per provare, ad esempio, a calcolarne il prezzo-per-foglio. Stante ciò, la questione naturalmente si è rivelata ben più complessa...

2 Sistema monetario a Bologna

Consapevoli che i limiti di questo *case study* forniranno un campione in sé attendibile e interessante ma scarsamente rappresentativo nel contesto generale, e prima di interpretare alcuni dati così come sono emersi dall'analisi delle fonti, è indispensabile fornire qualche coordinata di base sulle principali monete circolanti all'epoca in città. Perché diversamente si correrebbe il rischio di 'leggere' in modo sbagliato i prezzi che la fonte presenta e quindi non si riuscirebbe nemmeno a calcolare approssimativamente il prezzo complessivo di ciascun libro così come quello dei singoli fogli che lo compongono, espressi in denari per comodità di calcolo.⁶ Inoltre, per comprendere quanto realmente quei libri fossero costati ai loro acquirenti, occorrerà rapportarne il prezzo per singola copia con quello di altre merci di uso comune a Bologna,⁷ con i salari di manodopera non specializzata, di artigiani e infine di alcune categorie professionali di alta specializzazione.

⁵ In mancanza di dati derivanti da stime e/o valutazioni inventariali - l'inventario di magazzino dei libri di Francesco non fu redatto a scopo di vendita, s'è detto, ed è privo di qualunque indicazione di prezzi - tutti i prezzi-per-foglio cui questa riflessione allude vanno dunque intesi come prezzi di acquisto per-foglio, cioè come il valore monetario effettivamente pagato dall'acquirente e incassato dagli eredi del de' Benedetti.

⁶ Danesi, «In penna e a stampa»; Coppens, Nuovo, «Printed Catalogues of Booksellers», 174.

⁷ Sui rischi di tale confronto - potenzialmente fuorviante, giacché il libro era un bene secondario, per sua natura eccentrico rispetto a merci di largo e abituale consumo - si veda Coppen, «Giovanni da Colonia».

Anche nella città felsinea il sistema monetario era basato sulla lira, la lira bolognese. La suddivisione della lira era il soldo, o bolognino grosso. 20 soldi, cioè 20 grossi, costituivano 1 lira. A sua volta il soldo era suddiviso nel denaro, o bolognino piccolo. 12 denari, o 12 piccoli, equivalevano a 1 soldo. Circolava poi una moneta d'oro, il bolognino d'oro, battuto sul ducato veneziano ma a differenza della Serenissima, dove il ducato d'oro aveva un valore abbastanza costante, a Bologna il bolognino d'oro oscillava contro le altre monete, con un valore che per il 1498 è attestabile intorno a 70 soldi, cioè 3 lire e 10 soldi.⁸

3 Vendite e prezzi

In sei mesi furono effettuate 46 vendite di 32 edizioni, per un totale di circa 150 copie [tab. 1]. Le vendite contemplano singoli titoli, a volte acquistati in più copie - in genere si tratta di poche copie per volta, ma esistono eccezioni, due in particolare (tab. 1, nnr. 3 e 45) con 16 e 30 copie rispettivamente - ma anche vendite in blocco di titoli diversi: si tratta di 9 transazioni, composte da 2 fino a 16 titoli, di cui la fonte riporta solo il prezzo complessivo. Quanto ai prezzi per singola copia - da intendere per l'insieme dei fogli sciolti, cioè per libri nuovi, e riferiti a somme effettivamente incassate - e ai prezzi di acquisto per-foglio, a una prima e superficiale analisi sembrano quasi all'ingrosso se confrontati con le cifre di cui dà notizia il *Zornale* del tipografo-libraio Francesco de' Madiis nel 1484, una fonte cronologicamente non troppo lontana dalla nostra. Ci sarà modo di tornare sulla questione, ridimensionando e motivando per quanto possibile questo consistente divario.⁹

Ad eccezione di un mezzo quinterno/otto fogli di *forfantaria* (tab. 1, nnr. 2 e 4),¹⁰ di uno *sintiero* (tab. 1, nnr. 5 e 9) e di sei *Vigegi* (tab. 1, nr. 46; da intendere forse come *Vegezio* e quindi come il suo *De re militari*, incluso nella silloge *Scriptores rei militaris* stampata dallo stesso de' Benedetti e in questo caso venduto probabilmente da solo),¹¹ le opere vendute sono tutte riconoscibili con ragionevole certezza. Per ogni transazione venne appuntato il 'titolo' del libro (in realtà si tratta spesso di una sorta di parafrasi del titolo con cui l'opera ci è nota)

⁸ Battistini, Corradetti, *Guadagni di un maestro d'arme*, 4-5; Chimienti, «Monete bolognesi».

⁹ Dondi, Harris, «Oil and Green Ginger», 370-406; Harris, «Aldo Manuzio», 103.

¹⁰ Sembra trattarsi di un'edizione perduta, basata probabilmente su una qualche trama affine a *L'arte della forfanteria* elaborata nel XVII secolo da Giulio Cesare Croce (*L'arte della forfanteria cantata da Gian Pittocco Fornaro alla sua signora. Opera guidonesca dell'accademico Calcante. Drizzata alla baronia di Campo di Fiore*, In Ferrara, & in Bologna, per gli heredi di Bartolomeo Cochi, al pozzo rosso, 1611, 8°; IT\ICCU\LO1E\017505).

¹¹ Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 458-9.

e/o il suo autore, il numero delle copie o dei fogli di risma venduti, il relativo prezzo formulato in lire, soldi e denari e qualche volta il nome dell'acquirente. Sussiste però un problema, di non piccola portata. Tranne infatti che per gli *Offizioli mezani* (in 8°; tab. 1, nr. 17), per quelli privi di un'apposizione e forse da intendere come *parvi*, cioè in 16°, per distinguerli dai precedenti (tab. 1, n. 20 e 21),¹² ed escludendo un Donato *ligà* cioè rilegato che costa il doppio di quelli venduti in fogli sciolti (24 denari contro i 10-12 degli altri Donati; tab. 1, nr. 16),¹³ purtroppo il rendiconto tace sistematicamente qualunque altro dato utile all'identificazione delle edizioni. Questa omissione, se non ha una ricaduta effettiva sulle edizioni sopravvissute del de' Benedetti, sottoscritte e non, che si riconoscono senza particolare difficoltà, genera invece ripercussioni ben più gravi sulle altre tipologie di edizioni attestate dalla fonte, vale a dire quelle oggi perdute ma assegnabili ai torchi del nostro stampatore¹⁴ e quelle impresse da altri tipografi che, non potendo essere accertate univocamente, costringono ad accontentarsi di una rosa di edizioni plausibili, inferite come sempre dallo scandaglio del magazzino librario. Si tratta di un *empasse*, non c'è dubbio che, impedendo di riconoscere con ragionevole certezza tutte le edizioni che gli eredi avevano venduto - è stato identificato solo il 25% circa di esse - e di stabilirne quindi anche il relativo prezzo (di acquisto) per-foglio, finisce per assottigliare considerevolmente il dato su cui costruire il ragionamento e, di conseguenza, anche gli esiti che da questo ci si attende. Ma tant'è.

A parte le *Interpretationes novae pars secunda*,¹⁵ su cui si rifletterà più avanti, le vendite riguardano edizioni *in humanitate* (da intendere però in senso largo, per distinguerle da quelle giuridiche), con buona probabilità impresse su carta cancelleresca¹⁶ e cronologicamente assestabili fra il 1491 e il 1496: gli acquirenti sembrano quindi avere prediletto il materiale più recente. A un primo e generale sguardo, l'elemento che balza subito all'occhio è che il *range* di prezzo di acquisto-per foglio va da un minimo di 1,5 denari (tab. 1,

¹² Sui formati degli *Officia* si veda Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, 55-7.

¹³ Nuovo, «Price of Books in Italy», 112. Tenendo conto che normalmente la legatura spettava all'acquirente, bisognerebbe forse pensare a un testo di seconda mano, a quanto pare l'unico fra quelli venduti (se non diversamente specificato, infatti, di solito i prezzi di vendita non erano comprensivi del costo delle legature).

¹⁴ Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 385-6.

¹⁵ Bologninus, Ludovicus, *Interpretationes novae* (II). Bologna: Hieronymus de Benedictis, [after 20 Apr.] 1497. Folio. GW 4625; ISTC ib00839300; tab. 1, nr. 45.

¹⁶ In questo lavoro si adotta la definizione di *cancelleresca* per indicare la pezzatura della carta che corrisponde alla *Reçuta* (Rizzuta) nella Lapide di Bologna (Barbieri, *Guida al libro antico*, 50-1). Sui formati della carta usati dai tipografi nel XV secolo si veda Needham, «ISTC as a Tool», 41-7; Needham, «*Res papirea*», 125-27.

nr. 3)¹⁷ a un massimo di 6,15 (tab. 1, nr. 28), e che mediamente si assesta intorno ai 2,4-2,5 denari circa, indipendentemente dal formato, laddove, ad esempio, il raggio di costo-per-foglio nella bottega del de' Madiis si attestava fra i 5 e i 10 denari circa, con poche eccezioni.¹⁸ Entrando meglio nelle pieghe del dato numerico, si vede come i singoli titoli sembrano avere un prezzo di acquisto per-foglio tendenzialmente minore se venduti in copia plurima. Si prendano ad esempio le *Cose vulgare* del Poliziano, ancora molto richieste a distanza di quattro anni dalla loro pubblicazione, almeno stando ai dati di vendita, che attestano infatti 8 transazioni dell'opera per un totale di 9 esemplari venduti.¹⁹ In copia singola le *Cose vulgare* rivelano un prezzo oscillante fra 2,5, 3 e 3,4 denari, mentre in copia plurima il prezzo scende a 1,7 denari. Quando invece la silloge dell'Ambrogini fu acquistata in abbinamento, cioè in blocco, con altre opere, il prezzo di acquisto per-foglio scende: a 1,75 denari se acquistata con il *Paris et viana* (tab. 1, nr. 22), a 2,23 denari per-foglio se comprata con le *Orationes et poemata* di Filippo Beroaldo (tab. 1, nr. 24),²⁰ per impennarsi invece fino a 6,15 denari allorché tale *messer Francesco Ongharo* la comperò assieme alla più recente orazione *De felicitate* sempre del Beroaldo (tab. 1, nr. 28).²¹ Presenta interessanti divari anche l'andamento del prezzo di acquisto per-foglio dell'altro campione di vendite, la *Confessione cavata de l'Antonina*, un manualetto a uso dei confessori compilato dal domenicano Pietro da Bergamo, al secolo Pietro Maldura, sulla base dei famosi *Confessionali* di sant'Antonino da Firenze e stampato due volte dal de' Benedetti nei primi anni Novanta ma non sottoscritto.²² Non risultano transazioni relative al singolo titolo, ma le vendite di più copie dell'opera del Maldura (tab. 1, n. 3, 6, 7, 8), di cui ignoriamo però gli acquirenti,

17 Non si può tenere conto del prezzo-per foglio di 0,75 denari riferito - se si trattasse di fogli volanti - all'*Arte della forfanteria* o simile (tab. 1, nr. 4), perché è stato calcolato/simulato in base a dati meramente congetturati, visto che non è riconoscibile nemmeno l'opera.

18 Harris, «Aldo Manuzio», 103.

19 Politianus, Angelus, *Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano de' Medici. Add: Orfeo. Stanza ingeniosissima 'Che fai tu Eco mentr'io ti chiamo?'. Canzonetta "Non potrà mai dire Amore"*. Prelim: Alessandro Sarti: *Epistola ad Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio*. Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 9 Aug. 1494. 4°. ISTC ip00900300; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 447-8.

20 Beroaldus, Philippus, *Orationes et poemata*. Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1491. 4°. GW 4144; ISTC ib00491000; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 433-4.

21 Beroaldus, Philippus, *De felicitate*. Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1 Apr. 1495. 4°. GW 4132; ISTC ib00482000; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 452-4.

22 Petrus de Bergamo, *Confessione cavata de l'Antonina*. [Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, dopo il 1491 circa] e [Bologna, Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, dopo il 1494 circa]. 4°. ISTC 00ip447300; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 489-97.

attestano una forbice variabile fra 1,5 denari per-foglio (16 copie), 2 denari per-foglio (8 copie), 3 denari per-foglio (5 copie) e infine 2 denari per-foglio (4 copie). Il prezzo più conveniente, insomma, non fu sempre direttamente proporzionale all'entità dell'acquisto, come ci si aspetterebbe, e dunque è ovvio supporre – e i casi appena illustrati lo hanno dimostrato – che i prezzi siano purtroppo da intendere *ad personam*, pratica d'altra parte piuttosto comune, e applicati, si immagina, a seconda della caratura dell'acquirente, della sua prossimità con la bottega e/o della sua capacità di contrattare sul prezzo.²³

In linea generale, i libri venduti in blocco costano proporzionalmente un po' meno. Non ci sono poi differenze significative nel prezzo di acquisto per-foglio fra libri di grossa e piccola consistenza, così come fra le edizioni latine e quelle in volgare.²⁴ Con tutta probabilità, quindi, gli eredi volevano liberarsi delle edizioni ancora invendute, in particolare di quelle, diciamo così, più vecchie, su cui però non è dato sapere, mancando qualunque pezza d'appoggio in tal senso, se furono praticati sconti. Il prezzo di acquisto per foglio più alto che la fonte attesti – 6,18 denari – fu pagato per l'orazione *De felicitate* del Beroaldo acquistata assieme alle *Cose vulgare* del Poliziano. Segue a ruota un'altra edizione del de' Benedetti, l'*Utrum deceat sapientem ducere uxorem an caelibato vivere* del 1495 (tab. 1, nr. 38), un opuscolo di satire composto da Antonio Vinciguerra, umanista e diplomatico veneziano che per un certo periodo fu anche segretario della Repubblica.²⁵ Non è noto il suo acquirente. Quanto alle edizioni importate – verosimilmente da Venezia, Brescia, Firenze,²⁶ Cremona (tab. 1, n. 1, 10, 23, 29, 32, 34, 36, 44, 46) – il loro prezzo di acquisto per-foglio, e in alcuni casi anche per singola copia, quando è calcolabile, non pare più alto rispetto ai volumi a km zero. In altre parole, gli eredi sembrano aver equiparato nella vendita i libri impressi a Bologna a quelli procurati sulle piazze extra *moenia* dove Francesco de' Benedetti aveva fatto affari per anni,²⁷ circostanza che farebbe pensare, ancora una volta, alla volontà di sfozzare in tem-

23 Lowry, *Nicolas Jenson*, 293.

24 È invece un dato di fatto che i libri con un prezzo per singola copia più alto siano tutti in folio latini recentissimi (tab. 1, n. 1, 32, 34, 39, 45).

25 Vinciguerra, Antonius, *Utrum deceat sapientem...* Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, [24 Dec.] 1495. 4°. ISTC iv00294600; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 457-8.

26 Se l'edizione della *Storia di S. Margherita* fosse fiorentina (tab. 1, nr. 23), potrebbe ragionevolmente trattarsi di: Florence: [Lorenzo Morgiani & Johann Petri, 1495 circa], 4°. ISTC im00261350, in ottave e illustrata. Visto che l'edizione fu venduta a un prezzo complessivo di 6 denari, una cifra relativamente modesta, verrebbe da pensare che si tratti invece di quella attribuita al bolognese Bazaliero Bazalieri, che ha la stessa consistenza bibliologica dell'edizione fiorentina ma è priva di illustrazioni: *Storia di S. Margherita*. Bologna: [Bazalerius de Bazaleriis, 1495 circa]. 4°. ISTC im00261300.

27 Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 360-83.

più ragionevoli l'invenduto, che, va detto di nuovo, ammontava a più di diecimila volumi! E d'altra parte livellare/standardizzare i prezzi si era dimostrata la strategia migliore per raggiungere l'obiettivo.²⁸

È interessante anche il caso degli *Scriptores rei militaris*, l'ultima edizione sottoscritta da Francesco nel gennaio del 1496.²⁹ La miscellanea di argomento militare sembra costituire uno degli articoli più remunerativi (tab. 1, n. 32, 39, 43), probabilmente perché, fra le giacenze in qualche modo databili, è l'edizione più recente, preceduta solo dalle *Intepretationes novae pars secunda* del Bolognini: il prezzo di acquisto per-foglio della silloge, quando misurabile, si attesta infatti fra 4,89 e 5,87 denari per vendite singole. Benché oggi sia ormai chiaro come le annotazioni dei prezzi corrisposti da singoli acquirenti rappresentino solo transazioni a sé stanti anche se veritiere – la cifra sborsata era infatti il risultato di un affare individuale, influenzato non tanto da motivi economici, quanto, piuttosto, da fattori sociali e talvolta anche culturali –³⁰ va comunque ricordato che fra le 136 copie superstiti che rappresentano oggi l'edizione, l'esemplare conservato presso la Bodleian Library (Oxford Bodleian, Toynbee 357) reca una nota di acquisto autografa di Antonio Urceo Codro,³¹ in cui il grecista dichiara di aver comprato il volume direttamente dalla bottega del de' Benedetti, l'1 marzo di quello stesso anno, per un prezzo di 12 soldi.³² Appena due anni dopo, gli eredi vendono (ma a chi?) due copie dell'edizione per 1 lira, cioè 10 soldi a copia (tab. 1, nr. 39), dunque quasi il 17% in meno di quanto pagò Codro.³³ Più che di prezzi iniziali di vendita maggiorati *ad hoc* dai tipografi³⁴ o di fluttuazioni repentine dei costi dei libri, fenomeno comunque parecchio frequente, pare invece trattarsi, ancora, di un prezzo fissato *ad personam* – quale peso specifico avesse avuto Urceo Codro sulla piazza felsinea è noto.³⁵ Purtroppo, ai fini di un'indagine sistemati-

28 Coppens, Nuovo, «Printed Catalogues», 174-5.

29 *Scriptores rei militaris*. Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1495-96. Folio. GW 10410; ISTC is00345000; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 458-61.

30 Coppens, Nuovo, «Printed Catalogues», 2018.

31 Sul personaggio ovvio il rinvio a Raimond, *Codro e l'umanesimo a Bologna*.

32 «1496. Kl. martijs hos libros emi e[gl]o Anthonius Vrceus de Platone librario sol. xij.», c. RR6r.

33 Il medesimo esemplare custodisce in realtà un'ulteriore nota di acquisto al verso del risguardo anteriore: «Adi 17 ottobre 1571 in Mond[olf]o compro per me Luca Morretti dal libraio di Fano giulij doi e mezzo». Anche se si tratta di un'altra testimonianza personale, è interessante rilevare come a distanza di circa un settantennio, l'edizione fu venduta presso un libraio di Fano, verosimilmente rilegata, per una cifra corrispondente a circa 18,5 soldi (per la conversione giulio-soldo si veda Chimienti, «Monete bolognesi», 110-11), circa il 54% in più del prezzo cui la cedettero gli eredi.

34 Nuovo, «The Price of Books in Italy», 113.

35 Raimond, *Codro e l'umanesimo a Bologna*.

ca, la nota del grecista, vergata oltretutto proprio a ridosso dell'uscita dell'edizione, è relegata a rimanere allo *status* di curiosità, non solo e non tanto per sua stessa natura, ma perché nulla si sa riguardo la politica dei prezzi adottata da Francesco de' Benedetti – stante ad esempio il prezzo iniziale, come noto gonfiato strategicamente, dopo quanto tempo dalla pubblicazione il costo dei 'suoi' libri iniziava a calare? Sulla piazza felsinea quali edizioni erano più soggette a calo di prezzo? Quelle meno recenti oppure quelle che provenivano da altre piazze commerciali? E quali esattamente? – e dunque a oggi non si può inserire l'appunto di Codro (in sé un prezioso *copy-specific*) tra le fonti metodologicamente più affidabili per una storia del costo dei libri.

Un discorso a parte merita la vendita in blocco di 30 esemplari delle *Interpretationes novae* di Ludovico Bolognini (tab. 1, nr. 45), che rappresenta un caso in sé unico.³⁶ Oltre infatti ad essere il solo testo di argomento giuridico fra quelli venduti, occorre rilevare che non si tratta nemmeno di una giacenza registrata nell'inventario di magazzino, al contrario di tutte le altre edizioni finora incontrate, ma soprattutto che è un'opera coeva al rendiconto e non a caso, infatti, anche la più costosa fra le transazioni annotate in termini di prezzo per singola copia. Stando dunque alla fonte, per la vendita delle copie precedentemente inviate a Pavia, dove suo fratello Francesco teneva una sorta di deposito fisso,³⁷ Vincenzo de' Benedetti scrive di aver ricevuto 23 lire, 7 soldi e 6 denari (6.300 denari) corrispondenti al costo di tutte le risme necessarie a stampare l'edizione, vale a dire 7,5 ducati per 5 risme in totale. A fronte di un prezzo complessivo per-singola-copia non a sorpresa molto elevato e staccato di un buon 15% rispetto alle edizioni più costose [tab. 2], il prezzo di acquisto per-foglio delle *Interpretationes novae pars secunda* (2,52 denari) è invece assimilabile alla media di quelli di tutte le altre edizioni vendute (2,4-2,5 denari circa), anche se si tratta, caso con buona dose di certezza unico fra le vendite registrate, di carta in formato reale,³⁸ come d'altra parte si conveniva ai testi giuridici. È lecito quindi supporre che nel formulare il prezzo finale gli eredi abbiano come ovvio tenuto conto dei costi di trasporto, in questo caso della gabella pa-

36 Bologninus, Ludovicus, *Interpretationes novae pars secunda*. Bologna: Hieronymus de Benedictis, [dopo il 20 Apr.] 1497. Folio. GW 4625; ISTC ib00839300. Si tratta dello sforzo interpretativo sul *Corpus* giustiniano che il giurista bolognese stava portando avanti ormai da un decennio; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 153-70. Già in corso di allestimento mentre Francesco era vivo, l'edizione venne finita di stampare e poi sottoscritta, a causa della scomparsa improvvisa del tipografo, da suo nipote Girolamo de' Benedetti dopo il 20 gennaio 1497.

37 Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 354.

38 Barbieri, *Guida al libro antico*, 50-1; Needham, «ISTC as a Tool», 41-7; Needham «*Res papirea*», 125-7.

gata per fare entrare i libri a Pavia che sappiamo essere corrisposta a 20 soldi ogni 100 libbre di volumi, cioè circa 68 kg,³⁹ dei costi della manodopera in tipografia [tab. 2], di quelli della carta, equivalente grossomodo al 50-70% della spesa produttiva del libro, ma anche forse del prestigio dell'autore, in particolare sulla piazza felsinea, dove il volume avrebbe infatti avuto alta probabilità di smercio, opportunità che valeva assolutamente la pena di sfruttare data la difficile fase di transizione dell'officina e un considerevole invenduto da smaltire.

4 Costo dei libri, costo della vita: qualche confronto

Per mettere ora in relazione i dati emersi sui prezzi dei singoli libri [tab. 1] con il costo della vita in città, vale a dire con i prezzi al consumo e con i salari, è necessario qualche confronto (tab. 2 e tab. 3). Rischioso però, non c'è dubbio, soprattutto perché le merci comuni e gli alimenti, quelli agricoli in particolare, influenzati dall'andamento dei raccolti ma anche da fattori demografici,⁴⁰ avevano prezzi instabili, che faticano a rapportarsi a un oggetto come il libro, non più bene di lusso in senso stretto a questa altezza cronologica, per lo meno il libro comune, ma di certo non un bene primario né, tantomeno, un bene alla portata dei più, come anche le transazione degli eredi de' Benedetti confermeranno.

Partiamo dal prezzo del grano, unica voce 'alimentare' del rendiconto,⁴¹ che a Bologna era calmierato, in un'ottica evidentemente protezionistica, e fissato di anno in anno dal governo locale a seconda dell'andamento dei raccolti, dato che la politica delle scorte non venne mai praticata.⁴² Per *tre corbe de formento* equivalenti a 6 stai,⁴³ cioè per la scorta di grano necessario a sfamare la vedova di Francesco e i suoi due figlioletti per un intero anno - stimando un consumo medio annuo pro-capite del cereale fra i 190 e i 200 chili, corrispon-

³⁹ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355.

⁴⁰ Malanima, «I prezzi delle cose ieri e oggi»; Pinelli, *Prezzi e salari a Prato*, 229, 231.

⁴¹ Pur trattandosi di cifre riscontrate su documentazione non appartenente ai de' Benedetti, sappiamo che i prezzi dei pesci più comuni, calmierati dal governo cittadino, negli anni Ottanta del Quattrocento si aggiravano sugli 8 denari per un'aringa, 6 denari per un'orata oppure sui 24 denari per una libbra di tarantello (cioè 453 grammi circa); Pucci Donati, «Il mercato del pesce», 48.

⁴² Sulla politica annonaria bolognese in età moderna si veda Guenzi 1981, 153-67. Sull'entità della domanda interna di grano, stimata su una popolazione urbana di circa 55 mila abitanti (Malanima, *Urban Population*), si veda Belletini, *La popolazione di Bologna*, 25.

⁴³ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 354. La corba era l'unità di misura di capacità degli aridi comunemente in uso a Bologna, che corrispondeva a circa 78,5 litri. 1 corba equivaleva a 2 stai e quindi 1 staio a 1/2 corba; Martini, *Manuale di metrologia*.

denti infatti a 3,5 corbe -⁴⁴ Vincenzo de' Benedetti sborsò 3 lire e 1 soldo a corba e quindi 9 lire e 3 soldi in totale, cioè 183 soldi all'anno = 15,25 soldi al mese = 183 denari al mese. Sappiamo inoltre che a Bologna, agli inizi del XVI secolo, 1,5 kg circa di pane costava 1 soldo o 12 denari che dir si voglia,⁴⁵ e che nei primi anni Novanta la spesa ittica annuale *pro capite*, ovviamente non di pesce pregiato, ammontava a circa 63 lire, pari a 42,7 denari al giorno, cioè 3,55 lire.⁴⁶ Per rimediare al crollo parziale di un muro di casa si rese necessario l'acquisto di 2 corbe di gesso equivalenti a circa 157 metri cubi,⁴⁷ che costarono 3 soldi e 8 denari, cioè 44 denari. Per un paio di scarpette da destinare al figlio minore del de' Benedetti vennero spesi 3 soldi o 36 denari;⁴⁸ 15 soldi, cioè 180 denari, costarono invece un paio di scarpe e di pianelle per la vedova del tipografo.⁴⁹

Senza minimamente pensare alla costruzione di un indice del potere d'acquisto dei salariati urbani - questione intricata, che esula dagli scopi e dalle forze di questo lavoro -⁵⁰ è comunque possibile avanzare qualche ipotesi riguardo alla loro capacità di fare eventuali acquisti presso gli eredi de' Benedetti, visto che il rendiconto rileva parecchie voci di spese relative a prestazioni erogate a operai, specializzati e non, e ad artigiani. Tenendo sempre a mente, però, che la maggioranza dei compensi registrati sembra riferirsi a singole prestazioni/lavori a giornata, che avranno quindi un valore puramente indicativo.

Quanto alla manodopera non specializzata, la fonte consente di stabilire che alla balia dei figli di Francesco spettò un salario mensile di 1 lira e 20 soldi, cioè 240 denari equivalenti a 8 denari al giorno, ma ignoriamo se comprensivo o meno di vitto e alloggio; al muratore capo mastro che sistemò quel muro parzialmente crollato cui poco fa si accennava, vennero corrisposti 4 soldi, cioè 48 denari.⁵¹

Veniamo ai compensi a prestazione/giornata e agli stipendi degli artigiani e della manodopera specializzata. Al *magnano*, ovvero al fabbro specializzato in chiavi e toppe⁵² che montò catenaccio e serratu-

⁴⁴ Guenzi, «Il frumento e la città», 153.

⁴⁵ Battistini, Corradetti, *Guadagni di un maestro d'arme*, 10.

⁴⁶ Pucci Donati, «Il mercato del pesce», 53-4.

⁴⁷ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355.

⁴⁸ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355.

⁴⁹ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355.

⁵⁰ Per un confronto fra salari nominali di artigiani e manodopera non specializzata e indice dei prezzi al consumo in varie città europee, si veda Malanima, *Consumer Price Indices*.

⁵¹ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355. La cifra è grossomodo in linea con quanto percepivano a giornata (3 soldi = 36 denari) i muratori generici nell'Italia settentrionale a metà degli anni Settanta del XV secolo, cioè circa un quindicennio prima (Zanoboni, «Donne al lavoro», 114).

⁵² Tavoni, «Gli statuti della società», 52.

ra a una delle *apotece librorum* di famiglia,⁵³ vennero pagati 6 soldi e 6 denari, per un totale di 78 denari.⁵⁴ Una lira e 5 soldi, cioè 300 denari, e 1 lira e 2 soldi, cioè 264 denari, furono i compensi per il maestro-sarto che confezionò un mantello e una *turcha de pano*, una sorta di zimarra, per la vedova di Francesco.⁵⁵ Si può invece parlare di stipendi veri e propri in riferimento alle maestranze di tipografia che nel 1497, in circa sette mesi di lavoro, allestirono nell'officina de' Benedetti le *Interpretationes novae pars secunda* del Bolognini.⁵⁶ Il torcoliere e il battitore percepirono ciascuno 4 lire e 4 soldi al mese, cioè 84 soldi circa, equivalenti a 1.008 denari e a 1 ducato e 14 soldi; il compositore, come sempre l'élite delle maestranze tipografiche, anche se a questa altezza cronologica le sue competenze tecniche non erano più così esclusive, guadagnò 5 lire e 15 soldi al mese, cioè 115 soldi, equivalenti a 1.380 denari e a circa 1 ducato e mezzo. A Girolamo de' Benedetti, *l'impressor*, nonché uno dei due nipoti che Francesco aveva iniziato al mestiere, vennero corrisposte 6 lire al mese cioè 120 soldi, equivalenti a 1.440 denari e a poco meno di 2 ducati.⁵⁷

Di ben altro tenore l'onorario di professionisti altamente specializzati quali, ad esempio, gli organisti della cattedrale metropolitana (12 lire al mese = 240 soldi = 2.880 denari; Battistini e Corradetti 2015, 12) e più ancora il giudice del Foro dei Mercanti, il tribunale competente per le cause di diritto commerciale,⁵⁸ che percepiva mensilmente circa 500 lire, cioè 10.000 soldi o 120.000 denari.⁵⁹ Pure il giudice d'appello del medesimo tribunale era destinatario di un'ottima retribuzione mensile, circa 100 lire, cioè 2.000 soldi equivalenti a 24.000 denari.⁶⁰ Il salario medio di un docente universitario, derivato soprattutto da quanto pagavano gli studenti per le lezioni, si aggirava invece sui 150 ducati corrispondenti a 525 lire, cioè a 10.500 soldi, mentre non costituiscono un termine di paragone ammissibile, benché in sé stessi indicativi e degni di nota, gli stipendi che lo *Studium* corrispondeva al

53 Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 41.

54 Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 355.

55 Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 353. I compensi percepiti dal sarto in questione, a quanto pare già esperto e comunque appartenente a una categoria di per sé stessa a elevato grado di specializzazione, sono in linea con l'entità della quota associativa richiesta (*una tantum*) dall'Arte ai 'maestri', che a metà del secolo era infatti di 25 lire = 500 soldi = 6.000 denari (Tosi Brandi, *Il sarto tra Medioevo*, 24).

56 Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 354-5.

57 Tutti i compensi non sono comprensivi delle spese di alloggio. A Firenze, alla fine degli anni Settanta del secolo, i salari delle maestranze tipografiche si aggiravano fra le 5,5-7,5 lire mensili (Bonifati, *Dal libro manoscritto*, 128).

58 Boris, «Lo studio e la mercanzia», 279-89; Boris, «Il Foro dei mercanti», 317-31.

59 Muzzi, *Annali della città di Bologna*, 161.

60 Muzzi, *Annali della città di Bologna*, 161.

Beroaldo (200 ducati l'anno = 14.000 lire)⁶¹ o al giurista Vincenzo Paleotti (addirittura 285 ducati annuali = 19.950 lire),⁶² perché evidentemente concordati/calibrati in base all'indubbia caratura dei personaggi.

Infine, per l'affitto annuale di un'immobile di proprietà della famiglia de' Benedetti, sappiamo che il locatario pagò circa 2,16 lire al mese, equivalente a un canone annuale di circa 26 lire, corrisposto in due *tranches*.⁶³

Per quanto la fonte ha consentito di calcolare, la somma sborsata dagli acquirenti per comprare un singolo libro ammonta a un valore - puramente intermedio! - di circa 50 denari, cioè 4 soldi e 16 denari, una cifra cospicua se rapportata ai prezzi della maggioranza dei beni comuni e ai compensi della manodopera non specializzata o a bassa specializzazione. Più sale la professionalità meno incide, ovviamente, il costo-medio di un libro, che si fa addirittura irrisorio per gli stipendi dai 1.000 denari mensili in su, cioè quelli che superano le 4 lire [tab. 3]. Se ragioniamo ora in termini di prezzi massimi/minimi, tutto ciò diventa ancor meglio comprensibile.

Un volume costoso - dai 210 denari ai 180 denari [tab. 2] - avrebbe costretto un salariato a nulla o bassa specializzazione, stimando poco più di 250 giornate lavorative all'anno, a rinunciare come minimo al grano per un mese, al pesce per un paio di settimane circa e a scarpe e vestiti. A un muratore, benché capo mastro, sarebbero servite più di quattro giornate di lavoro per pagarsi le *Interpretationes novae* e poco meno, sempre in termini di giornate lavorative, per la silloge degli *Scriptores rei militaris*. La fatica del Bolognini sarebbe equivalsa a tre intere giornate lavorative di un fabbro e al 21% circa del salario del torcoliere/battitore [tab. 2]. A parità di acquisto, a un sarto, stimando con molta, ma ragionevole, approssimazione una media di 282 denari a prestazione, sarebbero invece rimasti in tasca 72 denari cioè 6 soldi, un po' meno della cifra occorrente per la scorta annuale di grano, che ammontava a 9 lire e 3 soldi. Una balia ipoteticamente intenzionata a comprare le *Castigationes Pliniana*e del Barbaro, avrebbe dovuto lavorare circa 23 giorni, vale a dire che le sarebbe servito il 75% dello stipendio di un intero mese, almeno stando alla nostra fonte. Il medesimo acquisto sarebbe invece equivalso al 37,5% del canone mensile d'affitto corrisposto ai de' Benedetti.

Per il salariato a bassa specializzazione alcuni fra i volumi più economici - attestati cioè fra 9 e 1,5 denari [tab. 2] - avrebbero comun-

61 Muzzi, *Annali della città di Bologna*, 315.

62 Muzzi, *Annali della città di Bologna*, 315. Per una panoramica generale sugli stipendi dei docenti universitari in città, si veda Archivio di Stato di Bologna, *Riformatori dello Studio*, Quartirioni degli stipendi, b. 2 (1498-1512); Sorbelli, *Gli stipendi dei professori*.

63 Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 351-2. Fra il 1476 e il 1478, dunque un ventennio prima, l'affitto di una casa a Firenze era di 3 lire al mese (Bonifati, *Dal libro manoscritto*, 128).

que messo seriamente in discussione, se non proprio impedito, l'acquisto di 1,5 kg di pane (12 denari), di 1 kg di grano (11 denari), del pesce più comune (aringhe e orate), della razione quotidiana di grano (550 gr; 6 denari) e sarebbero equivalenti a un'intera giornata di lavoro di una balia o di un lavoratore non specializzato.

Pure i libri dal costo medio-basso - fra 19 e 10 denari [tab. 2] - sarebbero stati fuori portata per i salari più bassi, equivalendo grossomodo, oppure più spesso superando, il costo di alcuni fra i principali beni di uso quotidiano quali, ad esempio, pane, pesce e calzature.

Poco altro, insomma, oltre agli Esopi (6 denari a copia; tab. 1, nr. 33) o ai manualetti quali la *Confessione cavata de l'Antonina* di Pietro da Bergamo (1,5-2 denari a copia; tab. 1, n. 3, 6, 7,8) avrebbe potuto essere acquistato senza rinunce. E comunque anche per questi libretti sarebbe occorso un acquisto, diciamo così, programmato e calcolato in anticipo da parte di un salariato medio-basso, per non inficiare quello di beni essenziali.

5 Conclusioni

Il documento su cui si basa la quasi totalità della riflessione proposta - il rendiconto di spese e incassi steso da Vincenzo de' Benedetti nel 1498 - ha alcuni limiti intrinseci, s'è visto, il più macroscopico dei quali risiede nel suo essere metodologicamente inattendibile in relazione alle finalità dell'indagine. Per molti fra i prezzi che la fonte riporta, in particolare quelli dei libri, stabiliti oltretutto non dal loro produttore/commerciante, c'è infatti il sospetto - per non dire la certezza - che siano stati concordati *ad personam*. Eppure, quel documento crediamo si sia rivelato comunque interessante, meritevole di attenzione e a suo modo, invece, attendibile.

Per quanto si è potuto evincere, lo scandaglio dei numeri che esso attesta ha infatti confermato come salari, compensi a singola prestazione, prezzi delle merci e, più in generale costo della vita, siano grossomodo in linea con quelli del periodo, anche in relazione a zone geograficamente limitrofe.⁶⁴ Un po' diverso e meno decifrabile, s'è visto, il discorso riguardante il prezzo di acquisto-per-foglio applicato ai libri (intorno ai 2,4-2,5 denari circa per quanto è stato accertabile) - che, giusto per avere un ordine di grandezza, equivale addirittura al 30% in più rispetto al prezzo-per-foglio stabilito per legge, pochissimi anni dopo, dalla provvisione dei librai e degli edi-

⁶⁴ Bonifati, *Dal libro manoscritto*; Tosi Brandi, *Il sarto tra Medioevo*; Zanoboni, «Donne al lavoro»; Battistini, Corradetti, *Guadagni di un maestro d'arme*; Pucci Donati, «Il mercato del pesce».

tori bolognesi –⁶⁵ mentre la *ratio* dei prezzi finali delle singole copie, comprese quelle di importazione, sembra meglio interpretabile, come c'è stato modo di valutare.

S'è già sottolineato come, in generale, uno degli elementi più vistosi emersi dall'analisi dei prezzi dei libri sia che, nella quasi totalità dei casi, si tratta di cifre decisamente minori, grossomodo intorno al 30%, rispetto ai dati di vendita del *Zornale* del de' Madiis (dal computo sono ovviamente esclusi i libri impressi su pergamena e quelli in greco).⁶⁶ La situazione 'personale' della tipografia bolognese, certamente delicata e forse in calo di immagine, così come l'incombere del suo invenduto, da soli non spiegano questo *gap*, che probabilmente va cercato anche altrove.

Prima di tutto, per quanto la forbice con il *Zornale* sia davvero marcata, va detto subito che i prezzi del rendiconto – anche se abbiamo visto essere viziati, in quanto frutto probabile di contrattazioni personali – non sono, diciamo così, all'ingrosso né tantomeno da carta straccia o da svendita, in particolare quelli per-foglio, non tanto e non solo perché maggiorati del 30% rispetto ai parametri stabiliti dalle autorità cittadine nel 1509.⁶⁷ Bisogna infatti tenere a mente che nel maggio 1498 Giovanni Antonio e Girolamo de' Benedetti⁶⁸ acquistarono (questa volta sì all'ingrosso e verosimilmente pure a un prezzo di favore) l'intero contenuto dell'officina tipografica dello zio, pagando 1,92 denari per-singolo foglio stampato in carta reale e 0,96 denari (cioè esattamente la metà) per-singolo foglio stampato in carta cancelleresca.⁶⁹ Piuttosto, è un dato di fatto che nel lasso di tempo intercorso fra le registrazioni della bottega veneziana e quelle del/nel rendiconto, un quindicennio circa, la situazione dei prezzi dei libri, in linea generale, era cambiata. L'accelerazione dei ritmi di produzione,⁷⁰ la crescita della domanda e la conseguente di-

⁶⁵ Nel 1509 la provvisione dei librai e degli editori bolognesi stabili fra l'altro che cento quinterni in *parva forma* [...] in *humanitatibus et poesia* (cioè 500 fogli stampati su carta cancelleresca di libri, diciamo così, umanistici e di poesia) costassero 1,68 denari per-singolo-foglio (Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 393-5).

⁶⁶ Harris, «Aldo Manuzio», 102-3.

⁶⁷ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 394.

⁶⁸ Si tratta dei nipoti di Francesco, i cosiddetti Platonidi (Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 22).

⁶⁹ Sorbelli, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, 345; Gatti, *Francesco Platone de' Benedetti*, 135-6.

⁷⁰ Analogamente ad altri settori produttivi, anche quello della stampa subì una serie di modifiche tecniche in grado di ridurre i costi e migliorare rendimenti e qualità dei manufatti. Il riferimento è in particolare all'introduzione del torchio a due colpi, nella prima metà degli anni Settanta del Quattrocento, che non solo accelerò i processi di stampa ma influi anche sull'organizzazione del lavoro in tipografia (Hellinga, *Fare un libro nel Quattrocento*).

minuzione dei prezzi⁷¹ in una congiuntura, al contrario, di stabilità complessiva, almeno fino al primo ventennio del secolo XVI,⁷² la facile reperibilità di edizioni in formati più piccoli e quindi più a buon mercato, avevano determinato una sorta di declino del libro, in particolare di quello comune, non più dunque bene di lusso *stricto sensu* ma comunque, e ancora, merce certamente non per tutti. Misurando infatti le evidenze fornite da questo *case study* è palese come la maggioranza dei volumi venduti continuasse a essere fuori, totalmente o in larga parte, dalla portata di un salariato di media-bassa specializzazione [tabb. 2-3]. Le edizioni più costose, poi, sarebbero state accessibili senza particolari patemi solo a stipendi mensili dalle 100 lire in su [tab. 2].

Per chiudere: la fonte a disposizione sulla carta non fornisce ragionevoli garanzie di obiettività - non è, in altre parole, una di quelle su cui lo studioso avrebbe concentrato i propri sforzi - ma è parso credibile e pure significativo il suo orizzonte di senso, soprattutto in relazione ad altre fonti più o meno coeve, una su tutte le liste del de' Madiis. E poi, va detto, il rendiconto attualizza e rende viva una parte, ancorché piccola, del celebre inventario di magazzino di Francesco Platone de' Benedetti, conferendole una dimensione e un significato economico-sociale altrimenti difficile da mettere a fuoco.

71 Pinelli, *Prezzi e salari a Prato*, 3-6.

72 Malanima, *Consumer Price Indices*.

Tabella 1 Tabella riassuntiva delle vendite

* sono state evidenziate in grigio le vendite di singole opere in più copie

** sono state evidenziate in verde le vendite in blocco di opere diverse

*** la numerazione delle *Voci nel rendiconto* è stata apposta unicamente per comodità di ragionamento

**** Poiché la fonte parla di orazioni del Beroaldo al plurale (n. 24), contrariamente a quando cita *uno oragio* sempre del Beroaldo al singolare (n. 28), è parso più ragionevole pensare alle *Orationes et poemata* (ISTC ib00491000) che al *De felicitate* (ISTC ib00482000)

***** Considerando la data di registrazione delle vendite (1497-98) e che la prima edizione dell'*Aesopus moralisatus* fu licenziata dal de' Benedetti nell'aprile 1482 (ISTC ia00124700), è parso più probabile che la transazione registrata al nr. 33 possa riferirsi alla seconda edizione dell'opera (1493; ISTC ia00128000), di cui oltretutto venne censita in magazzino una giacenza di ben 338 esemplari

Voci nel rendiconto	Autore/titolo/ anno	Formato	Consistenza	Copie vendute	Prezzo nel rendiconto	Prezzo in denari	Costo per foglio in denari
1 per uno Platto in quarto foglio	PLAUTO, <i>Comoediae</i> la più probabile pare: Venezia, [M. Capcasa], 23 XI 1495	4°	250	1	s. 14	168	2,68
2 per un mezo quinterno de forfantaria (Cf. n. 4)	opera non identificata (edizione perduta basata su una qualche trama affine a <i>L'arte della forfanteria</i> elaborata nel XVII da Giulio Cesare Croce?)	Fol.? (Foglio volante composto da 1/2 foglio)? 8°? (rifacendosi all'ed. più antica de <i>L'arte della forfanteria</i> del Croce, IT\CCU\ LO1E\017505)	1? 4?	5? 5?	s. 1 d. 4	16 (3,2 per foglio volante?) 16 (3,2 a copia?)	3,2? 6,4?
3 per sedexe confesione	<i>Confessione cavata de l'Antonina</i> [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1491] oppure [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1494]	4°	4	16	s. 2	24 (1,5 a copia)	1,5

4 per forfantaria fogli otto (Cfr. n. 2)	opera non identificata (edizione perduta basata su una qualche trama affine a <i>L'arte della forfanteria</i> elaborata nel XVII sec. da Giulio Cesare Croce?)	Fol.? (Foglio volante composto da 1/2 foglio)? 8°? (rifacendosi all'ed. più antica de <i>L'arte della forfanteria</i> del Croce, IT\CCU\ LO1E\017505) \017505)	1? 4?	16? 16?	s. 1	12 (0,75 per foglio volante?) 12 (0,75 a copia?)	0,75? 1,5?
5 per uno sintiero	?	?	?	1	d. 6	6	?
6 per un quinterno de Confesione	<i>Confessione cavata de l'Antonina</i> [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1491] oppure [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1494]	4°	4	5	s. 2 d. 6	30 (6 a copia)	3
7 per Confesione otto	<i>Confessione cavata de l'Antonina</i> [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1491] oppure [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1494]	4°	4	8	s. 1 d. 4	16 (2 a copia)	2
8 per quatro Confesione	<i>Confessione cavata de l'Antonina</i> [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1491] oppure [Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, dopo il 1494]	4°	4	4	s. 0 d. 8	8 (2 a copia)	2
9 per uno sintiero	?	?	?	1	d. 6	6	?

10 per una Platina volgare	BARTOLOMEO SACCHI (DETTO IL PLATINA), <i>De honestae voluptate</i> (in italiano) Venezia, [G. de Sanctis e Cornelio], 1487 oppure Venezia, [B. Benali], 1494	4°	78 114	1	s. 7	84	4,3 oppure 2,9
11 per uno Donà	ELIO DONATO, <i>Ars minor</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	?	1	s. 1 d. 0	12	?
12 per uno Donà	ELIO DONATO, <i>Ars minor</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	?	1	s. 0 d. 10	10	?
13 per uno Donà	ELIO DONATO, <i>Ars minor</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	?	1	s. 0 d. 10	10	?
14 [...] per vintte fogli Paris et Viena a raxone de risima (Cf. n. 27)	<i>Paris et Viena</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	40?	2?	s. 2 d. 6	30 (15 a copia?)	1,5?
15 [...] per uno Polichano volgare	ANGELO POLIZIANO, <i>Cose vulgare</i> , Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	42	1	s. 2 d. 8	32	3
16 [...] per uno Donato ligà	ELIO DONATO, <i>Ars minor</i> , rilegato	4°?	?	1	s. 2 d. 0	24	?
17 [...] Per uno paro de regholle de Guirino e uno Ofiziolo mezano	GUARINO VERONESE, <i>Regulae gramaticales</i> una fra le tante ed. quattrocentesche plausibili in magazzino + <i>Officium BMV</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti, probabilmente in 8°	4° 8°?	?	3	s. 3 d. 10	46	?

18 [...] per tanto numi de Cristo zoè tre quinterno	forse una <i>Vita di Gesù Cristo</i> in una fra le ed. volgari plausibili in magazzino	4°	10?	6?	s. 2 d. 6	30 (5 a copia?)	2?
19 [...] mezo quinterno de numi de Cristo	forse una <i>Vita di Gesù Cristo</i> in una fra le ed. volgari plausibili in magazzino	4°	10?	1?	s. 1 d. 4	16	1,6?
20 per dui ofizioli	<i>Officium BMW</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti, probabilmente in 16°	16°	?	2	s. 2 d. 2	26 (13 a copia)	?
21 per uno ofiziolo	<i>Officium BMW</i> , ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti, probabilmente in 16°	16°?	?	1	s. 1	12	?
22 per uno Paris e le opere del Pulichano volgare	<i>Paris et Viena</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti (Cfr. nn. 14 e 27) + ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°? 4°	40? 42	2	s. 3	36 (18 ipotizzando, per comodità di ragionamento e consistenza forse simillima, che le ed. abbiano lo stesso costo-per- copia)	1,75? ipotizzando per comodità di ragionamento che le ed. abbiano lo stesso costo- per-foglio
23 Per una Legenda de santa Malgharita	<i>Storia di S. Margherita</i> Bologna, B. Bazalieri, 1495 oppure Firenze, [L. Morgiani & J. Petri, 1495 circa]	4°	4 4	1	d. 6	6	6
24 Per le oratione de Filippo Brovaldo e per le opere del Puliziano	FILIPPO BEROALDO, <i>Orationes et poemata</i> , Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1491 + ANGELO POLIZIANO, <i>Cose vulgare</i> , Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4° 4°	76 42	2	s. 11	132	2,23 ipotizzando per comodità di ragionamento che le ed. abbiano lo stesso costo- per-foglio

25	Per uno paro de regolle del Manzinella	ANTONIO MANCINELLI <i>Scribendi orandique modus</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	?	2	s. 3 d.10	46 (23 a copia)	?
26	Per uno paro de regolle del Manzinella	ANTONIO MANCINELLI <i>Scribendi orandique modus</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	?	2	s. 3	36 (18 a copia)	?
27	Per uno Paris et Viena (Cfr. n. 14)	<i>Paris et Viena</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°?	40?	1	s. 1 d. 6	18	1,8?
28	Per uno oragio de messer Filipo [sic] Brovaldo e per lo Politiano [...] zoè in quarto foglio	FILIPPO BEROALDO <i>De felicitate</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1 IV 1495 + ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	36	2	s. 10	120	6,15 ipotizzando per comodità di ragionamento che le ed. abbiano lo stesso costo-per-foglio

29	ANTONIO MANCINELLI <i>Scribendi orandique modus</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	?	?	3	s. 7	84	?
Per uno Mancinela e per uno paro de regholle de Sulpicii [...]	+ SULPIZIO DA VEROLI <i>De arte grammatica</i> Venezia, C. Pensi, 1489 oppure Roma, E. Silber, 1490 oppure [Venezia, C. Pensi, 1495 ca]	4°?	?				
30	MATTEO BOSCO <i>De instituendo sapientia animo</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, [6 XI], 1495	4°	128	1	s. 6 d. 6	74	2,3
Per uno libro de instituendo sapientia animo [...]							
31	ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	42	2	s. 3	36 (18 a copia)	1,7
Per dui Puliciani [...]							
32	PAPIAS <i>Vocabularium</i> Venezia, A. Bonetti, 1485 oppure Venezia, T. Ragazzoni, 1491 oppure Venezia, F. Pinzi, 1496 + <i>Scriptores rei militaris</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1495-96	Fol	?	2	L. 1 s. 10	360	?
[...] uno vocabolista e uno de re militare		Fol.	98				

33	Per dui Isopi [...] ⁷³	<i>Aesopus moralisatus</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1493	4°	16	2	s. 1 (a copia)	12 (6 a copia)	1,5
34	Per uno Ermolario in castigationes Plinii [...]	ERMOLAO BARBARO <i>Castigationes Plinianae</i> molto probabilmente: Cremona, Carlo Darleri, 1495	Fol.	160	1	s. 15	180	2,2
35	Per uno Poliziano [...]	ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	42	1	s. 3	36	3,4
36	[...] una Manzinella e [uno] Iacopo [ma Francesco] Serpo	ANTONIO MANCINELLI <i>Scribendi orandique modus</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti + FRANCESCO SERPE <i>Grammatica</i> Venezia, B. Cori, 1492 (unica ed. stampata nel '400)	? 4°	? 72	 2	 s. 6	 72	 ?
37	Per un quinterno de nome de Cristo [...]	forse una <i>Vita di Gesù Cristo</i> in una fra le ed. volgari plausibili in magazzino	4°	10?	2?	s. 2 d. 6	30 (15 a copia?)	1,5?

(Cfr. nn. 18 e 19)

73 Considerando la data di registrazione della vendita (1497) e che la prima edizione dell'*Aesopus moralisatus* fu licenziata dal de' Benedetti nell'aprile 1482 (ISTC ia00124700), è parso più probabile che possa trattarsi della seconda edizione dell'opera (1493; ISTC ia00128000) di cui oltretutto venne censita in magazzino una giacenza di ben 338 esemplari (Gatti 2018, 598).

38	Per uno Vinziguera [...]	ANTONIO VINCIGUERRA <i>Utrum deceat sapientem ...</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, [24 XII] 1495	4°	16	1	s. 2	24	6
39	Per doe vide re miretare	<i>Scriptores rei militaris</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1495-96	Fol.	98	2	L. 1	240 (120 a copia)	4,89
40	Per uno Policiano volgare	ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	42	1	s. 2 d. 2	26	2,5
41	[...] per uno Politiano volgare	ANGELO POLIZIANO <i>Cose vulgare</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 9 VIII 1494	4°	42	1	s. 2 d. 2	26	2,5
42	[...] per una orazione e per uno Salustio [...]	FILIPPO BEROALDO <i>De felicitate</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1 IV 1495 + SALLUSTIO <i>Opera</i> (senza commento) ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti	4°	36	2	L. 1 s. 8	336	?
43	[...] per dui de re militare	<i>Scriptores rei militaris</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 1495-96	Fol.	98	2	L. 1 s. 4	288 (144 a copia)	5,87
44	[...] per le pistolle d'Ovidio volgare	OVIDIO <i>Heorides</i> (in volgare) Brescia, B. Farfengo, 1489 oppure Brescia, B. Farfengo, 1491	4°	50	1	s. 3	36	2,88
				50				

45	L. BOLOGNINI <i>Interpretationes novae pars secunda</i> Bologna, Girolamo de' Benedetti, [dopo il 20 I] 1497	Fol.	170	30	L. 23 s. 7. d. 6	5610 (210 a copia)	2,52	
46	probabilmente: VEGEZIO <i>De re militari</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, 16 XI 1495 +	Fol.	40					
	Marone, quatro Instituendo sapientia animo funo quatro risimi in tutto, de carta piccola [...] a sol. cinquanta lo risimo	MATTEO BOSCO <i>Recuperationes Faesulanae</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, [20 VII] 1493 +	Fol.	184				
		SAN CIPRIANO <i>Opera</i> probabilmente Venezia, L. di Domenico, 1483 +	Fol.	166	16	L. 10	2400	?
		FRANÇOIS DE MEYRONNES <i>Sermones de sanctis</i> ed. perduta di Francesco de' Benedetti +	?	?				
		MATTEO BOSCO <i>De instituendo sapientia animo</i> Bologna, Francesco de' Benedetti, [6 XI], 1495	4°	128				

Tabella 2 Costo della vita a Bologna (fine XV secolo) e prezzi dei libri a confronto

Alimenti, merci, affitti, Professioni	Prezzi al consumo, compensi a prestazione/ giornata, salari	Prezzi dei libri per singola copia (in ordine decrescente)
200 kg di grano = grano per 1 anno	2.196 denari (9 lire e 3 soldi)	210 denari (17,5 soldi) • L. Bolognini, <i>Interpretationes novae pars secunda ...</i>
16,6 kg di grano = grano per 1 mese	circa 183 denari (15,25 soldi)	180 denari (15 soldi) • Papias, <i>Vocabularium</i> • Ermolao Barbaro, <i>Castigationes</i> • <i>Scriptores rei militaris</i>
1 kg di grano	circa 11 denari	168 denari (14 soldi) • Plauto, <i>Comoedie</i> • F. Beroaldo, <i>De felicitate</i> • Sallustio, <i>Opera</i>
1,5 kg circa di pane	12 denari (1 soldo)	144 denari (12 soldi) • <i>Scriptores rei militaris</i>
1 aringa	8 denari	120 denari (10 soldi) • <i>Scriptores rei militaris</i>
1 orata	6 denari	84 denari (7 soldi) • B. Sacchi, <i>De honesta voluptate</i>
453 gr di tarantello	24 denari (2 soldi)	74 denari (6 soldi circa) M. Bosso, <i>De instituendo...</i>
1 staio di grano (39 kg circa)	429 denari (circa 36 soldi)	fra 60 e 66 denari (fra 5 e 5,5 soldi) • Poliziano, <i>Cose vulgare</i> • F. Beroaldo, <i>Orationes et poemata</i> • A. Mancinelli, <i>Scribendi orandique...</i> • F. Serpe, <i>Grammatica</i>
2 stai di gesso = 78,5m3	44 denari (3,66 soldi)	fra 30 e 36 denari (fra 2,6 e 3 soldi) • Poliziano, <i>Cose vulgare</i> • Ovidio, <i>Epistole</i> (in volgare) • forse <i>Vita di Gesù</i>
scarpe da bambino	36 denari (3 soldi)	fra 29 e 20 denari (fra 2,5 e 1,8 soldi) • A. Mancinelli, <i>Scribendi orandique...</i> • S. da Veroli, <i>De arte grammatica</i> • Poliziano, <i>Cose vulgare</i> • Donato, <i>Ars minor</i> (rilegato) • A. Vinciguerra, <i>Utrum deceat...</i>

pianelle + scarpe da donna	180 denari (15 soldi)	fra 19 e 10 denari (fra 1,7 e 1 soldo) • forse <i>Paris et Viena</i> • A. Mancinelli, <i>Scribendi...</i> • <i>Officium BMV</i> • G. Veronese, <i>Regulae...</i> • Donato, <i>Ars minor</i> (non rilegato) • forse <i>Vita di Gesù e ...</i>
canone mensile d'affitto di una casa dei de' Benedetti	circa 2 lire (480 denari)	fra 9 e 1,5 denari • P. da Bergamo, <i>Confessione...</i> • <i>Aesopus moralisatus</i> • <i>Storia di S. Margherita</i> • <i>Vita di Gesù Cristo e ...</i>
muratore-mastro	48 denari a prestazione (4 soldi)	-
fabbro	78 denari a prestazione (6,5 soldi)	-
balia	240 denari al mese (1 lira e 20 soldi; 8 denari al giorno)	-
sarto	264 denari a prestazione (22 soldi=1 lira e 2 soldi)	-
sarto	300 denari a prestazione (25 soldi=1 lira e 5 soldi)	-
torcoliere delle <i>Interpretationes novae p. II</i>	1.008 denari al mese (4 lire e 4 soldi)	-
battitore delle <i>Interpretationes novae p. II</i>	1.008 denari al mese (4 lire e 4 soldi)	-
compositore delle <i>Interpretationes novae p. II</i>	1.380 denari al mese (5 lire e 15 soldi)	-
stampatore (G. de' Benedetti) delle <i>Interpretationes novae p. II</i>	1.440 denari al mese (6 lire)	-
organista della cattedrale	2.880 denari al mese (12 lire)	-
giudice del Foro dei Mercanti	circa 120.000 denari al mese (500 lire)	-
giudice d'appello del Foro dei Mercanti	circa 24.000 denari al mese (100 lire)	-
docente universitario	126.000 denari al mese (525 lire)	-

Tabella 3 Prezzo medio dei libri venduti e alcuni suoi equivalenti

Prezzo medio in denari dei voll. venduti	Alcuni equivalenti
50 (4 soldi e 16 denari)	• 27% della scorta di grano per un mese
	• più di otto volte il costo della razione quotidiana stimata di grano (550 grammi circa = 6 denari)
	• 4 kg circa di grano
	• più del quadruplo del costo di 1,5 kg di pane (12 denari = 1 soldo)
	• 6 aringhe
	• 8 orate
	• 1 kg circa di tarantello
	• 27% in più di un paio di scarpe da bambino
	• più della metà del costo di un paio di scarpe/pianelle da donna
	• 11% circa del canone di affitto mensile
	• oltre il 100% del compenso a giornata di un muratore-mastro
	• 64% del compenso a giornata di un fabbro
	• 19% del compenso medio a giornata di un sarto
	• 6% circa del salario mensile del torcoliere/battitore delle <i>Interpretationes novae</i>
	• 4,5% circa del salario mensile del compositore delle <i>Interpretationes novae</i>
	• 4% circa del salario del tipografo delle <i>Interpretationes novae</i>
• 2% dello stipendio mensile dell'organista della cattedrale	
• 0,4% dello stipendio mensile del giudice d'appello del Foro dei Mercanti	
• 0,2% dello stipendio mensile del giudice del Foro dei Mercanti	
• 0,03% dello stipendio mensile di un docente universitario	

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«Emptus Ferrarie». I prezzi del libro a stampa nella città estense fra Quattro e primi del Cinquecento

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Abstract During the second half of the 15th century Ferrara, with the Este Court as well as the University and many professionals in law and medicine, was an active centre in book circulation, use and – of course – selling. At the end of 15th century, the book market, besides the manuscript production prepared for the Este family and its *entourage*, was dominated by the cheapest hand-printed editions, also purchased by nobles (such as the Pio princes of Carpi) as well as by professors, doctors, judges and so on. This essay starts from the analytical study of book prices recorded in well known lists never examined before in this respect, then it focuses on purchasing notes in surviving copies, and archival documents. Book prices found in these three kinds of sources will be related not only to different moments in the purchase by the same owner but also to prices paid for everyday life goods in Ferrara at the time of Borso and Ercole I. This will offer a more precise idea of the average book price at the time, and of how much money was spent on books compared to that spent for something else.

Keywords Book prices. Incunabula. Booktrade. Ferrara. Estense. Pio.

Snodo rilevante di traffici economici e consumi culturali, di vie liquide e terrestri, Ferrara è nel XV secolo un operoso centro di scambi librari, alimentati dalla corte, favoriti dalla vitalità dei sistemi educativi privati, dal prestigio dello Studio – fondato da Alberto II d’Este – e dei circoli umanistici, in un dialogo costante tra la Dominante e i poteri locali dello Stato.¹ A solleci-

Un grato pensiero al personale dell’Archivio Storico Comunale di Carpi, e a Ennio Ferraglio, Responsabile del Servizio Biblioteche e Direttore della Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia, i quali mi hanno facilitato le ricerche. Dedico il saggio al maestro Adriano Franceschini (1920-2005), a cent’anni dalla sua nascita.



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tare i commerci non concorrono solo l'articolato mercato interno ma soprattutto la vicinanza di Venezia, di Padova e di Bologna, luoghi di produzione, circolazione e uso del libro tanto manoscritto quanto a stampa.² La prosperità e la pace garantite allo Stato e ai suoi cittadini, salvo sporadiche crisi, sia da Borso sia dal duca Ercole d'Este, salito al potere nel 1471, anno in cui la stampa apparve in città,³ impressero slancio alle attività economiche, pur inquadrate in quello che Adriano Prosperi ha definito il «governo patriarcale» della famiglia e della città.⁴

In seguito alla mostra e al convegno ferraresi del 1982, agli studi critici di studiosi coordinati da Luigi Balsamo,⁵ anticipati e accompagnati dall'infaticabile lavoro archivistico, con le più recenti spigolature databili agli anni Settanta, di Adriano Franceschini,⁶ quindi per merito di nuove ricerche su di essi fondate quali quelle di Angela Nuovo,⁷ talune dinamiche della merce libraria e dei protagonisti sulla piazza della *Herculean Ferrara* sono più chiare,⁸ per quanto molti siano gli aspetti ancora da indagare. Sullo sfondo, ad esempio, è rimasto il tema specifico del prezzo del libro, con speciale attenzione verso quello realizzato con i caratteri mobili, su cui si avanzano ora circostanziate risultanze di una ricerca più ampia, dedicata alla tipografia in area padana nel Quattrocento.⁹ Opinioni autorevoli, pur fondate su pochi documenti d'archivio, hanno sostenuto che *l'ars artificialiter scribendi* offrisse alla vendita «libri a prezzi che erano un quinto, un sesto ed anche meno di quelli del codice manoscritto», prezzi in caduta libera fra gli anni sessanta del XV e gli inizi del XVI

1 Folin, *Rinascimento estense*, 214-67. Pur dedicate ai *progetti culturali* estensi, le pagine di Folin non trattano in alcun modo della stampa.

2 Chiappini, «Fermenti umanistici».

3 Lasciamo da parte la questione dell'introduzione dell'arte tipografica a Bondeno, borgo fortificato a difesa di Ferrara, nel 1463, su cui mi limito a rinviare a Scapecchi, «Subiaco 1465». Sulla tipografia a Ferrara nel Quattrocento e nei primi del Cinquecento si vedano almeno (oltre all'utile Baruffaldi, *Della tipografia ferrarese*, frutto dell'edizione settecentesca): Antonelli, *Ricerche bibliografiche*; Cavallina, «L'editoria ferrarese»; Balsamo, «L'industria tipografico-editoriale»; Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, 35-41; Shaw, «Andreas Belfortis».

4 Prosperi, «Premessa», 17.

5 Balsamo, «Libri manoscritti e a stampa».

6 Franceschini, «Codici e libri a stampa»; Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara*; Franceschini, *Presenza ebraica a Ferrara*.

7 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 23-7; *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*.

8 Touhy, *Herculean Ferrara*.

9 Si veda il progetto PRIN2017, *The Dawn of Italian Publishing. Technology, Texts and Books in Central and Northern Italy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, che per tre anni (2020-23) vedrà lavorare 4 unità di ricerca (Milano, Udine, Roma, Bologna) coordinate da Edoardo Barbieri.

secolo.¹⁰ Salvo eccezioni come il *Zornale* di Francesco de Madiis o Maggi,¹¹ mancano di fatto riscontri – da omogenee tipologie di fonti, per casi numericamente significativi e su ampi contesti spazio-temporali – relativi ai costi di libri impressi nel Quattrocento, pure intorno a quelli venduti a Ferrara, ed è pertanto arduo valutare la veridicità di una simile asserzione per lo specifico storico qui esaminato. Sicuro è che il costo, all'epoca per lo più fissato prima della vendita,¹² rappresenta «the main indicator of potential access», ma far assurgere singoli testimoni a prova di tendenze diacroniche o di specificità commerciali sincroniche nelle variazioni dei prezzi è operazione rischiosa, soprattutto per il XV secolo, come per la prima volta hanno mostrato le liste di prezzi registrate per la Certosa di Basilea fra XV e XVI secolo, studiate da Gottfried Zedler.¹³ Solo le più accurate disamine condotte sulle liste promozionali di vendita (diffusesi a partire dal 1460 e via via diradatesi verso la fine del Quattrocento) e sui più duraturi e diffusi cataloghi, prodotti da tipografi, librai ed editori, hanno potuto offrire riscontri significativi, fondati soprattutto sul principio del «price-per-sheet level».¹⁴ Seppure non siano ancora emerse, per la Ferrara estense, liste o cataloghi di vendita relativi al Quattrocento, alcune osservazioni sui prezzi del libro tipografico prodotto o commercializzato nella città si possono avanzare.

Di straordinario rilievo – e da qui pare si debba partire – è la nota «Lista del credito et debito», maturata da Alberto III Pio da Carpi nei confronti di Lorenzo Rossi di Valenza [fig. 1].¹⁵ Rossi, legatore, carto-

10 Franceschini, «Codici e libri a stampa», 331. Più prudenti, e di valore metodologico, le considerazioni di Malanima, «I prezzi delle cose», 1-12.

11 Dondi, Harris, «Oil and Green Ginger»; Dondi, Harris, «Exporting Books».

12 Richter, «Humanistische Bücher», 188. Sui prezzi praticati e sull'uso del catalogo, cf. Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, 335-46.

13 Zedler, *Über die Preise*.

14 A questa e a molte altre considerazioni porta il progetto *EMoBookTrade*, incentrato sul XVI secolo e coordinato da Angela Nuovo, ma che per il Quattrocento, nel riflettere sulle più comuni liste commerciali e sui rari cataloghi del secolo, rileva: «inventories of bookshops and lists of books for sale are not too rare and they often include prices. They can allow us to make comparisons between prices, so revealing which were the most expensive or the cheapest in a given quantity of books but they don't provide enough evidence for a general evaluation» (Coppens, Nuovo, «Printed Catalogues», 171). Il primo a dedicare ai prezzi degli incunabili un paragrafo del suo trattato fu Konrad Haebler (*Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde*, 149-57), trasportato in Italia da Fava (*Manuale degli incunabili*, 211-12).

15 Carpi, Archivio storico comunale, Archivio Pio, filza 2, nr. 94, «Lista del credito et debito che ha il sig. Alberto Pio da Carpi per ligature de libri e libri tolti da M.o Lorenzo Valenza libraro in Ferrara», in mediocre stato di conservazione e a tratti illeggibile a causa di una gora di umidità che ha colpito l'angolo destro inferiore della carta. I prezzi, indicati sul margine esterno della carta, quando non riferiti alle zone inumidite della carta, sono ben leggibili anche perché il conto non risulta includere cifre in denari, con cui si chiude la nota di prezzo. L'eventuale perdita del dato terminale del prezzo, quindi, non appare significativa.

laio, libraio ed editore, fu, e con maggior continuità di quanto si è per molto tempo ritenuto, lo stampatore protagonista dell'oligopolio produttivo, a tratti divenuto vero e proprio monopolio, dell'arte impressoria ferrarese tra Quattro e primi due decenni del Cinquecento.¹⁶ Il signore di Carpi, allievo e dedicatario di Aldo Manuzio¹⁷ che a Venezia gli fece conoscere, intorno 1508, Erasmo da Rotterdam, con cui entrò in lunghe e pubbliche polemiche, capaci di consolidarne la fama in tutta Europa,¹⁸ si era al tempo rifugiato a Ferrara, in fuga da aspri conflitti dinastici con il cugino Gilberto. Dalla capitale estense il principe Alberto Pio commissionò a Rossi rilegature e forniture di circa duecento volumi, avvenute tra l'agosto del 1499 e il febbraio 1500. Ferrara, come provato anche da sondaggi d'archivio, era quindi al centro di un vitale commercio librario che faceva transitare la merce da e per Venezia, Padova, Verona, Modena, e Bologna, ma pure Mantova e Cremona.¹⁹

La «Lista», per la prima volta pubblicata nel 1931 da Alfonso Morselli,²⁰ affianca due tipologie di prezzi: la prima riguarda le legature, la seconda l'acquisto vero e proprio di libri a stampa. Nell'ultima trascrizione della «Lista», eseguita dalla Nuovo,²¹ sono riportati i prezzi per la compera di circa sessanta edizioni, non coinvolte da lavori di legatura. Le cifre sono espresse in lire di marchesini o marchesani, ossia lire ferraresi, pari alla metà della lira veneziana.

Per brevità ragioniamo sui prezzi di tre soli titoli, non sempre identificabili bibliograficamente con edizioni certe. Gli addebiti sono registrati rispettivamente alle date del 18 agosto e del 2 settembre 1499 [fig. 2]:

«p[er] uno sillo Italico cu[m] come[n]to»

La prima nota riguarda i *Punica* di Silio Italico, con il commento di Pietro Marso, assegnati al 18 agosto: si tratta di un esemplare appartenente a una delle tre edizioni, peraltro di identico formato in folio, stampate tutte e tre a Venezia; o è quella del de Torti (il 6 giu-

16 Mazza, Lorenzo Rossi; Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 57-82; Petrella, «Nuovi accertamenti».

17 Balsamo, «Alberto Pio e Aldo Manuzio». Su Alberto Pio e Aldo è ancora fondamentale il saggio introduttivo di Carlo Dionisotti in *Aldo Manuzio editore*, 1, I-: XIII, XXII.

18 Erasmo, *Réponse à la 'Responsio paraenetica'*; Marogna, *Alberto Pio da Carpi*.

19 Balsamo, *Commercio librario*, 177-98.

20 Morselli, «Notizie e documenti sulla vita di Alberto Pio 2»; più corretta e completa è la trascrizione di Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 75-7. Per l'esame dei prezzi si è comunque dovuto ricorrere all'originale.

21 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 74-82.

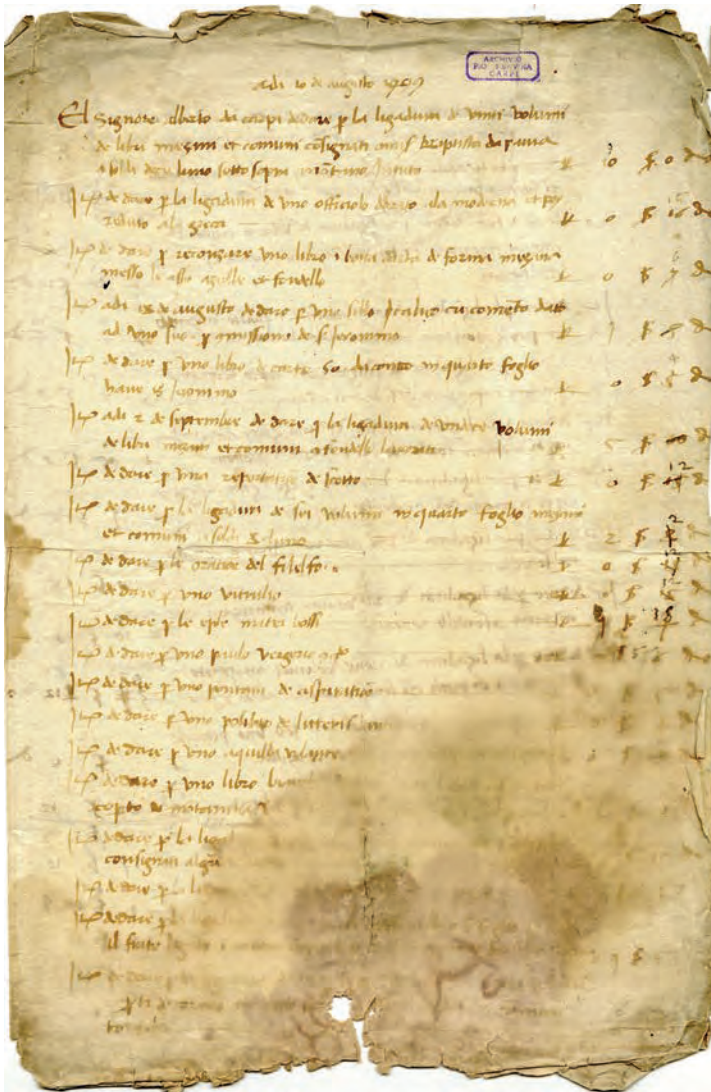


Figura 1 Carpi, Archivio storico comunale, Archivio Pio di Savoia, filza 2, fasc. 94

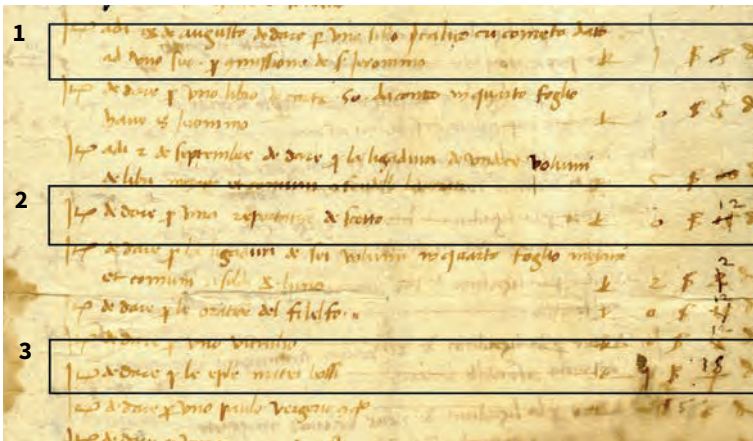


Figura 2 Carpi, Archivio storico comunale, Archivio Pio di Savoia, filza 2, fasc. 94, dettaglio

gno 1483)²² o quella di Boneto Locatelli (18 maggio 1492)²³ o quella di Giovanni Taccuino (20 settembre 1493):²⁴ la vendita è conclusa a 1 lira. In verità il conto indicava 1 lira e 5 soldi, ma quest'ultimo numero risulta espunto da una mano posteriore a quella che ha redatto la nota di credito. Di fatto la vendita si concluse, per quel titolo, con uno sconto significativo, pari di fatto al 20%.

«[per] una reportata de scotto»

La seconda nota - riferita al 2 settembre successivo - coinvolge i *Reportata Parisiensia* di John Duns Scotus, usciti a Bologna per i torchi di Johann Schriber il 6 aprile 1478:²⁵ 15 soldi, poi scontati a 12, poco meno di $\frac{3}{4}$ di lira. Ancora una volta fu praticato, nel passaggio da 15 a 12 soldi, un ribasso del 20%.

²² Silius Italicus, *Punica*. Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venezia: Baptista de Tortis, 6 Maggio 1483. Folio. 178 carte. GW M42117; ISTC is00507000.

²³ Silius Italicus, *Punica*. Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venezia: Bonetus Locatellus, per Octavianus Scotus, 18 Maggio 1492. Folio. 156 carte. GW M42113; ISTC is00508000.

²⁴ Silius Italicus, *Punica*. Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venezia: [Johannes Tacuino, de Tridino], 20 Settembre 1493. Folio. 156 carte. GW M42109; ISTC is00509000.

²⁵ Duns Scotus, Johannes, *Quaestiones in primum librum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* [i.e. *Reportata Parisiensia*]. Ed: Bartholomaeus Bellatus. [Bologna]: Johannes Schriber, de Annunciata, 6 Aprile 1478. Folio. 126 carte. GW 9086; ISTC id00398000. Interessante notare come la vendita di molteplici esemplari di questa stessa edizione sia stata registrata nel *Zornale* a 12 e 10 soldi (veneziani) negli anni 1485-87, quindi un calo di prezzo notevole a circa dieci anni di distanza (ex inf. Dondi e Harris).

«[p]er] le ep.[isto]le matei bossi»

Il terzo addebito, sempre segnato al 2 settembre, è per le *Epistolae* di Matteo Bosso, ossia la *princeps* mantovana di Vincenzo Bertocchi, freschissima di stampa perché apparsa nell'autunno del 1498:²⁶ le *Epistolae* sono vendute a 1 lira e 4 soldi, ossia 24 soldi totali, ribassati a 18 nel saldo finale, con scontistica al 25%.

La prima osservazione riguarda la corretta lettura dei prezzi, anche per l'incerto stato conservativo della lista trascritti con qualche distrazione dai precedenti editori, più interessati al portato intellettuale e culturale della lista rispetto a quello economico.

In secondo luogo va precisato che la descrizione dei volumi acquistati non fornisce alcuna indicazione sulla loro legatura, che - a Ferrara come altrove - incidere sul prezzo di stampa in percentuale significativa. E tale percentuale coinvolge verosimilmente tutti e tre i tomi acquistati dal principe Alberto, comprese le *Epistolae* di Bosso. Le quali, considerata la data recente di stampa, avrebbero potuto essere fornite anche in forma di fogli sciolti, incompatibili però con il contesto della fattura di Rossi, per lo più motivata da lavori di legatura. Ciò che è sicuro è il prezzo medio delle legature menzionate nel lungo conto Rossi: esso si aggira tra i 6 e il 10 soldi, pari a una media dunque di 8 soldi pagati dal principe per ciascuno dei libri fatti legare. Tale cifra aveva già subito, in termini di conteggio, come si rileva da correzioni e da variazioni di numeri presenti nel documento originale, aggiustamenti in crescita e in decremento, con sconti e maggiorazioni, quasi sempre applicati a titoli singoli, mai a blocchi di volumi. La lista ferrarese informa su pratiche di sconto sui prezzi, concordato fra il fornitore (Rossi) e l'acquirente (principe Alberto), demandate con ogni probabilità all'intervento del mediatore, su mandato dell'acquirente. Già Morselli aveva riconosciuto in Girolamo Giglioli, estensore del catalogo della biblioteca estense del 1495 e primario cameriere segreto nel 1507, la figura dell'agente incaricato di trattare la vendita, persino anticipando del denaro, anche se l'identificazione non poggia, come si è a ragione osservato, su prove certe.²⁷ Alla formazione della fornitura, e ai conti del dare e dell'avere con Lorenzo Rossi, aveva partecipato anche «braptista de pavia», ossia Battista da Pavia,²⁸ consegna-

²⁶ Bossus, Matthaëus, *Epistolae familiares et secundae*. Add: Jason Mayno and Balthasar Crassus. Mantova: Vincentius Bertochus, 9 Novembre 1498. Folio. 144 carte. GW 4956; ISTC ib01042000. Soranzo, *L'umanista canonico regolare lateranense Matteo Bosso*, 99-102, data alcune copie al 9 settembre 1498, anziché 9 novembre.

²⁷ Morselli, «Notizie e documenti sulla vita di Alberto Pio», 140; Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 78. Su Giglioli cameriere segreto cf. Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, 1: 180.

²⁸ Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 82, ipotizza si tratti del cartolaio e libraio Battista di Domenico Bonaparte, attivo a Venezia e in rapporto con il collega Johannes

tario temporaneo di una ventina di volumi legati, ma anche erogatore di anticipi sulla fornitura. La lista mostra, come è consuetudine, l'intervento anche del baratto, attestato dallo storno dai debiti del prezzo di «uno porcho» fatto a pezzi e venduto in piazza fra il 14 e il 16 dicembre 1499, da cui Rossi ha ricavato 5 lire e 12 soldi.²⁹

Per quanto eccezionale appaia la richiesta libraria ricordata dalla «Lista», che a ragione non può qualificare il principe Alberto come un «cliente medio»,³⁰ pare assai significativo soppesare il costo medio del libro a stampa riconosciuto come accettabile da un acquirente così attento e informato, sebbene poco attento all'impatto economico del suo mecenatismo votato a cogenti ragioni politiche, prima ancora che culturali.³¹

Se entriamo, inoltre, nel dettaglio del rapporto tra i costi indicati da Rossi e l'entità editoriale delle copie, secondo una metodologia già messa a punto con successo da Martin Davies³² - ossia computando il numero di fogli di stampa, in questo caso a parità di formato ma non di assetto compositivo, in prosa e in poesia - ricaviamo ciò che segue:

1. Silio Italico, in folio, messo in vendita a 1 lira e 5 soldi, ma acquistato per 1 lira, ossia 20 soldi: a) *ed. de Torti, 1483*: 89 fogli di stampa (linee 64); b) *ed. Locatelli, 1492*: 78 fogli di stampa (linee 62); c) *ed. Tacchino, 1493*: 78 fogli di stampa (linee 60); prezzo medio di acquisto al foglio tra 0,22 e 0,25 soldi al foglio;
2. Duns Scotus, *ed. Schriber, 1478*: in folio, messo in vendita a 15 soldi, ma acquistato per 12 soldi; 53 fogli di stampa (2 colonne; linee 48-49): prezzo medio di acquisto al foglio pari a 0,22 soldi al foglio;
3. Bosso, *ed. Bertocchi, 1498*: in folio, messo in vendita a 24 soldi, ma acquistato per 18 soldi; 72 fogli di stampa (linee 38): prezzo medio di acquisto al foglio: 0,25 soldi al foglio.

Ossia possiamo ricavare che il prezzo medio di vendita praticato da Rossi per il principe Pio fosse di circa 1 soldo ogni 4 fogli (ossia 0,22-0,25 soldi al foglio), in ragione della qualità della carta, della presenza o meno della legatura e del pregio dell'esemplare (che poteva variare nei costi di produzione, sia per specificità della composizione, sia per l'inclusione di personalizzazioni quali miniature, colorazioni, rubriche, decorazioni, e così via).

Altre commesse per clienti persino più prestigiosi dei principi Pio attestano prezzi differenti, che tuttavia non scendono al di sotto del

Herbort il Grande, in affari con il Rossi.

29 Sul baratto nel commercio del libro, Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, 335.

30 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 78.

31 Rossi, *Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio*.

32 Davies, «Two Book-lists»; valide anche le osservazioni, riferite però alla seconda metà del XVI secolo, di Danesi, «I prezzi dei libri».

50% del costo medio accettato da Alberto di Carpi. Come è noto, il duca Ercole I acquistò nel 1497 ben 224 copie del *Breviarium* da lui fortemente sollecitato, commissionato allo stesso Rossi e dato alla luce nel 1492 presso la sua stessa officina tipografica.³³ Il duca pagò per la fornitura 46 lire e 7 soldi (927 soldi, quindi circa 4,13 soldi a copia), ossia sostenne un costo a foglio di stampa pari a circa 0,15 soldi, poiché l'edizione si componeva di 27 fogli e un quarto per copia. Si tratta di una cifra corrispondente a 1 soldo ogni 6-7 fogli, nettamente inferiore al denaro richiesto al principe Alberto per i libri da lui comperati un paio d'anni dopo. Nel caso del *Breviarium*, tuttavia, l'intervento del Duca si qualificò in veste semi-editoriale, con implicazioni politiche e con l'impegno di sovvenzionare economicamente buona parte, se non tutta, la tiratura (inclusi esemplari in pergamena).³⁴ Ed è noto quanto acquisti multipli di copie dello stesso volume ma soprattutto l'influenza e il potere dell'acquirente abbattessero in modo notevole la cifra richiesta.³⁵ Accanto a ciò, va ricordato che la fornitura diretta implicava costi nettamente inferiori, sgravati dai rincari previsti per la legatura (quasi tutte le copie del *Breviarium* furono certamente vendute in fogli sciolti o legate alla rustica), per la mediazione connessa alle reti di vendita, per il trasporto e i rischi di deterioramento a esso sottesi, per i dazi.

A conferma del fatto che a Ferrara libri in carta reale potevano valere, se freschi di stampa, poco meno di 3 soldi al foglio soccorre la valutazione del debito di 34 ducati d'oro, pari a circa 80-90 lire marchesane, quantificato nel 1477 a carico dello stampatore Federico d'Olanda.³⁶ In quest'ultimo caso il debitore non era un ricco principe umanista, un potente nobile veneziano o il Duca stesso ma un semplice stampatore, Enrico di Harlem, erede dei beni del fratello Niccolò.

Purtroppo non sono numerose nella Ferrara del Quattrocento le ricevute di spesa, complete di precise, e dunque comparabili, scritture economiche dove poter identificare, come nel fortunato caso della «Lista» carpigiana, cifre impiegate, date dei pagamenti, edizioni fatte oggetto di transazioni commerciali, e persino qualità degli esemplari comprati. Altri documenti, come la transazione dei libri giuridici effettuata dal cartolaio Bernardo Carneri nel 1479, risultano fitti di dati economici, riportati tuttavia a edizioni di diritto quasi impossibili da identificare con sicurezza, senza notizie attinenti all'esem-

33 *Officium, sive Collectio Psalmorum et precum ad usum Herculis Ferrariae Ducis*. Ferrara: Laurentius de Rubeis, de Valentia, 18 Ottobre 1492. 8°. 218 carte. GW 5175; ISTC io00049500. Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, nr. 70.

34 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 29 nota 2.

35 Lowry, *Nicolas Jenson*, 293.

36 Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 26.

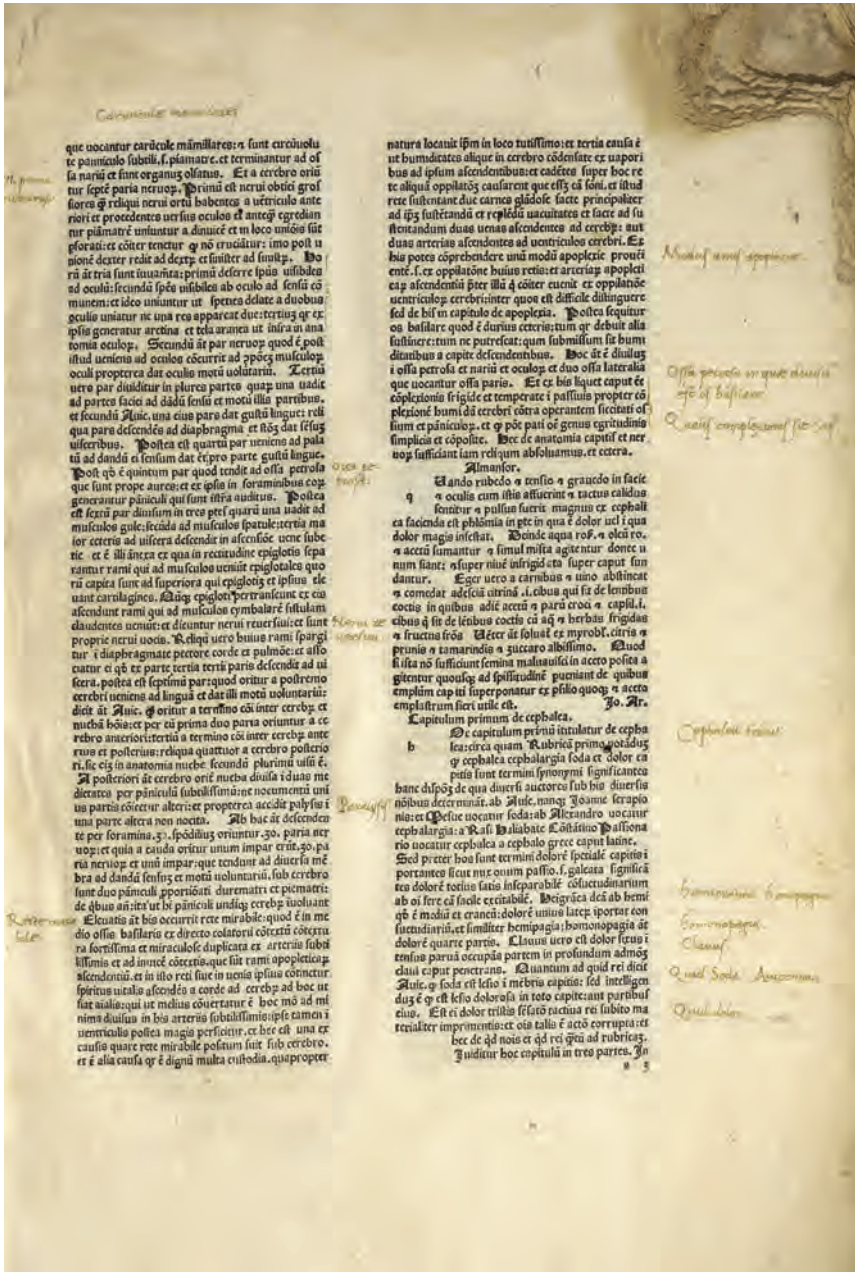


Figura 3 Mohammed Rhasis, *Liber ad Almansorem sive Tractatus medicinae*. Etc. 14 Febbraio 1481. Milano: Leonard Pachel e Ulderico Scinzenzeler. Folio. GW M37978; ISTC ir00175000; BEU: alpha.Y.1.13, a2v-a3r. Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo

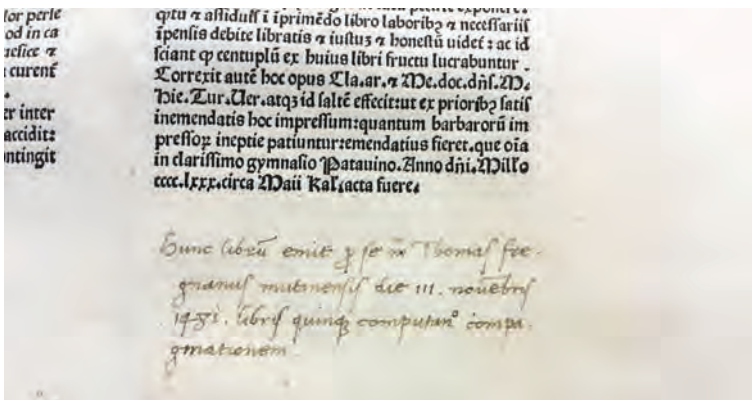


Figura 4 Mohammed Rhasis, *Liber ad Almansorem sive Tractatus medicinae*. Etc. 14 Febbraio 1481. Milano: Leonard Pachel e Ulderico Scinzenczeler. Folio. 218 carte. GW M37978; ISTC ir00175000; BEU: alpha.Y.1.13, O5v. Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo

plare.³⁷ Al contrario sono le note di acquisto vergate su incunaboli giunti sino a noi a offrire per la città estense, come per altri centri, un ulteriore apporto di conoscenze.

Grazie ai più avveduti cataloghi che sin dalla fine dell'Ottocento registravano tali note in calce alle schede e, in tempi più recenti, in virtù di progetti di archiviazione condivisa e di catalogazione analitica partecipata, centrati sulle componenti materiali e sulle note di possesso e di provenienza, quali rispettivamente l'*Index Possessorum Incunabulorum* di Paul Needham o la banca dati delle provenienze del CERL o il MEI,³⁸ affiorano testimoni recanti tracce di natura economica sul prezzo dei libri.

Il medico modenese Tommaso Frignani junior, lettore dell'Ateneo ferrarese, offre un caso di studio significativo, giacché risulta aver lasciato precise indicazioni d'acquisto su almeno due esemplari, con tempestività procurati a Ferrara nel Quattrocento e oggi conservati rispettivamente nella Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena e nella Queriniana di Brescia. Frignani, lettore vicino alle posizioni del medico ferrarese Giovanni Mainardi, si dotò di sussidi scientifici basati sulla fisica aristotelica e sull'astrologia, i cui legami con la scienza dei corpi, almeno da Avicenna in poi, si erano fatti assai stretti e avevano aperto un dibattito di lungo corso tra saperi degli astri e

³⁷ Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara*, 43-7.

³⁸ Tutte le banche dati citate sono oggi raggiungibili dal sito del CERL: <https://data.cerl.org>.

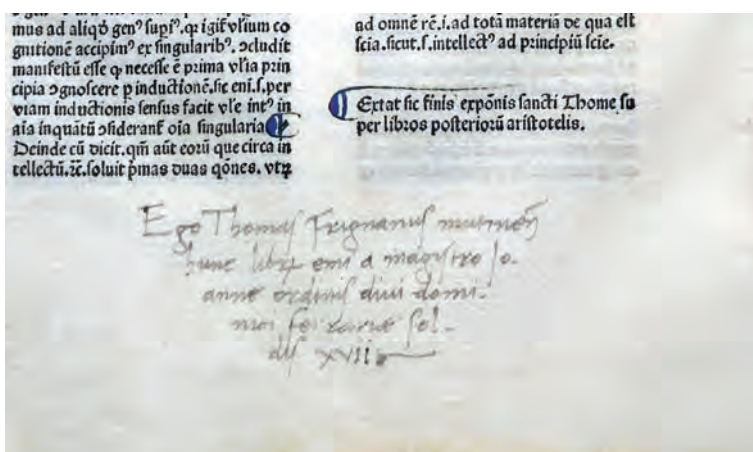


Figura 5 San Tommaso d'Aquino, *Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis et in De interpretatione*. 1477. Venezia: Giovanni da Colonia e Giovanni Manthen. Folio. GW M46287; ISTC it00252000; BQB: Inc.FV.22.m.1, g9v

regimina sanitatis.³⁹ Frignani dunque comprò il 3 novembre 1481 un poderoso in folio, contenente l'*Almansore*, edito a Padova l'anno precedente [figg. 3, 4].⁴⁰ Lo pagò 5 lire, compreso il costo della legatura. La nota di acquisto autografa recita [fig. 4]:

Hunc libru[m] emit p[ro] se m[esse]r Thomas frignanus mutinensis die III. noue[m]bris 1481. libris quinq[ue] computan[tibus] compaginationem.⁴¹

L'annotazione non attesta che la compera sia avvenuta nella città estense. Ma per due motivi è dato credere che sia quello il mercato cui Frignani si sia rivolto nell'occasione. Anzitutto per analogia con la nota che lo stesso Frignani vergò di suo pugno sull'esemplare queriniano, come si vedrà; in secondo luogo perché nel 1481 documenti d'archivio testimoniano l'attività di Frignani quale lettore di arti e medicina nello Studio estense.⁴²

³⁹ Sulla medicina a Ferrara - e sui libri manoscritti e a stampa che circolavano fra medici e astrologi - cf. Balsamo, «Libri manoscritti e a stampa», 138-65. Importanti erano anche i codici medici del principe Alberto Pio: Nannini, «I libri di medicina». Per la stampa dei testi di medicina nel Quattrocento si veda anche Minuzzi in questo volume.

⁴⁰ Rhasis, Mohammed, *Liber ad Almansorem sive Tractatus medicinae*. Etc. Milano: Leonard Pachel e Ulderico Scinzenzeler, 14 Febbraio 1481. Folio. 218 carte. GW M37978; ISTC ir00175000; BEU, coll.: alpha.Y.1.13.

⁴¹ La nota appare al colophon, c. O5v.

⁴² Borsetti, *Historia*, 2: 78.

Dell'*Almansore* di Frignani non è conservata la coperta originale quattrocentesca, sostituita nel XVIII secolo da una legatura cosiddetta tiraboschiana, dunque è dato solo stimare intorno allo standard del 20% il prezzo per una *compaginatio* degna di essere ricordata nella menzione di acquisto. Che la legatura costasse a Ferrara il valore medio di una lira di marchesani è ipotesi suffragata da molti documenti, fra cui spiccano le registrazioni di spese per la libreria della Cattedrale. Limitando il periodo da esaminare a quello compreso tra il 1470 e il 1482, sono due i tomi simili, per formato e rilevanza, all'*Almansore*, ossia una Bibbia e un graduale, la cui rilegatura costò al Capitolo il prezzo fisso di 1 lira e 10 soldi per ciascuna copia. Nel gennaio del 1492 furono fatti rilegare altri sette volumi, a stampa e manoscritti, per lo più di argomento giuridico, per 1 lira e 3 o 8 soldi ciascuno.⁴³

Tornando appunto all'esemplare dell'*Almansore*, assai marginoso, risulta che esso sia stampato su carta reale e sia composto di 27 fascicoli, pari a 218 carte, ossia 109 fogli di stampa. Tolto il costo eccezionale della legatura (valutabile non meno di 1 lira e 10 soldi), Frignani pagò il libro - rubricato e su carta assai pregiata - 0,64 soldi per foglio di stampa: ben oltre il doppio dunque dei prezzi praticati da Rossi al principe Pio. Acquisti singoli, conclusi presso fornitori diversi, senza capacità di esercitare influenze politiche o culturali, come i casi menzionati di celebri umanisti o potenti signori, risultano più onerosi e possono determinare prezzi di vendita assai cospicui.⁴⁴

La cifra sborsata da Frignani, pari a 5 lire, è infatti rilevante, se si pensa che a Ferrara la paga annuale del garzone di un muratore corrisponde, nel gennaio 1481, a 10 lire;⁴⁵ occorre 100 lire nello stesso periodo per acquistare una bottega fuori dalle mura cittadine.⁴⁶ Dai *rotuli* dei lettori dello Studio apprendiamo che Guarino Veronese arrivò a percepire 300 lire di stipendio per anno accademico e che il figlio Battista nel 1474 raggiunse l'emolumento di ben 500 lire. È pur vero che i medici come Frignani, dopo i giuristi, godevano degli stipendi più alti, che potevano raggiungere il massimo di 800 lire, aggirandosi il loro compenso medio intorno alle 5-600 lire.⁴⁷ Fatte le debite proporzioni, Frignani investì allora nel suo *Almansore* circa

⁴³ Franceschini, «Inventari inediti», 151-2, 155.

⁴⁴ Sembra però che anche gli esemplari di questa e altre edizioni del naturalista arabo vendute dal De Madiis fossero piuttosto costose rispetto al numero delle carte; è probabile quindi che anche il soggetto stesso della pubblicazione abbia avuto un peso nella determinazione del prezzo. L'analisi di questi dati è ancora in corso.

⁴⁵ Seppure tale paga includea vitto e alloggio; cf. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara*, 2, 1, 273, doc. 375.

⁴⁶ Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara*, 2, 1, 278, doc. 386.

⁴⁷ Visconti, *La storia dell'Università*, 27-8. Per ulteriori dati sugli stipendi dei professori dello Studio cf. *Lo Studio di Ferrara*, 27-8, 226-8.

un centesimo della sua paga annua da lettore: ma fu un investimento necessario, considerato l'intenso uso che ne fece, come provano i *notabilia* e le postille, ordinate ma frequenti, che circondano il testo impresso [fig. 3]. Il prezzo medio di volumi pregevoli, anche acquisiti in blocco, nella Ferrara degli anni ottanta del XV secolo poteva raggiungere anche cifre superiori, fra le 6 e le 7 lire. Il giureconsulto Domenico di Guarino da Bagnacavallo, come si sa, pagò 80 lire un insieme librario di 12 volumi, completi e di prim'ordine per l'esercizio della sua attività professionale, nel gennaio 1488.⁴⁸

Assai verosimilmente a Ferrara, Frignani aveva anche acquistato una copia dell'*Expositio* aristotelica di san Tommaso,⁴⁹ pagata 17 soldi. L'annotazione recante la provenienza lo ricorda [fig. 5]:

Ego Thomas Frignanus mutinen[sis] hunc libr[um] emi a magistro Joanne ordinis divi dominici ferrariae soldis xvii⁵⁰

L'*Expositio*, stampata a Venezia nel 1477, in folio, consterebbe di 50 fogli. L'esemplare queriniano, tuttavia, è mutilo dell'*Expositio super libros Posteriorum* e si interrompe a c. g10, bianca. Pertanto l'esemplare comprato da Frignani si limita a 30 fogli e dunque risulta pagato 0,56 soldi per foglio, ossia 2 fogli per un soldo. Cifra analoga all'*Almansore*, pagato 0,64 soldi al foglio: fatto che apparenta in modo stretto i due volumi, e lascia supporre un acquisto avvenuto in un contesto unitario. L'esemplare queriniano, rubricato, con due iniziali miniate e in carta reale, se accostato alle compere di Alberto Pio, risulta saldato a circa il doppio. Va osservato tuttavia che la legatura di cui è ancor oggi munito doveva essere costosa, perché realizzata in spesse assi di legno (tuttora esistenti), ricoperte in pelle di prima qualità. Purtroppo non possediamo, per il san Tommaso d'Aquino, la data di acquisto, che tuttavia immaginiamo non lontana dagli anni ottanta del Quattrocento proprio per l'analogia del costo sostenuto, quando Frignani avviò la sua carriera di lettore e dovette quindi dotarsi dell'adeguata suppellettile libraria. L'ultima nota di acquisto esaminata coinvolge inoltre un venditore non professionista, maestro Giovanni, frate domenicano non altrimenti noto alla storia del commercio librario a Ferrara.

In conclusione, l'esame attento dei prezzi del libro registrati nella scarsa documentazione di interesse economico (che potrà esse-

⁴⁸ Franceschini, «Codici e libri a stampa», 331.

⁴⁹ San Tommaso d'Aquino. *Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis et in De interpretatione*. Venezia: Giovanni da Colonia e Giovanni Manthen, 1477. Folio. 100 carte. GW M46287; ISTC it00252000; BQB, coll.: Inc.F.V.22.m.1. Sull'esemplare cf. Baronzelli, *Gli incunabuli*, scheda 927.

⁵⁰ La nota si trova a c. g9r.

re ampliata anche fuori dagli archivi notarili e di corte, sinora i più percorsi) offre risultati sufficienti a determinare il costo medio di un volume a stampa in folio, destinato a una specifica fetta di mercato, medio-alta, nella Ferrara di Borso e di Ercole I. Se accostata alle retribuzioni del tempo, emerge una propensione all'investimento che in tale fascia di mercato permane alta, in continuità con l'epoca del manoscritto, che infatti anche a Ferrara continua a essere ricercato, rilegato e prodotto anche per mercati esterni alla corte estense, come dimostra la Lista di Alberto Pio. Nella definizione del prezzo al dettaglio, molto ancora resta da chiarire circa l'incidenza del costo della carta, il cui valore poteva di molto variare in base a fattori contingenti (peste, guerre, politiche di dazi commerciali, azioni protezionistiche, ecc.). Come pure poco si sa dell'impatto della legatura, laddove essa non figuri descritta con la precisione con cui è possibile identificare, ad esempio, i connotati bibliografici - e materiali - delle edizioni o degli esemplari menzionati nelle carte d'archivio. Sussidio tanto più rimarchevole è dunque l'esame degli esemplari superstiti e delle note di acquisto che, quando riportano i prezzi e le date di compera, o persino i nomi di mediatori estranei alle più note figure del commercio librario cittadino - come è il caso di frate Giovanni domenicano di Ferrara - sono in grado di contestualizzare i costi sostenuti in rapporto al tempo, allo spazio, alla materialità e ai procacciatori, oltre che agli acquirenti, della merce libraria.

Abbreviazioni

ASC = Archivio storico comunale, Carpi
BEU = Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena
BQB = Biblioteca Queriniana, Brescia

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The Memmingen Book Network

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Abstract This paper uses book provenance information from the town of Memmingen in southern Germany as a basis for discovering its book trade history. It brings together this information with that of some earlier writers to throw light on the scholarly book network that grew in the town, the book buyers and owners, and the book producers with their supporting trades, in Memmingen in the second half of the fifteenth century. It will look at who the buyers were, what they bought, how books were traded, from where their books had come, and, where possible, how much the books cost. The prices of books are put into context of known living costs of the period.

Keywords Memmingen. Books trade. Owners. Costs. Scholarly network. 15th-century printing. Incunabula.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Finding the Evidence from the Books. – 2.1 Larger Collectors and the Religious Orders. – 2.2 Smaller Clerical Book Collectors. – 2.3 Some Non-Clerical Buyers. – 3 Book Production. – 3.1 Manuscripts and Printed Books. – 3.2 Paper-making. – 3.3 Bookbinding. – 4 The Book Trade. – 4.1 From Where Did the Book Buyers Buy their Books? – 4.2 The Subject Matter of Purchased Books. – 4.3 The Prices Paid for Printed Books. – 4.4 Prices of Other Commodities. – 5 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

Memmingen was (and is) a trade centre on the river Iller, lying on the east/west salt route from Bohemia to Lindau and the north/south route from Northern Germany to Italy. It was a *Reichsstadt*, which gave it some autonomy, and in the 1400s was the most important town in the Allgäu region in southern Germany.¹ By the second half of the fifteenth century it had a population of about

¹ Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 145.



5,000, a book printer by 1480, and at least six different bookbinders. The city had also built an additional paper mill to the one that already existed.² Only five kilometres away to the west of Memmingen lies the Carthusian monastery of Buxheim, famous for its library, and, some twelve kilometres to the south-east lies the Benedictine Abbey of Otto-beuren. Volker Honemann, in his study on the Buxheim collection, stated that “right from the beginning Buxheim was connected with learned people who owned, and produced, books – and donated them to the monks”.³ Many of these connections were with people from Memmingen and so this study includes incunables from Buxheim.

The 1470s was a time of economic growth for the town, with the building of larger warehouses as businesses expanded.⁴ The main industries were flax growing and fine linen production, and iron working. There were new warehouses for storing salt and grain. The guilds built themselves new guild-houses and some of the religious houses were rebuilt or expanded. Living standards were at their peak.⁵ Trade was not only in agricultural and household goods; the town was wealthy enough to support a growing trade in books. Some of the Memmingen book information has been described by other scholars; however this paper will bring these disparate pieces of information together and show Memmingen at the centre of a scholarly network.

2 Finding the Evidence from the Books

The evidence, the basic information about who purchased, when and where, lies in the books. Paul Needham’s provenance source, IPI, was the starting point for finding any mention of Memmingen and its books, followed by visits to the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek to look at their almost 600 incunables. Unfortunately the library has no benefactor book giving details of when and how the incunabula arrived there. Also, some of the provenance inscriptions have been lost through the centuries with later repairs and rebinding. Some volumes do have provenance inscriptions, but many of these are from later centuries. A catalogue was made in 1643 which lists the editions contained in the library at that time, and which gives a firm date for the existence of some of the collection in Memmingen. Despite these limitations a list of 460 copies with a clear Memmingen link (apart from just being on the Stadtbibliothek shelves) gradually took shape, and their book buyers and owners were identified. Some of these buyers and owners are described in this paper.

² Piccard, “Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung”, 42-68.

³ Honemann, “The Buxheim Collection”, 166-88.

⁴ Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 154.

⁵ Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 15.

2.1 Larger Collectors and the Religious Orders

Some book owners, such as the religious orders, did not always purchase the books themselves, but received them as gifts, either at the time of purchase or later, perhaps after the death of the original owner. Others did buy books for themselves, and kept them, or passed them onto their family. The number of books held by individual owners ranges from a single volume to 450 books.⁶

The earliest identifiable Memmingen book owner was a book buyer and collector on an impressive scale, and sanctioned by the Pope to purchase books for his order. Petrus Mitte de Caprariis (1415-1479), a canon lawyer, was Preceptor of the Antonine order in Memmingen from 1439 until his death. From his early student days in Heidelberg and Paris, and through the 1450s and 1460s he had purchased and commissioned manuscripts, all costs being paid for by the Order. Franz Samma's thesis on Petrus Mitte's collection states that he spent over 2000 florins on at least 242 Latin manuscripts.⁷ Details of some of his purchases can be found in the original Antonierhaus account books in the Memmingen Stadtarchiv. One example shows payments of 115 pounds Heller to the scribe Wolricus Hornen for writing 113 quires as well as quires in a psalter. He was also paid 29 pounds Heller for illuminating the book, and 116 pounds Heller for binding three volumes. The work had started in 1458 and was finished in 1460.⁸

At the same time as he was collecting books for his library, Mitte was also building the Antonierhaus, with a room to store his increasing library. Samma describes the library room as being over the entrance, and also occupying St Peter's Chapel alongside.⁹ With the spread of printing, Mitte moved seamlessly from collecting manuscripts to buying printed books. His first purchases were six editions, almost hot off the press, from printers Sweynheim and Pannartz, made when he was in Rome in 1468-69. He inscribed them with prices and details of the costs (listed in table 1).¹⁰

6 This latter figure is the recorded number of books owned by Hilprand Brandenburg (cf. below) and donated to Buxheim.

7 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 118-19.

8 MStadtA D 244/2, 21r, 34v, and 87r, for period 1456-1466.

9 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 108.

10 Scholderer, *Fifty Essays*, 197. The first copy in the list is now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the following three are in the British Library, the fifth copy in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow, and the last copy in the Huntington Library, California. For more recent information cf. Hoffmann, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 73-81.

Table 1 Petrus Mitte's earliest purchases from Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome

date printed	ISTC	author	title	purchase date	price paid
1467	ic00503500	Cicero	<i>Epistolae et familiares</i>	1468	4 florins
13 Dec 1468	ih00161000	Hieronymus	<i>Epistolae</i>	1468	16 ducats
21 19/69	ic00656000	Cicero	<i>De oratore</i>	1468	5 florins
12 Jan 1469	ic00643000	Cicero	<i>Brutus</i>	1468	5 florins
28 Feb 1469	ia00934000	Apulius	<i>Opera</i>	1468	4 florins
12 May 1469	ic00016000	Caesar	<i>Commentarii</i>	1468	4 florins

There are some strange discrepancies between the years of purchase and printing, which have been discussed before by other scholars. Martin Davies suggests that they are perhaps due to Petrus Mitte allocating all the books he had bought from Sweynheym and Pannartz to the year of his visit.¹¹

All the books he purchased, both manuscript and printed, were left in his will to the Antonierhaus. However, some were sold after his death.¹² On the closure of the Antonierhaus in 1562 some of the books went to the Benedictine monastery at Irsee. Today 47 of his books are in the Stadtbibliothek in Memmingen.¹³

Hilprand Brandenburg (1442-1514), also a canon lawyer, was an even larger collector of books, all of which (around 450 editions) were left to the Monastery at Buxheim on his death, and were later dispersed by the sale of the Buxheim library in 1883.¹⁴ Currently 164 (both manuscript and printed) of the dispersed books have been located.¹⁵ Like Petrus Mitte, Brandenburg started buying manuscripts in the 1460s.¹⁶ Needham suggests that Brandenburg began to purchase printed books when in Basel between 1469 and 1472.¹⁷ Two of his earliest purchases, both printed by Johann Mentelin in Strasbourg around 1470, have the Brandenburg coat-of-arms painted on their incipit pages.¹⁸

¹¹ Davies, "Two Book-lists", 51.

¹² Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 130-3.

¹³ Samma, "Katalog". *Die Bibliothek*, 26-32 and 41-2. Also 128-61 for more details on the movements of Petrus Mitte's books after his death.

¹⁴ For more about the Buxheim collection and its dispersal, cf. Honemann.

¹⁵ This is the latest figure from Paul Needham, who keeps an updated tally (personal email 7 November 2018).

¹⁶ Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101.

¹⁷ Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101.

¹⁸ Augustinus, Aurelius, *Confessiones*. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1470]. Folio. GW 2893; ISTC ia01250000. Sayle, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Catalogue of the Early Printed Books*, no. 14, (also Needham, no. 45), and Alphonsus de Spina,

At some point, perhaps after Brandenburg's death, many of his donated copies were inscribed and had a book plate with his printed coat-of-arms pasted in. Some of the bookplates have fragments of text printed on the back, suggesting that they were made from printed waste. The typefaces used on the waste belonged to the Memmingen printer, Albrecht Kunne: his Types 160G and 87G. The former was in use only between 1500 and 1508, which suggests a later date of printing for the bookplates than the *c.* 1480 that is often given. Only four of Brandenburg's books have a purchase date: they were all purchased in Tübingen in 1504 and bound there and are now in Augsburg.¹⁹ None have prices. Volker Honemann describes Brandenburg as the most important benefactor to the Buxheim library – his donations were recorded in their Benefactors Book from 1479 (the year of Petrus Mitte's death). By the time of Brandenburg's death in 1514, he had donated 450 books, as well as money to build a library and a chapel.²⁰

Jacob Matzenberger (d. 1504) was pastor of the *Frauenkirche* from 1482 to 1499, and Magister of the *Heiliggeist* order in Memmingen from 1498 until his death in 1504. There are nineteen editions with his provenance. They were printed between 1473 and 1498, and purchased between 1483 and 1498. They are almost all theological, but he also purchased Hartman Schedel's *Liber cronicarum*. His books are now in various European libraries, apart from one in the United States at St John's College (Collegeville, Minnesota).

There are thirty books with provenance from the (joint) order of the *Heiliggeist* and the *Kreuzherrenkloster*, also known as the Order of San Spiritus and the Order of the Crucifixion. At least sixteen of them, including a bound collection of six books printed by Kunne, were donated to the order in the sixteenth century by Alexander Mayr who was Magister from about 1525. An earlier Magister, Johannes Wolff, donated two copies to the order, and Thomas Knod, Magister from 1507 to 1530 of the *Heiliggeist* order, donated five books to his order to help start their library.²¹ One of these books is in the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek [fig. 1].²²

The *Augustinereremiten* order have thirty-one books with their provenance. Nine of these came from their Prior between 1480 and 1489, Johannes Fasnacht. The earliest book was printed in 1463 and

Fortalitium fidei. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1471]. Folio. GW 1574; ISTC ia00539000, in Princeton University Firestone Library (Needham, no. 49).

19 Hubay, *Incunabula*, nos. 602, 643, 645, 648.

20 Honemann, "The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal", 168.

21 Karrer, *Memmingen Chronik*, 170.

22 Guillermus, *Postilla super epistolas*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1472]. Folio. GW 11930; ISTC ig00642000. MMStadtB 3,239.

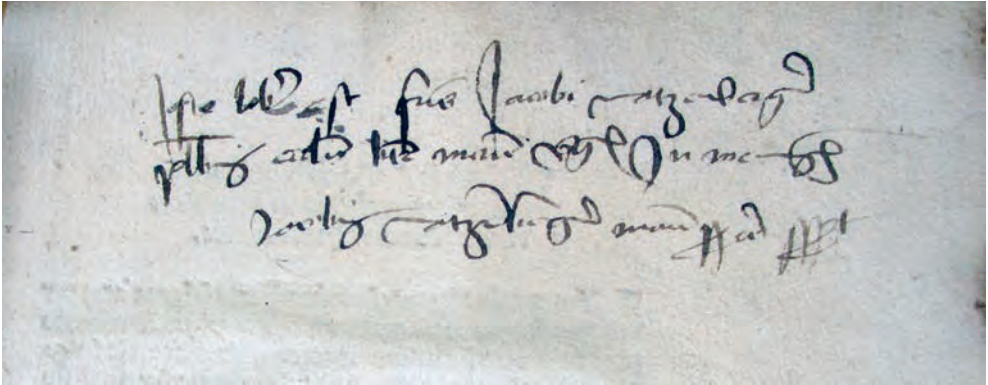


Figure 1 Provenance inscription from Jacob Matzenberger (MStB shelfmark 3.38)

the latest in 1496. The earliest provenance inscription from Fasnacht is 1480 and the latest 1489; six were theological and three were of canon law. None have any purchase prices.

2.2 Smaller Clerical Book Collectors

Johannes Tieffenthaler with a Masters degree from Heidelberg in 1492, was head of the *Frauenkirche* between 1501 and 1519. Ten books with his provenance are today in the library at Ottobeuren, plus two more in other libraries. The books were printed between 1481 and 1496. He had purchased three from previous owners; one from scholar Johann Haas in 1487, and two editions, both printed in Paris and bound together, from a Johannes Grasser in 1517, an early example of secondhand book selling.²³ Two of his purchases have prices; he paid 9 1/2 florins for Gregorius IX, *Decretales cum glossa*, an imperial folio of 272 leaves, printed in Venice by Johann Hamman in 1491 and p? [sic] florins for Gregorius I, *Moralia sive Expositio in Job*, a royal folio of 364 leaves, printed by Nikolaus Kessler in Basel in 1496.²⁴

²³ Wenceslaus Brack, *Vocabularius rerum*. [Basel: Peter Kollicker], 27 Oct. 1483. Folio. GW 4984; ISTC ib01058000, and Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*. [Paris: Johannes Higman and] Wolfgang Hopyl, 14 July 1489. Folio. GW 5727; ISTC ib01294000, bound with Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones et dubia in Aristotelis Politica*. Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Durand Gerlier, [about 1489]. Folio. GW 5753; ISTC ib01293000. Hubay, *Incunabula aus ... der Benediktinerabtei Ottobeuren*, nos. 98, 103 with 104.

²⁴ Gregorius IX, Pont. Max., *Decrateles cum glossa*. Venice: Johannes Hamman, 23 June 1491. Folio. GW 11481; ISTC ig00466000 and Gregorius I, Pont. Max. *Moralia sive Expositio in Job*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1496. Folio. GW 11434; ISTC ig00432000.

Johann Wilhalmi was a priest in Memmingen and also did some bookbinding. There are four books with his provenance – two of them today in Ottobeuren’s monastic library.

Eustachius Funck, a pastor from Rettenbach in Ingolstadt, inscribed his name in one book in 1487, Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*.²⁵ The book had been printed in Reutlingen in 1485, and he had purchased it for one Rhenish florin, and had it bound in Ulm. He came from a Memmingen merchant family.

Christian Geiger, a pastor at the *Heiliggeist* order has his name in two books, both now in Munich, unfortunately with no price or date of purchase.²⁶

2.3 Some Non-Clerical Buyers

Ulrich Ellenbog (c.1435-1499) was the city doctor for Memmingen, and also doctor to Archduke Sigismund (1427-1496), governor of Tyrol. Some of Ellenbog’s collection, and his interest in the printing press at SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, was documented by Robert Proctor.²⁷ The earliest printed book purchased with Ellenbog’s provenance inscription is a Cicero printed in Cologne in 1470.²⁸ Of the 37 editions that can be ascribed to him so far, over half are religious, five are classical literature, eight medical and philosophical, with one each of historical and humanist content, and an almanac. His books were printed in 14 different towns, from as far away as Paris and Lyon to Venice, and, within Germany, from Cologne to Ulm. Four were bound in Augsburg and four in Memmingen, two of these at the bindery at Buxheim. A collection of eleven editions all bound in Augsburg are still in Augsburg.²⁹ A collection of five editions, four printed in Augsburg and one in Florence, are now in Cambridge University Library.³⁰

²⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. Reutlingen: [Johann Otmar, before 24 Aug.] 1485. Folio. GW M11267; ISTC ij00113000. Shelf mark MMStadtB 3,170.

²⁶ Justinus, Marcus Junianus, *Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias*. [Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis and Albertinus Vercellensis] for Bernardinus Rasinius Novocomensis, [before 4 Apr. 1494]. Folio. GW M15642; ISTC ij00620000, and Macrobus, Aurelius Thodosius, *In somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia*. Venice: [Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 29 June 1492. Folio. GW M19707; ISTC im00012000; BSB Ink I-671,4 and BSB-Ink M-4.

²⁷ Proctor, “Ulrich von Ellenbogen”, 163-79.

²⁸ Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. [Cologne: Ulrich Zel, about 1471]. 4°. GW 6884; ISTC ic00564000. Ellenbog purchased this copy in 1474.

²⁹ AugStSB, shelf mark 4° Ink 219. Many have purchase inscriptions dated 1474.

³⁰ Oates, *Catalogue of XVth Century Books in Cambridge University Library*, nos. 128, 901, 903, 915 and 919.

Although Ellenbog wrote in his books and usually dated his purchases, he rarely noted the price he had paid for his books. Only one has a price, a chancery folio of 252 leaves that cost 2 ren[ish] fl[orins]: Donatus', *Commentarius in Terentii*, printed by Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg in 1473.³¹ He left his collection to one of his sons, Nikolaus, who became prior of the abbey at Ottoheuren. Nikolaus was, like his father, a humanist and in correspondence with other humanists, such as Ludwig Han and Dr Jakob Stopel in Memmingen, Johannes Reuchlin in Basel, Erasmus in Rotterdam and Konrad Peutinger (husband of Margarethe Peutinger, below) in Augsburg.³² Ulrich also wrote two tracts about the plague, both of which were printed by Memmingen printer Albrecht Kunne.³³

Dr Johann Wessbach (d. 1507) was a canon lawyer from Memmingen and a citizen of Ulm from 1473. He was a donor to Buxheim of both printed books and manuscripts. There are 13 printed books with his provenance, printed between 1472 and 1500, all except two of them theological. None have prices or dates of purchase.

Another canon lawyer was also Memmingen born, Dr Thomas Dorniberg (1440-1497), friend since student days of Ulrich Ellenbog, and author of the first printed index for a book in 1473.³⁴ Other Memmingen authors were Ulrich Ellenbog, mentioned above; Ludwig Han, preceptor of the *Heiligeist* order, who wrote *Margarita animae*, printed in 1512 by Kunne, and three of whose books are now in Memmingen Stadtbibliothek with his (slightly later, after 1500) provenance; and Dr Jakob Stopel (d. 1535), who became the city doctor after Ellenbog, a humanist and whose two books, *Die außlegung auff die iij sunnen* and *Repertorium in formam alphabeticam* were also printed by Kunne in 1514 and 1519.³⁵

Printer Günther Zainer (d. 1478) from Augsburg gave at least eight manuscripts to Buxheim plus two copies each of many of his printed books.³⁶

31 Donatus, Aelius, *Commentarius in Terentii Comoedias*. [Strasbourg: The R-printer (Adolf Rusch?), not after 1473]. Folio. GW 9037; ISTC id00354000 - now in the Huntington Library, California.

32 Ellenbogen, *Briefwechsel*.

33 Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Instruction wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1494. 4°. GW 9287; ISTC ie00038000; Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Ordnung wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, [about 1494-95]. 4°. GW 9288; ISTC ie00038100.

34 Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologicæ veritatis*. With table by Thomas Dorniberg. [Speyer: Printer of the 'Gesta Christi', after 23 Aug 1473]. Folio. GW 597; ISTC ia00230000.

35 Jakob Stopel, *Die Außlegung Jakob Stoppels*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1514. 4°. VD16 S 9281; and Jakob Stopel, *Repertorium in Formam Alphabeticam*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1519. 4°. VD16 S 9282. Cf. also Kießling, *Die Geschichte des Stadt Memmingen*, 224.

36 Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 99 fn. 13; from Ruf ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 81-101.

There is very little evidence of Memmingen merchants purchasing books, let alone collecting them, although they may have purchased and handed them down through their families. The widow of Augsburg humanist and merchant, Jörg Grossenbrot, however, donated a five-volume Bible to Buxheim in his name after his death.³⁷ Johann Hütter, from a Memmingen merchant family had his coat of arms on one book, printed by Günther Zainer and now in the BSB in Munich. As an example of Hütter's further interest in books, he also gave a loan of 3,000 florins to printer Johann Zainer in Ulm, in 1487, to be repaid at ten guilders a quarter.³⁸ A further merchant link comes with another of the early humanists, Margarethe Peutingering (1481-1552). She was born in Memmingen, daughter of Anton Welser and Katarina Vöhlin, both from merchant families. She was married to Konrad Peutingering, from an Augsburg family in 1499 when she was 18. She had been well educated and was in correspondence with other humanists such as Erasmus, and Martin Luther was a frequent visitor to their Augsburg home. She wrote a book about numismatics.³⁹ Books were a large part of her life and, although none seem to have survived with her provenance, there are over 200 printed books in Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek with her husband's provenance.

Not all the book owners were male, and the sisters of the *Franziskanerkloster* in Memmingen owned two books, both printed in German - one was Hartman Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* and the other, by Heinrich Suso, *Das Buch genannt Seuse*, printed by Anton Sorg, Augsburg in 1482; both are proudly inscribed that they belonged to the sisters.⁴⁰

There are also a number of provenance inscriptions that have so far proved impossible to unravel.

37 *Biblia latina cum glossa*. Basel: Johann Froben and Johann Petri, de Langendorff, 1 Dec 1498. Folio. GW 4284; ISTC ib00609000. Now in the General Theological Seminary, New York. With thanks to Paul Needham's IPI.

38 Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten*, 24.

39 Düring, "Margarethe Peutingering", 138-9.

40 Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum* [German] *Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 23 Dec. 1493. Folio. GW M40796; ISTC is00309000 and Suso, Henricus, *Das Buch gennant Seuse* [German]. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 19 Apr. 1482. Folio. GW M44616; ISTC is00871000 - the latter has the inscription *Diis büch hat uns unßer wirdige müter und schwestern zu memmingen geben das man alhie got auch für ly hüt, wir hands mit uns herbracht*.

Table 2 Showing main Memmingen book owners from provenance inscriptions

book owner	number of books	printed date range	occupation of owner
Buxheim Abbey	122		religious order
Hilprand Brandenburg	101	1460-1497	canon lawyer
Petrus Mitte de Caprariis	51	1467-1479	canon lawyer
Ulrich Ellenbogen	40	1472-1494	doctor
Augustiner Eremiten	22	1474-1497	religious order
Heiliggeist	20	1475-1500	religious order
Irsee Abbey	19	1469-1496	religious order
Jacob Matzenberger	19	1483-1498	plebanus, Frauenkirche
Johann Tieffentaler	13	1481-1499	Cappelanus, Frauenkirche
Johann Wesspach	13	1472-1500	canon lawyer
Johannes Fastnacht	9	1477-1488	prior, Augustinereremiten
Jörg Bechter	6	1489-1497	
Thomas Knod	6	1472-1480	Spittalmeister, Heiliggeist
Johannes Wilhalm	4	1479-1481	priest
Franziskanerinnenkloster	3	1475-1493	religious order
Ludwig Han	3	1488-1517	rector/author
Cristiani Balitoris	2	1474-1480	
Sigismund Toppler	2	1477-1482	Presbyter
Christian Geiger	2	1492-1494	Priest, Heiliggeist
Jörg Hütter	1	1473	merchant
Eustachius Funck	1	1485	priest, Rettenbach
Johannes Wolff	1	1504	Spitalmeister, Heiliggeist

3 Book Production

Memmingen was not only a city of book buyers, but was also a place where all aspects of book production were carried out. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century the writing and printing of books, papermaking, bookbinding, and the rubricating and illuminating, and selling of books were firmly established.

3.1 Manuscripts and Printed Books

There is evidence in the Antonierhaus accounts through the 1450s and 1460s of Petrus Mitte commissioning manuscripts to be written for him. Not all were written in Memmingen but many were, and Adalbert Mischlewski lists many of the Memmingen craftsmen; the scribes, rubricators and illuminators working for Mitte, drawn

from information in the Antonierhaus account books.⁴¹ These included the schoolmaster Jakob Waldner and the priest and organist Johannes Hummel, who copied part three of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica*,⁴² as well as the teacher Jodocus Toubel.⁴³ Jakobus Keller was the scribe, as well as rubricator and illuminator for Jordanus' *Sermones*, written in 1458,⁴⁴ and Jakob Rieschz, was paid in 1458 for writing the text of *Liber moralia*, for the cost of the skins, for binding and for rubricating.⁴⁵ Beyond Memmingen, Mitte used Wolricus Hornen from Kempten who wrote a large three-volume Bible and a Breviary for him [fig. 2].⁴⁶ Another craftsman from Kempten, the priest Ulrich Schenk, was an illuminator.⁴⁷ Mitte bought parchment from the Memmingen parchment maker Joss⁴⁸ as well as from the master parchment maker, Joseph, in Ulm⁴⁹ and from Hans Berler in Kempten.⁵⁰

A little more information about Memmingen craftsmen appears in the next decade with printed books. In 1475 Mitte paid Georio Ramsawer for rubricating, illuminating and binding two of the books he had purchased, and the binding of one was finished with the binding tools of the Memmingen bookbinding workshop Kyriss 176.⁵¹ Georio Ramsawer may have been a binder at Kyriss 176 [fig. 3].⁵²

The circumstances that encouraged printer Albrecht Kunne to come to Memmingen from Trent in 1478 are not known. Victor Scholderer suggests that Mitte and the Antonierhaus may have been responsible.⁵³ Another suggestion comes from Dieter Saam who makes a strong case for Ulrich Ellenbog, who, with his extensive library and strong interest in the printing press in Augsburg, may have provided

41 Mischlewski, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antonierordens*, 330-1. Also MMStadtA D 244/2, 74v.

42 MMStadtA D 244/2, 27, 34v, 75v.

43 MMStadtA D 244/2, 58v.

44 MMStadtA D 244/2, 26r and 35r record the various payments to Keller when working on this edition. The manuscript is now in Augsburg SStB., Cod II. 2° 271b.

45 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 115.

46 Mischlewski, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antonierordens*, 332.

47 MMStadtA D 244/2, 35v.

48 MMStadtA D 244/2, 21, 52v.

49 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 110. Sti 244/2, 109v.

50 MMStadtA D 242/2, 106v.

51 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1474]. Folio. GW M11185; ISTC ij00082000, MMStadtB shelf mark 3.343 and Gratianus, *Decretum*. Basel: Bernhard Richel, 10 June 1476. Folio. GW 11356; ISTC ig00365000. MMSadtB shelf mark 3.402, both with Mitte's provenance inscriptions.

52 Samma, "Katalog", 29, states that Ramsawer was a *Benefiziat* at the Antonier chapel from 1479-1518.

53 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 199.

either the intellectual and/or financial encouragement to bring Kunne to the town.⁵⁴ Kunne was never a large printing house, and the majority of his publications were quite small; over half of them were quartos, and another third were single-sheet broadsides.⁵⁵

However, Kunne was very much a part of the burgeoning scholarly network in Memmingen at the end of the fifteenth century. His books were purchased by local buyers such as Jörg Bechter, Alexander Mayr, in the 16th century, and Dr Johann Wessbach, and copies of some of his editions were in the library at Buxheim. Also, as mentioned above, Kunne printed for some local authors, and printed the bookplates for the books donated by Hilprand Brandenburg to Buxheim.

Apart from the authors who were book buyers, and whose books have provenance inscriptions as discussed above, Kunne also printed for other scholars, from Memmingen and from nearby towns. Saam describes them and their influence on Memmingen's early printing.⁵⁶ One such, Br. Hans Mickel from Buxheim translated Kunne's 1489 Latin edition of *Alphabetum divini amoris* into German for a second edition in 1493, the first German-language text from the Carthusian order to be in print.⁵⁷ Another scholar whose work Kunne printed was Johann Tallat/Tollat von Vochenberg alias Johannes Birk, a teacher at the Latin school in Kempten. Kunne printed three editions of his *Büchlein der Arznei* in 1497 and 1498.⁵⁸ Saam suggests that Tallat could also be the author of Kunne's *Ars rhetorica*.⁵⁹ The printer also worked with Michael Christan, head of the *Kreuzkappelle* in Bernrain, Switzerland, who was corrector and editor of Kunne's edition of Pius II's *In Europam* printed in 1491.⁶⁰ Apart from a short tract printed in 1527 with Kunne's type, there was no press in Memmingen until the 18th century.⁶¹

54 Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 89-91.

55 Bolton, "A Print Run", 141-9.

56 Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 92-6.

57 *Alphabetum divini amoris* [Latin]. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1489. 4°. GW 1560; ISTC ia00527000, and *Alphabetum divini amoris* [German] *Das abc das götlichen liebi*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1493. 4°. GW 1567; ISTC ia00532000. Cf. also Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 96.

58 Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1497. 4°. GW M14792; ISTC it00384300; Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14793; ISTC it00384400; and Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14791; ISTC it00384410.

59 Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 94. *Ars rhetorica pro iuvenum informatione*. Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne, about 1490-95]. 4°. GW 2671; ISTC ia01139500.

60 Saam 95. Pius II, Pont. Max. *In Europam*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne [not after Mar.1491]. 4°. GW M33717; ISTC ip00727000.

61 Jakob Stopel, *Ain tract über die geburt der Mensthen*. Memmingen: Bernhard Schad, 1527. 4°. VD16 ZV 30227. But perhaps printed by Dr Stopel, cf. Möncke, "Ein Memminger Druck von 1527", 55-9.

3.2 Papermaking

The introduction of paper to Europe was also an important part of the printing revolution. Although the price of the paper was the highest cost of a printed book, books printed on paper were considerably cheaper than a manuscript, written either on paper or on parchment.⁶²

The first paper mill in Memmingen was a corn mill that was converted by Ulrich Frey at *Haienbach*, as a private enterprise in 1478, and run by two (unnamed) papermakers.⁶³ Victor Scholderer suggests that Petrus Mitte and/or the Antonierhaus may also have had an interest in establishing this papermaking enterprise.⁶⁴ Four years later a new, purpose-built, paper mill was built by the town, the *Riedmühle*. It had thirty-six stamping hammers, a workshop and all the necessary equipment. Peter Fort was the papermaker, and paid 20 rhenish guilders a year for a 20 year lease.⁶⁵ In 1485 the rent was increased to 30 guilders a year, payable directly to the Hospitallers who had helped finance the new building. In 1493 Fort died and his widow returned the mill back to the Hospital.⁶⁶

Piccard states that the full extent of Kunne's use of Memmingen paper is not known, and the majority of Kunne's books do not show a watermark.⁶⁷ However, Kunne did use Memmingen paper to print his edition of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum* [ir00268000] in 1482, and also in a quarto edition Antoninus Florentinus' *Confessionale*, printed in 1483 [ia00811000] [fig. 4]. Interestingly, despite the town's investment in the new mill, some of their account books show that in 1479 and in 1488 the town purchased a number of reams of paper from Ravensburg.⁶⁸

3.3 Bookbinding

Memmingen has been identified with at least six binderies according to the EBDB records that cover the period from 1450 to after 1500. They are listed below, with both their Kyriss workshop and their EBDB workshop numbers. So far there are no records of Memmingen bindings on books printed before 1470, although it is likely that there

62 Febvre, Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 114.

63 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 43.

64 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 198.

65 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 44. Also MMStadtA D18.3.

66 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 198. Scholderer states that the 'Hospital' involved was the Antonierhaus.

67 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 65.

68 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 45.

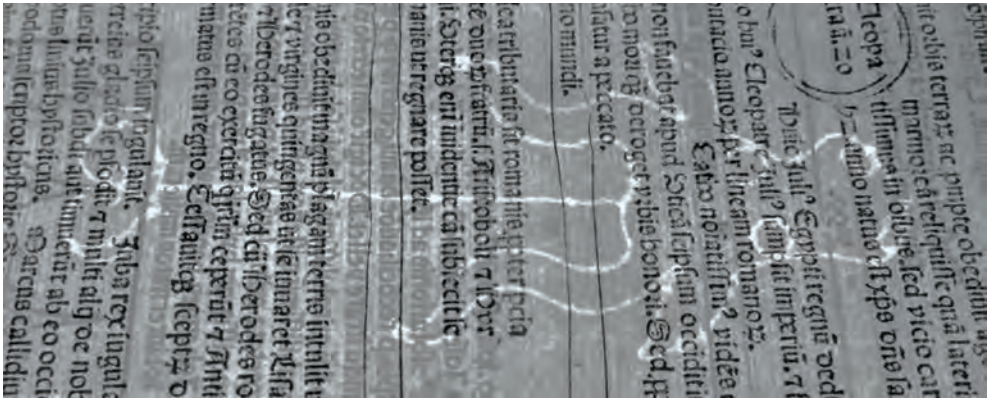


Figure 4 A Memmingen watermark in use between 1482 and 1493, c. 112 x 42 mm, from *Fasciculus Temporum* (MMStadtB shelfmark 3.149)

were binders working before that date – one of Petrus Mitte’s manuscripts (unfortunately undated) has a Memmingen binding.⁶⁹ Apart from the 46 bindings found in the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek, currently around 110 further Memmingen bindings have been identified in other incunable collections throughout the world, and there are probably more to be found.⁷⁰ The list at table 3 includes the Stadtbibliothek shelf marks of copies of printed books discovered so far that were bound in Memmingen.

Table 3 Memmingen binding workshops, with approximate dates and number of tools. The earliest dates are from earliest date of printed book in a particular workshops’ binding

Kyriss number	EBDB workshop number	approx. dates of operation	number of tools	shelf marks of bindings in MStB
K109 - Salve Meister	w000037	1473-1491	51	3.33; 3.104; 3.109; 3.146; 3.148; 3.185; 3.247; 3.255; 3.256; 3.273; 3.347; 3.356; 3.359; 3.369; 3.374; 3.378; 3.403; 3.411; 3.424
K110 - Wappen rund	w000143	1480-1517	30	3,200; 3,230; 3,278; 3,294; 3,305; 3,320; 3,366; 3,379; 3,383; 3,392

⁶⁹ MMStadtB 2° Cod 2,7.

⁷⁰ Information from various printed catalogues and from the regularly updated EBDB.

K111 - Knoten 1	w000142	1479-1516	6	
K176 - Gänseblume 1	w000173	1472-1506	19	3,38; 3,121; 3,149; 3,153; 3.164; 3,241; 3,245; 3,270; 3,343; 3,366; 3.392; 3,402; 3.402; 3,406; 3,409; 3,410; 3,412
K000 - Wilhalmi Meister	w002441	1476-1481	19 (6 the same as K 176)	
l.b.	w003150	1491	6	

Also included are the names of two craftsmen who had been involved with three of the books. Binder, rubricator and illuminator Georio Ramsawer (as mentioned above) with Petrus Mitte's 1476 provenance inscription in Gratianus', *Decretum*, and in 1475 in Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, and there is also an inscription on the colophon page of Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale* by Martino Hüber, rubricator and scriptor, in 1479 - this copy had been bound at workshop Kyriss 109.⁷¹

Two-thirds of the total 156 Memmingen bound books do not have any provenance, so it is difficult to say how and why they came to be bound in Memmingen. Only eight of the books were printed in Memmingen, whereas 26 of them were printed in Basel, 22 in Strasbourg 20 from Venice and 14 from Nuremberg, with the rest in single figures coming from 14 different towns, in Italy, France and Germany. There are 50 books with provenance inscriptions and a Memmingen link with their owner including 10 that came from Irsee Abbey, perhaps once belonging to Petrus Mitte. Only 13 of the Memmingen-bound books with Memmingen provenance are in the Stadtbibliothek today. The provenance locations beyond Memmingen are almost all fairly close such as Augsburg and Weissenau c. 70 km away, and some from slightly further away such as Ingolstadt, Indersdorf and Mergentheim and Constance - all places in southern Germany.

⁷¹ Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*. [Augsburg: St Ulrich and Afra]. Folio. GW M50570; ISTC iv00284000, shelf mark MMStadtB 3.356.

4 The Book Trade

4.1 From Where Did the Book Buyers Buy their Books?

There is evidence that Petrus Mitte bought direct from the printer, as with his first purchases of printed books that he bought from printers Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome when he was there in 1468, as mentioned above. He may also have purchased other books direct from other printers when he was travelling. Hilprand Brandenburg purchased some of his first printed books direct from printer Johann Mentelin, but also from Mentelin's travelling book agents and those of Peter Schöffer.⁷² As the numbers of printers and books increased, so did the trade in books, using the existing commercial channels of travelling salesmen, and trade fairs, such as the 14-day fair at Nördlingen, the closest fair to Memmingen at only 120 km away.

Although not mentioning Memmingen, Peter Drach's account book from the 1480s for his bookselling business in Speyer gives a good idea of the book trade at that time. He lists his use of carters and agents, transporting quantities of books to many towns in southern Germany.⁷³ One example shows that in June 1484, using his carter in Augsburg, Drach sent books he had purchased there to the fair in Nördlingen; the unsold stock later went on to Frankfurt for the Autumn fair there.⁷⁴ Petrus Mitte also had good deals with local carters to Nördlingen and regularly purchased household articles and food from the fair.⁷⁵ Books may also have been on his Nördlingen shopping list.

Memmingen book buyers may also have been able to purchase books locally, as suggested by a list that had been printed by Kunne of almost 200 titles for sale around the year 1500.⁷⁶ Kunne may have printed the list for another bookseller, but it may also be a list of the books he was able to provide. A strip remains, in MunichBSB, and a full sheet of the text in BerlinSB that gives some idea of the range of titles, covering theology, legal matters, medical subjects, astron-

⁷² Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101, gives greater details of Hilprand Brandenburg's early book purchases.

⁷³ Geldner, "Das Rechnungsbuch des Peter Drach", lists numerous examples of books being shipped to and from Speyer and to and from Reutlingen, Cologne, Nördlingen and Leipzig, by various carters (65/CCxxiiij). Drach was dealing, amongst others, with booksellers in Nuremberg and Tauberbischofsheim, and a publisher in Leipzig.

⁷⁴ Geldner, "Das Rechnungsbuch des Peter Drach", 78/CCxxxj-81/CCxxxij. Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 62, also describes a carter from Memmingen travelling with 8 horses and goods to Nördlingen in 1465.

⁷⁵ Mischlewski, "Beobachtungen des Memminger Antonierhauses", 192.

⁷⁶ *Libri venales Venetiis, Nurebergae et Basiliae impressi*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, after 1500]. Bdsde. GW 5678; ISTC ik00044500. Both copies, in Munich BSB and Berlin SB, are digitally available.

omy, the classics and almanacs. The heading, in red, states that the books had come from Venice, Nuremberg and Basel, which correlates well with the printing places having the highest number of books that were bound in Memmingen (see § 3.3 Bookbinding).

The majority of Memmingen book buyers seem to have purchased books that had been printed fairly locally. Almost 77% of the 460 books were printed in Germany, with the majority of these coming from Strasbourg at 21%, and Augsburg at 17%, followed by Basel and Cologne both at 12%. 10% of the books were printed in Nuremberg, and Memmingen, Ulm and Reutlingen each made up another 6%, with another eight towns each making smaller contributions.

20% of the total purchased books came from Italy with 68% of these coming from Venice. Rome and Padua provided 10% each, with five other towns making up the remaining 12%.

Only 3% of the books purchased came from France and the Low Countries, with 53% of this group being printed in Paris, 30% in Lyon and the last 15% (two editions) being printed in Louvain.

Honemann made a similar analysis with the books from the Buxheim collection, and found very similar results. So, although the existence of the large number of books at Buxheim might be thought to affect the statistics on Memmingen book owners, the Buxheim statistics proved to be very close, with 80% of their books printed in Germany, and 18% of these printed in Augsburg.⁷⁷

The distance between places of production and places of purchase might be thought to have been a factor but this does not seem to have been the case. The same number of books came from Rome, over 900 km distant, as from Ulm, which was in effect just up the road, 60 km away.

4.2 The Subject Matter of Purchased Books

The subject matter of the books was also very similar between the editions in the Buxheim collection and those with Memmingen owners. Unsurprisingly, with a majority of the owners being theologians, theology was the most popular subject at 70%, followed by Canon Law at 11%, Bibles, Breviaries and Psalters, 20%, with the remaining 17% being made up of humanist literature, classics, grammars, geographical and medical books.

⁷⁷ Honemann, "The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal", 174-5. It is difficult to be exact with these figures as Honemann (understandably) lumped the final 69 books together stating that they came from 26 different places, without identifying them.

4.3 The Prices Paid for Printed Books

Comparing prices between different currencies and countries is difficult. The rhenish florin and pound heller were currencies used in the Germanic states. Petrus Mitte stated in his provenance inscription of 1468 that his costs of 16 ducats (paid in Rome) equalled 20 rhenish florins, which gives a useful, contemporary conversion.⁷⁸

1 rhenish florin = 20 grosschen/schilling = 240 pfennig
1 papal ducat = 10 grossi⁷⁹ (= 1.20 rhenish florin)
1 pound heller = 20 schillings = 240 pfennig

Only a few of the Memmingen printed books have prices and most of these prices come from Petrus Mitte. By comparing the prices he paid with other records of book prices it is possible to see that Mitte's expenditure was fairly representative. For example, he paid a total of 14 rhenish florins in 1474 for the purchase of Rainerius de Pisa's two-volume *Pantheologia*.⁸⁰ Also in 1474 an Ulm purchaser of the same edition, now in Ulm Stadtbibliothek, paid 12 florins for the two volumes plus 24 grosschen for rubricating and 22 grosschen for binding, totalling 14 florins 6 grosschen.⁸¹ The two prices are very close.

Other comparisons can be made with Hartmann Schedel's book list.⁸² Bringing the Memmingen prices together to compare with those from Schedel begins to show a cost for books by physical size and the number of pages (see table 4). This kind of analysis was also explored by Martin Davies, where he further explores the costs of the number of leaves per ducat.⁸³

78 Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000 in the British Library. Cf. also Davies, "Two Book-lists of Sweynheym and Pannartz", 47.

79 Davies, "Two Book-lists of Sweynheym and Pannartz", 35 fn. 49.

80 Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474. Folio. GW M36921; ISTC ir00006000, AugSStB 2^a Ink 333 I/II.

81 Breitenbuch, *Inkunabeln der Stadtbibliothek Ulm*, 238.

82 Hartmann Schedel's price list is in the BSB, and reproduced in Burger, *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15 Jahrhunderts*, no. 6.

83 Davies, "Two Book-lists", 52 and 53.

Table 4 Book prices paid by Memmingen buyers, listed by format and number of pages and compared with prices from Hartmann Schedel's list of 1470

format	number of leaves	price paid	purchaser	Hartmann Schedel's price	date of purchase
octavo	28	9 grosschen	J Bechter		after 1500
quarto	28	3 florin	J Bechter		1521?
	78	5 fl.	PMdeC		1468
	106			1 ducat	1470
	110	5 fl.	PMdeC	19 grossi	1468-1470
	150	12 fl. +	PMdeC	16 grossi	1468-1470
	246	4 fl.	PMdeC		1468
chancery folio	58	2 fl.	PMdeC		
	76	1 rh. fl.	PMdeC		
	252	2 fl.	U Ellenbog		1473
	312	1 fl.	E Funck		1487
	954	3 fl.	PMdeC		
median folio	135	11 fl.	PMdeC		n.d.
royal folio	162	4 fl.		5 ducats	1470
	168	4 fl.	PMdeC	2 1/2 ducats	
	178	4 fl.	PMdeC	3 ducats	
	242			4 ducats	1470
	246	3fl.	PMdeC		1475
	250			3 ducats	1470
	274			5 ducats	1470
	412			7 ducats	1470
	636	16 rh. fl.	PMdeC	10 ducats	1470
	993	14 fl.	PMdeC		1474
	993	14 fl. 6 gr	UlmStB		1474
imperial folio	276	9 1/2 fl.	J Tieffentaler		after 1491
	407	3 fl.	PMdeC		
	413	8 fl.	PMdeC		1476

It is not always obvious if the price includes binding, but, where the price is considerably more than that on Schedel's book list, binding and/or rubricating and illuminating are most likely part of the total cost.

4.4 Prices of Other Commodities

Prices of everyday commodities fluctuated through the second half of the fifteenth century, and Schorer's *Chronik* of the town gives some values. In 1459 a pair of trousers cost one florin.⁸⁴ In 1484 a *Viertel* of apples cost between 4 and 6 *pfennig*.⁸⁵ In 1490 a day's labour earned 3 *schilling* and a hen cost 10 *pfennig*, as did 100 eggs.⁸⁶ The annual rent of the paper mill in 1482 was 20 florins, the same as a two-volume printed book, including the binding, rubrication and transport from Rome to Memmingen (although some years earlier in 1468).⁸⁷ A *Maß* of wine varied between three and six *pfennig* from the 1450s to the 1490s, although Neckar wine cost 14 *pfennig* in 1495, and a *Malter* of grain fluctuated between 1 pound 5 *schilling* heller and 4 pound 15 *schilling* heller over this period.⁸⁸ Interestingly in 1488 the town raised almost 2,000 pound heller from the sale of indulgences.⁸⁹

There are only a few manuscripts, both dated and with prices, that Mitte purchased. They were not all commissioned and some were bought secondhand. He paid 2 1/2 florins for a secondhand manuscript of 241 leaves, written at the end of the fourteenth century.⁹⁰ A mid-fifteenth century copy of Cicero's *Rhetorica nova* cost him 3 florins for 171 leaves of paper and parchment in 1447.⁹¹ Closer in time to printed books was a 223-page, approximately royal folio size, manuscript of Jordanus de Quedlinberg, written in 1457, which cost 11 rhenish florins,⁹² and a 254-page, royal folio size, Duranti (before 1460), which cost 8 rhenish florins.⁹³ The most expensive manuscript was the large, three-volume illuminated Bible (mentioned above), written between 1458 and 1461, which cost a high total of 196 pound heller (equal to 112 rhenish florins).⁹⁴

The earliest prices paid for printed books in this Memmingen collection were in 1468; 246 pages of a quarto-size Cicero for 4 florins, and the same price being paid for a different, 110-page, Cicero edition. Five years later in 1473 Ellenbog paid two rhenish florins for a

⁸⁴ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 12.

⁸⁵ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 43.

⁸⁶ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 14.

⁸⁷ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 42.

⁸⁸ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 45 and 50.

⁸⁹ Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 47.

⁹⁰ Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 194.

⁹¹ Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 22.

⁹² Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 271a.

⁹³ Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 282.

⁹⁴ Mischlewski, "Beobachtungen", 193. MStA Sti 244/2, 27r.

252-leaf, chancery folio size, Donatus edition. It is difficult to compare the costs of manuscripts and printed books because there are so few examples. It is also difficult to compare prices of books to the living costs throughout the period. However the prices are given here for comparison with others that may be found in other towns. It seems that, although printed books may have been slightly cheaper in the early years, they were still expensive when compared to everyday costs of living.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the evidence from provenance inscriptions with a Memmingen link, together with some information from the Antonerhaus account books, shows the growth of book ownership from the 1450s to the 1500s. It is possible to track the purchasing and/or commissioning of manuscripts, by senior heads of the religious houses, to the purchasing of printed books, in increasing numbers, by them and other theologians, doctors, lawyers, authors, humanist scholars, and one or two merchants.

Bookbuyers from the 1470s attracted other book-connected trades, such as papermaking, printing and bookbinding, which in turn brought more scholars into the network, with Kunne printing some of their texts. The book buyers/owners were not in isolation – they were in contact with each other and also in correspondence with other like-minded people further afield; part of the growing intellectual humanist movement that was changing people’s thinking. Although the sixteenth century is not within the remit of this paper, many of the Memmingen people who appear towards the end of the 15th century also appear in the 16th. It is possible that Memmingen’s scholarly book network from the late 15th century onwards helped to lay the ground work for the events of the first quarter of the 16th century, with the Reformation and the Peasant’s Revolt that started in Memmingen.

Abbreviations

- AugStSB = Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
BL = British Library
BMC = *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*. London, 1908-2014
BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CERL = *Consortium of European Research Libraries* (<https://www.cerl.org>)
CUL = Oates, J.C.T. *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-century Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge*. Cambridge (1954)
EBDB = *Einbanddatenbank*, an online database collection showing incunable bindings and tools based on the researches of Ernst Kyriss. Still growing (<https://www.hist-einband.de>)
IPI = *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum*, a collection made by Paul Needham of over 32,000 entries of names and institutions who owned incunabula, now being assimilated into MEI and searchable through CERL or https://data.cerl.org/ipi/_search
Kyriss/ K = see EBDB
MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula*, database searchable through CERL (see above)
MMStadtA = Memmingen Stadtarchiv
MMStadtB = Memmingen Stadtbibliothek
OAB = Ottobeuren Abtei Bibliothek
VD16 = Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts

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⁹⁵ My thanks to Christoph Engelhard, archivist at the Memmingen Stadtarchiv, for allowing me to stalk the stacks and to reproduce all the images here, and for supplying me with a copy of Franz Samma's thesis.

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Sellers and Buyers of the Lyon Book Market in the Late 15th Century

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Abstract Without a university or parliament, Lyon became an important centre of book production and distribution over the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In the course of these years, favourable economic conditions with the development of a fourth annual fair and elaborate banking services, turned the provincial merchant town into a European marketplace. Constant movement of people, goods, and money, as well as a ten-year tax exemption for newcomers to the printing business, attracted printers and booksellers who placed Lyon at the heart of networks operating near and far. Contemporary material evidence from the buyers' side documents the markets targeted by the Lyon book merchants during this key period, some of their strategies, and skills at time and distance management. It also suggests how, in their spheres of influence, the development of the book trade could have played a part in the evolution of urban and rural society. With little archival evidence at hand, we need to reassess the larger organisation of the Lyon book trade in the international landscape and the part played by the importation of books. A mapping of available data, and observations on bindings and provenance, is helping to define the role of the city in the circulation of books, printed locally or elsewhere, throughout France.

Keywords 15th century. Bookbinding. Bookselling. Book trade. Road infrastructure. Commercial strategies. Fairs. Prices. Printing. Transport.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Avignon, Toulouse, and the Early Lyon Book Trade. – 3 A Commercial Crossroad. – 4 Fairs, Transport, and the Distribution of Books. – 5 Lyon Bindings on Local and Foreign Books, as Evidence for the Organisation of the Book Trade. – 5.1 Printed Fragments. – 5.2 Blind-Tooled Covers on Cardboard or Wooden Boards.



1 Introduction

The substantial historiography of the book in Lyon has traditionally emphasised the concept of the book as merchandise on account of the city's commercial expansion and the reputation of its fairs during the Renaissance.¹ Nevertheless, there is limited documentary evidence shedding light on the early book trade in Lyon itself. As a consequence, many studies have relied upon the analysis of its large printed production and the originality of its publishing, in order to understand how the provincial merchant town evolved into a major centre of the book in late fifteenth-century France. By studying contemporary material evidence in the French collections of incunabula, the article offers new perspectives on the paths of book circulation and the role played by Lyon and its fairs as a hub of book selling at the turn of the century.

2 Avignon, Toulouse, and the Early Lyon Book Trade

Two essential documents from Avignon and Toulouse provide evidence of the part played by the 'city on the Rhône' in the broader organisation of the book trade in the 1470s. One of them records the sale in March 1478 by Barthélemy Buyer,² the merchant who had introduced printing in Lyon a few years before, of a dozen editions in sixty-eight volumes, to the Avignon booksellers Alain and Joachim de Rome. Seven editions were printed for Buyer by Guillaume Le Roy or by newly arrived German printers like Martin Huss or Johann Siber. These books, in French, were sold bound and illuminated, which explains the somewhat high price of nine and a half florins for each of the three copies of the *Légende dorée*. The others were law books, eight editions which Buyer had to purchase from other places, mostly in Italy. He sold them unbound for thirty-five florins, a fifth of the total sum.³

A year before, Lyonnaise merchants were cited, along with other book merchants, in the complaints of the illuminators of Toulouse coping with the invasion of printed books which, they said, had already been destroying their business for several years.⁴ The considerable output of printed books at the time in Germany and Italy

¹ Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*; Febvre, Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, 165-89, 318-24.

² The son of a rich bourgeois who was also a law graduate, Buyer was linked to the cloth trade through his mother's family; Febvre, Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, 177-9; Perrat, *Barthélemy Buyer et les débuts de l'imprimerie*, 16, 28, 73-4, 79-80.

³ Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie*, 1: 130-2; 3: 61-2.

⁴ Claudin, *Les enlumineurs, les relieurs, les libraires et les imprimeurs de Toulouse*, 6-9, 13-15.

explains why imported German and Italian imprints seemed available in abundance in Toulouse or in Avignon.⁵ The past twenty years have seen the publication of prominent studies which add a new perspective to the information extracted by book historians from well-known sources, like the correspondence of the Basel printer Johann Amerbach.⁶ First, Lotte Hellinga's close examination of material evidence in the books produced by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz sheds unprecedented light on the development of his marketing techniques in the 1460s, including the binding and decoration, in his own premises, of books produced in other cities, as well as his own production. These strategies demonstrate both his capacity to adapt and his knowledge of the European mercantile sector, which lay behind the success of his enterprise.⁷ Another remarkable study, Miguel Angel Pallarés Jiménez's exploration of an impressive quantity of archival documents on the networks of Paul Hurus from Constance, reveals how he integrated his book printing and selling businesses into the international trade, giving clues about the massive importations of foreign books into Spain in the last decade of the century.⁸ Both studies are of great help in assessing the place occupied by Lyon in the larger landscape of the trade. They also tend to redefine the value of Buyer's Avignon sale as a prototype of how the Lyon book enterprise must have developed, with a certain proportion of books imported from elsewhere. While assuming that the Lyon book merchant was constantly trying to produce more editions in his native city, we might wonder if he had not already appreciated the benefit of selling books imported from Italy, where he had strong business connections, or from Basel through his new partners.⁹ It would have added a substantial profit to the sale of his own production. Because of Lyon's geographical position, it is not unlikely that printed books for sale had arrived in transit in the city before Lyon saw the installation of its first printing press.

⁵ Early inventories and records of transactions in Avignon, published by Pansier (3: 56-98), reflect the common use of printed books as payment of debts or as security deposits, and provide important information about the city's book-related activities, like documents on booksellers, the content of a bindery or prices of rubrication. Because of its past as Papal court and its active university, the city offered the services needed by a community of scholars. It also offered easy access for importing books from Italy.

⁶ Hartmann, Jenny, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 1.

⁷ Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit*, 89-125.

⁸ Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 8, 90, 525.

⁹ Buyer had also business contacts in Paris, where he had studied liberal arts a few years before, and where his agent, Nicolas Guillebaud, would soon go on to manage an important stock of books; Febvre, Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, 177.

3 A Commercial Crossroad

A strategic location at the junction of major European routes, Lyon then witnessed a great economic expansion tied to the Venetian spice trade.¹⁰ The holding of a fourth annual fair after 1463 marked an important step forward in its prosperity and increased the presence of foreign merchants and bankers in the city. The dynamics generated by this success made Lyon even more attractive for the merchant elites of the surrounding area who shared the same culture and sought an association with the Lyonnais' business model.¹¹ New printers did not pay taxes,¹² a benefit which enticed German, Italian and French craftsmen to move to Lyon. Most settled around the *rue Mercière*, the commercial street, linking the two bridges on the Saône¹³ and the Rhône [fig. 1].



Figure 1 *Plan scénographique de la ville de Lyon*. 1986. Facsimile (detail). 75 × 69 cm. Edited by Jean-Luc Chavent (with the publisher's kind permission), after the original, c. 1550, intaglio engraving, Archives Municipales de Lyon. Legend: 1. Gate du Pont du Rhône. 2. Mercière street. 3. Bridge on the Saône. 4. Saint-Marcel Gate. 5. Gate des Farges

¹⁰ Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 1: 82-6.

¹¹ Rivet, "Les échanges entre Lyon et Le Puy", 21-4.

¹² Printing was not a taxable activity in Lyon before 1485. At that date the consulate suppressed the payment of tax for newcomers to the printing business, for ten more years; Fau et al., "Autour du livre à Lyon", 197.

¹³ The bridge on the Saône joined the financial banking district of the *Change* to the political centre of the city in the Saint-Nizier parish, where the City Council held its meetings and where important merchant families, like the Buyers, lived.

A strategic place for book selling, the street formed a long corridor between the southern gate of the *Pont du Rhône*, the point of access of the 'great trade' with Italy, and the multiple northern routes. With five main gates and many small harbours on the Saône in particular, the city was well equipped as an international hub of commerce, where the regular fairs granted the constant circulation of goods, people, and money. The western toll gate, *Porte des Farges*, on the hill of Fourvière, would become of particular importance for the book trade. The main road to Toulouse began here, used by the companies trading saffron and furs between southern Germany and Spain, via Lyon.¹⁴ Consignments of paper, parchment, and leather from Auvergne entered the city at the same gate. The paper mills of Ambert, in a small valley in the heart of Auvergne, produced the quality paper required for printing. This production, in the hands of a few families, would increase during the last quarter of the fifteenth century to fit the growing needs of Lyon's printing presses so that by 1500 they supplied most of the paper used for printing in the city.¹⁵ Though access was difficult, Ambert still benefited from its proximity to the much travelled roads crossing the *Massif Central*. During the last decades of the fifteenth century, these land roads between Lyon and Toulouse via Saint-Flour or Le Puy-en-Velay, along with the fast flowing Loire river close by, would be the main paths for the exportation of books towards the West and South of France, where the Lyon merchants operated. Major contributions on the Lyon book trade describe at least one hundred and sixty principal agents in the city's book world,¹⁶ and reveal great discrepancies in their property-based level of taxation, between a handful of entrepreneurs providing the finance and many workmen. Although they do not appear in the tax-rolls, a large number of agents must have also filled the other diverse professions which were required by the busy world of the

¹⁴ Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 1: 140-9.

¹⁵ Boy, *Histoire de la papeterie livradoise*, 29, 41-4, 53 documents the association of the papermakers of Ambert with the successful Lyon book merchants, who might have invested in the costly maintenance of the mills and provided the indispensable rags. This partnership opened the markets of southern France to families of papermakers like the Boyssons, soon to become booksellers themselves; Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 1: 104-5, 131, 134 provides an estimate of the paper supply entering Lyon about twenty years later: 459 loads of two bales (to be balanced on the sides of a mule), from Ambert were recorded over nine months of the year 1522-23 at the toll gate *des Farges*, out of a total of 501 loads of paper from various origins which had entered the city. It is not clear however, how much of these supplies consisted of thick paper or cardboard destined for the many manufacturers of playing cards, another booming activity in Lyon at the time.

¹⁶ Fau et al., "Autour du livre à Lyon", 205-7. More can now be found in Krumenacker, *Du manuscrit à l'imprimé*, forthcoming.

city's book trade.¹⁷ Without a university or parliament, Lyon was not a known centre of learning, unlike Toulouse or Avignon. Tradesmen, merchants whose sons were studying law elsewhere, and doctors composed most of the lay public. The city counted also many clerics, and senior clergy, but only a few families or personalities had remarkable libraries. Geared to export from the start, production consisted mostly of medieval compilations, translated into French by local Augustinian monks.¹⁸ A sizeable proportion of editions including bibles, religious books reflecting the preoccupation with salvation, featured abundant illustrations.

This cautious strategy made no attempt at introducing a new spirit in art and literature, but instead established the copying of already existing models as a regular practice.¹⁹ Like texts, and types, many woodblocks from Basel or Germany moved to Lyon or were reproduced there.²⁰ One initiative of Lyon publishing, chivalric romances, planted the seeds from which French popular literature would later flourish.²¹ Books of sermons, law and medical books were another local speciality during the entire period, so an urban clientele of clergy, doctors, and lawyers remained the main target of the Lyon book merchants for several decades.

The structures of the Lyon book trade suggest that the way of doing business was flexible. They reveal multiple short-term partnerships as well as competition, shared housing and costs, multi-faceted activities, a pragmatism and ability to organise and seize opportunities with minimal risk.

17 A note of purchase dated 15 March 1490 by Guillaume Montagnac, later a judge at Le Puy-en-Velay, in his copy of *Biblia latina*, etc. Lyon: Johannes Siber, [after 7 May 1485, about 1488]. Folio. GW 4290; ISTC ib00615000; Le Puy BM, R 3052-53, mentions that while Montagnac acquired the book from Siber's agent Martin Boillon on the busy *rue Mercière*, Siber's presses were located in the house he rented at Saint-Paul, across the Saône; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, *CRI*, 16: 50. This location had turned out to be doubly useful for Siber's business, as his landlord Jehan Thibaud, a doctor, worked as the editor of Siber's medical treatises *Mesue* and *Matthaeus Sylvaticus* in 1478; Fau et al., "Autour du livre à Lyon au XVe et au début du XVIe siècle", 253-4; Mesue, Johannes, *Opera medicinalia*. Ed: Johannes Theobaldus and Marcus de Papia. Lyon: Martin Huss and Johannes Siber, 31 Mar. 1478. Folio and 4°. GW M23033; ISTC im00511500; Sylvaticus, Matthaeus, *Liber pandectarum medicinae*. Ed: Matthaeus Moretus. Lyon: Mathias Huss and Johannes Siber, 27 Apr. 1478. Folio. GW M42127; ISTC is00511500.

18 The production of books for wide distribution in French was one of Lyon's distinguishing characteristics, the number of vernacular books equalling the production of books in Latin in the early years of the trade; Fau et al., "Autour du livre à Lyon", 193-4.

19 Wadsworth, *L Lyons 1473-1503*, 16-41.

20 Siber's *Biblia latina*, for instance (no. 17 above), was entirely copied from Koberger's 1485 edition, text and illustrations: *Biblia latina* etc. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485. Folio. GW 4288; ISTC ib00613000; cf. GW 4290 + note. Davies, "A Tale of Two Aesops", 263-75, provides a detailed analysis of the reproduction of woodcuts in fifteenth-century Lyon editions of Aesop's *Fables*.

21 Mounier, "Les antécédents lyonnais de la Bibliothèque bleue", 4-5.

Diminishing the risks could also explain in part the strategies which lay behind the size of the editions printed in Lyon, once believed to have been issued in large number of copies. This presumption can now be reassessed in the light of studies on Johannes Siber's printing of law books. While many questions remain about the subject, it is clear that Siber's production could never compare, nor compete with the enormous Venetian production, even with the increase in the number of his editions towards the end of the century. Small print runs, followed by republications, might have been one of his strategies to adapt production to the fluctuations of the market and reduce the risks taken.²²

Such adjustments were likely to be one of the reasons behind the success of the Lyon merchants. While France was their first market, Spain and Portugal were always part of the picture, which explains in part the Lyonnais' aggressive marketing in Toulouse, the gate to the Iberian Peninsula. Merchants like Barthélemy Buyer, and his brother Jacques, knew that a more or less permanent stock of books kept in an inn in the city was sufficient, not waiting for a demand but creating the demand in an open market.²³ By maintaining available funds and making wise investments, Barthélemy Buyer died a rich man in 1483. On the contrary, printers in Albi fell victim to such ruthless competition and printing stopped in the city in the early 1480s.²⁴ Likewise, German printers in Toulouse like Henri Mayer, eager to produce beautiful editions on a large scale, were all too familiar with the city's debtors' prison and died in poverty.²⁵

22 Coq, Ornato, *La production des incunables*, 315-22.

23 Claudin, *Les enlumineurs, les relieurs, les libraires*, 9, 22-8. Desbarreaux-Bernard, *Barthélemy Buyer, marchand-libraire et stationnaire à Toulouse*, 232.

24 Desachy, *Incunables albigeois*, 46-7.

25 Cassagne, "Les imprimeurs allemands et leur activité toulousaine", nos. 24-7 describes Henri Mayer's difficulties in reimbursing his debt of 34 *livres tournois* in 1492, for the financial help he had received from the Lyon bookseller Pierre Hongre, for the repair of his types. In November 1494, the printer also had to deposit 700 copies of his Barthomomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* [Spanish]. Tr: Vicente de Burgos. Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, 18 Sept. 1494. Folio. GW 3424; ISTC ib00150000, with the agent of Guillaume Nuisson of Ambert, as security for his debt of 425 *livres tournois*, the price of the 400 reams of *grossi bastardi* paper which he had purchased for this edition. From the *Median* size of the paper (I am grateful to Paul Needham for this indication), it can be assumed that Mayer could have printed a great number of copies, perhaps 1,200, of his Bartholomaeus, a large print run which he could not sell fast enough to allow him to repay his debts, as he probably lacked the sale and distribution networks this ambitious operation would have required.

4 Fairs, Transport, and the Distribution of Books

A key to a successful distribution, the regular fairs,²⁶ each lasting two weeks, provided sophisticated banking services, the exchange, free circulation of money and foreign currencies, and the institution of the *Payements*, organised by the Florentines after each fair.²⁷ Lyon was already known as a centre for the book in the 1480s.²⁸ Paul Hurus, successful both as a printer-bookseller in Zaragoza and as a partner in several German merchant companies, attended the fairs, purchasing equipment for his or others' presses, and bismuth for the fabrication of his types.²⁹ He had good relations with Mathias Huss, whose woodblocks of the *Legenda Aurea*³⁰ he reused in later editions. A multi-faceted businessman, he was exporting furs from Spain to Germany via Lyon as well. Hurus's attendance at the fairs must have allowed him to buy the editions which were in demand in Zaragoza from other workshops around Europe, instead of producing them himself.³¹

The exchange of correspondence between Koberger and Amerbach provides evidence of the growing activity of the Lyon fairs. It shows how, after Frankfurt's fairs, by the end of the century, they had become an important cog in the larger engine of the book trade, providing safe roads and a good alternative for payments.³² When the seventh and last part of his 'Hugo Bible' was finally ready in Basel in 1502, Koberger asked Amerbach to send three hundred copies to his agent at the fair of Lyon.³³ This was business on a large scale: all

²⁶ They were suppressed and reinstated on several occasions, between 1484 and 1494; Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon*, 43-70.

²⁷ Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, 258-93 lists the Medici, Del Bene, Capponi, Nasi, Nori and Pazzi families. He also documents the payments and money operations during the fairs, and the systematic use of the bill of exchange.

²⁸ This was true earlier for the Frankfurt fairs which attracted not only booksellers but other merchants and craftsmen whose activities were linked to the book trade, such as paper merchants, binders, or type-founders; Flood, "Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium", 11.

²⁹ Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 91, 184.

³⁰ Six woodcuts from Huss's 1486 edition would be re-used in Zaragoza by Paul Hurus in his 1498 edition of Breydenbach, Bernhard von, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* [Spanish] *Viaje dela tierra sancta*. Transl. with additions by Martin Martinez de Ampies, etc. Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, 16 Jan. 1498. Folio; GW 5082; ISTC ib01196000; Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 227.

³¹ Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 88.

³² Flood, "Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium", 10-13.

³³ *Biblia latina* (cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto-Caro). [Basel]: Johann Amerbach for Anton Koberger, [1498-1502]. Folio. GW 4285; ISTC ib00610000. In spite of his great experience of the book trade, Koberger would discover to his cost that this edition sold 'very slowly'; Halporn, *The Correspondence*, 248-9, after Hartmann, Jenny, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 1: 177.

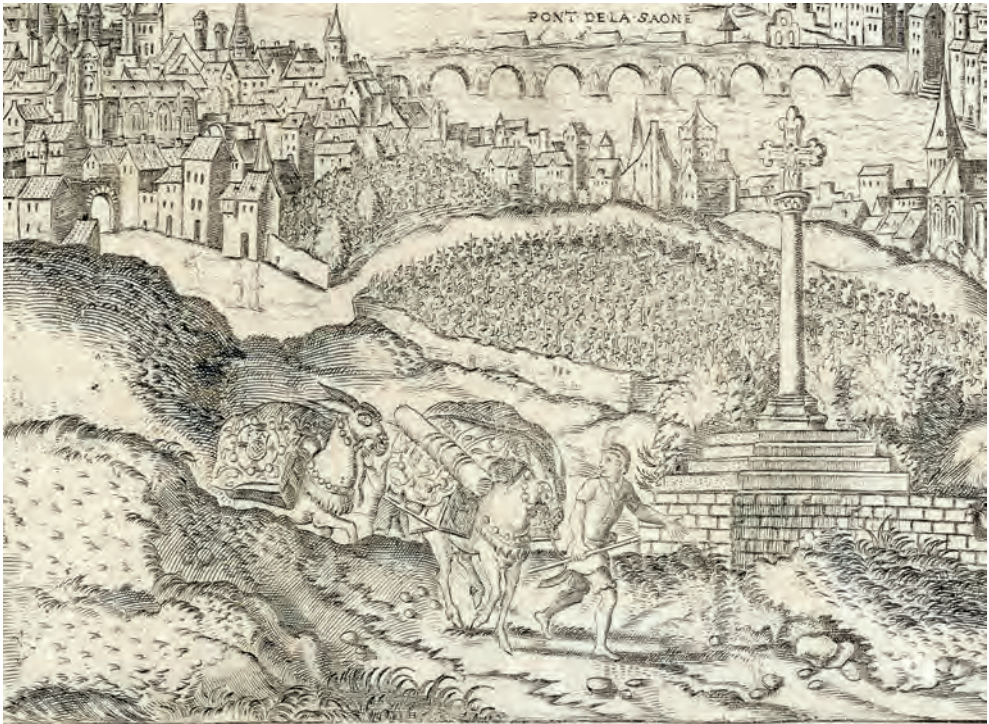


Figure 2 Balthazar Van Den Bos. *La cité de Lyon*. 1550. Detail. Intaglio engraving after Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. 37 × 110,5 cm. BM Lyon N16BOS010229. Legend: a view of long distance transport, leaving Lyon from the northern gate, *Porte Saint-Marcel* in the direction of Geneva

books passing through such commercial crossroads could come from anywhere and be sold near or far to booksellers or individual buyers.³⁴ Nomadic booksellers such as Johann Schäbeller (also known by his evocative nickname *Wattenschnee* or ‘slush-in-snow’), attending the fairs, must have been major agents in the distribution of books. Based in Lyon but often on the road, he acted as the multi-tasked *factotum* for Koberger, while also representing Amerbach in Lyon, and the Lyon printers in Paris.³⁵ As international market places, the fairs obviously played an essential part in the circulation of books, blurring the boundaries traditionally drawn from a geographically-anchored printed production. Time management was essential between

34 Koberger recommended that Amerbach offered the ‘Hugo Bible’ to booksellers for 8 florins, as opposed to 10 florins for retail; Halporn, *The Correspondence*, 252, after Hartmann, Jenny, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 1: 192a.

35 Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, 10: 449-55, 457.

the printing and selling of an edition, even more so when targeting far-away markets. Even with a knowledge of sales networks and logistics, it could be challenging to adjust the cost of transport to include the many variables of distance, speed, weight transported, and the multiple contingencies of travel, like flooding and bad weather.³⁶ On the essential Lyon-Toulouse axis, as across the Alps and the Pyrenees and many parts of southern France, the freight was carried on mule-back. Sure-footed and economical, mules could carry up to four hundred pounds, at a pace of about thirty-four kilometres per day, a train of six mules transporting the equivalent of a small wagon. Transport of goods by land could add a quarter to the price of the goods themselves, whether on mule-back or by wagon, and cost three times more than transport by water.³⁷ With very few depictions available, we can only speculate if books equipped with bindings circulated in bales like paper and books in sheets, or in wooden chests with other precious goods [fig. 2].

In any case, this aspect of the commerce of books, little documented so far, must have added to the final sale price, and as such, played an important part in the organisation of the book trade. Following a strict calendar, the fairs generated great pressure on book production itself and on transport as well. Arriving on time at the fair meant not only the possibility of selling large quantities of books, but also meeting payments, and saving on tolls.³⁸ In good weather, it would take two weeks between Toulouse and Lyon, over often difficult terrain.³⁹ The important logistics required by long-distance transport

36 Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI siècle*, 1: 168-78; Rivet, "Philibert Barbasto, muletier des Estables"; *Les échanges entre Lyon et Le Puy* evokes the reality of transport through the *Massif central*, between Le Puy, Ambert and Lyon, during the Renaissance.

37 Gascon provides a map of the types of transport available in the main areas of Lyon commerce (144-6), and compares their variables and their prices in sixteenth-century France (*Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI siècle*, 1: 182-93). Wolff, *Automne du Moyen-Age*, 166-83 reaches the same conclusions.

38 Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, 105-58 details the privileges of the fairs and their evolution during the golden age of commerce in Lyon, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Flood, "Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium", 6-7 illustrates by several examples the pressure generated by the Frankfurt fairs.

39 The detailed records of the Ravensburg merchant company show variations in the time needed to complete the itinerary between Zaragoza and Ravensburg, with an average of 36 days; Schulte, *Geschichte der Großen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft*, 1: 116; 2: 28-32. The transporter Beltran de Puey from Borça provides an example of transport on the same road at great speed. He undertook to leave Oloron Sainte-Marie, on the French side of the Pyrenees, with three loaded mules on 29 October 1489, and arrive at the fair of Lyon on 8 November, completing the 700 kilometers in about nine to ten days, a dubious claim. For this accomplishment, no doubt putting the men and beasts under great strain, he would have been paid the equivalent of 7 *escudos* per mule, each *escudo* being of 28 *gros* or *soldi*; Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incubables de Zaragoza*, 171, nos. 795, 295. On the contrary, a late arrival generally meant

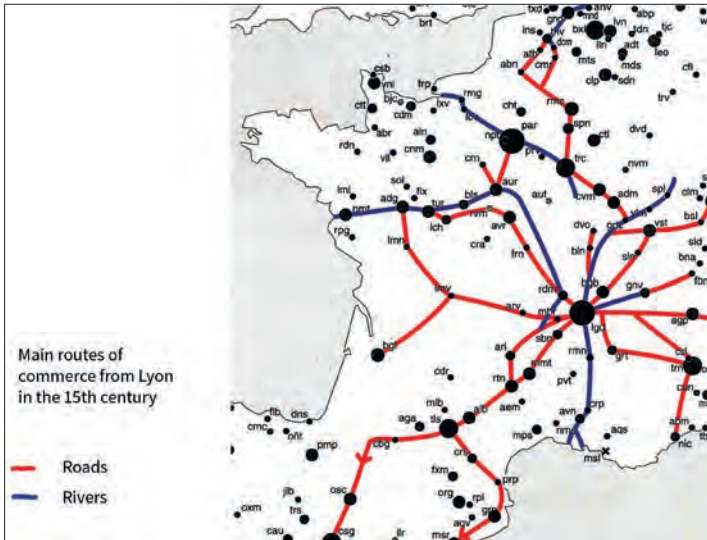


Figure 3 Main trade routes from Lyon in the Renaissance, overlaying a map of current holdings of Lyon fifteenth-century imprints in France (mapping from ISTC) by Philippe Nieto. *Géographie européenne des incunables lyonnais*, 2006, 68, detail, with abbreviated Latin place names

also implied having at one's disposal a good system of circulation of news; keeping up-to-date and adjusting to unexpected circumstances were indispensable conditions of successful business.

Using the data available in ISTC, the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue, the current holdings of Lyon imprints were mapped by Philippe Nieto from the French National Archives, twelve years ago.⁴⁰ Most of the French collections have not moved far from their original place of arrival, over the centuries. The superimposition of a map of the main trade routes from Lyon, the city being conveniently located at the centre of a web of interconnecting roads and waterways,⁴¹ reveals the importance of this infrastructure for the circulation of books.

The resulting map [fig. 3] shows that books were purchased and used early on, in cities and towns located along the paths followed by the general trade. Contemporary material evidence gathered in

a loss of profit for the merchant and penalties for the transporter who, as would have been the case for Beltran de Puey, often had to pay for the storage of the goods for several weeks, until another sale opportunity arose, often at the next fair.

⁴⁰ Nieto, *Géographie européenne des incunables lyonnais*, 48. The mapping of the Lyon incunabula held in France was used with its author's kind permission.

⁴¹ In France, the Roman road infrastructure had been organised with Lyon at its centre; Wolff, *Automne du Moyen Age*, 167.

the *Catalogues régionaux d'incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* also helps greatly to visualise the business of the book merchants. Once integrated into international databases such as MEI, the Material Evidence in Incunabula database, in the future, the combined data could extend considerably the local and national perspective already provided by the French regional catalogues, contributing to the spatial and temporal mapping of the European book-trade.⁴² The map of Lyon editions in France reveals their significant distribution in the northern part of the country, more than expected, since it was an area which traditionally was controlled by the much wider and more powerful Parisian book trade. The high proportion of Lyon imprints in Normandy, in particular, might be due to the Lyonnais' active networking in Paris,⁴³ but also possibly to the importance of the commercial exchanges on the trade route which stretched directly from Anjou to Normandy, avoiding Paris.⁴⁴ Lyon typography is also well represented in the collections preserved in the region of Poitou, with a concentration of the earliest Lyon editions, perhaps because of its long history of trading cloth with Lyon.⁴⁵ On the other hand, in the region of Toulouse, where the Lyonnaise merchants had foreseen an opportunity, the earliest surviving title is from 1477,⁴⁶ perhaps because they were selling mostly imported books.

Early provenance information reflects the penetration of the French-language editions into the world of craftsmen and shopkeepers. Nicolas Lefebvre, master glove-maker in Paris owned the *Miroir de la redemption*, Pierre Guilhemment, a pin-maker in Montbrison, used a copy of *Le Propriétaire des Choses*, and Guilhem Delteil, a shoemaker in Cahors, read the book of the *Prestre Jean* and possibly *Pierre de*

⁴² The retroconversion programme of the *CRIs* has already allowed a partial integration of this data into the portal created by the *Biblissima Consortium*.

⁴³ One of the many examples of partnership, Janon Carcain, bookseller in Lyon, joined forces with the Parisian bookseller Michel Le Noir, thus extending his own network. He even sold to King Charles VIII the edition of *Lancelot du Lac*, published in Rouen and Paris in 1488. Lancelot du Lac, *La première partie de Lancelot; La seconde partie de Lancelot*. Rouen: Jean Le Bourgeois, 24 Nov. 1488. Folio. GW 12621 (I); ISTC il00033500; Lancelot du Lac, *La tierce partie de Lancelot*. Paris: Jean Du Pré (printer of Paris), 16 Sept. 1488. Folio. GW 12621 (II); ISTC il00033000; CIBN: L-29, L-30; BNF Rés. Y2. 46-47.

⁴⁴ Collections of incunabula in Valognes contain a high proportion of Lyon imprints, in spite of the vicinity of, and exchanges with Paris and Rouen, both great centres for the production and circulation of printed books; Girard, *CRI*, 4: 170. I am grateful to Pierre Aquilon for suggesting the importance of the direct commercial route between the Loire and Normandy, corroborating the importance of the general trade channels for the circulation of printed books.

⁴⁵ Richard, Campagne, *CRI*, 14: 7.

⁴⁶ Péligny, *CRI*, 4.: 15-6.

Provence et la belle Maguelonne as well.⁴⁷ It also documents the second-hand market, still at a high price for modest buyers like Pierre Thome, a cleric in Lyon, who had to rely upon barter in order to afford his copy of the *Fortalitium fidei*.⁴⁸ It is likely that highly-travelled roads were more than simple connecting routes; they acted as a live transmission of news and cultural exchanges, and occasional book stalls in smaller market towns along these roads might have served as selling locations. The ephemeral display of books in churches or in inns appears to have provided at least a first visual encounter with these expensive and forbidding objects in rural areas.⁴⁹

47 Respectively: *Speculum humanae salvationis* [French] *Le miroir de la rédemption*. Tr: Julien Macho. Lyon: Mathias Huss, 1483. Folio. GW M43034; ISTC is00661600; Parguez, *CRI*, 11: 927 (BM Lyon Rés Inc 115); Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* [French] *Le propriétaire des choses* etc., Ed. Pierre Farget. Lyon: [Claude Davost], for Jean Genin le Dyamantier, 17 Apr. 1500 [1501?]. Folio. GW 3422; ISTC ib00149000; Coq, *CRI*, 18: 68 (Masson 821); Johannes Presbyter, *De ritu et moribus Indorum* [French] *Prestre Jean*. [Lyon: Jean de La Fontaine, about 1488-90]. 4°. GW M14519; ISTC ij00398700; CIBN: J-261* (Rés. Y².706); *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*. [Lyon: Pierre Boutellier (Schenck), about 1487]. 4°. GW 12707; ISTC ip00645350; CIBN: P-353* (Rés.Y².705).

48 It cost him ten soldi and the equivalent of six pints, presumably of wine; Alphonse de Spina, *Fortalitium fidei*. Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, 22 May 1487. Folio. GW 1577; ISTC ia00542000; Parguez, 30 (BM Lyon: Rés Inc 487).

49 Warehouses in inns are documented for Toulouse where booksellers sometimes combined the functions of bookseller and innkeeper; Claudin, *Les enlumineurs, les relieurs*, 9, 29. Literate buyers did not only buy books in Lyon, Paris or Toulouse. A certain number were probably purchased in smaller cities and towns along the road before the advent of bookshops and booksellers in the late 1490s or even the early 16th century, like the purchase in Mende in 1477 "ab impressoribus" of Caracciolus, Robertus, *Sermones de timore divinorum iudiciorum* etc. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1477]. Folio. GW 6114; ISTC ic00186500; Lefèvre, *CRI* II; 134 (BM Mende D77). In Rodez, after Mende the next important halting-place on the road to Toulouse, the Dominican convent acquired several of Ruppel's editions in the late 1470s or early 1480s, possibly from the same source. They are: Rainerius de Pisis. *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae*. Ed: Jacobus Florentinus. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1476]. Folio. GW M36924; ISTC ir00009000; Péligry *CRI* III, 663 (BM Rodez M 117, 118, 119); Caracciolus, Robertus, *Sermones de adventu, Sermo de S. Joseph*, etc. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, about 1480]. Folio. GW 6049; ISTC ic00141000; Péligry, *CRI* III, 246 (BM Rodez M 71). Caracciolus, Robertus, *Sermones quadagesimales de poenitentia*. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1477]. Folio. GW 6077; ISTC ic00180500; Péligry, *CRI* III, 248 (BM Rodez M 95) also belonged to the Dominican convent but information about its binding is lacking. Evidence gathered from several of their surviving bindings suggests indeed that these books were purchased in sheets and bound in the area at an early time. A copy of one of Ruppel's editions now in Albi (Paraldus, Guilielmus, *Summa de vitiis* [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1474]. Folio. GW 12051; ISTC ip00089000; Péligry, *CRI* III, 609 (BM Albi INC 221, Portal 65)), the main city between Rodez and Toulouse, bears the marks of ownership of the local Carmelite convent and a binding whose blind stamped decoration and manuscript pastedowns relating to the Cathedral of Rodez demonstrate that it likely originated in the same area during the same time period. It also suggests that, like in Mende, in the cathedral cities of Rodez and Albi, travelling printers had great opportunities of selling their production. In Auvergne, marks of purchase show that books acquired by priests or monks or merchants, some known, others less so, but whose names are often rooted in local history, did not move around over the centuries. They have re-

The Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue shows that Lyon editions reached Spain and Portugal more steadily after 1490, with the general increase in the production and sale of books. By attending the fairs and through his networks, Paul Hurus must have played a major part in the massive importations into Spain of books printed in other European centres of production, via Toulouse and the Canfranc Pass. This enterprise, sustained by German commercial companies, was stimulated by the charts of franchise of Zaragoza and the Royal Laws of Castilla, which opened up Spain to the importations of foreign books in the 1480s. A major opportunity for the book trade, it coincided with the development of the fairs of Medina del Campo and Valladolid over the following years. These dynamics likely transformed Zaragoza into a large open market for Hurus who managed to secure the monopoly of book production and sale in the city during the whole period.⁵⁰ The availability in Zaragoza, at the same time, of leather, parchment, and skilled craftsmen, could also have allowed on a large scale books to be finished off with binding and decoration before they were dispatched to the fairs and throughout the country.⁵¹ This situation must ultimately have created the conditions over the following years for the penetration by Lyon book dealers of the Iberian Peninsula markets, a major step-change which they could not really have contemplated beforehand on such a scale.⁵² In Lyon itself, the overall evolution of the market is also noticeable, with the increased production of law books, and the arrival in the sector of Johann Trechsel, Jean de Vingle, and Nicolas Wolf, who started printing theology and philology. The learned networks of Trechsel and Josse Badius, his son-in-law, and their respective connections to the Dominican and Carmelite orders,⁵³ facilitated the success of their editions in convents, monasteries, and colleges,⁵⁴ as well as in European

mained in towns such as Aurillac, Saint-Etienne, Saint-Flour, etc., where their first buyers left them; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, *Auvergne*, 12.

50 Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 118-23, 305 (added in the note), 525.

51 Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 118-23, 305, 525.

52 Cf. for instance Johann Cleyn's sales of books in Zaragoza in 1498 and 1499, Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza*, 240-3, 314, 426.

53 Wadsworth, *Lions 1473-1503*, 31-2, 43-72, 191-5.

54 In his prefaces, Badius often expressed his views about the triumph of printing, alluding to intellectual as well as commercial profit. In Occam, Guilielmus, *Dialogorum libri septem adversos haereticos*, etc. Ed: Jodocus Badius Ascensius. [Lyon]: Johannes Trechsel, [not before 12 Sept. 1494]. Folio; GW 11908; ISTC io00009000 in particular, dedicated to Trithemius, he praised the printing press for making texts widely available via the multiplication of affordable copies; White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*, 129, 156-8. The works of Occam found a special reception in the Parisian colleges, such as the *Collège de Navarre* with its robust nominalist tradition, as testified by the number of copies owned by masters and students of the college. Cf. for instance Occam, Guiliel-

scholarly and erudite circles, away from the general trade networks.

These newcomers introduced new marketing strategies and possibly a more ambitious level of production for exportation around Europe.⁵⁵ They also imported humanism from Italy while the city was in the process of becoming the outpost of the French invasion of the Peninsula.⁵⁶

5 Lyon Bindings on Local and Foreign Books, as Evidence for the Organisation of the Book Trade

The flow of foreign books which travelled via the city can now be documented in part by the presence of bindings added in Lyon for copies of editions imported from Basel, Venice, and other Italian cities. While some of the volumes remained in Lyon itself, others from the same sources are now preserved in French collections around the country. The identification of these bindings as ‘made in Lyon’, corroborated by local provenance evidence of early purchase or use, was made possible by several elements, which hint at a possible large-scale binding operation.

5.1 Printed Fragments⁵⁷

Among the evidence gathered from the *CRIs*, the original bindings preserved in Auvergne on foreign and Lyon imprints include printed fragments, mostly recycled as pastedowns, flyleaves, or in the composition of cardboard covers. They are printer’s waste (leaves of paper discarded by the printer, which never formed part of a book) from thirteen Lyon editions issued by seven Lyon print shops. One occurrence of binder’s waste (recycled from a dismantled book), has

mus, *Quaestiones et decisiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum* etc. Ed: Augustinus de Ratisbona, Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 9-10 Nov. 1495. Folio. GW 11916; ISTC io00015000; Fernillot, *CRI 12*, 427 (Sorbonne 294), or Occam, Guilielmus, *Opus nonaginta dierum et dialogi*. Ed: Augustinus de Ratisbona, Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 16 July 1495. Folio. GW 11910; ISTC io00013000; Parguez, *CRI 11*, 758 (BM Lyon Rés Inc 246).

55 White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*, 159.

56 According to Wadsworth, *Lyons 1473-1503*, 19, 116-7, 158, et al., in spite of the close proximity of Italy and an already large Italian presence in Lyon, humanism was introduced only late into the city, following Badius’s publication of Beroaldus, Philip-pus, *Orationes et Poemata*. Ed: Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 4 Sept. 1492, 4°. GW 4145; ISTC ib00492000, and the interpretation of Marsilio Ficino’s works by Symphorien Champier, an eclectic author, and a native of the Lyon area.

57 For the distinction between printer’s waste and binder’s waste, and the complexity of evidence provided by printed fragments used in bindings for the earliest Dutch typography, cf. Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit*, 204-29.

been identified so far, the popular Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, printed by Guillaume Le Roy in the early 1480s.⁵⁸ If most of the Auvergne bindings containing these fragments are made of ordinary yellow or green leather, usually sheepskin over cardboard, with two or four leather ties, a few are also found in blind-tooled bindings on wooden boards. The same binding types can be observed on the incunabula held in Lyon which include Lyon printed fragments.⁵⁹

5.2 Blind-Tooled Covers on Cardboard or Wooden Boards

An early binding on an edition of Guillaume Le Roy, now in Champagne,⁶⁰ with a fleur-de-lys painted *au pochoir* in lozenges, reflects a technique and style used in Lyon and its vicinity at the time.⁶¹ This binding led to the realisation that the pattern of the same motif of fleurs-de-lys in lozenges in a central panel, or in friezes, appears on a dozen blind-tooled bindings on Lyon imprints which have remained in the city since the 1490s. They are equally found on books printed in Basel or in Italy, which have also remained in Lyon until today. This simple observation was confirmed by items in the collection of blind-tooled bindings of the Mazarine Library, and by Denise Gid who examined similar bindings on Lyon, Basel, Ven-

58 Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (Partes I-IV) (Comm: Ludovicus de Guaschis). [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, about 1482-83]. 4°. ISTC ia00425300; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, 5 (BM Moulins Inc 8° 28453 Fragment b). This binder's waste was found with a fragment of printer's waste of Justinianus, *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius). [Lyon]: Johannes Siber, [about 1488-90]. Folio. GW 7737; ISTC ij00581550; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, 100 (BM Moulins Inc 8° 28453 Fragment a) in one of the boards of a contemporary goatskin blind-stamped binding, on Cassianus, Johannes, *De institutis coenobiorum* etc. Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1497. 4°. GW 6162; ISTC ic00235000; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, 87 (BM Moulins Inc 8° 28453). In another example of printer's waste, four unsold copies of Innocentius VIII Pont. Max. (Giovanni Battista Cibo), *Indulgentia 1491. In favour of Christians captured by the Turks*. [Lyon: Janon Carcain? 1491]. Broadside. GW M1232510; ISTC ii00134040 (BM Le Puy-en-Velay, R 3010 Fragment) were used as pastedowns in the white half-leather binding on wooden boards of Innocentius IV, Pont. Max. (Sinibaldo Fieschi), *Apparatus super libros Decretalium*. Ed: Franciscus Moneliensis. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 25 Aug. 1495. Folio. GW M12166; ISTC ii00098000 (BM Le Puy-en-Velay R 3010). The volume was used and read in Le Puy-en-Velay in 1497; Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, 162.

59 The identification of more printed fragments from the city's print shops, recently found in the collections preserved in Lyon, is still in progress with the precious help of the team of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Berlin).

60 Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae* [French] *Le Miroir de la vie humaine*. Tr: Julien Macho. Lyon: [Guillaume Le Roy] with Barthélemy Buyer, 8 July 1477. Folio. GW M38513; ISTC ir00229000; Arnoult, 1269, pl. 22 (BM Châlons-en-Champagne, 36).

61 Haute-Loire. Archives départementales, *Reliures et couvertures anciennes*, 15, features the same motif of painted fleurs-de-lys in lozenges, on a 1485 register of the Hotel-Dieu in Le Puy-en-Velay.

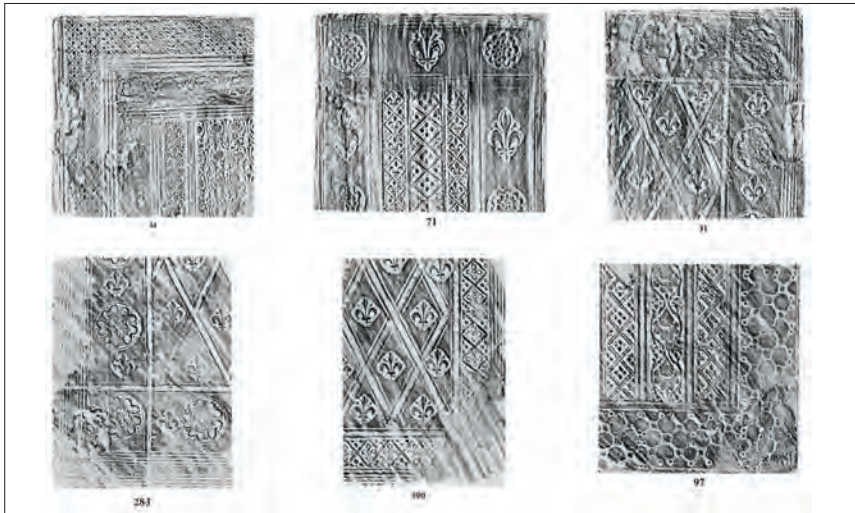


Figure 4 Denise Gid, *Catalogue des reliures françaises estampées à froid (XVe-XVIe siècles) de la Bibliothèque mazarine*. 1984. Paris. Rubbings of blind-tooled bindings made in Lyon

ice and other imprints today in collections in Troyes, Paris, Colmar, and Bourges [fig. 4].⁶²

With an increasing number of bindings which can be attributed to Lyon production, it has become noticeable that multiple tools of the most common motifs of fleurs-de-lys or rosaces were used inside lozenges or friezes, in a central panel, or in the composition of borders. The identification of additional tools with motifs such as Occitan crosses, or four-point stars is also increasing, as they have been found blind-stamped either individually or duplicated to create a pattern [fig. 5], often in association with the fleurs-de-lys which served as a starting point for this study.

Although these motifs were commonly used elsewhere, it is the combination of their different features and layout which hints at these bindings' Lyon origin.⁶³

- Most of the bindings encountered are made of sheepskin and often quite worn, on wooden unbevelled boards.
- Their blind-tooling seems hastily applied.

⁶² Gid, *Catalogue des reliures françaises estampées à froid*, 31, 34, 71, 97, 283, 390.

⁶³ Our understanding of the particular value of this evidence for estimating the importance of the Lyon bookbinding activities is only very recent: the inventory of the 'families' of bookbinding tools used in Lyon has just started. It should expand significantly as early bindings in other French collections are examined.

- They bear two clasps, with leather straps (often red-dyed), always fixed by three round-headed nails to the front board, and attaching onto the lower board on square or semi-circular shaped metal plates with the edge rolled to form a lip.
- Their original spines, unfortunately often replaced, can show a crude asterisk-shaped mark, repeated in between the supports, or criss-crossing lines.
- They can also include printed fragments from Lyon print shops, used as pastedowns or flyleaves.
- The volumes have three or four supports. Most bindings with three supports recorded so far feature high-raised double supports.⁶⁴

Two distinctive and very recognisable tools, unfortunately hard to reproduce, have been identified so far in conjunction with the features mentioned above. The first tool represents the scene of the Temptation in the Garden of Eden with Adam and Eve shown around the apple tree where the serpent is entwined, presenting Eve with apples.⁶⁵ Although very worn, it has so far been identified, with its repetition forming a border, on books printed in Milan (1488) and Chambéry (not after 1486), which are still in Lyon, and on a Venetian imprint (1494) now in Auxerre.⁶⁶ The second tool, a small shield-shaped trademark,⁶⁷ is divided vertically, bearing on the right-hand side, the trademark of Guillaume Balsarin, a successful bookseller in Lyon. On the left is the trademark of another bookseller or merchant, possibly the reversed mark of the Lyon bookseller Jean Du Pré. It appears twice on the top and on the lower part of the back cover of a 1495 Venetian edition of Ficino's *Epistolae*.⁶⁸

The combination of tools, layout, clasps, fragments, and other occasional marks confirms that a sizeable proportion of Lyon imprints and imported books were bound, probably as an add-on value, before being sold on the local as well as national market.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ An observation made by Nicholas Pickwood.

⁶⁵ The stamp measures 4 × 2 cm.

⁶⁶ Respectively Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula* [Ed: Paulus Soncinas]. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, 1488. Folio. GW M46023; ISTC it00259000 (BM Lyon Rés Inc 666); Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*. [Chambéry: Printer of the Breviarium Sedunense, GW 5459 (Henricus Wirtzburg?), not after 1486]. Folio. GW M32165; ISTC ip00464000 (BM Lyon: Rés Inc 415); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De officiis* (Comm: Petrus Marsus) etc. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 27 May 1494. Folio. GW 6965; ISTC ic00609000 (BM Auxerre Inc 95).

⁶⁷ Measuring 1 cm across the top and 1.4 cm from top to base-point, the trademark is quite damaged and difficult to read.

⁶⁸ Ficinus, Marsilius, *Epistolae*. Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Hieronymus Blondus, 11 Mar. 1495. Folio. GW 9873; ISTC if00154000 (BM Lyon Rés Inc 239).

⁶⁹ While the price of a folio edition seems to have generally remained at 1 *livre tournois* at the end of the fifteenth century, this price does not always include a binding.



Figure 5 Guilielmus Occam, *Opus nonaginta dierum et dialogi*. 1495. Folio. Lyon: Johann Trechsel (BM Lyon Rés Inc 429). Binding: front cover and front pastedown of a Lyon blind-tooled sheepskin binding on wooden boards, with motifs of rosace, and Occitan cross repeated as a pattern; two clasps with red-dyed leather straps catching on square metal plates on the lower cover, and three high-raised double supports; rebacked; printed fragment from Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. [Lyon: Perrin Le Masson, Jehan Boniface and Jean de Vieilleville]. 1494, on front and back pastedowns (fragments identified by Oliver Duntze, GW, Berlin)

Indeed, their careless and hasty blind-tooling suggests more a process of mass production rather than the skilled artisanship of one or two workshops. As in other important European centres for the production and sale of books, the necessary resources in material and human skills were indeed available in Lyon for such production

A cardboard binding could represent a supplement of 15%. Cf. for instance the purchase note in Paulus de Sancta Maria, *Scrutinium scripturarum*. Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 7 Jan. 1478. Folio. GW M29976; ISTC ip00205000 (BM Aurillac Inc 1); Frasson-Cochet, Aquilon, 217, ‘*Costat in albis 20s. ts. ligatura, 3s. 4d. ts.*’ for a binding with 8 leather ties, originally covered with a manuscript fragment. Could the robust blind-tooled bindings made in Lyon add up to 50% to the price of the book itself? Such a substantial increase in the book price might explain why a certain number of books were provided with bindings in the city.

of large quantities of books.⁷⁰ Binding books could also have been a commercial strategy to stimulate the sale of unsold copies, as several printed fragments, issued years after the books in whose bindings they survive, would seem to suggest. It was also possibly proposed as a convenience to remote buyers in smaller French towns which were still lacking professional binders.⁷¹ Although books might have travelled lighter *in albis*, in barrels or bales, simple cardboard or wooden boards, however heavy, offered better protection against the hazards of long distance transport. Binding might thus have been identified early on by the pragmatic Lyon book merchants as a means for both extra protection and extra income. Indeed in Avignon, in the early years of the Lyon book trade, Buyer sold the books he had produced himself already bound and decorated. It remains to be seen whether the bindings on Guillaume Le Roy's imprints from the 1470s and 1480s which have survived in the French collections will indicate that this represented an important aspect of book dealing.

The early 1490s also saw the arrival in Lyon of Bonino Bonini with Bartolomeo Trot, his agent, and Baldassare da Gabiano, all with strong ties to Venice,⁷² who opened book deposits on the *rue Mercière*. It was a significant event: their arrival would have a lasting effect on the evolution of the book trade in the city. So, once they have been thoroughly documented, the Lyon bindings recently identified on Venetian imprints might well add further evidence for the choice made by the Venetian book trade of Lyon and its fairs, as a step towards the French and northern European markets, during that last decade of the fifteenth century. The close examination of more bindings in collections preserved around France should help in the assessment of the proportions of Lyon binding as an enterprise. It might also reveal more about the large strategies at work in Europe in the hands of the international book trade, at the turn of the fifteenth century.

70 The city tax-rolls list five binders in Lyon at the time; Fau et al., "Autour du livre à Lyon au XVe et au début du XVIe siècle", 209-62.

71 The 1490s saw the opening of the first book shops in smaller cities. The first local bookseller in Clermont-Ferrand, Jean de Bourgogne, opened his shop near the cathedral in 1491, possibly providing bookbinding along with the making of registers, and a small stock of imprints for sale; Egullion, *Imprimeurs, libraires et relieurs*, 16, 18, 97. Previously, bookbinding could have been supplied by itinerant binders; Delmas, *Les reliures à Rodez*, 12-13. It was sometimes done by the local priest, like Pierre Delolme, also a copyist and illuminator in 1493 in Le Puy-en-Velay, or like Jehan de Fenils, a priest in Mende, as a supplementary source of income; Haute-Loire. Archives Départementales, *Reliures et couvertures anciennes en Haute-Loire*, 30, nos. 48-9.

72 DBI, s.v. "Bonini, Bonino"; s.v. "Gabiano, Baldassarre".

Abbreviations

CIBN = *Catalogue des incunables de la Bibliothèque nationale*

CRIs = *Catalogues régionaux des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*

DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*

ISTC = *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*

MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula database*

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Tra il libro manoscritto e l'edizione a stampa in Catalogna nella seconda metà del XV secolo (1450-1500)

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Abstract The first books published in Catalonia and the notarial documents preserved have brought to light the names of the first printers and booksellers of late medieval Catalonia. In order to present the situation of book production from 1473 onwards, we offer information on the first identified Catalan incunable, the first dated Catalan incunable, the first incunable in Catalan, the oldest printing shop, etc.; about the first known printers, many of foreign origin; about the book trade and its main actors; about the first editors and their profile; about the prices of books; including the reproduction of many of the mentioned specimens and relevant bibliography.

Keywords Incunabula. Book trade. Printing. Barcelona. Catalonia.

Sommario 1 Introduzione. – 2 Fonti per la storia della stampa catalana degli incunaboli. – 3 Gli incunaboli catalani: dieci conclusioni dai dati noti. – 4 Il 'mercato' degli incunaboli oggi: un esempio comune tra Catalogna e Italia.

1 Introduzione

Nel 1996 l'Autore dedicò la sua tesi di dottorato allo studio delle biblioteche private di Barcellona nel Quattrocento. In essa, a partire dalla documentazione notarile di diversi archivi della città (Archivio della Cattedrale, Archivio Storico Municipale e Archivio Storico di Protocolli di Barcellona), e in particolare dai cosiddetti libri speciali di testamenti, inventari e di vendite all'incanto (o aste), abbiamo esaminato il periodo compreso tra gli anni 1396 e 1475



allo scopo di raccogliere, in un'appendice documentaria, tutte le biblioteche di chierici, medici, giuristi e altri cittadini (tra cui speciali, artigiani, mercanti, notai, ecc.). Dopo l'edizione critica di circa 350 documenti, molti dei quali inediti, abbiamo inserito l'identificazione dei titoli e delle opere che erano citate in queste biblioteche. Inoltre, abbiamo studiato anche aspetti collegati sia alle diverse forme di trasmissione e circolazione dei manoscritti - tra le altre pratiche abbiamo individuato donazioni in testamenti, acquisti all'asta, prestiti di libri tra privati, codici lasciati in pegno di un prestito economico, vendite su commissione di librai, bidelli ecclesiastici, ecc. - sia alle discipline proprie del nostro ambito di ricerca, studiando, quindi, questioni riguardanti la paleografia e la codicologia, tra cui la nomenclatura paleografica che compariva nella documentazione, le descrizioni riguardo i supporti scrittureali, la rilegatura, ecc.

2 Fonti per la storia della stampa catalana degli incunaboli

La documentazione notarile è particolarmente ricca rispetto alla stima economica dei codici descritti; molti di essi, dopo essere stati inventariati, erano venduti in aste pubbliche o giudiziarie da parte di professionisti del settore librario, i *libreters*, o librai, molti dei quali ebrei convertiti, o altre persone che sono ben documentate in queste pratiche, tra gli altri, rivenditori, *corredors de coll o d'orella*, cioè correttori, bidelli della Cattedrale di Barcellona o anche artigiani, come alcuni sarti che pare si dedicassero alla libreria come seconda attività. Documenti come gli inventari o i cataloghi di aste, e molti altri come le copie su commissione, la rilegatura o la miniatura di libri, ci consentono di conoscerne il prezzo o, almeno, il loro valore al momento della vendita all'asta, potendoli così confrontare con altri prodotti o servizi raccolti negli stessi documenti, per esempio *retablos*, arazzi, mobili o perfino gli onorari del notaio che redigeva gli atti notarili; alcuni di questi libri servirono, addirittura, come compenso per i servizi prestati dal pubblico ufficiale. I prezzi di alcuni manoscritti, in base a quanto abbiamo constatato, erano molto elevati, il che spiega come alcuni di essi fungessero da garanzia in prestiti monetari tra privati, così come poteva anche succedere con altri beni mobili - in particolare oggetti di oreficeria - o immobili.

Se sostituiamo i termini 'manoscritto' o 'codice' con 'libro stampato' o 'incunabolo' quanto detto in precedenza è ancora valido, tranne piccole sfumature in qualche punto. La continuità è evidente.

Nella documentazione del periodo esaminato per la tesi di dottorato non è apparso, in nessun momento, alcun libro *d'estampa*. La testimonianza più antica relativa alla stampa trovata nella documentazio-

ne notarile risale al 1474:¹ l'8 agosto lo stampatore *Enricus de Saxonia, magister librorum d'estampa, oriundus civitatis Ehimbech, diocesis Maguntinensis, dominacionis serenissimi imperatoris Alamannie* nomina suo procuratore un monaco del monastero di Sant'Agostino di Barcellona. Si tratta di Enric Botel, stampatore tedesco, *de Saxonia*, ben documentato a partire da questo momento in Catalogna e per alcuni decenni e a cui dobbiamo il primo libro stampato nel nostro paese: vi sono edizioni di Botel nel catalogo della Biblioteca di Catalogna (d'ora in poi BC) e nel Catalogo Collettivo del Patrimonio Bibliografico di Catalogna datate tra il 1473 e il 1495. ISTC riporta 32 edizioni di Botel.

Per conoscere la situazione del libro a stampa a partire dal 1473, momento in cui si può datare la prima edizione catalana, ci affidiamo all'opera classica di Madurell Marimon e Rubió Balaguer (1955), *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474-1533)*, in cui si fa un uso esteso della documentazione storica permettendo di confrontare i titoli, gli autori, le edizioni e i prezzi dei libri stampati con quelli del periodo precedente. Vincolate all'edizione appaiono ora, in modo nitido, le funzioni dell'editore e dello stampatore; molti dei quali di origine straniera nei primi tempi della stampa. La documentazione ci dà modo di conoscere contratti di apprendistato, contratti di edizione, condizioni di lavoro, acquisto di materiale, affitto di locali per lo sviluppo dell'attività, inventari di librerie, ecc. Nel 1553 sarà fondata a Barcellona la *Confraria de Sant Jeroni de Llibreters de Barcelona* (Confraternita dei Librai di San Girolamo).

Ma non solo la documentazione notarile ha fornito dati interessanti per conoscere i prezzi dei libri: anche la documentazione reale, la Cancelleria d'Aragona possiede serie documentarie ininterrotte dalla metà del XIII secolo, il che permise a Rubió Lluch (1908-21) di elaborare la sua compilazione documentaria *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, con importanti notizie sul mondo del libro manoscritto o le serie riguardanti l'ambito universitario e la figura dello *stacionarius*. Rilevante è anche la documentazione municipale, dove si stabiliscono nei libri di contabilità compensi per lavori inerenti l'elaborazione o la conservazione di manoscritti d'interesse per il municipio: copia, miniatura, rilegatura, ecc., o quella ecclesiastica, in particolare quella legata all'attività dei bidelli dell'Arcidiocesi di Barcellona, che si occupavano della vendita all'asta delle librerie lasciate da molti membri della cattedrale.

1 Questo contributo è stato sviluppato nell'ambito del Progetto di Ricerca FFI2016-78245-P. *Repertorio bibliográfico de incunables españoles* (I.P. Fermín de los Reyes Gómez). La responsabilità delle affermazioni presenti in questo testo è unicamente di chi le sottoscrive. Madurell Marimon, Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia*, doc. 1, 1-4.

In sintesi, un insieme di documentazione ricchissima per conoscere il periodo di transizione dal libro manoscritto a quello stampato, per sapere chi comprava libri, quali testi e autori e a quale prezzo, per confrontarne i prezzi con altri beni e servizi dell'epoca, per farsi un'idea documentata su chi produceva, e come, i libri, sia ai tempi del manoscritto che del libro stampato.

3 Gli incunaboli catalani: dieci conclusioni dai dati noti

Che cosa possiamo offrire a mo' di riassunto a partire dai dati riscontrati?

Secondo l'ultimo bilancio provvisorio sul numero di edizioni di incunaboli ispanici (2019),² la città di Barcellona ne avrebbe posto sotto il torchio 123, essendo la quarta dopo Siviglia (con 187), Salamanca (180) e Zaragoza (134). In quinta posizione si collocherebbe Burgos (con 113) e in sesta Valencia (con 112). A maggior distanza si posizionerebbe Toledo (con 55) e altre città [fig. 1]. È una distribuzione che risponde alla realtà storica, politica, economica e culturale: in generale, tranne qualche caso specifico, tutti erano importanti nuclei commerciali alla fine del Medioevo, e i trasferimenti degli stampatori individuati, che esercitano la loro attività in uno spazio geografico concreto e perfettamente delimitato nel tempo, permette di spiegare le diverse edizioni.

A queste 123 edizioni barcelloinesi dovremmo aggiungere le diverse edizioni delle tipografie catalane di Lleida (con 25 edizioni), Montserrat (20 edizioni), Girona (6 edizioni), Tarragona (6 edizioni) e Tortosa (2 edizioni). Nel corso del XV secolo, in Catalogna, è stata accertata la presenza di 18 tipografie distribuite in 6 località. Se vogliamo studiare la stampa degli incunaboli in catalano, non dovremmo dimenticare quelle di Valencia (dove si stampò il primo libro in questa lingua, le *Trobes en lahors de la Verge Maria nel 1474* e altre località. Queste 182 edizioni catalane sono una cifra modesta ma affatto trascurabile: per il resto della penisola iberica si parla di circa 982 edizioni di incunaboli e di 52 tipografie distribuite in 23 località. Comunque poche se paragonate alle circa 1.000 tipografie italiane (solo a Venezia, 200 officine di stampa³ responsabili di 4.365 edizioni).⁴

Lo studio degli incunaboli sopravvissuti e la documentazione storica relativa ci consente di avanzare una dozzina di affermazioni che riassumiamo nei seguenti paragrafi:

² Questi dati, oltre a quelli dei paragrafi seguenti, sono tratti dalla consultazione del luogo di stampa del catalogo GW.

³ Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution*, 55.

⁴ Venezia, con 4.365 edizioni, occupa il primo posto per luogo di produzione, secondo il catalogo GW; al secondo posto ci sarebbe Parigi, con 3.864 edizioni, e al terzo posto Roma, con 2.285.



Figura 1 La stampa degli incunaboli in Spagna (1472-1499) © Editorial Síntesis

3.1 Botel, von Holtz e Plank, stampatori tedeschi del primo incunabolo in Catalogna (Barcellona, 1473)

Dal 1833 al 1960, per oltre un secolo, un libro edito secondo il colophon a Barcellona nel 1468, una *Gramática* latina di un certo Bartomeu Mates stampata dal tedesco Joan Gherlinc, venne considerato il libro più antico edito in Catalogna, anche della penisola iberica, e uno dei più antichi stampati in Europa fuori dalla Germania. Questa primizia fece sì che fosse oggetto di più di un'edizione facsimile, nel 1906, e 1930. Dopo non pochi dibattiti si constatò che, in realtà, la data corretta era il 1488. L'analisi tipobibliografica e la documentazione complementare lo confermarono senza alcuna ombra di dubbio.⁵ Oggi si è raggiunto quindi un consenso unanime nel riconoscere una traduzione latina di Aristotele, *Ethica, Politica, Oeconomica*, stampata da una società di tre stampatori tedeschi, Enric Botel, a cui dobbiamo altre opere successive, Jordi von Holtz e Joan Plank, come il primo libro stampato a Barcellona e in Catalogna. Le sue caratteristiche tipobibliografiche lo fanno risalire al 1473 [fig. 2].⁶

⁵ Madurell Marimon, Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia*, 16*, doc. 33, 74-75.

⁶ Aristoteles, *Ethica ad Nicomachum*. Add: *Politica; Oeconomica* (Tr: Leonardus Brunus Aretinus). [Barcelona: Heinrich Botel, Georgius vom Holtz, and Johann Planck, about 1473]. Folio. GW 2371; ISTC ia00984000.

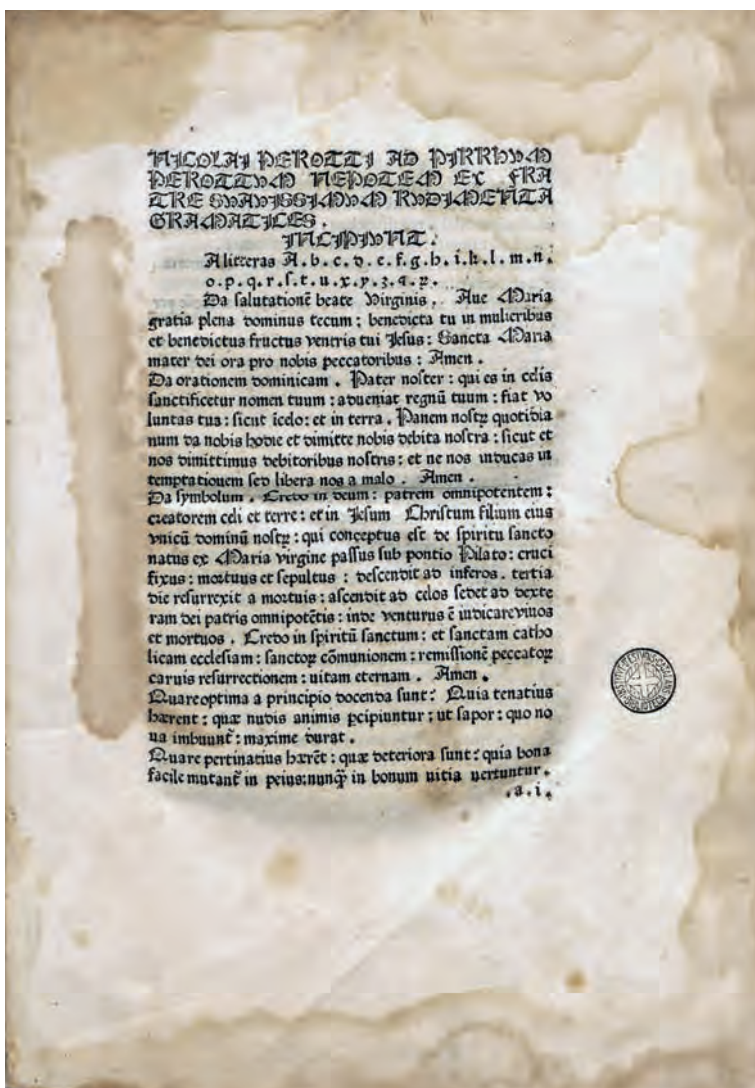


Figura 3 Perottus, Nicolaus, *Rudimenta grammatices*. 16 June 1477. Tortosa: Nicolaus Spindeler and Petrus Brun, GW M31244; ISTC ip00307900; Biblioteca de Catalunya 11-VII-14, f3r. Il primo incunabolo catalano con colophon. © BC



Figura 4 Aegidius (Columna) Romanus, *De regimine principum* [Catalan] *Lo libre del regiment dels princeps*. 2 Nov. 1480. Tr: Arnau Estanyol. Ed: Aleix de Barcelona, Barcelona: Nicolau Spindeler, for Joan Çacoma. Folio. GW 7220; ISTC ia00090000, f.2r. 11-VII-26. Biblioteca de Catalunya. Il primo incunabolo in lingua catalana stampato in Catalogna © BC

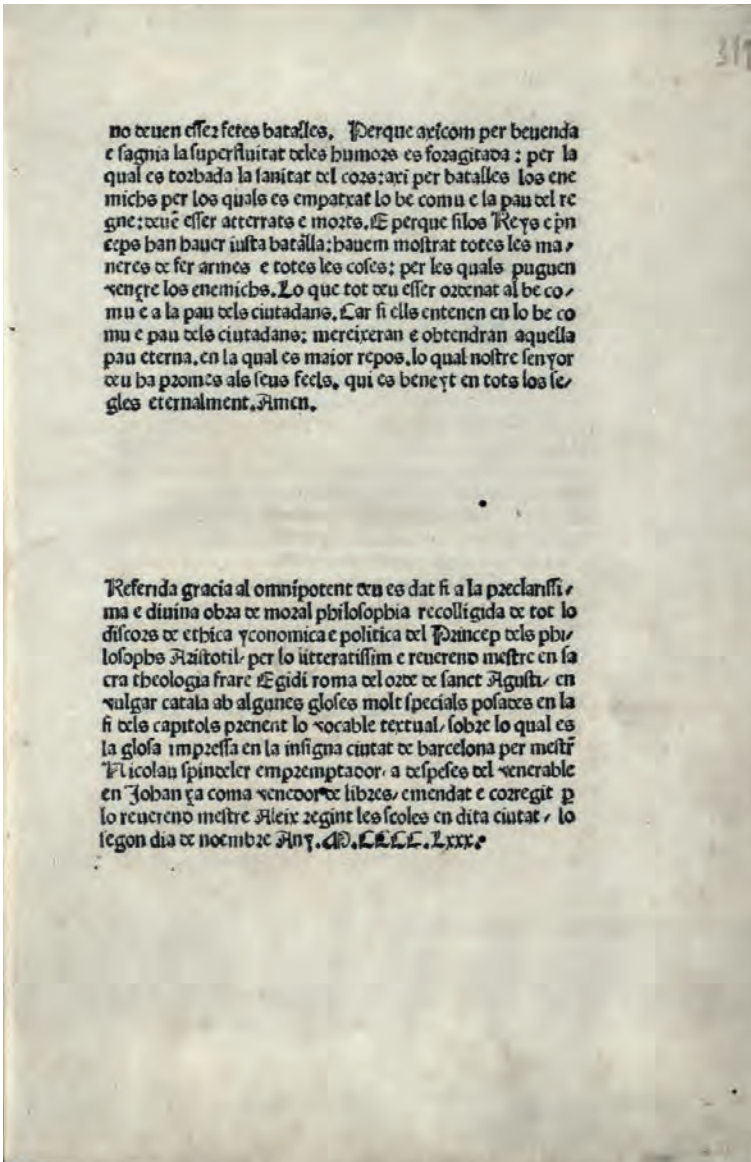


Figura 5 Aegidius (Columna) Romanus, *De regimine principum* [Catalan] *Lo libre del regiment dels princeps*. 2 Nov. 1480. Tr: Arnau Estanyol. Ed: Aleix de Barcelona, Barcelona: Nicolaus Spindeler, for Joan Çacoma. Folio. GW 7220; ISTC ia00090000, fol. 319r. 11-VII-26. Biblioteca de Catalunya. Colophon del primo incunabolo in lingua catalana stampato in Catalogna © BC

3.2 Il primo incunabolo catalano con colophon (Barcellona, di Salisburgo e Hurus, 1475)

Un'edizione dei *Rudimenta grammatices* di Niccolò Perotti, anch'essa stampata dai tedeschi Joan di Salisburgo e Pau di Costanza, più noto come Paul Hurus, rappresenta il primo libro con colophon certo comparso a Barcellona nel 1475 [fig. 3].⁷

3.3 Il primo incunabolo in lingua catalana in Catalogna (Barcellona, Spindeler, 1480)

Tra i libri con datazione sicura, il primo libro stampato in catalano a Barcellona e in Catalogna è una traduzione, il *Regiment dels prínceps* di Egidio Colonna (o Egidio Romano), opera del 1480 della bottega di Nicolau Spindeler [figg. 4-5].⁸ Tuttavia, come abbiamo già detto, è a Valencia che venne stampato nel 1474 il primo libro in questa lingua: le *Trobes en laors de la Verge Maria*.⁹

3.4 Un libro unico e pioneristico in Europa: la *Summa de la art de arismètica* (Barcellona, Posa, 1482)

La *Summa de la art de arismètica*, di Francesc Santcliment, stampata da Pere Posa a Barcellona nel 1482, è il primo trattato stampato in Catalogna e nella penisola iberica su quest'argomento.¹⁰ È significativo che uno dei primi libri europei su questo argomento sia stato stampato in una lingua locale (non in latino). In quel periodo, la produzione dei grandi centri editoriali europei, per fare un esempio vicino, Venezia, pubblicava soprattutto opere in latino; si parla di una percentuale tra il 70% e l'80% del totale, mentre quella destinata alla lingua locale era molto più ridotta, tra il 20 e il 25% e ad altre lingue residuali intorno al 5%. Nel caso catalano, la produzione editoriale in latino si aggirava intorno al 65% tra il latino/spagnolo e il 35% della lingua catalana.¹¹ L'edizione di testi in catalano non si limitò ai

⁷ Perottus, Nicolaus, *Rudimenta grammatices*. Barcelona: Johannes de Salsburga and Paul Hurus, 12 Dec. 1475. Folio. GW: M31136; ISTD ip00304800.

⁸ Aegidius (Columna) Romanus, *De regimine principum* [Catalan] *Lo libre del regiment dels prínceps*. Tr: Arnau Estanyol. Ed: Aleix de Barcelona. Barcelona: Nicolaus Spindeler, for Joan Çacoma, 2 Nov. 1480. Folio. GW 7220; ISTD ia00090000.

⁹ *Trobes en laors de la Verge Maria*. [Valencia: Lambert Palmart, after 25 Mar. 1474]. 4°. ISTD im00270500.

¹⁰ Escobedo, *Un incunable científic català, 7-92*, con edizione facsimile.

¹¹ Calcolo realizzato a partire dai 188 risultati associati alla Catalogna forniti dal catalogo GW: 116 edizioni in latino, 64 in catalano e 8 in spagnolo.

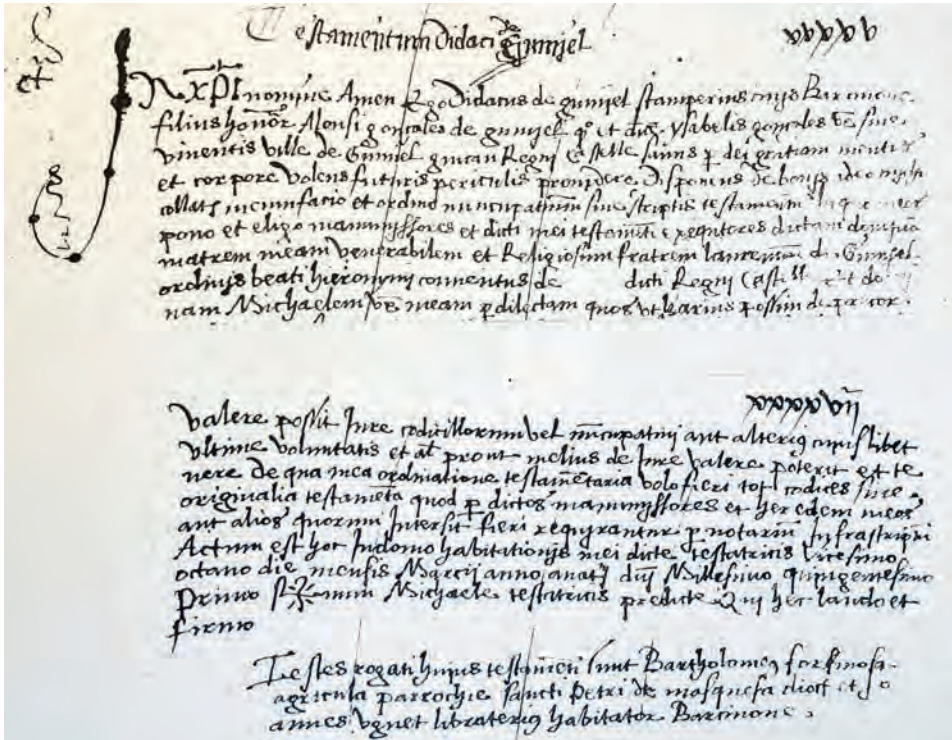


Figura 6 Testamento di Diego de Gumiel, tipografo, cittadino di Barcellona. 1501. AHPB. 256/69. Bartomeu Torrent, *Llibre de testaments*. 1491, gener, 31-1516, desembre, 31, ff.45r-47r. Riproduzione dell'inizio e della fine del documento notarile © AHPB

confini territoriali della Catalogna attuale: sono attestate edizioni in catalano in varie località distribuite in Spagna, ad Almansa, Huete, Maiorca, Toledo, Valencia, Saragozza, in Francia, a Perpignano e Tolosa, e in Italia, a Cagliari, Napoli, e Venezia.¹²

¹² Dati ricavati dal catalogo GW a partire dalla ricerca della lingua (catalano) e del luogo di stampa degli incunaboli.

3.5 Montserrat (Barcellona): un sigillo editoriale con secoli di storia (Luschner, 1499)

La stampa dell'abbazia benedettina di Montserrat (Barcellona), con attività attestata dello stampatore Joan Luschner dal 1499, è uno dei sigilli editoriali attivi più antichi d'Europa.

3.6 Stampatori stranieri e catalani nella stampa incunabile in Catalogna

Nella Catalogna del XV secolo gli stampatori erano prevalentemente stranieri e, in particolare provenienti dall'attuale Germania, dove nacque l'arte della stampa. Si spostavano nelle diverse località citate, spesso si associavano tra di loro e, in alcune occasioni, anche con stampatori locali. Fino al 1500, tra i forestieri che lavoravano in Catalogna annoveriamo:

- Enric Botel (*Enricus de Saxonia, magister librorum d'estampa, oriundus civitatis Ehinbech, diocesis Maguntinensis, dominationis serenissime imperatoris Alamannie*).
- Joan Gherlinc (*Iohannes Gherlinc, empremtatorum librorum, de Alamania; Iohannes Garlinch, magister de stampa alammanus, habitator Barchinone*).
- Joan Luschner (*Iohanni Luzner... alamanis stamperii, degentibus Barchinone; mestra Johan Luschner, alamanus, mestra de stampa*).
- Joan Rosenbach (*Johan Arrosbac, stamper, nadiu de la ciutat de Adilberc de Alamanya, ara ciutedà... de Barchinona; Iohannem Rosbade, magistrum librorum d'impremta, commorantem Barchinone*).
- Nicolau Spindeler (*Nicholaus Spindoler, empremtator librorum de stampa, parciun Alamannie, pro nunc civis Barchinone; Nicholau Spindaler, alamannus, magister stampe*).

I 'tedeschi' erano il gruppo di stampatori stranieri più importante, ma non furono gli unici a offrire i loro servizi nell'epoca degli incunabili a Barcellona e in altre città. Ne ricordiamo in particolare uno di origine castigliana per la sua prolungata attività editoriale:

- Diego de Gumiel (*Diego de Gumiel, stamper, ciutadà de Barchinona; Didacus de Gumiel, stamperius, civis Barchinone*). Gumiel è morto a Barcellona, dove è conservato il suo testamento [fig. 6].

A loro andrebbero sommati alcuni operai, quali tipografi, compositori, ecc., anch'essi stranieri, meno noti ma altrettanto importanti, tedeschi ma anche francesi, italiani, svizzeri o castigliani, che li accompagnavano nei loro spostamenti.

Gli stampatori catalani individuati in questo periodo sono quattro, di cui alcuni a quanto pare prediligevano l'attività di libraio o di editore:

- Pere Posa (*Petro Posa, presbitero, magistro de la stampa*).
- Pere Miquel (*Pere Miquel, librater e stamper*).
- Gabriel Pou (*Gabrieli Pou, stamperio*).
- Bartomeu Labarola (*Barthomeu Labarola, mestre de letre de stampa, ciutadà de Barchinona*).

Alcuni dei tipografi citati, stranieri o catalani, sono collegati, come abbiamo visto, con le edizioni incluse nelle epigrafi precedenti.

3.7 Il commercio di libri nella Barcellona tardomedievale: librai, editori e altri

Il mercato del libro nella Barcellona del XIV e XV secolo è in mano a una comunità composta soprattutto da ebrei, che a partire dal *po-grom* del 1391 si convertiranno in massa al cristianesimo, mentre si individuano alcuni, pochi, stranieri, come il francese Carmini Ferrer e il tedesco Hans Koberger, membro della potente famiglia di stampatori di Norimberga. Per quanto riguarda il periodo degli incunaboli, sono state individuate circa 45 librerie. Molti dei loro membri furono bersaglio dell'Inquisizione in quanto 'giudaizzanti' o per aver pubblicato, secondo il Sant'Uffizio, dei libri eretici. Questi librai commerciavano sia materiale di scrittura sia manoscritti e libri stampati. In quei primi tempi della stampa, molti di questi libri erano di origine italiana (ricordiamo che l'arte della stampa fu introdotta a Subiaco nel 1464, a Roma nel 1467, a Venezia nel 1469 e a Napoli nel 1470) e i primi incunaboli stranieri attestati in Catalogna, o in mano a umanisti catalani, sono di origine italiana, per esempio, nel 1477 il notaio e archivista reale Pere Miquel Carbonell acquisisce un incunabolo di Seneca edito da Mattia Moravo a Napoli solo due anni prima, nel 1475.¹³ È risaputo che molti di questi librai esercitarono anche la professione di editore. La testimonianza di Joan Sacoma è emblematica: membro di una nota famiglia di librai, finanzia, tra le altre, la citata edizione del 1480 del *Regiment dels princeps* di Egidio Colonna (bottega di Nicolau Spindeler) e figura tra i perseguitati dall'Inquisizione per aver fatto stampare un libro qualificato come eretico (venne condannato a morte, scampò all'esecuzione grazie alla fuga, i suoi beni vennero confiscati e la sua effigie bruciata in un *auto-dafè*). Altri membri della comunità di librai patirono situazioni simili (i Corró, Sastre, Trinxer, ecc). Come dicevamo nell'introduzione,

¹³ Seneca, L.A. *Opera philosophica. Epistolae*. [Naples: Matthias Moravus, 1475]. Folio. GW M41235; ISTC is00368000.

nel 1553 fu fondata a Barcellona la *Confraria de Sant Jeroni de Llibrers de Barcelona* (Confraternita dei Librai di San Girolamo), la seconda in Europa dopo il Collegio degli Stampatori e Librai di Venezia nel 1548 e prima della Stationers Company britannica del 1557. La singolarità della confraternita catalana è che, a differenza delle altre, gli stampatori ne erano esclusi. Pur essendoci il monopolio del commercio del libro e del materiale di scrittura, è stato possibile documentare che persone che svolgevano altre attività professionali praticavano una certa concorrenza sleale (tra questi, rivenditori, *corredors de coll* o *d'orella*, corredori, bidelli della Cattedrale di Barcellona o qualche artigiano, come alcuni sarti che si dedicavano alla libreria come seconda attività).

3.8 I notai di Barcellona: un gruppo con iniziative editoriali

Tra i tipografi catalani, è interessante osservare la presenza di un consistente gruppo di persone legate al mondo notarile. Riprendendo due degli esempi già citati: dietro il primo libro datato di Barcellona, i *Rudimenta grammatices* di Niccolò Perotti (1475), c'era Joan Peyró, dell'ufficio del pronotaio reale, e Andreu Mir, notaio barcelonese, collaborò con il libraio Joan Sacoma per la versione catalana del *Josephus* (Flavio Josefo, *Antiquitates judaicae*), stampata nella bottega di Nicolau Spindeler nel 1482.¹⁴

3.9 L'edizione incunabile: alcuni dati

Le edizioni vanno da un minimo di 100-200 esemplari a un massimo di 2.000, con una media di 400-500 esemplari. Com'è risaputo, di alcune edizioni non si conserva alcun esemplare e la loro esistenza è soltanto attestata da documenti (in molti casi in modo poco preciso). Proponiamo qui l'esempio di un'opera in catalano conosciuta in tutto il mondo e un vero e proprio best-seller dell'epoca degli incunabili: della prima edizione del *Tirant lo Blanc* di Joanot Martorell, uno di quei libri di cavalleria che Don Chisciotte salvò nel famoso episodio dello scrutinio della sua biblioteca, realizzata a Valencia nel 1490, vennero stampati 715 esemplari; la domanda permise nel 1497 di stamparne una seconda edizione di 300 esemplari a Barcellona. Oggi, dei 715 esemplari dell'edizione del 1490 se ne conservano 4, alcuni incompleti, e dei 300 esemplari di quella del 1497 soltanto 3, due dei quali incompleti. E parliamo di un best-seller di grande diffusione,

¹⁴ Josephus, Flavius, *De antiquitate judaica* [Catalan] *Lo libre de les antiquitats iudaycas*. [Barcelona: Nicolaus Spindeler, 1 Apr. 1482]. GW: M15178; ISTC: ij00487600.

Epistola Christophori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas pergreſſas octauo antea mense auspicijs ⁊ ere inuictissimorū fernādi ⁊ Delisaber Hispaniæ Regū missus fuerat: ad magnificū dñm Gabrielem Sanchis eorundē serenissimorū Regum Tesaurariū missa: quā nobilitas ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab Hispano idiomate in latinum cōuertit tertio kalē Maii. M. cccc. xciiij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam susceptę prouincię rem perfectam me ꝑsecutum fuisse gratum tibi fore scio: has constitui exarare: que te vniscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere geste inuentęq; admoncant. Tricesimotertio die postq; Gadibus discessi in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omnium ꝑo felicissimo Rege nostro ꝑconio celebrato ⁊ vtilissis extensis contradicente nemine ꝑossessionem accepi: ꝑimeq; earum diui Saluatoris nomen imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Eam hō Indi Guanabanin vocant. Aliarū etiam vnam quancq; nouo nomine nuncupauī: quippe aliā insulam Sanctę Marię Conceptionis: aliam fernandinam: aliam Dysabellam: aliam Joanam: ⁊ sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Cum ꝑimum in eam insulam quam dudum Joanam vocari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius litus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq; eam magnam nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulā: sed continentem Ebatai prouinciā esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns oppida municipiaue in maritimis sita confinibꝫ ꝑter aliquos vicos ⁊ ꝑredia rustica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibam: quare simul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltas existimans aliquā me vrbem villasue inuenturū. Deniq; videns q; longe admodum ꝑgressis nihil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmoi via nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: q; ipse fugere exoptabā: terris etenim regnabat bꝫmas: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtenderes



Figura 7 Columbus, Christophorus, *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. [After 29 Apr. 1493]. [Rome: Stephan Planck]. 4°. GW M07173; ISTC ic00756500, f1r. Inc. 29-8°. Biblioteca de Catalunya © BC

un libro di gran formato e dalle rifiniture accurate, non di una delle tante *menudències* (carabattole) librerie di scarso valore che circolavano all'epoca (sillabari, almanacchi, *catons*, ecc.).

3.10 I prezzi dei incunaboli: un campo da esplorare

I prezzi richiederebbero un approfondimento monografico: per la Catalogna, e per la penisola in generale, siamo privi di studi come quelli sviluppati in Italia da Giovanni Bonifati, Flavia Bruni, Francesca Cenni, Angela Nuovo, Caterina Tristano e altri sul mercato tardomedievale del libro. In sintesi, possiamo assicurare che l'irruzione del libro stampato causò un calo del prezzo pari a un valore compreso fra un quinto (1/5) e un ottavo (1/8) del prezzo originario stimato – o documentalmente conosciuto di vendita – per i manoscritti, pur continuando a essere elevato. I supporti e materiali per la stampa erano costosi e il prezzo di vendita del libro di solito era il doppio di quello del costo della stampa. L'utile, pertanto, era scarso e i rischi considerevoli; infatti, molti degli stampatori ed editori citati affrontarono difficoltà economiche. I prezzi, ovviamente, devono essere confrontati con altri prodotti o attività. Nel 1498 un *Breviario* a uso della diocesi di Vic (Barcellona), già rilegato, poteva costare 2 lire (l'equivalente di 40 soldi o *sous*); dal lato opposto, le *Ore* di modesta fattura, anch'esse *di stampa*, potevano costare 1 *sou*. Secondo il studio di Madurell Marimon e Rubió Balaguer, nello stesso periodo un tipografo veneziano che lavorava in una tipografia catalana, operaio qualificato, guadagnava 3,5 lire al mese (salario, vitto e alloggio). I documenti coevi sul mercato del libro manoscritto e stampato, tra cui gli inventari di librerie e le aste o vendite all'incanto, oltre agli stessi incunaboli, alcuni con annotazioni sui loro prezzi d'acquisto, aiuteranno in un futuro a conoscere meglio questo mercato. L'impresa è notevole.¹⁵

4 Il 'mercato' degli incunaboli oggi: un esempio comune tra Catalogna e Italia

A proposito di prezzi e del mercato del libro, mi piacerebbe concludere con una notizia recente che collega la Catalogna all'Italia, Barcellona a Firenze e Roma, e tutte all'epoca degli incunaboli. Il mese di giugno 2018 la stampa spagnola ha dichiarato che le autorità degli Stati Uniti avevano consegnato all'ambasciatore spagnolo un esemplare dell'*Epistola de insulis nuper inventis* di Cristoforo Colombo, un incunabolo di 4 fogli in latino, edito a Roma nel 1493 da

¹⁵ Vedi Madurell Marimon, Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia*, 84*-93*.

Stephan Planck [fig. 7].¹⁶ Il testo, la cui prima edizione è in spagnolo, è datato Lisbona 4 marzo 1493 ed è famoso per essere la prima lettera in cui Cristoforo Colombo narra ai Re Cattolici la scoperta del Nuovo Mondo. Di questo incunabolo si conoscono in tutto il mondo 9 edizioni (6 latine, 2 spagnole, 1 tedesca),¹⁷ e uno di essi si trova dal 1918 nella BC, a Barcellona, dove ne è stata fatta una copia digitale nel 2004 (anzi, forse sarebbe meglio dire 'si trovava'). La notizia del suo ritrovamento ha permesso di scoprire che l'esemplare di Barcellona era stato venduto nel novembre del 2005 in Italia per 600.000 € e nel giugno del 2009 è stato venduto di nuovo in Brasile per circa 1.000.000 \$. A quanto pare, l'incunabolo era stato rubato in un momento indeterminato tra la digitalizzazione della copia (2004) e la sua prima vendita (novembre 2005). Le autorità degli Stati Uniti, che seguivano il caso di questo e di altri incunaboli fin dal 2011, lo hanno recuperato dal suo ultimo proprietario nel 2017. E fino all'anno scorso nessuno si era accorto del furto? No. Il ladro, o i ladri, aveva sostituito l'originale con una copia quasi perfetta, per cui la sua scomparsa era passata inosservata alla BC che, tra l'altro, conserva un fondo di 583 edizioni diverse corrispondenti a 646 incunaboli. La copia digitale ha permesso di confermare l'autenticità della lettera recuperata. Secondo notizie del mese di giugno 2018 la lettera è ora a Madrid, presso la sede del Ministero della Cultura, ben custodita, e in breve tornerà a far parte del fondo di incunaboli della BC.¹⁸

La cosa curiosa è che non è l'unica. Secondo le notizie della stampa, la Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze ne ha recuperato un altro esemplare nel 2016 e la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana di Roma un altro il mese di luglio 2018 in coincidenza con la restituzione della lettera 'catalana'. Le indagini, a quanto pare, non sono concluse. Riferisco ai lettori quest'episodio, da cui potremmo ricavare diverse riflessioni, per mostrare, ancora una volta, anche se forse non ce n'era bisogno, che il patrimonio degli incunaboli è, e senza eccezioni, di un valore incalcolabile. Anche se alcuni gli attribuiscono un prezzo, un prezzo elevato.

Per quanto riguarda la Catalogna, e anche la penisola iberica, le fonti da esplorare e gli incunaboli da studiare approfonditamente sono tuttora molti, e le informazioni di cui disponiamo sono spesso, purtroppo, contraddittorie. Come si può osservare nel catalogo del-

¹⁶ Columbus, Christophorus, *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. [Rome: Stephan Planck, after 29 Apr. 1493]. GW M07173; ISTC ic00756500.

¹⁷ Secondo GW e ISTC.

¹⁸ «La noticia de América vuelve a casa». *La Vanguardia*, 6 June 2018; «La carta robada de Cristóbal Colón vuelve de las Américas». *El País*, 8 June 2018; «La carta perdida de Colón». *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 8 June 2018.

la mostra allestita durante il convegno,¹⁹ il lavoro da svolgere è ancora notevole e, per la penisola, ingente.

Abbreviazioni

AHPB = *Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona*

BC = Biblioteca de Catalunya. URL <http://www.bnc.cat/> (2019-01-28).

CCUC = *Catàleg Col·lectiu del Patrimoni Bibliogràfic de Catalunya*. URL http://ccuc.cbuc.cat/search~S22*cat (2019-01-28).

CCPBE = *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español*. URL <http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCPB/ccpbopac/> (2019-01-28)

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. URL <https://www.gesamtkatalog-derwiegendrucke.de/> (2019-01-28).

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*. URL <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/> (2019-01-28).

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¹⁹ Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*.

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Section 4

Illustration and Digital Tools

The Decoration and Illustration of Venetian Incunabula From Hand Illumination to the Design of Woodcuts

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Abstract The paper summarises the decoration of Venetian incunabula from 1469-1500. In the early 1470s, illuminators experimented with schemes for ‘finishing’ the printed books, decorating the margins and spaces left blank for initials. The high numbers of hand-illuminated volumes indicate that numerous miniaturists must have come to Venice for this work. In the later 1470s and 1480s, incunabula continued to be illuminated, but greater numbers of each edition were printed, so the proportion that were decorated was lower. In the 1490s, miniaturists designed woodcuts that were printed with every copy of an edition. It is urged that historians of the book trade study the evidence provided by the hand-illumination and woodcut decoration of incunabula.

Keywords Incunabula. Hand-illumination. Illustration. Venice. Trade.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Early 1470s: Modes of Hand-illumination. – 3 Magnitude and Implications of the Hand-Illuminated Incunabulum Phenomenon. – 4 Patrons and Miniaturists. – 5 The Later 1470s and 1480s. – 6 1490s: Woodcut Frontispieces and Illustrations. – 7 Concluding Observations.

1 Introduction

The phenomenon of the hand-illuminated Venetian incunabulum and the trajectory from hand-decoration of individual incunabula to the illustration of printed books with woodcuts is relatively well-known to art historians who specialise in the study of illuminated manuscripts and early printed books,



but less well-known to incunabulists. The following summary of this wide-spread artistic phenomenon will emphasise the usefulness of considering hand-illumination as an important component of Venetian incunabula production and trade.

2 The Early 1470s: Modes of Hand-illumination

As is well known, the first printing press in Venice, that of Johannes de Spira, opened in 1469, to be followed rapidly by others.¹ The period 1469-1474 was dominated by two presses, that of the de Spira brothers, Johannes and Vindelino, and that of Nicolaus Jenson.² Although printers soon began to develop aesthetic principles of their own, the initial publications echoed the layout of contemporary manuscripts. If one compares a Cicero manuscript written in Florence in 1411³ with an Augustine *De civitate Dei* printed by the de Spira brothers in 1470⁴ [fig. 1], one can see that scribes and early printers alike designed their pages with wide margins, gaps between significant segments of the text awaiting captions, and indented lines of text where large capital letters could be added by hand. For the Newberry copy of the printed Augustine, no large initials have been added to the spaces provided for them, although a scribe has already completed several rubrics, now faded.

If the Newberry copy of the 1470 Augustine is compared with a copy of the edition now in Treviso, it can be seen that an artist has painted decorative borders in three margins, consisting of white vine (*bianchi girari*) patterns isolated by background areas of red, green, blue and gold [fig. 2].⁵ As noted, the printer has indented lines of text awaiting capital letters to be added by hand, and the miniaturist has inserted two large gold initials, also entangled in white vines. In the lower margin, a pair of lively satyrs drawn in sepia ink support a circular green laurel wreath, providing a space for a potential owner's coat of arms.

I wish to thank Cristina Dondi and all the members of her team for the help and friendship they have given me over the years of the 15cBOOKTRADE project.

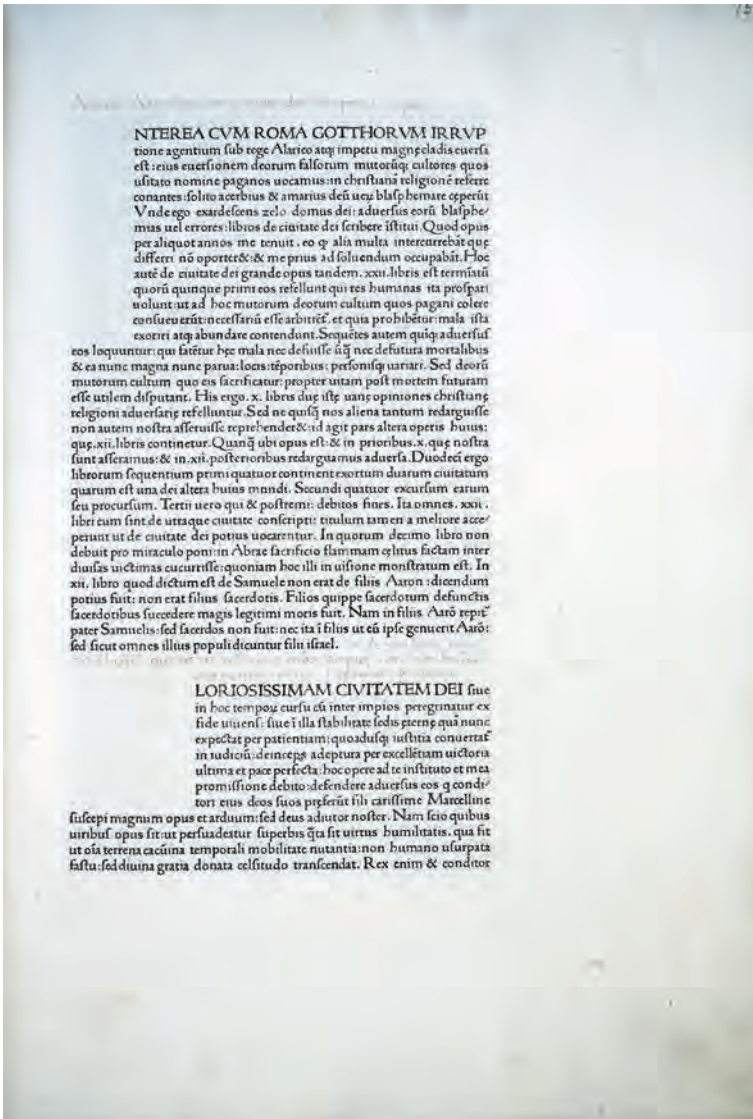
1 On Venetian printing cf. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice to the End of 1481". *The Library*, 129-52; Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing* (and Cozzi, "Review Article: Books and Society", 86-98); Zorzi, "Stampa, illustrazione libraria", 2: 686-702; Needham, "Venetian Printers", 157-200; Dondi, *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500*.

2 Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*; Hellinga, "Nicolas Jenson and Peter Ugelheimer", 152-65.

3 Cicero, *Orationes*, 1411 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville, 78); Jensen, Kauffmann, *A Continental Shelf*, 40-1, no. 11, colour illustration.

4 Augustinus, *De civitate dei*. Venice: Johannes and Vindelino de Spira, 1470. Folio. GW 2877; ISTC ia01233000 (Chicago, Newberry Library, Pr 4019).

5 Augustinus, 1470, as in note 4 (Treviso, Biblioteca Civica).



INTEREA CVM ROMA GOTTHORVM IRRVP
 tione agentium sub rege Alarico atq; impetu magnae cladis euerſa
 eſt: eius euerſionem deorum falſorum: mutioriq; cultores quos
 uſitato nomine paganos uocamus: in chriſtiana religione referre
 conantes: ſolito acerbus & amarus dei uex: blaſphemate operit.
 Vnde ego exardeſcens zelo: domus dei: aduerſus eorū blaſphē-
 mus: uel errores libros de ciuitate dei ſcribere ſtitui. Quod opus
 per aliquot annos me tenuit, eo q̄ alia multa intercurrētib; que
 differri nō oportere: & me prius ad ſoluendum occupabāt. Hoc
 autē de ciuitate dei: grande opus tandem. xxi. libris eſt terminātū
 quorū quinque primi eos reſellunt qui res humanas ita proſpati
 uolunt: ut ad hoc mutorum deorum cultum quos pagani colere
 conſueuerūt: neceſſariū eſſe arbitret̄: et quia prohibēt: mala iſta
 exorti atq; abundare contendunt. Sequētes autem quiq; aduerſus
 eos loquuntur: qui ſcitū hęc mala nec deſiſſe: ūq̄ nec deſitura mortalibus
 & ea nunc magna nunc parua: locis: tēporibus: perſoniſq; uariari. Sed deorū
 mutorum cultum: quo eis ſacrificatur: propter uitam poſt mortem futuram
 eſſe utilem diſputant. His ergo. x. libris dug iſte uarij opinionēs chriſtianiſ
 religioni aduerſarij reſelluntur. Sed ne quiſq; nos aliena tantum redarguiſſe
 non autem noſtra aſſeruiſſe reprehenderet: ad agit pars altera operis: huius:
 que. xii. libris continetur. Quanq̄ ubi opus eſt: & in prioribus. x. que noſtra
 ſunt aſſeramus: & in. xii. poſterioribus redarguimus aduerſa. Duodeci ergo
 librorum ſequentium primi quatuor continent exortium duarum ciuitatum
 quarum eſt una dei altera huius mundi. Secundi quatuor excuſum earum
 ſeu procuſum. Terti uero qui & poſtremi: debitos fines. Ita omnes. xxxi.
 libri cum ſint de utraque ciuitate: conſcripti: titulum tamen a meliore acce-
 perunt ut de ciuitate dei potius uocentur. In quorum decimo libro non
 debuit pro miraculo poni in Abreæ ſacrificio ſtamam eſtius factam inter
 diuiſas uictimas cucurriſſe: quoniam hoc illi in uiſione monſtratum eſt. In
 xii. libro quod dictum eſt de Samuele non erat de filiis Aaron: idendum
 potius fuit: non erat filius ſacerdotis. Filios quippe ſacerdotum deſunctis
 ſacerdotibus ſuccedere magis legitimi moris fuit. Nam in filiis. Aarō reſp̄t
 pater Samuels: ſed ſacerdos non fuit: nec ita i filius ut eū ipſe genuerit. Aarō:
 ſed ſicut omnes illius populi dicuntur filii iſrael.

LORIOSISSIMAM CIVITATEM DEI ſue
 in hoc tempore curſu eū inter impios peregrinatur ex
 fide uiuenti: ſiue iſta ſtabilitate ſedis eterne: quā nunc
 exſpectat per patientiam: quo aduſq; uſtitia conuerſat̄
 in iudiciū: deinceps adeptura per excellētiam uictoria
 ultima et pace perfecta: hoc opere ad te inſtituto et mea
 promiſſione debito: defendere aduerſus eos q̄ condi-
 tori eius deo ſuos preſerūt ſibi cariffime Marcelline
 ſuſcepi magnum opus et arduum: ſed deus adiutor noſter. Nam ſcio quibus
 uiribus opus ſit: ut perſuadetur: ſuperbis q̄ta ſit uirtus humilitatis: qua ſit
 ut oīa terrena caciūna temporali mobilitate nutantia: non humano uſurpata
 ſiſta: ſed diuina gratia donata celiſtudo tranſcendat. Rex enim & conditor

Figure 1 Augustinus, *De ciuitate dei*. 1470.
 Venice: Johannes and Vindelino de Spira. Chicago, Newberry Library, Inc Pr 4019, [c1r]

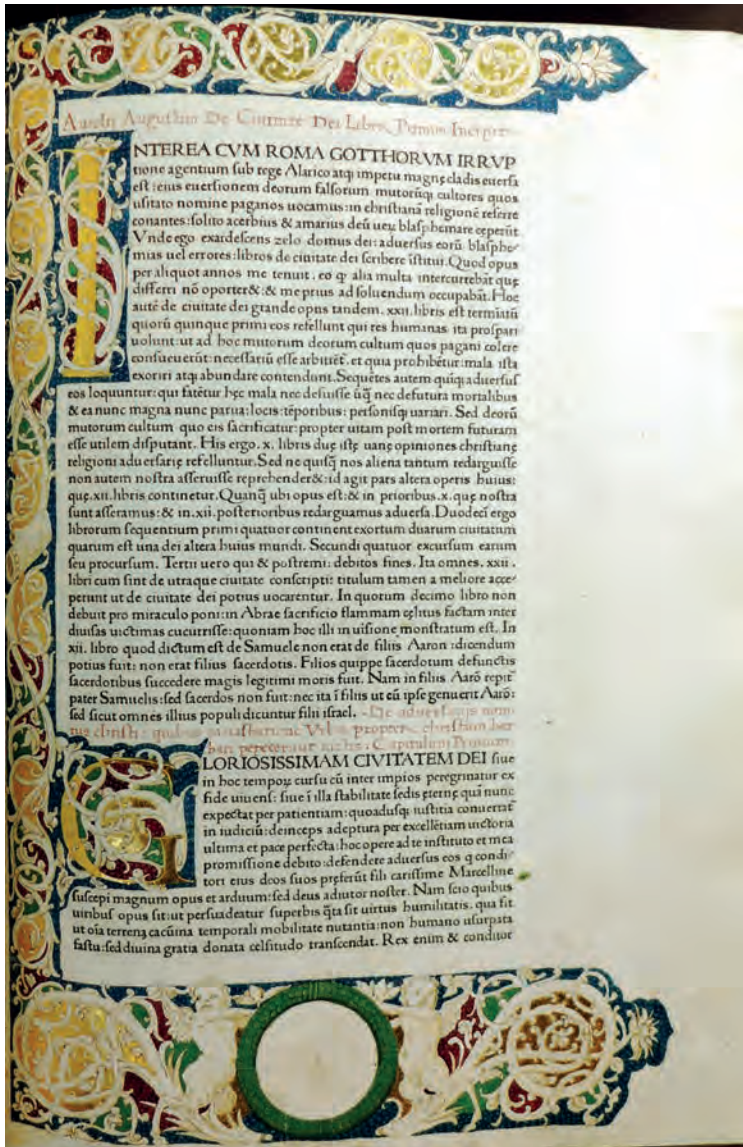


Figure 2 Giovanni Vendramin, white vine borders with infant satyrs, in Augustinus (as in fig. 1). Treviso, Biblioteca Civica [c1r]

Thousands of the books printed in the period 1469-1500 were indeed ‘finished’ with similar initials and borders painted, that is, ‘hand-illuminated’, by artists known as miniaturists or illuminators.⁶ When I refer to ‘hand-illumination’ throughout this paper, I am restricting my study to those copies that have decoration added in gold leaf or shell gold, egg tempera paint (usually ‘glair’, pigments mixed with egg white) or water-based colours.⁷ It is critical to understand that this kind of decoration *must* have been executed by professional artists who were trained in draftsmanship, and in the technical processes of applying gold leaf and paint to paper or to parchment. These are artistic skills achieved through years of apprenticeship leading to full mastery, and cannot be explained as the product of untrained amateurs. For example, the distinctive draftsmanship of the Treviso satyrs enables an attribution to Giovanni Vendramin, a well-documented miniaturist who illuminated many manuscripts and incunabula for Jacopo Zeno, Bishop of Padua (1460-1481).⁸ The figures can be compared to satyrs found on the frontispiece of a Valturcius *De re militari* manuscript of 1472 in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Padua, or the paired centaurs of a copy of Plinius *Historia naturalis*, printed by Johannes de Spira in 1469, now in the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna,⁹ both attributed to Vendramin. In the three compositions, the curly haired mythical creatures look back over their shoulders as they pause their vivacious movements to support a central object: a wreath, a vase, a shield.

Further investigation of the 1470 Augustine provides a rich snapshot of printers’ and miniaturists’ activities in relation to one of the earliest Venetian editions. Its colophon states that Johannes de Spira died during the production and that his brother Vindelinius complet-

⁶ On hand illumination of Venetian and North Italian incunabula, cf. Mariani Canova, *La miniatura veneta del Rinascimento, 1450-1500*; Alexander, “Notes on Some Veneto-Paduan Illuminated Books of the Renaissance”, 9-20; Armstrong, *Painted Page*, 35-47 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 489-523); Baldassin Molli, Canova Mariani, Toniolo, *La miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento*; Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy 1450-1600*, 177-97, ch. 6, “The Illumination by Hand of Early Printed Books in Italy”.

⁷ On these techniques cf. *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts* by Michelle Brown, revised edition by Elizabeth C. Teviotdale and Nancy Turner. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018, 22, 58; De Hamel, *Manuscript Illumination*, 57-61.

⁸ For Giovanni Vendramin, cf. Mariani Canova, “Nuovi contributi per Giovanni Vendramin miniatore padovano”, 81-109; Bentivoglio-Ravasio, “Vendramin, Giovanni”, 982-8 (hereafter DBMI); and for his work for Jacopo Zeno, cf. Mariani Canova, “Bibliofilia nel Rinascimento a Padova”, 345-61.

⁹ Robertus Valturcius, *De re militari*. (Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. D.11, fol. 1r), illustrated in Mariani Canova, *Miniatura veneta*, pl. 18; Plinius *Historia naturalis*. Venice: Johannes de Spira, [before 18 Sept.] 1469. Folio. ISTC ip00786000. (Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, Inc. 670, Vol. II, fol. 1), illustrated in Mariani Canova, *Miniatura veneta*, pl. 14.



Figure 3 North Italian miniaturist, white vine borders and unidentified coat of arms, in Augustinus (as in fig. 1). Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Library, Inc. A1092 folio, sig. [c.1r]

ed the printing; it further noted that Johannes' editions of Cicero had 100 and 300 copies respectively, and his Pliny was issued in 100 copies.¹⁰ The Augustine edition was likely to have been on the higher end of this production; there are recorded 101 extant copies, of which at

¹⁰ The colophon is given in full in BMC V, 153. On print runs, cf. White, "A Census of Print Runs for Fifteenth-Century Books" (https://www.cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/bibliographical_data#researching_print_runs).

least 9 were printed on vellum,¹¹ and I am aware of an impressive 39 copies that received some hand-illumination. In all these cases, the miniaturists have supplied gold or painted initials, and have decorated one or more margins with painted borders. If the book already had an intended buyer, the coat of arms of the recipient was added, usually in the lower margin surrounded by a wreath.

A hitherto unpublished copy of the 1470 Augustine in the Chapin Library of Williams College shows the splendid effect that the borders and initials can create [fig. 3].¹² The gold leaf of the initials has been burnished so that light reflects from its shiny surface; white vine patterns enliven the borders, and in the lower margin is a brightly blazoned shield of an unidentified owner. A scribe has already inscribed four lines of text with red ink, also filling areas left blank by the printer for the addition of rubrics. The dazzling overall effect is a far cry from the 'unfinished' appearance of the Newberry Library copy [fig. 1].

The early 1470s was also a period of intense experimentation as printers and miniaturists sought to 'finish' the massive onslaught of newly printed books. One technique that was probably intended to speed the process of decoration was to enhance the margins of individual copies of a given edition with woodcut borders stamped by hand. To create a woodcut, an artist must first make a design on the flat surface of a narrow strip of wood; the wood is then carved so as to leave the raised lines of the design, which can be inked and stamped; the resulting pattern could then be painted with colours. Four copies of the de Spira Augustine of 1470 are known to have been decorated with this technique, and they suggest its popularity.¹³ The technique can best be appreciated by comparing two of these examples, one in the British Library [fig. 4] and a second in the Bridwell Library of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, TX [fig. 5]. In the lower margins, the two putti, each with a rabbit at his feet, turn gracefully

11 The recorded vellum copies of the de Spira 1470 Augustine are: Chantilly, Musée Condé, XX, I, D. 7 [no. 185]; Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. Inc. A 11; Nysa, Seminarium; Paris, BnF, Vél. 296; Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta (information kindly sent to me by Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni); San Marino, Huntington Library, 104597xLF; Private Collection, Switzerland (cf. Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters*, Cat. no. 6, and Illus. 6); Ex-H.P. Kraus, *Early Printed Books on Vellum*, Catalogue 156, 1980, Colour Pl. II; ex-Manchester, John Rylands University Library (Sotheby's, London, 14 April 1988, lot 13).

12 Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Library, Inc. A1092 folio (I thank Renzo Baldasso who brought the copy to my attention).

13 Examples of the 1470 Augustine with woodcut borders are: Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Forc. L.1.9 (Armstrong, Scapecchi, Toniolo, *Gli Incunaboli della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova*, colour pl. 16); Dallas, Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, 06056 [Goff A-1233]; London, British Library, C.15.d.8; Dublin, Trinity College Library, LL.c.37.



Figure 4 Venetian designer, woodcutter, and illuminator, hand-stamped woodcut borders with colour added. Macigni of Venice coat of arms, in Augustinus (as in fig. 1). London, British Library, C.15.d.8, sig. [c1r] © British Library Board



Figure 5 Venetian designer, woodcutter, and illuminator, hand-stamped woodcut borders with colour added, in Augustinus (as in fig. 1). Dallas, TX, Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, 06056 [Goff A-1233], sig. [c1r]

away from a shield, while grasping the end of a white vine over their shoulders. An artist has employed the same woodblock in each copy and then applied colours slightly differently. The inner margins reveal similar sequences of ovoid motifs that are also employed to form a partial border for the SMU example, while the outer margin of the British Library copy has been left blank.

Many of these woodcut motifs were catalogued by Lamberto Donati in the seventies, and were further explored by Susy Marcon in 1986.¹⁴ Remarkably, for the period 1469-1474, I now have records of 135 books that incorporate these borders: 80 in books printed by the de Spira brothers; 29 by Nicolaus Jenson; and 26 by other printers. Curiously, this technique for speeding up the production of ‘finished’ copies was abandoned after 1474.¹⁵

3 Magnitude and Implications of the Hand-Illuminated Incunable Phenomenon

The numbers of hand-illuminated incunabula executed in Venice in the early 1470s is strikingly high. I can present some figures for incunabula printed in Venice from 1469 through 1474 (the latter date chosen as a ‘cut-off’ because it is the year after which Vindelinus de Spira ceased regular publication).¹⁶ It may be remembered that I am defining ‘hand-illumination’ to include decoration in gold and coloured paints, or figural and architectural designs drawn in pen and ink, usually enhanced with watercolour tints. Not included are the thousands of incunabula containing rubrication, red and blue initials, or initials flourished in contrasting colours of ink.¹⁷ The sources of my numbers include personal observations of originals from

¹⁴ Donati, “I fregi xilografici”. *La Bibliofilia*, 74, 157-64, 303-27; and 75, 125-74; Marcon, “Esempi di xilominiatura”, 173-92; cf. also Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters*, 26-9.

¹⁵ The technique of creating a ‘master drawing’ that could be traced into the margins of more than one incunable, and then coloured, also occurs in a few cases; cf. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 68-9; Armstrong, “Venetian Incunables in Cambridge Collections”, 233-43, esp. 234-5 and fig. 4.

¹⁶ Attributed to Vindelinus de Spira are three editions in 1475-76, and the editions he printed in 1477 (BMC and ISTC).

¹⁷ Any count of these rubricated and flourished incunabula is far beyond my powers. However, I do identify a style of flourishing that appears in copies of Nicolaus Jenson’s 1478 *Breviarium* (Armstrong, “Nicolaus Jenson’s *Breviarium romanum*”, 421-67; reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 534-87). Valuable observations on rubrication, especially in books published in northern Europe, have been made by Smith “Patterns of Incomplete Rubrication”, 133-46; and “The Typography of Complex Texts”, 75-92.

1962 to date; illustrated printed sources;¹⁸ digitized facsimiles for which there are links in ISTC and GW; entries based on descriptions in MEI and Bod-Inc online; and examples that have been sent to me by many colleagues, to all of whom I am most grateful.¹⁹

For the years from 1469 to 1474, I have records of 351 incunabula printed by the de Spira brothers that were hand-illuminated, but it must immediately be acknowledged that there may be many more hand-illuminated copies among the extant books for which I have no information.²⁰ Of additional interest is that a startling 75 (21%) of these were decorated with the kind of woodcut borders noted above for copies of the de Spira Augustine of 1470. Of the incunabula printed by Nicolaus Jenson 1470-74, I record 279 hand-illuminated copies, of which 29 (10%) are known with hand-stamped woodcut borders. A significant number of books printed by the de Spira and by Jenson in these years were printed on vellum: 50 survive from the de Spira press, and 53 from Jenson, or about 16% of the surviving illuminated copies.²¹ Other early printers for whom I have been able to assemble some numbers for the years 1470-74 are Christophorus Valdarfer, Clemens Patavinus, Adam de Ambergau, Christophorus Arnoldus, Gabriel di Pietro, Bartolomeo Cremonensis, Alvise da Sale, Franciscus Renner, Federicus de Comitibus, Florentius de Argentina, Leonardus Aurl, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Jacobus Rubeus, and several anonymous printers.²² From this group at least 251 were hand-illuminated and 27 (11%) bear hand-stamped woodcut borders. If the totals from the de Spira, Jenson, and the printers just named are combined, the result is 881 hand-illuminated books, of which 131 had hand-stamped woodcut borders. Even if these 881 surviving books, hand-illuminated in the period 1469-74, represent

18 The numbers include many items from the following catalogues: Hermann, *Oberitalien: Venetien*; Pächt, Alexander, *Italian School*; Villani, *Un Tesoro nascosto*; Armstrong, Scapecchi, Toniolo, *Incunaboli... Seminario Vescovile di Padova*; Fumian, *Gli incunaboli miniati e xilografati*; Andriolo, Reynolds, *Books Printed in Italy*.

19 I wish to thank Jonathan Alexander; Renzo Baldasso; Martin Davies; Silvia Fumian; Scott Husby; John Lancaster; Matilde Malaspina; Sabrina Minuzzi; Laura Nuvoioni; Alessandra Panzanelli; Helena Szépe; Federica Toniolo; and Eric White. I beg to be forgiven if I have omitted the names of other colleagues who have been generous in this respect.

20 The same caution pertains for my numbers on copies from Jenson and other printers of this period.

21 ISTC records 2,261 surviving copies of De Spira books (1469-1474); and 1,482 surviving Jensons (1470-1474). It may be the case that a higher percentage of books printed on vellum (and decorated) have survived, in contrast to those printed on paper.

22 The anonymous printers for whose editions between 1470 and 1474 I have recorded hand-illuminated copies are: the Printer of Sallustius 1470, the Printer of Basilius, *De vita solitaria*; the Printer of Ausonius; the Printer of Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones*; the Printer of Brunus Aretinus (H 1565).

only half of an original total, then over 1,700 incunabula would have been hand-illuminated in Venice by professional miniaturists in a six year period, with some of the examples having been exported and decorated elsewhere. Regardless of what the mechanisms were for commissioning this work, there had to have been an influx of professional miniaturists to execute the illumination of these books.²³

A few efforts to calculate the expense of hand-illumination have been made, but more attention to this phenomenon is needed. The paper by Neil Harris in this volume documents the added expense of hand-illuminating a single volume, a copy of Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum* of 1474, now in the Boston Public Library.²⁴ The evidence appears in notations on a folio in the incunable, indicating relative payments for larger and smaller initials. Jonathan Alexander has discussed similar notations in anticipation of payment for a frontispiece and for initials found in a copy of Orosius *Historiae adversus paganos*, of around 1475, now in Trinity College, Cambridge.²⁵ Expenses incurred in the illuminating of contemporary manuscripts have been analysed by Anna Melograni, based on documents of payments for choirbooks of Ferrara Cathedral.²⁶ Although the evidence is at present extremely fragmentary, nevertheless even the roughest calculation of hand-illuminating 1700 incunabula in a six year period demands the attention of scholars who study the economics of the early book trade.

²³ For discussions of artists' workshop regulations cf. Favaro, *L'Arte dei pittori in Venezia*; Szépe, "Venetian Miniaturists", 31-60; Humphrey, *La miniatura per le confraternite*.

²⁴ Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum*. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 25 March 1474. 4°. ISTC ip00755000 (Boston BPL Q.404.8); cf. Neil Harris, essay in this volume.

²⁵ Orosius, Paulus, *Historiae adversus paganos*. [Vicenza]: Hermannus Liechtenstein, [about 1475]. Folio. ISTC io00097000 (Cambridge, Trinity College, Grylls.3.459). Cf. Alexander, "A Copy of Orosius", 289-300. The note reads: *148[?] lettere 7 doro i° principio'* and refers to the hand-illuminated frontispiece (*principio*), the gold and coloured initials, and the numerous rubricated initials in red and blue. The cost of these is not noted.

²⁶ Melograni, "La miniatura e i suoi costi", 151-80. More comparative data, for the high-end market, was published by Melograni in "The Illuminated Manuscript as a Commodity", 197-221; "Precisazioni sul costo di un codice di lusso", 123-28; "Quanto costa la magnificenza?", 7-24; "Manuscript Materials", 199-219; "Tipologie e costi della miniatura fiorentina di fine quattrocento", 111-24; "Oro, battiloro, orefici e la produzione libraria tra Medioevo e Rinascimento", 63-77.

4 Patrons and Miniaturists

Mention should also be made of several other editions from the early 1470s that are outstanding because of the high proportion of their illuminated copies, combined with indications of their ownership,²⁷ and with attributions to known miniaturists. An edition of Livy printed by Vindelinius de Spira in 1470 is known to have 26 of its 75 extant copies hand-illuminated (34.6%), several of which have elaborate frontispieces for two or three volumes.²⁸ It is also remarkable that of the 26 hand-illuminated copies, 14 (and possibly 17) were decorated with individually hand-stamped woodcut borders (at least 51.8%). Coats of arms in the Livy decoration show that copies were owned by members of the noble Venetian Priuli, Baffo, Trevisan, and Cornaro families, the non-noble *cittadini originari* family of the Friziero, and by the great Benedictine abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore.²⁹ Noble patrons also were pleased to possess copies decorated with hand-stamped and painted woodcuts: copies decorated in this technique were owned by the Dolfin, Donà dalle Rose, and Marcello families of Venice.³⁰

Even more decorated copies of Johannes de Spira's Pliny of 1469 are known. The print run is recorded at 100 copies,³¹ and at least 33 of these were hand-illuminated (over 30%). Thirty-one copies have decoration in Italian styles, primarily of Venice and the Veneto; of these two have woodcut borders hand-stamped and painted. Two other copies must have been exported undecorated to Germany where they were illuminated by miniaturists working in German styles. Coats of arms, inscriptions, and other evidence indicate ownership by Jacopo Zeno, Bishop of Padua (1460-1481) and Pietro Barozzi, Bishop of Padua (1487-1507), both members of noble Venetian families; other patrician owners were of the Corner, Erizzo, and Contarini families of Venice; Petrus Ugelheimer (c. 1442-46/1487-88), the aristocrat

²⁷ For provenance information cf. also the CERL databases which include a link to Paul Needham's *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum* (<https://www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/main>).

²⁸ Livius, *Historiae Romanae decades*. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1470. Folio. ISTC il00238000.

²⁹ For the miniaturists mentioned in this note and in notes 32, 36, 38, cf. references in notes 44, 46-56. Copies of the 1470 Livy with identifiable owners and miniaturists are: Priuli (Wien, ÖNB, Inc. 5.c.9), Putti Master; Baffo (Houghton, Typ Inc 4023), Pico Master; Trevisan (Venice, BNM, Inc. Ven. 110), Pico Master; Cornaro (Venice, BNM, Inc. V. 98-99), Giovanni Vendramin (?); Friziero (NY, Morgan, PML 279 [Ck1st, ff 719 [ii]), Pseudo-Girolamo (?); San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice (ex-Christie's, London, June 5-6, 2013, lot 209), Pico Master.

³⁰ Copies of the 1470 Livy with hand-stamped woodcut borders and identifiable owners are: Dolfin (Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. L. I. 8-9), Putti Master; Donà dalle Rose (NY, Morgan, PML 266 [ChL ff719a]), Franco de' Russi; Marcello (Venice, BNM, Inc. Ven. 101-103).

³¹ For the print run of the Pliny cf. note 10 above.

cratic German merchant resident in Venice and sometime business colleague of Nicolaus Jenson; and the monasteries of Santa Giustina in Padua (with unidentified coat of arms); and San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; and several copies containing unidentified coats of arms.³² These decorated copies show that from the first year of publication, Johannes de Spira enabled acquisition of a high proportion of his production with handsome hand-illumination.

Several editions printed by Nicolaus Jenson also have high numbers of hand-illuminated copies. For example, 22 of the extant 81 copies of Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione* of 1470, are known to have been illuminated, 6 of them with hand-stamped woodcut borders.³³ Likewise, 14 copies of the extant 52 copies of Tortellius of 1471 are beautifully decorated.³⁴ But the all-time winner in the hand-illuminated incunabula sweepstakes is Nicolas Jenson's 1472 edition of Pliny in Latin, for which I have records of 49 illuminated copies out of the 143 extant books (34%).³⁵ At least 10 copies were printed on vellum and 4 were decorated with hand-stamped woodcut borders. The list of owners as identified by family coats of arms reads like a 'Who's Who' of the Venetian patriciate: Barbarigo, Barbaro, Boldù, Cornaro, Donà, Foscari, Loredano, Negri, and Priuli; joined by Venetian *cittadini originari* Agostini and Macigni; Paduan nobility Conti and Granfioni; plus Malvezzi of Bologna, Buoninsegni and Medici of Florence, Masotti of Verona, and Cesi of Rome.³⁶ Numerous other coats of arms

32 For Jacopo Zeno cf. note 8 above; for Ugelheimer cf. *Hinter dem Pergament*. The Venetian noble owners of the 1469 Pliny are: Cornaro (London BL C.2.d.5); Erizzo (Venice, BNM, Inc. V. 106); Contarini (Venice, BNM, Inc. V. 1); Pietro Barozzi (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Inc. 307); Jacopo Zeno (Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, Inc. 670), Giovanni Vendramin. In addition: Petrus Ugelheimer (Paris, BnF, Vél. 493-494); Santa Giustina Padova (Chicago Newberry P-789 [with unidentified coat of arms]); San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Forc. K.1.13), Pico Master.

33 Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470. Folio. GW 9440; ISTC ie00118000.

34 Tortellius, *De orthographia*. Venice: Jenson, after 21 May 1471. Folio. ISTC it00395000.

35 Plinius Secundus, Gaius, *Historia naturalis*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. ISTC ip00788000.

36 Venetian noble families: Barbarigo (Wien, ÖNB, Inc. 5.B.1, vellum), Pico Master; Barbaro (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Stamp. Ross. 2165), Pico Master; Boldù (San Marino, Huntington Library, 94920, vellum), Pico Master; Cornaro (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, XX.II.D.5 [Nr. 1491], vellum), Putti Master; Donà Riva di Biasio (Coleraine, University of Ulster, Library, vellum), Franco de' Russi; Foscari (Wien, ÖNB, Ink 32-10), Master of the Rimini Ovid; Loredano (Wormsley Library, vellum), Pico Master; Negri (Paris, BnF, Rés. S. 415); Priuli (New York Public Library, Rare Books Division), Putti Master. Owners who were Venetian *cittadini originari* are: Agostini (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Stamp. Barb. AAA IV, I), Putti Master and workshop; and Macigni (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Forc. K.1.9), Putti Master. Paduan noble families are: Conti (London, British Library, C.2.d.8, vellum), Pico Master; Granfioni (ex-Alan Thomas, London), Pico Master. Other Italian noble families: Malvezzi of Bologna (Ox-



Figure 6 Master of the Pico Pliny, architectural frontispiece with Dante and Vergil in the Dark Wood. Priuli of Venice coat of arms, in Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia*. 1477-78. Milan: Ludovico and Alberto Pedemontani. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc 730, sig. b1r

on copies of Jenson's 1472 Pliny have not been identified.

The listing of owners of the Jenson Pliny highlights the issue of patronage of the earliest printers in Venice. Martin Lowry convincingly argued in 1991 that members of the Priuli family of Venice must have invested in the new industry of printing, in part because of the high number of incunabula bearing the Priuli coat of arms.³⁷ Lowry's count can be increased slightly to include nine books printed by the de Spira brothers, twelve printed by Nicolaus Jenson, and one printed by Cristoforo Valdarfer, all in the years 1469-1472. However, it should be kept in mind that Priuli arms also appear on several incunabula printed later: a Regiomontanus printed by Ratdolt in 1476; a Dante printed in Milan in 1477-78 [fig. 6]; and a Giustiniano printed by Antonius de Strata in 1482.³⁸

Even more secure assumptions regarding investment in the earliest printers may be made regarding twenty-two incunabula (twenty-four volumes) owned or in some way possessed by the Agostini, a non-noble Venetian *cittadini originari* family.³⁹ Members of this family were known to have been merchants of paper and bankers, and to have been designated as executors of Nicolaus Jenson's will.⁴⁰ Agostini ownership is confirmed by their coat of arms painted in twenty of the volumes,⁴¹ and for six of the volumes printed on vellum, the name *.b. agustini* is written one or more times, usually on the lower margin of a recto.⁴² In two cases, the words *de la Carità* and in two other cases *sancta feliciis* are written on lower margins across the

ford, Bodleian Library, Auct. N.1.2); Buoninsegni of Florence (Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 4087); Medici of Florence (London, British Library, G. 9382, possibly 19th century); Masotti of Verona (ex-Wardington Collection), Pico Master; Cesi of Rome (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 1157, vellum), Franco de' Russi.

37 Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 83-4.

38 Priuli arms appear in: Regiomontanus, Johannes, *Kalendarium [Italian] Calendarario*. Venice: Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, 1476. 4°. ISTC ir00103000 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 395D 054); Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*. Milan: Ludovicus and Albertus Pedemontani, 27 September 1477; 22 November 1477; 9 February 1478. Folio. GW 7965; ISTC id00028000 (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc 730), Pico Master; and Justiniano, Leonardo, *Canzonette*. Venice: Antonius de Strata, 9 March 1482. 4°. ISTC ij00501000 (Venice, BNM, Rari Ven. 484).

39 For the Agostini books cf. now Appendix 1; and Alexander, "Notes", nos. 3, 7 (Alexander suggested the coat of arms might be those of Nicolaus Jenson); Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters*, cat. nos. 17, 23, 35, 37-8, 41-2 (identifying coat of arms as Agostini); Armstrong, "The Agostini Plutarch", 86-96 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 215-32); Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson, passim* (on Agostini business affairs in relation to Jenson); Armstrong, "Venetian Incunables in Cambridge Collections", 233-43, and Color Pl. XVI. To my knowledge, no unified listing of the Agostini books has been published before; now cf. Appendix 1.

40 For English translation of Jenson's will, cf. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 228-34.

41 Appendix nos. 1-13, 16, 19, 20-1, 22-3, and 24.

42 Appendix nos. 9, 14-17, 19.



Figure 7 Girolamo da Cremona, frontispiece with fictive giant book in landscape, Agostini of Venice coat of arms, in Plutarchus, *Vitae virorum illustrium*, 1478. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson. New York, Morgan Library and Museum, 77565 [ChL767], sig. A.1r. © The Morgan Library & Museum, New York

gutter of a vellum bifolium, in addition to the name *b. agustini*.⁴³ It should probably be presumed that the Agostini were merchants of parchment, in addition to paper, and that the batches of parchment inscribed by “B Agostini” were destined for specific patrons.

The preferred miniaturists of the Agostini were the two most exquisite masters working in Venice in the 1470s, the Master of the London Pliny (London Pliny Master) and Girolamo da Cremona.⁴⁴ Among the most fascinating of these is a frontispiece for a Plutarch printed by Nicolaus Jenson in 1478, now divided between Paris and New York.⁴⁵ For the second volume, Girolamo da Cremona painted the margins of the opening text to resemble a gigantic book in a spectacular binding set in a rocky landscape [fig. 7]. Immediately surrounding the text of the Life of Cimon is a monochrome pink-red border decorated with floral motifs; gold clasps at the four corners suggest the protective furniture of a sumptuous binding. Also ‘attached’ to the ‘binding’ are clusters of jewels and cameos with profile busts of *all’antica* personages. The Agostini coat of arms is embedded in a huge jewelled cartouche in the lower margin. To the right of the oversized volume is a rocky landscape with ducks swimming in a pool, a tiny walled castle in the distance, and birds flying in the blue sky. The Agostini seem to have been amazingly compensated for their involvement with Jenson!

Mention of the London Pliny Master and Girolamo da Cremona opens the topic of the identifiable miniaturists who hand-illuminated incunabula in the early 1470s and on into the 1480s and 1490s, the later period to be discussed momentarily. Great strides have been made in defining the styles of miniaturists active in Venice in the incunable period, especially in the realisation that many of the same artists illuminated both manuscripts and incunabula. To judge from the decoration of Venetian imprints, in some cases amplified by documents, at least eleven miniaturists can be securely named as active in Venice in the incunable period (a number of whom have already been mentioned above). Those whose *oeuvres* have been identified are: the Master of the Olschki Plutarch,⁴⁶ the Master of the Putti (Put-

⁴³ Appendix nos. 14 and 16, Carità; nos. 15 and 17, S. Felicii.

⁴⁴ Agostini books illuminated by the Master of the London Pliny are Appendix nos. 2, 7, 10-12, 16, 18-21; for the Master of the London Pliny cf. Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters, passim*; Bentivoglio-Ravasio, “Maestro del Plinio di Londra”, 642-50 (which includes discussion of possible identification with Giovanni Todeschino). Agostini books illuminated by Girolamo da Cremona are Appendix nos. 9, 13, 22-3; cf. Toniolo, “Girolamo da Cremona”, 310-15.

⁴⁵ Appendix, nos. 22-3. Cf. Armstrong, “Plutarch *Parallel Lives*”, 188-190, nos. 94-5.

⁴⁶ Marcon, “Ornati di penna e di penello”, 121-44.

ti Master);⁴⁷ the Master of the London Pliny (London Pliny Master);⁴⁸ Franco de' Russi;⁴⁹ Girolamo da Cremona;⁵⁰ Master of the Pico della Mirandola Pliny (Pico Master);⁵¹ Benedetto Bordon;⁵² Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere* (also known as the Master of the Triumph of Venus);⁵³ Master of the Rimini Ovid;⁵⁴ Master of the Seven Virtues;⁵⁵ and Petrus V...⁵⁶ Giovanni Vendramin and Antonio Maria da Villafora are documented as active in Padua, also illuminating Venetian imprints.⁵⁷ If each of these artists had a 'workshop' in Venice or Padua, guild regulations would have permitted each to have two additional *maestri* working with them, as well as one or more *garzoni* or assistants. Complaints by 1479 about numbers of *garzoni* and *forestieri* (foreigners) who were not registered with the guild suggest that numerous non-Venetian artists were indeed working in the city.⁵⁸ Collectively, the activities of these artists were occasioned by the increased demands for hand-illumination of newly printed incunabula.

47 Mariani Canova, "Le origini della miniatura rinascimentale veneta", 76-86; Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters, passim*; Gnaccolini, "Maestro dei Putti", 466-8.

48 Cf. note 44 above. For the issue of identifying the Master of the London Pliny with Giovanni Todeschino cf. D'Urso, *Giovanni Todeschino*.

49 Toniolo, "Franco de' Russi", in Hermann, *La miniatura estense*, 221-30; Toniolo, "Franco de' Russi", 240-4.

50 Toniolo, "Girolamo da Cremona", in Hermann, *La miniatura estense*, 241-7; and cf. note 44 above.

51 Armstrong, "Il maestro di Pico", 8-39; figs. 1-44 on 215-53 (republished in English translation with expanded appendix as: "The Pico Master", in Armstrong, *Studies*, 233-338); Bentivoglio-Ravasio, "Maestro del Plinio", 635-42.

52 Mariani Canova, "Profilo su Benedetto Bordon", 99-121; Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, *Miniator*", 65-92 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 591-643), especially note 2 with extensive bibliography; Marcon, "Benedetto Bordon", in DBMI, 121-4.

53 Mariani Canova, "Antonio Grifo", 147-200; Marcon, "Una Aldina miniata", 107-31; Guest, "The Second Master of the Grifo 'Canzoniere'", 111-16; Pesavento, "Antonio Grifo, *Rime*", 222-3, cat. no. 30.

54 Armstrong, "The Master of the Rimini Ovid", 327-63 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 435-88); Nicolini, "Maestro dell'Ovidio di Rimini", 612-14.

55 Bentivoglio-Ravasio, "Maestro delle Sette Virtù", 579-83.

56 Armstrong, "Opus Petri", 385-412 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 339-405).

57 For Vendramin cf. notes 8, 25; for Antonio Maria cf. Gnaccolini, "Antonio Maria da Villafora", 36-40; Toniolo, "Il sodalizio tra il vescovo Pietro e Antonio Maria da Villafora", 289-304.

58 On workshop regulations cf. note 23 above.

5 The Later 1470s and 1480s

In the later 1470s and 1480s, the print runs of Venetian editions greatly increased, and the percentage of copies that were hand-illuminated was much lower. Nevertheless, hundreds of Venetian incunabula were decorated by hand in this period, some modestly but many extensively.⁵⁹ Copies of classical and patristic editions were frequently hand-illuminated, as were texts by Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio; also law and liturgical texts, especially Bibles, Breviaries, and Books of Hours.⁶⁰ Examples of editions in these various categories are the 26 hand-illuminated copies of Nicolaus Jenson's 1478 Plutarch, and the 45 hand-illuminated copies of his 1478 *Breviarium romanum*, 14 copies of Jenson's 1479 *Biblia latina*; 14 copies of the 1481 *Biblia latina cum postillis*.⁶¹ Nineteen illuminated copies of Franciscus Renner's 1480 *Biblia latina* are known, as well as 17 copies of Sabellicus, *Rerum Venetarum Decades* of 1487.⁶²

As in the earliest period, hand-illumination in this era can provide information about Venetian patronage and trade in books. A brilliantly coloured frontispiece appears on a Dante printed in Milan in 1477-78, complete with architectural motifs and a scene in the lower margin in which Dante and Virgil confront each other in a landscape, while at one side appear the 'three beasts' of Inferno I [fig. 6].⁶³ The illumination reveals that, although the Dante was printed in Milan, it was decorated by one of the most prominent miniaturists active in Venice, the Master of the Pico Pliny (Pico Master), and the coat of arms are those of the Priuli of Venice, noted earlier as among the strongest supporters of the new industry in the Serenissima.⁶⁴ A reasonable assumption would be that the 1477-78 Dante came from Milan to Venice undecorated, was purchased by a member of the Priuli family, and placed with the Pico Master for decoration along with instructions to include the family coat of arms.

⁵⁹ I have extensive notation of hand-illuminated incunabula after 1474, but the counts for given editions are considerably less complete than for the period 1469-74.

⁶⁰ Armstrong, "Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium*"; Mulas, "I Libri a stampa pergamenacei", 179-89; Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*; Armstrong, "The Hand Illumination", 229-36; Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*.

⁶¹ Armstrong, "Illuminated Copies of Plutarchus, *Vitae illustrium virorum*", 69-117; Armstrong, "Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium*"; Mulas, "Incunaboli miniati del Breviario", 615-25.

⁶² Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, *Rerum venetarum decades*. Venice: Andreas Torresanus, 21 May 1487. Folio. ISTC is00005000; for illuminated copies cf. Armstrong, "Pico Master", cat. nos. 74, 75, 76, 114, 115; Armstrong, "Rimini Ovid Master", nos. 12, 13, 14.

⁶³ Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*. Milan: Ludovicus and Albertus Pedemontani, 27 September 1477; 22 November 1477; 9 February 1478. Folio. GW 7965; ISTC id00028000 (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc 730), as in note 38 above.

⁶⁴ On the Priuli cf. above and notes 29, 36, 38.



Figure 8 Master of the Seven Virtues, miniature of the pope, three cardinals. Gratian and Rigolini of Friuli coat of arms, in Gratianus, *Decretum*. 1477. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 1.4.Jur 20 [Perg], sig. a2r

From the mid-1470s onwards, Venetian printers were avidly supplying Canon and Civil law texts for use at universities, but many copies appear also to have been illuminated for private patrons.⁶⁵ Printers followed the lay-out for their Law texts that had been firmly established in the manuscript tradition in the 14th century, that is, core text of Canon or Civil law in two columns, surrounded by commentary, also in two columns. Almost always, a large space was reserved for a miniature above the opening core text. The miniatures usually showed the relevant Pope (for Canon law) or the Emperor Justinian (for Civil law) surrounded by cardinals or courtiers, while being presented with the text by its author. A typical example of this composition appears in a Gratian printed by Nicolaus Jenson in 1477, illuminated by the Master of the Seven Virtues or by a colleague in his workshop [fig. 8].⁶⁶ Garbed in a black habit, Gratian is assisted by a youth to present a volume to a cardinal on the left. Three other cardinals at the right consider a second blue volume, while in the centre, the enthroned Pope raises his hand in blessing. Further decorating this vellum copy is a historiated initial of the Virgin and Child, while in the lower margin is a coat of arms, probably of the Rigolini of Friuli.⁶⁷

In contrast to this handsomely illuminated law book for an unknown patron are the much better known law and philosophical texts that were lavishly decorated for Nicolaus Jenson's sometime partner, Petrus Ugelheimer.⁶⁸ A team of artists under the lead of Girolamo da Cremona illuminated 14 incunabula for Ugelheimer in the period 1477-83, among which were four texts of Canon and Civil law, and four commentaries on the works of Aristotle. Collectively these volumes are undoubtedly the most spectacular suite of hand-illuminated incunabula ever produced. The law-books open with full page painted compositions on versos facing the first page of text which is in turn replete with a presentation miniature, elaborate full painted borders, and Ugelheimer's coat of arms. On the basis of the extreme luxury of these volumes, it must be assumed that Ugelheimer invested heavily in the publications by Nicolaus Jenson and his associates.

Dozens of Bible editions were printed in Venice in the 15th century: Bibles in Latin; Bibles in Italian; and multi-volume Bibles with

⁶⁵ Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 137-72. Cf. numerous hand-illuminated law texts catalogued in *Tesori nascosti*; and Fumian, *Gli incunaboli miniati*. Cf. also Panzanelli Fratoni's essay in this volume.

⁶⁶ Gratianus, *Digestum*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. Folio. GW 11357; ISTC ig00366000 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 1.4.Jur 20 [Perg]).

⁶⁷ The blazon is "per pale argent and sable, a ram's head counterchanged" (Eugenio Morando di Custoza, *Blasonario veneto*, Verona: 1985, Tav. DXII).

⁶⁸ For full treatment of the Ugelheimer books cf. *Hinter dem Pergament*; on his relationship to Jenson, cf. Hellinga in note 2.



Figure 9 Antonio Maria da Villafora, St. Jerome in study, floral and acanthus borders, sea-centaurs support coat of arms of Petrus Ugelheimer, in *Biblia latina*. 1479. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. 20 2876, sig. a2r. © SLUB Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek



Figure 10 Benedetto Bordon, Illuminated borders with classical motifs, satyrs, and miniature of St. Jerome in a landscape, in *Biblia Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*. 31 July 1481. Venice: [Johannes Herbort de Seligenstadt], for Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson, et Socii. Paris, BnF, Vél. 111, sig. plr

the massive commentary of Nicolaus of Lyra.⁶⁹ Editions of the *Biblia latina* settled into an oft-repeated format: two columns of Gothic type and a generous space allowed preceding St Jerome's *Letter to Paulinus of Nola*, beginning *Frater Ambrosius*, a text normally placed before other prologues and the text proper of *Genesis*. Miniaturists provided images of St Jerome for this area, and elaborate borders if requested. An example is a 1479 Jenson *Biblia latina* beautifully illuminated by Antonio Maria da Villafora, now in Dresden [fig. 9].⁷⁰ In the historiated initial St Jerome is represented at a desk studiously writing, and the upper, inner and outer margins are filled with north Italian floral motifs and gold dots. In contrast, in the lower margin are two swash-buckling mermen with coiling multicoloured fish-tails and puzzled expressions that are typical of the Paduan miniaturist Antonio Maria da Villafora. They support a wreath which surrounds the coat of arms of Petrus Ugelheimer.

The page layout for editions of the Bible with commentary was necessarily more complex, frequently resembling the law texts noted earlier. This format can be observed in a copy of the *Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra* of 1481 in Paris which may also have been destined for Petrus Ugelheimer, and which was illuminated by Benedetto Bordon or his workshop [fig. 10].⁷¹ A painted decorative initial opens the Nicolaus of Lyra commentary which surrounds St Jerome's *Preface to Chronicles*, in turn opened by an initial in which sits a putto painted in monochrome. In the lower margin, St Jerome and his lion are situated by a rocky outcropping in a landscape, while in the outer margin are depicted a surprisingly affectionate couple of satyrs and other classicizing motifs.

In these Bible editions with Nicolaus of Lyra's commentary, spaces were also left blank to accommodate potential illustrations mentioned by the commentator. In a few rare cases, these volumes were supplied with painted or pen-drawn diagrams and images.⁷²

69 Zatelli, Gabriele, *La Bibbia a stampa da Gutenberg a Bodoni*; Jensen, "Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth Century", 115-38; cf. also Armstrong, "Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles".

70 *Biblia latina*. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1479. Folio. GW 4238; ISTC ib00563000 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Inc. 2° 2876, vellum); cf. *Hinter dem Pergament*, 241-2, cat. no. 42 and colour plates 69 (Prologus), 111 (In principio), and 76 (binding).

71 *Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*. Venice: [Johannes Herbolt de Seligenstadt], for Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson, et socii, 31 July 1481. Folio, listed as in Parts I-IV. GW 4286; ISTC ib00611000 (Paris, BnF, Vél. 111, sig. P1r). The five volumes containing parts of this elaborately hand-illuminated Bible (Vél. 111-114 and 957) are lacking sections of text, are misbound, and the illuminations have suffered damage; cf. Armstrong, "Hand-illumination of Venetian Bibles", 107-13.

72 Examples with sets of diagrams and illustrations added by hand are: *Biblia latina cum postillis*, 1481 (Paris Vel. 111-114; as above, note 70), illuminations by Bordon and other miniaturists, pen drawings by Pico Master; *Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de*

6 1490s: Woodcut Frontispieces and Illustrations

By the early 1490s, printers and miniaturists alike realised that “finishing” the thousands of books that were being printed was an impossibility. Printers employed artists to design woodcuts whose carved blocks could be inserted into the same forme as the lines of type, inked, and printed simultaneously with the text. This insured that, if desired, every copy of a given edition was decorated and/or illustrated.⁷³ Woodcut illustrations had appeared in a few German incunabula in the 1470s, and woodcut borders were employed in Venice by Erhard Ratdolt in the later 1470s and 1480s.⁷⁴ But Venetian printers (and their patrons) did not enthusiastically accept woodcut decoration and illustration until the end of the 1480s.⁷⁵ In his extraordinary survey of Venetian books with woodcuts, Victor Masséna, Prince d’Essling, lists just over 300 editions with woodcuts between 1487 and 1500.⁷⁶ Some of these editions contain only one or two woodcut images, while notable others were complemented by woodcut borders and hundreds of small illustrative ‘vignettes’.

Two miniaturists dominated the design of woodcuts in the 1490s: the Pico Master (A.M. Hind’s ‘Popular Master’),⁷⁷ and Benedetto Bordon (Hind’s ‘Classical Master’),⁷⁸ both of whom were prolific miniaturists mentioned earlier in this essay. The Pico Master derives his

Lyra. Venice: Franciscus Renner, 1482-1483. Folio. (GW 4287; ISTC ib00612000; BAV, Inc. Ross. 1157-1159), illuminations and pen drawings by Pico Master; *Biblia latina cum postillis* 1482-3. (Padova Biblioteca Capitolare, Inc. 103), pen drawings by Antonio Maria da Villafora (Fumian, Cat. 154).

73 On woodcut printing techniques cf. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 1-28. By ‘decoration’ I refer to architectural, floral, or classicising motifs used for borders; by ‘illustration’ I refer to smaller woodcuts with figural compositions that illustrate the texts.

74 For extensive bibliography on Ratdolt cf. Baldasso, “Printing for the Doge”, 525-52, esp. fn 1.

75 Essling, Hind, *Introduction*; De Simone, *A Heavenly Craft*; Armstrong, *La xilografia nel libro italiano del Quattrocento*.

76 Essling; and ISTC searching for “Essling”.

77 Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 464-85; Armstrong, “Pico Master” (English translation, 2003), 269-314, 327-9; Armstrong, *La xilografia nel libro italiano del Quattrocento*, 57-102. Hind emphasises the distinction between the designers and the cutters: “My remarks have shown that I regard the designers of Venetian book-illustration as distinct from the cutters, and of greater artistic importance in our history. It would be of far greater interest to identify any of these designers than find an explanation for any of the monograms of cutters which we have cited” (469). He further observed: “The distinction is vital to the understanding of book-illustration in Venice, and seems to indicate the existences of two master designers, who are probably to be found among the miniaturists and painters, and not among the craftsmen who cut the blocks” (464).

78 Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 487-96; Armstrong, “Woodcuts for Liturgical Books”, 65-93 (reprinted in Armstrong, *Studies*, 683-731); Armstrong, “Woodcuts in Classical Texts”, 41-63.



Figure 11 Master of the Pico Pliny, designer, woodcut architectural border with motif of *putti* on horses on the base, narrative scene of ambassadors from King Ptolemy VI to the Roman Senate, in Titus Livius, *Historiae Romanae decades*. 11 Feb. 1493. Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Lucontonio Giunta. Decade 4. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 274, sig. a1r

name from the Pliny manuscript that he illuminated for Pico della Mirandola in 1481, complete with an elaborate architectural frontispiece and thirty-seven historiated initials.⁷⁹ By 1490 the Pico Master appears to have turned energetically to the design of woodcuts. In the period 1490 to 1492 he designed four elaborate architectural borders that were reprinted many times in a variety of texts.⁸⁰ For example, the architectural border that was first used in a *Biblia italica* in 1490, reappears three times in a Livy of 1493 [fig. 11].⁸¹ The borders are replete with classical pilasters, a curved pediment and an entablature from which dangle strings of beads, while curious fish-tailed creatures at the foot of the pilasters hold long poles supporting classical cuirasses, all perhaps more appropriate for Livy's Roman history than for the biblical text they first surrounded. A blank shield is provided in the lower margin, awaiting an owner's blazon. The fragile putti and other mythical creatures, the trophies hanging on strings – all these are motifs earlier found in the Pico Master's illuminations including the 1481 Pliny for Pico della Mirandola, and the 1477 Dante for the Priuli, mentioned above [fig. 6].

The high numbers of small woodcut illustrations, usually called “vignettes”, that illustrate Venetian texts in the 1490s is staggering. The 1490 *Biblia italica*, in which the first of the Pico Master's architectural woodcut borders appears, contains 384 vignettes; the 1493 Livy with the same architectural border is illustrated with 420 small woodcuts; the 1491 Dante includes 97 narratives; Jerome, *Vitae patrum* of 1491 includes 387 vignettes; the Boccaccio *Decamerone* of 1492 another 99; the Jacobus de Voragine of 1492 another 188; the Masuccio of 1492 adds 55; and so on.⁸² Although many of the vignettes were repetitive

⁷⁹ Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, 1481. (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. VI, 245 [= 2976]). Cf. Mariani Canova, *Miniatura veneta*, colour pls. 33-34; Armstrong, “Pico Master” (English translation, 2003), 234-6; McHam, “Erudition on Display”, 83-114.

⁸⁰ Twelve editions in which the four architectural borders appear are listed in Armstrong, “Pico Master” (English translation, 2003), 328. Additional editions are illustrated in Armstrong, *La xilografia nel libro italiano del Quattrocento*, figs. 23-24, 28.

⁸¹ Livius, *Historiae Romanae decades* [in Italian]. Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Lucantonio Giunta, 11 February 1493. Folio. ISTC il00255000, sigs a1r, aa1r, A1r (facsimile available for Munich, BSB, 2^o Inc c.a. 2886e, 1-3, at <http://daten.digitaale-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00082263/images/>). Cf. also Armstrong, “Titus Livius”, 168-71, and illustration of sig. A1r.

⁸² *Biblia* [Italian]. Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 15 October 1490. Folio. GW 4317; ISTC ib00644000 (Essling, no. 133); Livius (as in n. 81; Essling, no. 33); Dante, *La Commedia*. Venice: Petrus de Plasiis, Cremonensis, 18 Nov. 1491. Folio. GW 7970; ISTC id00033000 (Essling, no. 532); Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum* [Italian]. Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 25 June 1491. Folio. ISTC ih00232000 (Essling no. 568); Boccaccio, *Decamerone*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 20 June 1492. Folio. GW 4449; ISTC ib00728000 (Essling no. 640); Jacopo da Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum* [Italian]. Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 10 Dec. 1492. Folio. ISTC ij00179000 (Essling 678); Masuc-

eti fusseno in piu piano loco: Nòdimeno li carthagie si faccostaro con lexpedita caualeria & combattetero inguriado linimici:& correndo qua & la raptamente & ritornado idrieto. Laquadra Romana si resto pure nel suo loco assai lentamente eombattendo piu p uolunta del dictatore che de hannibale.

Come Hannibale fece legare a corni de molti boui certe fascelle ouogliamo dire facole & spaueto linimici mandado qlli la nocte p li monti che soprastauano a Romani. Et come passo col suo exercito quelli luochi pericolosi. Capitulo. xxii.



H Annibale dapoi pareua che fusse rinchiufo & affediato a Casilino: còcio fusse che li Sanniti & Capuani & tati altri richi & possenti còpagni darorno a le sue spalle stanti portasseno a Romani la uictuaglia & ogni altra cosa bisognate al suo exercito: Et ello cò li suoi haueffe tutto il còtrario: nededosi stare i mezo de li affalti & miacie de la fortuna & de saxi & de la arena de linterno & de li stagni spauenteuoli & brutti a reguardare: & che iui deueuano essere lestanze de lo exercito suo q̄l ueruo: Alhora uide ello apertamete che li Romai gia lo comiciauano a molestare cò laltre sua cioe de re chider lo & iganarlo i q̄l modo come lui sempre era ufato de

si de foco il q̄le tudine dhomin gnia. Coloro li hebeno ueduto de semedefimiri richiuti da in fo: & dirizando uedeuano: si comomita de giogico certi buoi. Et a loro che gittati altri spitagli d tati & fermaron sandosi che cio niarli comiciare more: & apunte armatura de ini de ciascuno: li ricominciado la p Hannibale condicon ocisione da fo: puose il capo Còe effedo F ro q̄lli de lalieue

Abi cio fi uole nost comiciata la l del monte dougiere, pero che li thagiesi: li haue se raptamete soj data da Hannibado piu apti & le monti & leriepoco: & q̄lto mo gnoli senandati li suoi camina

Figure 12 Master of the Pico Pliny, designer, woodcut vignette of Roman soldiers terrified by cattle with flaming torches driven by Hannibal's troops, in Livius, 1493 (as in fig. 11). Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 5133A, sig. cc1r

and depended upon long traditions of illustration, such as the scenes illustrating bibles, others were inventive and vividly related to the texts for which few prototypes existed. For example, the Pico Master illustrated Livy's account of Hannibal's success in terrifying the Roman soldiers who had nearly trapped his army, by confronting them with cattle with flaming branches on their heads [fig. 12]. In the 1493 woodcut, Hannibal's soldiers on horseback drive two oxen with wildly flaming heads, as the Roman foot soldiers flee in terror.⁸³ The hundreds of illustrations in these books would have provided work not on-

cio, *Novellino*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 21 July 1492. Folio. ISTC im00346000 (Essling, no. 668).

⁸³ Livius, 1493 (as in note 81), sig. cc1r. The episode is related in Livy, Book 22.16-17 (Livy, with an English translation by B.O. Foster. London: William Heinemann, and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons [Loeb Classical Library], V.254-259.

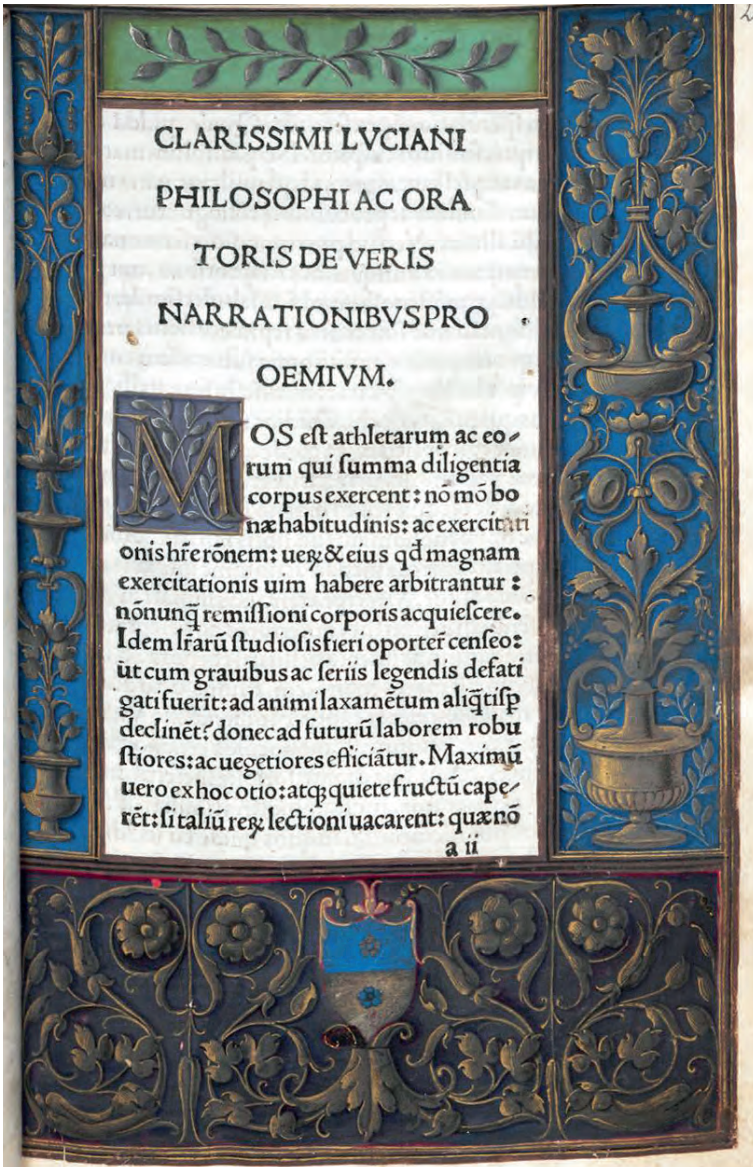


Figure 13 Benedetto Bordon, borders with classicizing motifs, Mocenigo of Venice coat of arms, in Lucianus, *Opera*. 25 August 1494. Venice: Simone Bevilaqua, for Benedetto Bordon. Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.G.27, sig. a2r

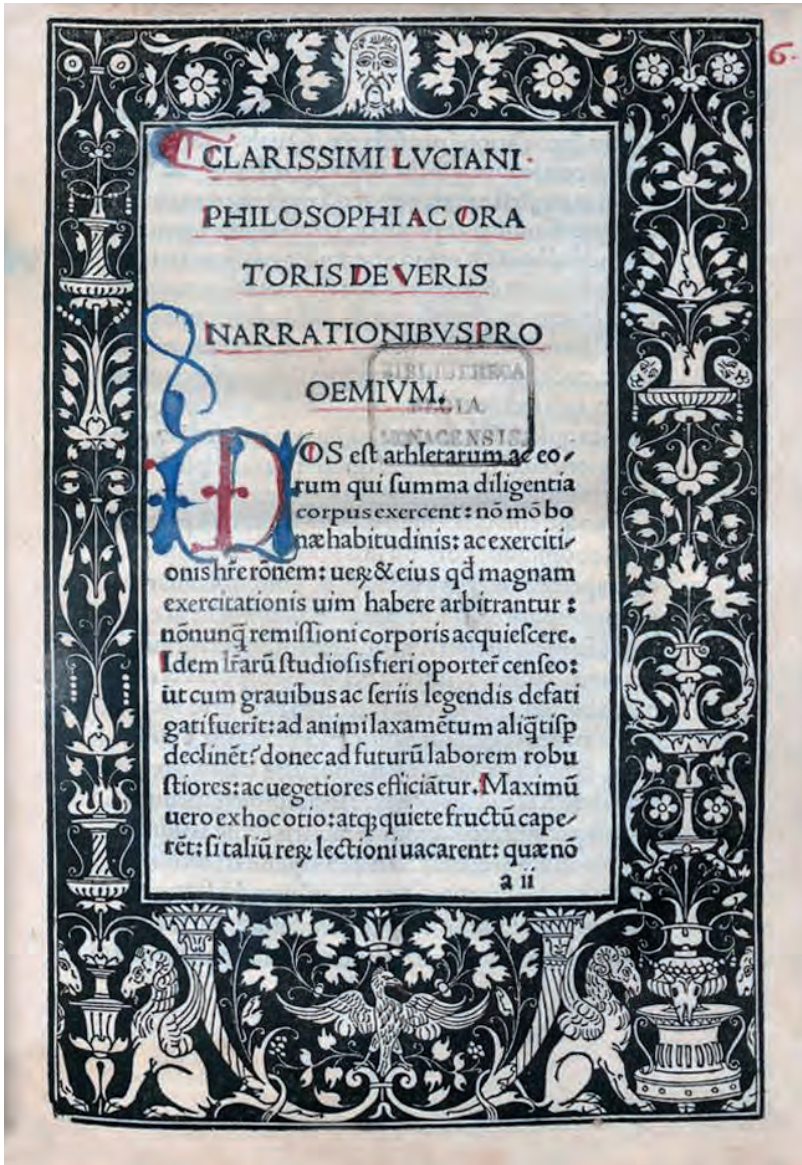


Figure 14 Benedetto Bordon, designer, woodcut borders with classicizing motifs, Germanic initial "M" in red and blue ink, coat of arms of Hartman Schedel (cropped), in Lucianus, 1494 (as in fig. 13). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München BSB, 4^o Inc. c.a. 1117, sig. a2r

ly for the Pico Master and assistants who created the designs based on the texts, but also for the many cutters who must have carved the blocks themselves. This workforce also needs to be considered by historians of the book when constructing costs of production.

Like the Pico Master, the well-documented miniaturist Benedetto Bordon (c. 1450-1530) designed woodcut borders inspired by his illuminated manuscript borders.⁸⁴ For the vellum copy in Vienna of the Lucian that he edited and published in 1494, Bordon painted an exquisite border with classicising motifs in gold on blue, green and purple backgrounds [fig. 13].⁸⁵ In the border of the first text page appears the Mocenigo of Venice coat of arms, so this is presumed to be a presentation copy. For all the other copies of this edition, Bordon designed an elegant woodcut border with similar motifs appearing as white on a black ground [fig. 14].⁸⁶ In both, the hand-illuminated border and the woodcut one, vines with delicate leaves sprout in symmetrical patterns from classical vases, and paired dolphins curve downwards aside the vases. The woodcut elaborates the vocabulary by adding a bearded frontal head in the upper margin, and winged rams in the lower.

An even more complex 'white on black' border appears in a second incunable dated some months earlier in 1494, a Herodotus printed by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis [fig. 15].⁸⁷ For this border the artist has added figural scenes: in the upper margin a kneeling satyr prepares to sacrifice a ram, and in the lower is a mythological scene with a seated male nude, three females, and the torso of a partially visible nude child.⁸⁸ A woodcut that is separate from the border appears above the text: in a scholarly study, Apollo strides toward the author Herodotus, and places a laurel wreath on his head. In the same way that the Pico Master woodcut borders were reused,

⁸⁴ On Benedetto Bordon cf. notes 52, 61, 78.

⁸⁵ Lucianus, *Opera*. Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, for Benedetto Bordon, 25 August 1494. 4°. ISTDc il00329000 (Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.G.27, vellum); Facsimile at http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5778308&order=1&view=SINGLE. Cf. also Pesavento, "Lucian, *Opera*". Aldo Manuzio: *Renaissance in Venice*, 199-202, cat. no. 19.

⁸⁶ Lucianus, 1494 (as in note 85) (Munich, BSB, 4° Inc. c.a. 1117).

⁸⁷ Herodotus, *Historiae*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 8 Mar. [after 30 Mar.] 1494. Folio. GW 12323; ISTDc ih00090000; cf. Munich, BSB facsimile at <http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054012/images/>. In my opinion, the woodcut border and the author scene should be attributed to Benedetto Bordon, but they have also been attributed to his *doppelgänger*, the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere* or the Master of the Triumph of Venus (Susy Marcon, "Una Aldina miniata", 107-31); and cf. above, note 53.

⁸⁸ The scene has been variously interpreted. Lamberto Donati argued that it represented Thetis attempting to insure the immortality of Achilles in the presence on the Fates ("Di una figura non interpretata", 45-51), but his attribution of the design to Stefano Pellegrini has been largely rejected.



Figure 15 Benedetto Bordon, or the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere*, designer.

Woodcut borders with classicizing motifs and allegorical figural scene, and woodcut of author crowned by Apollo, in Herodotus, *Historiae*. 8 March [after 30 March] 1494. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, BSB, 2° Inc. c.a. 3064, sig. a1r

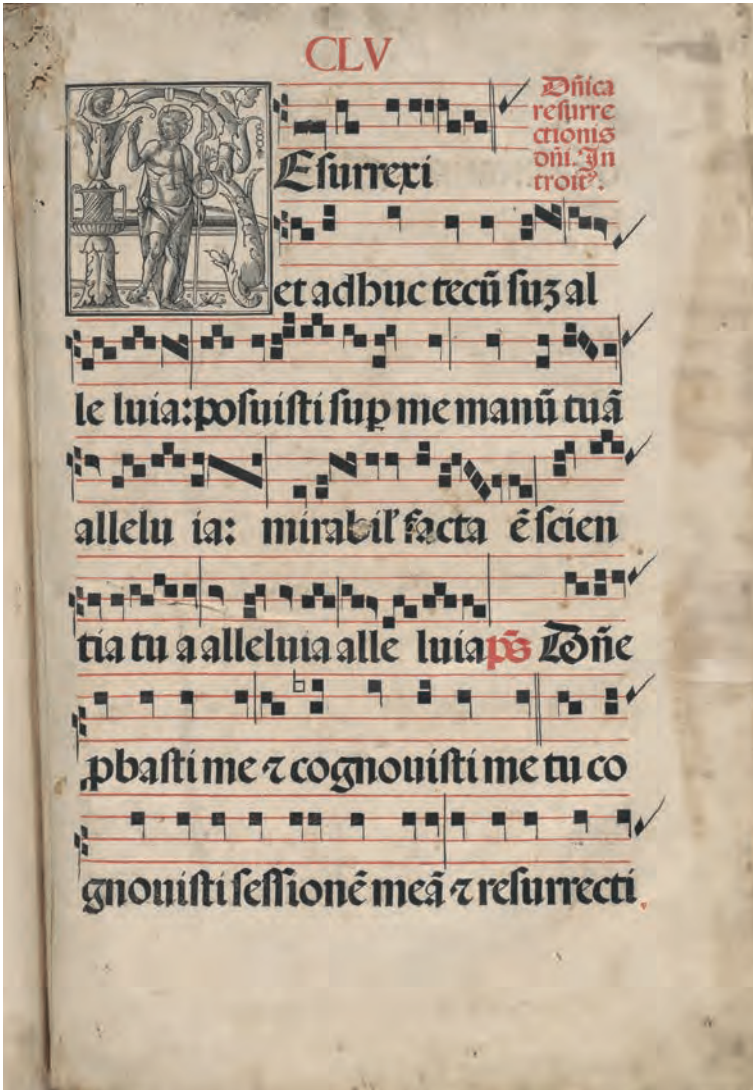


Figure 16 Benedetto Bordon, designer, Woodcut initial "R" with Christ Resurrected, in *Graduale romanum*. 1499-1500. Venice, Johannes Emericus de Spira, for LucAntonio Giunta. Berkeley, CA, University of California, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, fM2150.V452, fol. 155r



Figure 17 Benedetto Bordon, designer, woodcut initial "A" with David in Prayer with colour added, in *Graduale romanum*. (1499-1500 (as in fig. 16). Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari Ven. 708, fol. 1

the Herodotus border appears in several subsequent editions, including a Hieronymus *Commentarium in Bibliam* of 1497.⁸⁹

In addition to his work on classical texts, Benedetto Bordon designed many woodcuts for liturgical texts.⁹⁰ The woodcuts in the great choirbooks printed for LucAntonio Giunta around 1500 echoed the historiated initials for choirbooks that Bordon illuminated for the Franciscan oratory of San Nicolò dei Frari (or San Nicolò della Lattuga) in Venice, also around 1500.⁹¹ Woodcut historiated initials originally designed to enhance the *Graduale romanum* of 1499-1500 reappear in large and small Missals well into the sixteenth century. For example, the *Resurrected Christ* that Bordon designed for the Giunta *Graduale* [fig. 16]⁹² reappears in a beautiful *Missale ordinis Vallisumbrosae*, printed by LucAntonio Giunta in 1503.⁹³ The heroic figure of Christ pays homage to the great Paduan painter, Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), as the standing figure echoes that painter's engraving of *Risen Christ between Saints Andrew and Longinus*.⁹⁴ Even around 1500, thirty years after the first books were printed in Venice, the impulse to enhance a page of text with colour, which was central to the illumination of manuscripts, led to the painting of some woodcuts with bright colours, as can be seen in the David in Prayer of the 1499-1500 *Graduale* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [fig. 17].⁹⁵

7 Concluding Observations

It is crucial that scholars of the book trade in the incunabula period incorporate into their studies the bibliographic, economic and cultural implications of hand-illumination and the production of books with woodcuts. These are hugely important, but understudied, aspects of Venetian early book production. As is presently being done by some

⁸⁹ Hieronymus, *Commentarium in Bibliam*. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1497-1498. Folio. GW 12419; ISTC ih00160000; sig. AA2r; cf. Armstrong, *Xilografia*, 105-108, and figs 50-51.

⁹⁰ Armstrong, "Woodcuts for Liturgical Books"; Lilian Armstrong, "Venetian and Florentine Renaissance Woodcuts", 25-45.

⁹¹ *Graduale romanum*. Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, for LucAntonio Giunta, 28 September 1499; 14 January 1499/1500; 1 March 1500. Folio. GW 10982; ISTC ig00332000. For the San Nicolò choirbooks, cf. Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon and the 'San Nicolò Antiphonaries'", 569-85.

⁹² *Graduale romanum*, 1499-1500 (as in note 90; Berkeley, CA, University of California, Berkeley, Hargrove Music Library, fM 2149 V4G7).

⁹³ Armstrong, "*Missale... vallisumbrosae*", 304-5, no. 242.

⁹⁴ Landau, "Andrea Mantegna", 213-15, Cat. no. 45.

⁹⁵ *Graduale romanum*, 1499-1500, as in note 91 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Rari V 708, fol. 1).

scholars entering incunabula into MEI, mention should be made of hand-illumination, including the names of miniaturists when they have been identified in the scholarly literature, or at least the geographical areas of the illumination as arguable from the stylistic characteristics. In the case of woodcuts that appear in every copy of a given edition, the designing artists' names, based on reliable published attributions, should also be included in ISTC, MEI, and TEXT-inc entries.⁹⁶ These details are as much a part of the bibliographical information of an incunable as are printers' names that are entered based on close observation of type face [and then included in brackets]. It is to be hoped that the inclusion of this essay in *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500* will encourage more systematic efforts to study these artistic phenomena in relation to Venetian printing.

Abbreviations

BMC = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum* [British Library]. 13 parts. London: 't Goy-Houten, 1963-2007
 CERL = Consortium of European Research Libraries
 DBMI = Bollani, Milvia (ed.). *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani*. Milano: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004
 ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*
 MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula*

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⁹⁶ URL <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>. This is an international database to research the corpus of texts printed in the 15th century, that is the multiple works and texts, including dedication letters, verses, etc., contained in the c. 28,000 editions that survive from the 15th century.

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Appendix: Books Linked to the Agostini

The following incunabula were printed in Venice unless otherwise noted; the presence of coat of arms is indicated by 'arms'; 'inscription' signifies the name Agostini written in a margin; the name of the miniaturist is given if the decoration is attributable.

1. Cicero, *De Officiis*. de Spira, 1470 (BAV, Prop. Fide. IV.179, arms)
2. Cicero, *Epistolae ad Brutum*. Jenson, 1470 (BAV, Stamp. Barb. A.A.A. II, 15, arms, architectural frontispiece by London Pliny Master)
3. Cicero, *De Oratore*. Valdarfer, 1470 (Manchester, Rylands, 3260, arms, wood-cut borders)
4. Cicero, *Orationes*. Valdarfer, 1471 (Trento, BC, Inc. 408, arms, historiated initials by Putti Master)
5. Tortellius, *De orthographia*. Jenson, 1471 (BnF, Vél. 527, vellum, arms, frontispiece by Franco de'Russi)
6. Plinius, *Historia naturalis*. Jenson, 1472 (BAV, Stamp. Barb. AAA IV, I, arms, architectural frontispiece by Putti Master)
7. *Scriptores rei rusticae*. Jenson, 1472 (BML, D'Elci 749, arms, historiated initials by London Pliny Master)
8. Solinus, *Polyhistor, sive De mirabilibus mundi*. Jenson, 1473 (BL, C.5.b.2 = IB 19672, vellum, arms, historiated initial and arms supported by sea-creature, Putti Master)
9. Gratianus, *Decretum*. Jenson, 1474 (BL, IC 19678, vellum, arms, also inscribed .*B. agustini*, miniature by Girolamo da Cremona)
10. Herodotus, *Historiae*. Jacobus Rubeus, 1474 (Rylands, 3461, arms supported by sea-creature, London Pliny Master)
11. Sallustius, *Opera*. Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1474 (Rylands, 10547, arms, architectural frontispiece by London Pliny Master)
12. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum*. Milan, Antonius Zarotus, 1475 (BAV, Stamp. Ross. 1343[1], arms flanked by dolphins, London Pliny Master)
13. *Biblia Latina*. Jenson, 1476 (Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, No. 31, vellum; arms, full border and initial by Girolamo da Cremona)
14. Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium*. Jenson, 1476 (BL, IC 19688, vellum, inscribed .*B. agustini* and *de la Carità*, miniature excised)

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15. Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium*. Jenson, 1476 (BNM, Memb. 6, vellum, inscribed *b. agustini* and *sancti feliciis*, and *Dionysius Lisca*, lacks folio with space for miniature)
 16. Clemens V, *Constitutiones*. Jenson, 1476 (Paris, BnF, Vél. 390, vellum, arms, inscribed *b agustini* and *S feliciis*, miniature by London Pliny Master)
 17. Clemens V, *Constitutiones*. Jenson (BNM, Membr. 5, vellum, inscribed *b agustini*, and *de la Carità*, miniature excised)
 18. Plinius, *Historia naturalis* (Ital.). Jenson, 1476 (CUL, Inc. I, B.3.2, vellum, arms excised but presumed Agostini, architectural frontispiece by London Pliny Master)
 19. Vergilius, *Opera*. Antonio di Bartolomeo, Miscomini, '1486' [i.e. 1476] (BL C.19.e.14 = IB.20448, vellum, arms, guard leaf inscribed by Giorgio Arrivabene and Giulio Romano, architectural frontispiece by London Pliny Master; name inscribed *.b. agustini*)
 - 20-21. Plutarchus, *Vitae virorum illustrium*. Jenson, 1478 (Dublin, Trinity, Fagg. GG 2, 1, 2, 2 vols., vellum, Vol. 1, architectural frontispiece with arms; Vol 2, decorative borders and arms; initials in each volume, all by London Pliny Master)
 - 22-23. Plutarchus, *Vitae virorum illustrium*. Jenson, 1478 (BnF, Vél. 700, Vol. 1, vellum; Morgan PML 77565 [ChL ff767], Vol. 2, vellum, arms, architectural frontispieces and initials by Girolamo da Cremona)
 24. Plutarchus, *Vitae virorum illustrium*. Jenson, 1478 (Lawrence, KS, University of Kansas, Spencer Library, Summerfield Collection, G. 125, Vol. 1 only, arms)

La Biblioteca pubblica veneziana e gli incunaboli miniati

Susy Marcon

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, Italia

Abstract Venice was central to the production of printed books in the 15th-century and illumination continued to be applied to this new type of books, beyond the age of the manuscript. However, the illuminated incunabula preserved today in the Library of the Serenissima do not represent a noticeable percentage of the production of value. As is known, very few specimens printed on parchment or with miniatures entered the Marciana collections. Yet, the activity of the press was favoured by Bessarion, who included his remarkable Roman incunabula among his legacy to San Marco. The Roman incunabula of the Bessarion collection, published between 1468 and 1472, have characteristics that are entirely similar to the manuscripts he had commissioned in the last years of his life. The incunabula that entered the library in the later centuries, chiefly following the suppressions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are the result of different priorities.

Keywords Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Historical Collections. Incunabula. Bessarion. Illumination. Venice.

Sommario 1 Le collezioni. – 2 Gli incunaboli marciiani miniati. – 3 Incunaboli bessarionei.

1 Le collezioni

Venezia fu un luogo centrale nella produzione quattrocentesca del libro a stampa e coltivò l'arte della miniatura anche oltre l'età del manoscritto, con una speciale attenzione proprio per la miniatura sui libri a stampa. Alcuni miniatori e atelier si specializzarono in questo, come attività diversificata rispetto all'ancora fiorente realizzazione manoscritta, generalmente su perga-



mena, dei documenti ufficiali della Repubblica e dei codici ecclesiastici. Esiste ormai un'avvertita letteratura storico critica in materia.¹

D'altra parte, è ormai evidente che la Biblioteca della Serenissima, oggi Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, non conserva un numero di esemplari percentualmente rappresentativo della produzione quattrocentesca uscita dai torchi e impreziosita con miniature e legature di pregio. Questo anche per ragioni cronologiche, in considerazione del fatto che la Biblioteca pubblica veneziana diventerà effettivamente capace di acquisizioni solo nel corso del Seicento, ancor dopo l'apertura formale dell'istituzione che risale al 1560 circa.

Eppure, l'apprezzamento degli esemplari straordinari e resi personali c'era stato sin dalla donazione del cardinale Bessarione (1468) che comprende stampati su pergamena, incunaboli tutti completati con rubricazioni, qualche decorazione e il costante inserimento dello stemma.

In seguito, nella fase maggiore di acquisizione degli incunaboli da parte della Biblioteca di San Marco, ossia nell'età delle soppressioni, tra l'ultimo Settecento e il primo quarto dell'Ottocento, si ebbe consapevolezza nel selezionare come destinate alla Biblioteca pubblica le prime edizioni librarie conservate nei monasteri e conventi. Il bibliotecario marciano Iacopo Morelli (1745-1819, in carica dal 1782 sino alla morte) fu molto attivo in questo, come testimoniano gli elenchi redatti durante le visite ai vari istituti. Queste liste sono oggi fondamentali per avere conoscenza di quali e quanti volumi fossero allora presenti a Venezia e di ciò che poi circolò o fu acquisito: si tratta tuttavia di elenchi scarni che mostrano come l'interesse di Morelli e comunque l'attenzione bibliografica del momento fosse rivolta soprattutto ai testi, alle edizioni più importanti, all'opera dei primi stampatori, ma ci è preziosa qualche rara annotazione che segnala esemplari stampati su pergamena e con la presenza di miniature. Abbiamo in particolare, in sottili buste dell'Archivio antico della Biblioteca, elenchi relativi alle ricognizioni del 1789 e 1790 conseguenti al decreto veneto del 1789 sulla protezione e incameramento dei beni dei conventi e monasteri [fig. 1].² Ad esempio, furono segnalati allora con liste sistematiche, sotto la dizione di «i migliori codici e i più rari libri stampati», alcuni incunaboli a San Giorgio Maggiore e a San Michele di Murano, e altri presenti in monasteri, conventi e comunità veneziane come San Mattia di Murano, Santa Maria della Salute, dei Padri riformati di San Bonaventura, a Santo Stefano, ai Frari, ai Carmini, e ancora dei Teatini, ai Gesuati, a San Francesco della Vigna, e dei Carmelitani Scalzi [figg. 2-3].

1 La sintesi d'avvio per la materia è di Mariani Canova, «Miniatura e pittura in età tardogotica»; e infine Armstrong, *La xilografia*.

2 La documentazione è raccolta in particolare in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Archivio, Busta *Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812*.

Una seconda serie di elenchi significativi, generata seguendo i medesimi criteri di scelta, riguarda i volumi che effettivamente furono portati alla Biblioteca di San Marco, nel 1811 al termine delle soppressioni francesi. Sono relativi alle biblioteche di quelli che vengono denominati «Fratì» ossia dei Religiosi in genere [figg. 4-5].³ Osserviamo come siano state oculate e dettagliate in particolare le scelte da Santa Maria della Salute, Santa Maria dei Servi, Cappuccini, Frari, Fava, Scalzi, Teatini, San Bonaventura, San Mattia di Murano, San Clemente in Isola, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, San Michele di Murano. Le notizie stanno confluendo nella catalogazione degli incunaboli marciani e nel MEI.

Va sottolineato tuttavia che in questi elenchi di titoli acquisiti effettivamente dalla Biblioteca non è facile riconoscere gli esemplari oggi esistenti, discernendoli all'interno dei cataloghi successivi e lungo una storia che ha visto scelte fra i 'doppi' (ossia scarti fra esemplari multipli) e perdite causate soprattutto da guasti intervenuti. Diversamente che per i manoscritti, le provenienze dei libri a stampa non sono state segnate all'interno dei volumi.

Del resto, per ragioni storiche e di opportunità,⁴ gran parte degli esemplari di pregio e delle miniature veneziane aveva già preso la via del mercato, o la prese nel frattempo, per approdare nell'Europa tutta.

2 Gli incunaboli marciani miniati

Molti anni fa ho approntato un rilevamento sistematico sugli incunaboli marciani per osservarvi gli interventi ulteriori rispetto alla fase di stampa. Questo mi permette oggi di offrire dei numeri, che presentano nonostante siano veramente approssimativi, di difficile computo e non poi ricontrollati, perché mi paiono comunque eloquenti. Non si tratta quindi di una statistica esatta, ma di un rilevamento indicativo.

Dei circa 2.900 incunaboli marciani, collocati in diversi magazzini, quelli con aggiunte di colore o apposizione di stemmi sono conservati solo tra la serie delle segnature Incunaboli (che contiene circa 1146 volumi), Incunaboli Veneti (circa 897) e Membranacei (17 incunaboli, di cui 9 veneziani).⁵ Fra gli incunaboli stampati fuori Venezia

³ BNM, Archivio, *Busta Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812*; BNM, Archivio, *Busta Governo Italiano 1806-1814*.

⁴ Efficace sintesi della situazione veneziana dall'inizio della stampa alla caduta della Repubblica in Zorzi, «Dal manoscritto al libro»; «La circolazione del libro. Biblioteche private e pubbliche»; «La produzione e la circolazione del libro»; «La circolazione del libro».

⁵ Valentinelli, *Libri membranacei a stampa*. Buona parte dei volumi più significativi ai nostri fini sono oggi visibili in rete, all'interno del progetto 'Rariora marciana': <http://www.internetculturale.it/it/41/collezioni-digitali/26282/>.

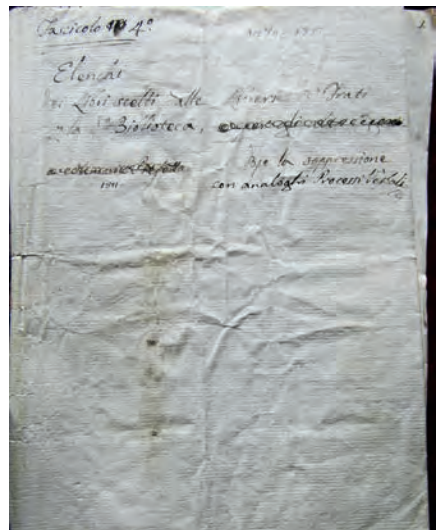
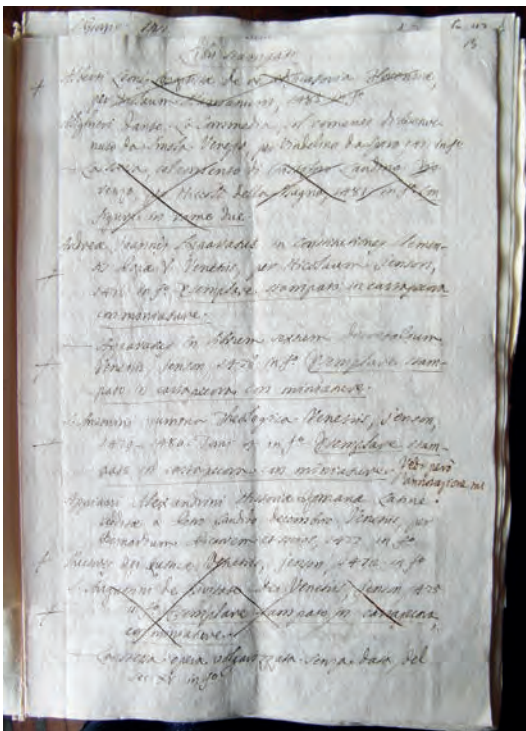
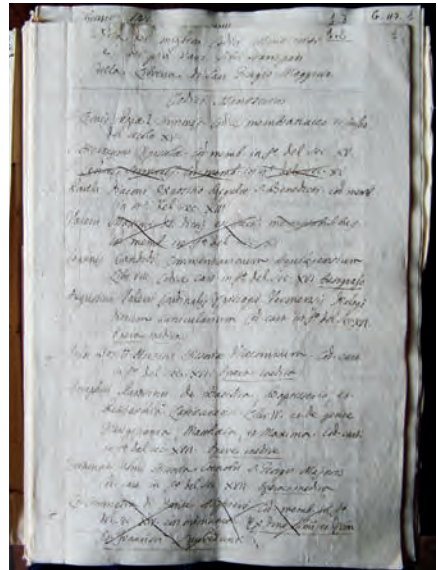
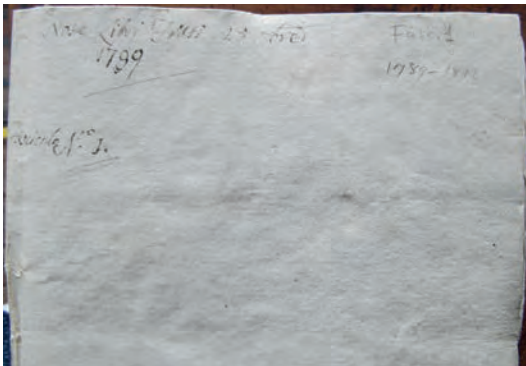


Figura 1 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Archivio, Busta Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812, Fascicolo 1, camicia

Figura 2 BNM, Archivio, Busta Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812, Fascicolo 1.2, f. 1r

Figura 3 BNM, Archivio, Busta Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812, Fascicolo 1.2, f. 3r

Figura 4 BNM, Archivio, Busta Biblioteche delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse 1789-1812, Fascicolo 4, camicia

ne rilevavo 17 con corniciature miniate nel foglio di apertura o sole lettere di tipo fogliato, 19 con lettere decorate a filigrana, 53 con la decorazione a bianchi girari, solamente 4 con lettere figurate almeno nel primo foglio, 13 con decorazioni a fiori, 12 con lettere a fondo compartito, 4 con fregi laterali fioriti. In tutto, dunque, poco più di un centinaio definibili in qualche misura come miniati, e altri 35 che presentano l'apposizione delle sole lettere rubricate in rosso e azzurro. Meno precisamente ho rilevato in numero di 27 quelli con xilografie notevoli e 14 dalle xilografie toccate con colore. Esempifico quest'ultimo caso di colorazione sovrapposta manualmente, tanto gradita nei paesi del Nord quanto inusuale nell'editoria veneziana,⁶ con la grande veduta di Venezia xilografata nell'Inc. 382, Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, Erhard Reuwich 1486, del quale non è nota la provenienza. Si tratta quindi di numeri modesti.

Quanto agli Incunaboli stampati a Venezia, la situazione è quasi analoga. Avevo allora preso appunti non per genere di miniatura, ma per importanza dell'intervento: su circa 897 volumi, quelli con sole letterine aggiunte in rosso o azzurro assommano a 82, più altri 32 con almeno la lettera d'inizio decorata, mentre la pagina iniziale è miniata in 58 casi, compresi gli xilominiati che ho pubblicato a suo tempo,⁷ compresa la serie con lo stemma del priore Gioachino Torriano di cui ho dato conto,⁸ e compresi i pochi riferibili al Maestro del Plinio di Pico della Mirandola pubblicati da Lilian Armstrong.⁹ Ho invece segnato presenze xilografiche in 266 casi.

Esemplare significativo per la figurazione, tra i pochissimi che si possano definire illustrati nell'intera collezione, è il *Canzoniere* di Petrarca di Vindelino da Spira, 1470, Inc. Ven. 546, un caso fortunato, poiché lo stemma presente nella scena rivela la committenza Priulli, e in seguito Apostolo Zeno vi segna la proprietà settecentesca da parte sua. Quest'ultima indicazione costituisce anche la provenienza per la Biblioteca. Le aggiunte con inchiostro e colori si trovano sulle due pagine iniziali del *Canzoniere* e dei *Trionfi*: la finezza dei disegni ci consente di proporre un inserimento del libro nel catalogo della stagione veneta di Girolamo da Cremona, il miniatore dei Corali della Libreria Piccolomini di Siena [fig. 5].

6 Marcon, «Figure, tra pennelli e legni».

7 Marcon, «Esempi di xilominiatura».

8 Marcon, «Per la biblioteca a stampa».

9 Armstrong, «Il Maestro di Pico».

3 Gli incunaboli bessarionei

Fra gli incunaboli segnalabili per la presenza di interventi manuali – enumerati qui sopra – sono compresi anche quelli provenienti dal lascito del cardinale Bessarione.¹⁰ Essi costituiscono poco meno di un quarto degli incunaboli ‘miniati’ marciani.

L'attività della stampa fu conosciuta, apprezzata e favorita da Bessarione, che inserì i propri notevoli esemplari romani nella donazione a San Marco, insieme ai propri codici importanti, greci e latini.

Osserveremo l'assoluta uniformità che corre tra l'intervento con inchiostri e colori sui codici prodotti nella casa bessarionea o comunque realizzati per il cardinale, e le aggiunte che vennero eseguite a mano sugli incunaboli. Entrambi sono completati con rubricazioni, capilettera, segni paragrafali, e con qualche intervento di miniatura. Siamo favoriti in questo rilevamento dal fatto che gli anni di inizio della stampa a Roma e del coinvolgimento di Bessarione nella nuova arte coincidono con anni circoscritti delle vicende bessarionee.¹¹ Poco dopo l'arrivo a Roma di Konrad Sweynheym e di Arnold Pannartz e l'inizio della loro editoria di classici e Padri della Chiesa, data l'elenco della donazione bessarionea a Venezia (tra maggio e luglio 1468, con trasferimento delle prime 30 casse di volumi a Venezia nel marzo 1469). Gli elenchi relativi, corredati da autentiche e sottoscrizioni, si leggono nel codice del *munus*, con voci distinte in due serie relative alle lingue dei testi, se greci o latini.¹² Le acquisizioni bessarionee successive agli elenchi del *munus* si situano prima della morte del cardinale avvenuta tra il 17 e il 18 novembre 1472, o perlomeno fino al 20 aprile 1472, quando, in vista della partenza per la missione in Francia, egli ricovera a Urbino le nuove casse, nel convento di Santa Chiara e sotto la cura di Federico da Montefeltro. Si tratta dei libri che Bessarione aveva trattenuto presso di sé (e già elencati nel testo del *munus*) insieme ai nuovi volumi acquisiti e realizzati. Comparando l'inventario del 1468, ossia il cosiddetto *munus*, con quello successivo, del 1474,¹³ Lotte Labowsky calcola che i volumi ‘nuovi’, ossia inseriti in elenco per la prima volta, siano stati circa 278, che si aggiungono ai 280 codici già elencati all'interno del

10 Il testo sugli incunaboli bessarionei unisce, con qualche rilievo diverso, quanto ho pubblicato nel 1994: Marcon, «La miniatura nei manoscritti latini»; «La miniatura nei codici del cardinale Bessarione».

11 Bianca et al., *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*; Bianca, *Da Bisanzio a Roma*; «Bessarione e la stampa».

12 Si tratta del noto codice fondante, che porta la segnatura marciana di Lat. XIV, 14 (=4235). Le trascrizioni degli inventari e le tabelle comparative si devono a Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*.

13 Inventario denominato «B» nella monografia di Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*.

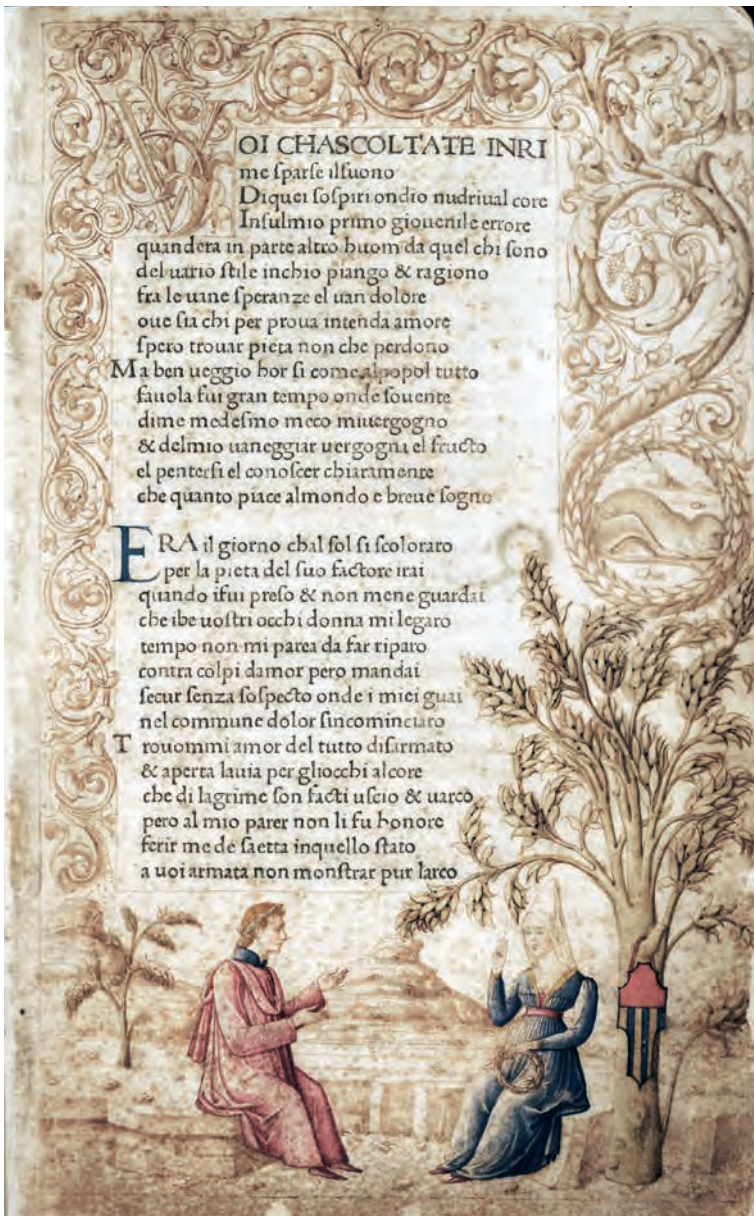


Figura 5 BNM, Inc. Ven. 546: Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere e Trionfi*. 1470. Venezia, Vindelino de Spira, f. 9r

munus e che si ripetono nel secondo inventario in quanto erano stati tratti presso di sé dal cardinale. Lo aveva fatto per esigenze di studio o perché si trattava di manoscritti personali, o sfascicolati, e insomma non adatti a formare la biblioteca rappresentativa che egli aveva pensato per raccogliere il sapere antico e la greccità a Venezia. Infine, anche questo secondo invio di casse approdò nella città lagunare, tra il medio 1473 e i primi mesi del 1474.

Tra questi circa 278 volumi ‘nuovi’, ossia realizzati presso la casa bessarionea o acquisiti nel breve corso di poco più di tre anni, come abbiamo ricordato sopra, si trovano appunto gli incunaboli, frammenti ai manoscritti ma concentrati nelle casse numero 45, 46, 47 e 48, fra le cinquantasette casse complessive contemplate nell’inventario stilato nel 1474. Significativamente, le voci relative ai libri a stampa non si diversificano in nulla da quelle dei manoscritti: al titolo segue la sola qualificazione relativa alla materia, se di carta o di pergamena. Dobbiamo quindi individuare i libri a stampa sulla base del solo contenuto testuale, e per corrispondenza con alcune voci che negli inventari successivi compariranno più dettagliate.

A Venezia, i volumi in casse furono poi trasportati, almeno dopo il 1485, in un settore separato della Sala del Collegio in Palazzo Ducale. L’inventario dei libri successivo, redatto nel 1524,¹⁴ è ancora un elenco dei volumi bessarionei, poiché questi costituivano pressoché il solo fondo esistente a Palazzo e tale sarebbe restato per tutto il Cinquecento sino al cospicuo lascito di Melchiorre Guilandino (1590). Le liste del 1524 mostrano contenuti redistribuiti entro casse diverse e organizzati largamente per materie. Le voci relative agli incunaboli sono meno accostate tra loro dentro alle casse, e notiamo come all’interno delle voci descrittive compare la nuova dizione di «*impressus*» e «*impressa*», a distinguere nettamente gli stampati dai manoscritti. A partire da questo momento, che purtroppo data a circa cinquant’anni dal tempo dell’inventario precedente che si è conservato, ricordato sopra, in tutti gli inventari e cataloghi successivi tale qualificazione si ripeterà. Dovremo pensare che il nuovo secolo, con la moltiplicazione del libro a stampa, ormai diventato una presenza usuale, abbia acquisito la necessità di un’indicazione più dettagliata, in relazione anche alla consapevolezza da un lato della preziosità dei libri manoscritti antichi e d’altro canto della peculiarità dei libri a stampa? Comunque, per la biblioteca bessarionea l’indicazione inserita negli inventari (almeno a partire dal 1524) non corrispose ancora a una conservazione separata dei libri prodotti a mano e di quelli realizzati con l’ausilio della pressa.

14 Inventario denominato «C» in Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*.

Poco più tardi, l'inventario del 1543¹⁵ mostra attuata la volontà di dare nuovo ordine alla biblioteca, al tempo di Pietro Bembo. Si tratta di un'ulteriore lista stilata in occasione di un cambio di responsabilità, per la consegna in nuove mani della preziosa raccolta. Nel 1531 a causa della riorganizzazione delle sale del Palazzo Ducale sotto il doge Andrea Gritti, i libri erano stati trasferiti in una sala della chiesa di San Marco raggiungibile dal portico. L'inventario dei beni librari effettuato per la consegna da parte del bibliotecario Pietro Bembo al segretario ducale Benedetto Ramberti, appunto nel 1543, presenta i titoli disposti per 15 «Banchi» denominati A-Q e per 39 «Numeri». Non sappiamo esattamente che cosa designino questi «numeri», se scaffalature o tavoli/banchi, ma è chiaro che il metodo di conservazione in casse era stato allora abbandonato almeno in parte per attuare disposizioni tendenzialmente sistematiche, più aperte ai fini dell'individuazione dei documenti e della loro più agevole lettura. La mancanza di fonti iconografiche relative alla disposizione dei volumi ci lascia nell'incertezza. La nuova organizzazione presenta gli incunaboli distanziati fra loro entro i «Numeri» che contengono soprattutto manoscritti divisi per materie, mentre i «Banchi» o plutei contengono voci relative solamente a manoscritti. Nelle stringhe inventariarie viene mantenuta l'indicazione di stampato corrispondente sostanzialmente a quella apposta nell'elenco marciano precedente, del 1524.

Gli inventari successivi presentano la situazione posteriore al 1560, con la collocazione dei volumi entro i banchi che arredano il grande Salone della Biblioteca portata a termine da Iacopo Sansovino per volontà dei Procuratori, di fronte al Palazzo Ducale e unito alle stanze di rappresentanza dei Procuratori de supra. Gli esemplari bessarionei dei precoci libri a stampa romani continuano a essere frammisti ai manoscritti e a dividerne i modi di conservazione. Del resto, come vedremo, essi presentano sin dall'origine aspetti formali del tutto assimilabili ai manoscritti. Nel prosieguo della storia, lungo il Settecento quei manoscritti e libri a stampa bessarionei avranno un ammodernamento delle legature pressoché analogo tra loro: ormai inglobati nella Biblioteca della Serenissima e ossequianti all'esigenza di abbandonare i plutei e le catene per nuove scaffalature e appoggi moderni.

Nella casa bessarionea, in quei quattro ultimi anni della vita del cardinale, manoscritti e incunaboli ebbero un trattamento equivalente. Al pari dei manoscritti, anche la maggior parte degli incunaboli bessarionei è dotata di ex-libris manoscritti, in stretta conformità con i codici coevi del cardinale. Nelle note di possesso Bessarione compare con l'attributo di cardinale Sabinense, una carica assunta nell'ottobre 1468, ossia dopo che era stato stilato l'elenco del *munus*. Si tratta di un elemento che accomuna gli incunaboli ai codici 'nuovi' del car-

15 Manoscritto marciano Lat. XIV, 17 (=4236): «D» in Labowsky.

dinale prodotti in quest'ultimo periodo. Elisabetta Sciarra ha trascritto le note di possesso apposte negli incunaboli bessarionei entro l'Archivio dei possessori, il catalogo marciano in linea che dà conto degli antichi possessori e delle provenienze conosciute,¹⁶ tenendo presenti anche le ricognizioni delle mani greche effettuate da David Speranzi.¹⁷

Dopo le commissioni fastose del quinquennio bolognese, che corre dall'anno giubilare 1450 ai cinque anni successivi, l'interesse del cardinale si mostra acuito verso la copia di testi importanti, e verso l'acquisizione di codici antichi. In occasione della prima consegna (1468) giungono a Venezia in particolare quei codici nuovi e pulcherimi che egli aveva fatto copiare e produrre appositamente al fine di creare una biblioteca coerente ed equilibrata. Quando le prime stampe romane accolgono testi scelti, l'atelier di copisti bessarionei continua a trascrivere e confezionare copie di opere.

Tanto negli incunaboli quanto nei 'nuovi' manoscritti bessarionei la finitura miniata si specializza in stretta conformità con l'uso romano del momento. Si tratta di interventi in buona parte ripetitivi destinati a completare le parti denotative con rubricazioni e lettere capitali, e a segnare la pagina di inizio testo con un più o meno fastoso intervento di corniciatura intera o di fascia laterale, al fine di accompagnare lo stemma identificativo. Gli schemi decorativi si ripetono. L'arma costituisce un segno di proprietà ulteriore e parallelo rispetto all'ex-libris manoscritto, non indispensabile quindi per designare il proprietario, ma ormai diventata un elemento figurativo usuale e necessario.

Nella Roma del momento, grazie alle committenze papali e della Curia, erano confluiti diversi miniatori e decoratori tanto da Napoli quanto da Firenze e dal nord, sino a creare uno stile che potremmo definire umanistico romano 'internazionale' basato su poche varianti.

Dell'apprezzamento di Bessarione per lo stile fiorentino, come affermato nella bottega di Vespasiano da Bisticci e da Attavante, è esempio l'ultima sua grande fastosa committenza di manoscritti latini, che egli non vide mai, perché fu realizzata a Firenze tra il 1470 e il 1472 e consegnata da Vespasiano dopo la morte del cardinale. Sono i dieci volumi membranacei in folio con l'opera di Agostino oggi Lat. Z. 57 (=1795), Lat. Z. 58 (=1796), Lat. Z. 60 (=1690), Lat. Z. 61 (=1798), Lat. Z. 64 (=1799), Lat. Z. 65 (=1800), Lat. Z. 68 (=1801), Lat. Z. 69 (=1802), Lat. Z. 70 (=1803), Lat. II, 3 (=2113).¹⁸

¹⁶ URL <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/106-bessarion>; <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/107-bessarion>.

¹⁷ URL <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/917-celadeno-alessio>; in particolare sulla mano greca di Alessio Celadeno: Speranzi, *Omero, i cardinali e gli esuli*, 81 nota 24.

¹⁸ De La Mare, *New Research on Humanistic Scribes*, App. III, nn. 47-56 alla p. 572.

Si tratta di modi già presenti nelle raccolte bessarionee, nella magnifica ornamentazione che segna i due grandi volumi del Girolamo membranaceo, Membr. 1 e 2, stampato da Sweynheim e Pannartz con colophon del 13 dicembre 1468 [fig. 6].

Fra queste realizzazioni tarde nella biblioteca del cardinale dominano i bianchi girari. Entrano nel gusto del cardinale, e generalmente in quello della Curia romana, lungo gli anni Sessanta nell'autorevole versione di Gioacchino de Gigantibus.¹⁹ A Roma, sede principe della vasta attività del miniatore, prima del 1468 poiché il manoscritto è identificabile nell'inventario unito all'atto del *munus*, è riferibile il suo raffinato Livio Lat. Z. 362 (=1832). Vi compaiono, esemplari, i putti reggistema e gli uccelli che abitano i girari. Ornato che sostanzialmente si ripete da parte del miniatore all'inizio degli anni Settanta per la seconda redazione della traduzione degli *Opuscula* bessarionei, nell'elegante manoscritto Lat. Z. 135 (=1694) che nelle tre pagine iniziali miniate porta le armi di Paolo II e del Bessarione stesso, a designare il volume come l'esemplare destinato al papa Barbo, mai consegnato forse a causa della morte di Paolo II nel luglio 1471.

Raggruppiamo intorno a questi bianchi girari alcune delle realizzazioni prodotte all'interno della casa bessarionea durante gli anni estremi che abbiamo circoscritto, di Bessarione cardinale Sabinese. Il fregio su tre lati che segna l'inizio del codice marciano Gr. Z. 480 (=589), una miscellanea con scritti di Oppiano, Teocrito e Arato, vergata dai copisti della famiglia bessarionea. I due putti reggistema col filo di corallo al collo e i pappagalli sono esemplati sulle opere di Gioacchino, mentre il tipo di girari, con il tralcio dal quale si dipartono piccioli puntuti e dalle fioriture gonfie, è quello romano del momento. Riconosciamo l'identica maniera nella cornice d'apertura del Gr. Z. 222 (=578), il Commento di Simplicio sul *De caelo* e sul *De anima* aristotelici.

Una decorazione del tutto simile è riconoscibile negli Inc. 97 e 98, i due volumi bessarionei delle *Vitae parallelae* di Plutarco stampate da Ulrich Han nel 1472 [fig. 7].

Analogo, anche se minore, è l'ornato composto di bianchi girari romani nell'Inc. 133, la *Geographia* di Strabone impressa da Sweynheim e Pannartz, che è stata riferita al 1469 [fig. 8]. Questo incunabolo è assente dalle ricerche di Lotte Labowsky, forse in quanto è privo di data mentre quello che è stato considerato un secondo volume dell'opera, Inc. 134 e non decorato e privo di stemma, porta nel colophon la data di stampa del 12 febbraio 1473. Si osservi come in questi ultimi codici e volumi a stampa l'arma è messa in molti casi da un'unica mano, contraddistinta da un segno disegnativo sottile, che delinea in punta di penna le braccia sorreggenti la croce e le nappe del cappello car-

¹⁹ Pasut, *Gioacchino*.



Figura 6 BNM, Membr. 1: Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. 13 Dec. 1468.
Roma, Conradus Sweynghem e Arnoldus Pannartz, f. 11r



Figura 7 BNM, Inc. 97: Plutarchus, *Vitae illustrium uirorum*. [1470]. Roma, Ulrich Han, f. [3]r

dinalizio. Essa ricorre nei manoscritti greci e latini bessarionei databili fra il tardo 1468 e il 1472, e in incunaboli, caratterizzando gli interventi tardi come opere in qualche modo sistematiche.

La nitidezza della stessa esecuzione si ritrova negli *Opera philosophica* del marciano Gr. Z. 198 (=744), e nel Senofonte Gr. Z. 369 (=1045). In ossequio al repertorio bizantino, accanto all'alloro che contiene l'arma e ai bianchi girari degli usuali fregi con fioroni uscanti, vi compaiono tabelle dal calligrafico motivo continuo d'acanto a palmette eseguito a risparmio.

Sono svariati gli ulteriori manoscritti nei quali interviene lo stesso calligrafo aggiungendo lo stemma: con regolarità, su pagine dai fregi modesti per dimensione e fasto, ma abili e rigorosamente eseguiti. Lo osserviamo in due manoscritti latini: lo schema a bianchi girari e la figura dell'autore nel capolettera risolvono la pagina d'inizio del Prisciano, *Institutio de arte grammatica*, Lat. Z. 484 (=1945). Barre policrome d'alloro costituiscono la corniciatura parziale per l'apertura del latino *De processione Spiritus Sancti* di Bessarione nel codice Lat. Z. 133 (=1693).

Una variante con motivi acantacei gotici compare messa da un'unica mano in almeno un incunabolo e in alcuni manoscritti latini. Nel Lucano, *Pharsalia*, Inc. 216, stampato da Sweynheim e Pannartz nel 1469, e nell'Eusebio, *Historia ecclesistica*, Lat. Z. 346 (1551), che porta nella sottoscrizione la data 30 ottobre 1469, nel Bonet, *Philosophia, Theologia naturalis*, Lat. Z. 303 (1840), finito di scrivere il 25 gennaio del 1470 dal medesimo copista del precedente, e ancora nella seconda parte del Lat. Z. 288 (1839), *Super librum de causis*, di Tommaso d'Aquino, sottoscritta nel dicembre 1470 presso la casa bessarionea dei Santi Dodici Apostoli. A confermarci che il lavoro si svolge verosimilmente tutto ormai intorno alle stanze del cardinale, la decorazione della prima parte di quest'ultimo manoscritto, completato nel marzo del 1471 presso la stessa casa, è riferibile allo pseudo-Amadei, il miniatore responsabile della miniatura che percorre il documento del *munus*, Lat. XIV, 14 (=4235), datato, come abbiamo ricordato, da maggio a luglio 1468.²⁰

Il decoratore della casa del Bessarione dal segno sottile che abbiamo visto ricorrere tra i fogli tardi, a volte aggiunge l'arma entro spazi d'attesa lasciati in miniature eseguite da altri. Così nella viva decorazione, consentanea al gusto bolognese, del Membr. 13Bis: Aulo Gellio, *Noctes Atticae*, esemplare della stampa di Sweynheim e Pannartz con colophon dell'11 aprile 1469 [fig. 9]. Lo si accosterà all'*Opera* di Apuleio, Asclepio ed Ermete Trismegisto stampata da Sweynheim e Pannartz con data del 28 febbraio 1469, Membr. 15Bis, nel quale i bianchi girari sono pausati da un clipeo figurato del capo di Apuleio.

20 Marcon, «Amadei, Giuliano e Pseudo Amadei».

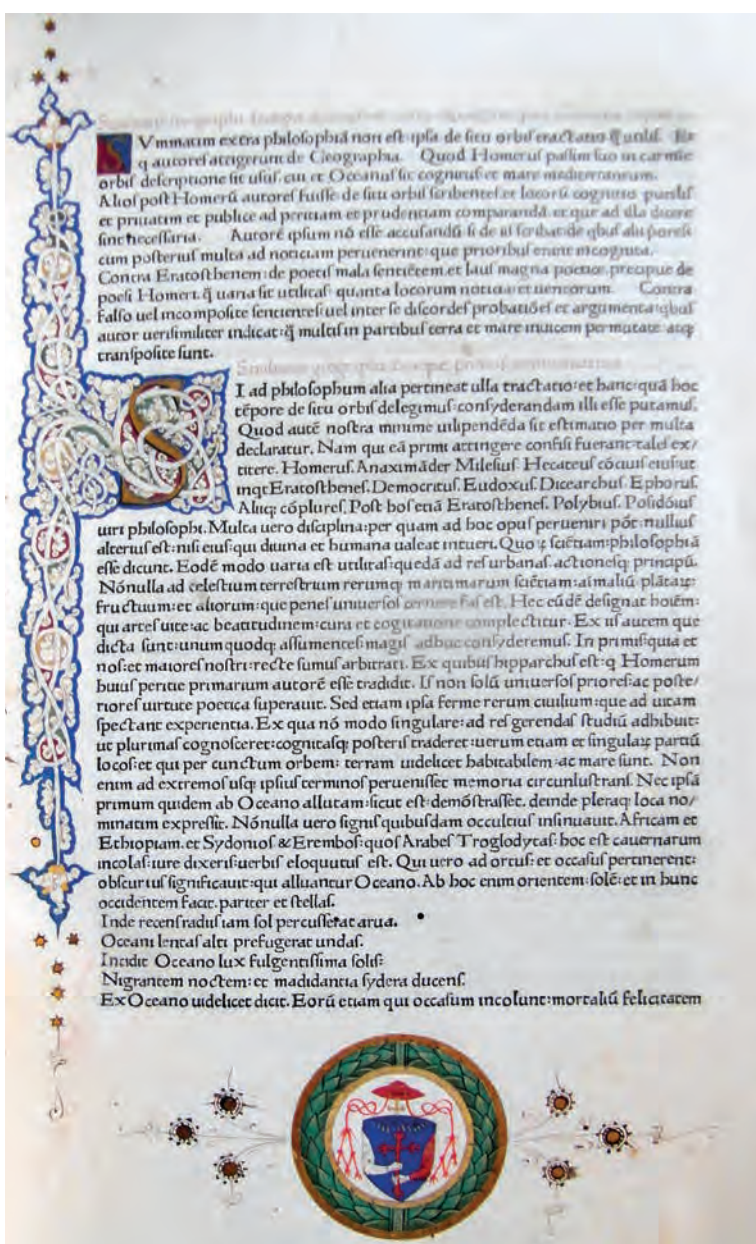


Figura 8 BNM, Inc. 133: Strabo, *Geographia*. [1469]. Roma, Conradus Sweynheim e Arnoldus Pannartz, f. 4r

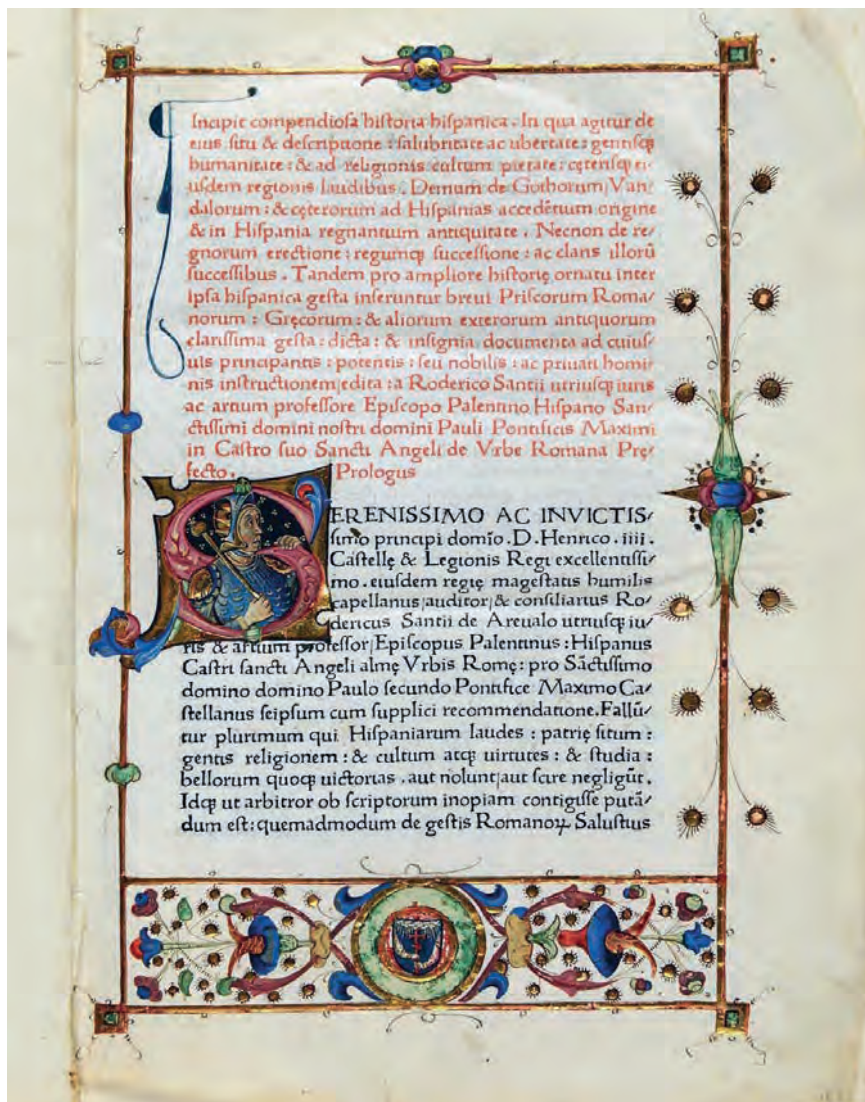


Figura 10 BNM, Inc. 434: Rodericus Zamorensis, *Compendiosa historia Hispanica*. [Non dopo 4 ottobre 1470]. Roma, Ulrich Han, f. [1]r

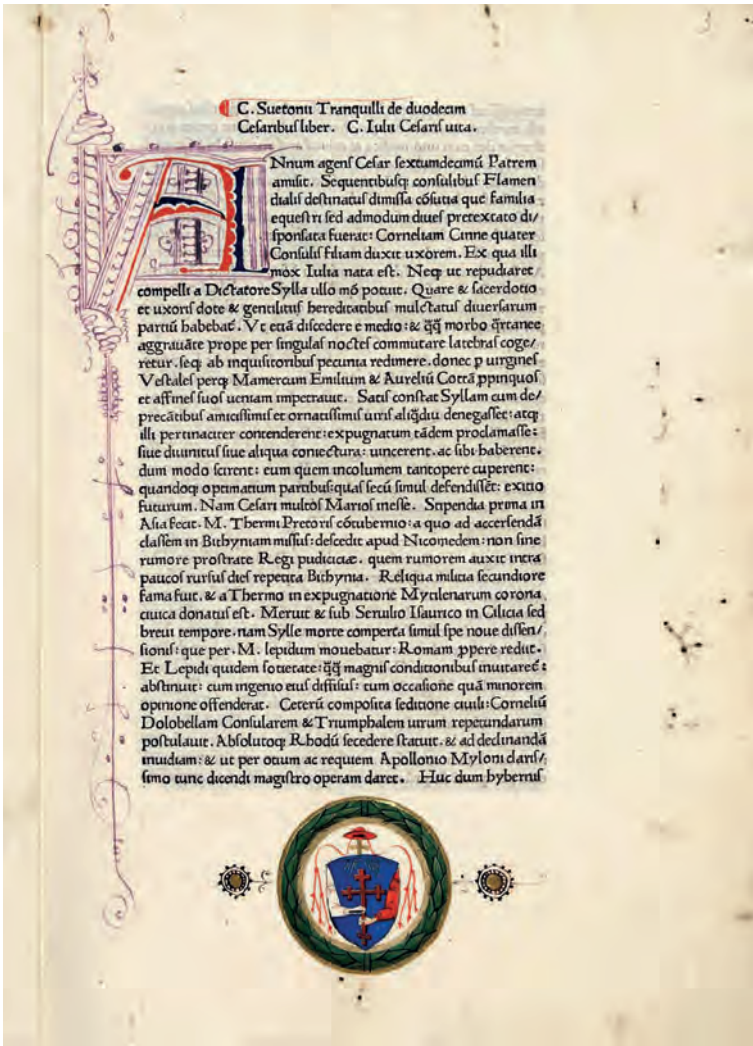


Figura 11 BNM, Inc. 214: Gaius Suetonius, *Vite XII Caesarum*. [Dopo 30 agosto] 1470. Roma, Conradus Sweynheim e Arnoldus Pannartz, f. 3r

Sono del resto più che rare le presenze figurative all'interno degli incunaboli bessarionei. Un ulteriore breve profilo è inserito da un miniatore stilisticamente lombardo all'interno della decorazione sul foglio pergameneo premesso al cartaceo Inc. 434, la *Compendiosa historia hispanica*, di Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, Ulrich Han nel 1470 [fig. 10]. Si tratta di un volume singolare all'interno delle raccolte, e lo stemma è aggiunto. La presenza del medesimo miniatore nell'esemplare della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma, Inc. 348, suggerisce un intervento seriale, o perlomeno legato ai responsabili dell'opera.²¹

Per brevità potremmo forse riferire al decoratore che realizza l'arma bessarionea con linee sottili la piena autografia delle pagine seriali caratterizzate dalla presenza dello stemma entro lauro, e da poche bullae, o filamenti di filigrana, in stampati come il Tommaso d'Aquino, *Catena aurea*, nei due volumi Inc. 100-101, e il Plinio, *Historia naturalis*, Inc. 102, o il Quintiliano, *Institutio oratoria*, Inc. 213, tutti impressi da Sweynheym e Pannartz nel 1470, o ancora l'Inc. 214, lo Svetonio, *Vitae XII caesarum*, opera di Sweynheym e Pannartz nello stesso 1470 [fig. 11]. Una variante si mostra ad esempio nel Nicolò di Lira, *Postilla*, Sweynheym e Pannartz con date di stampa dal 1471 al maggio 1472, Inc. 110. E ancora entro codici latini: si consideri ad esempio il Lat. Z. 142 (=1669), una raccolta informale di opuscoli. Segnatamente per i codici greci venne curata la posizione di questo ulteriore ex-libris in figura:²² una serie di almeno 9 manoscritti greci, prodotti nella casa bessarionea in questa ultima intensa attività di copia, mostra sul margine inferiore del foglio iniziale il lauro accompagnato da brevi apparati di segni spiraliformi eseguiti a inchiostro e di bullae.

Dunque, una assoluta similarità che, all'albore della stampa e nella casa romana del Bessarione, rendeva virtualmente uguali i manoscritti e gli stampati, entrambi prodotti di una stagione che desiderava l'opera veloce e ripetuta dei copisti per risultati standardizzati, e d'altra parte cominciava ad apprezzare la serialità prodotta dai torchi per la diffusione di opere scelte. In ogni caso, gli esemplari erano resi personali e unici.

²¹ Riproduzione in *Gutenberg e Roma*, figg. 24, 50.

²² Manoscritti marciiani Gr. Z. 39 (=344): Philo Alexandrinus; Gr. Z. 46 (=383): Origenes; Gr. Z. 124 (=389): Cyrillus Alexandrinus; Gr. Z. 280 (=706): Galenus; Gr. Z. 285 (=708): Galenus, sottoscritto dal Rhosos con la data 1470; Gr. Z. 364 (=718): Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, sottoscritto dal Plusiadenus con la data 1469; Gr. Z. 373 (=697): Dionysius Halicarnasseus; Gr. Z. 449 (=588): Suida; Gr. Z. 470 (=824): Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus. Ulteriori esempi della decorazione a filigrana filante sono evidenziati, significativamente riguardo alla produzione seriale, in diversi esemplari dell'*In calumniatorem Platonis* Sweynheym e Pannartz dell'agosto 1469, fra cui il marciiano Inc. 219, da Davis, «Some Bessarion Owners».

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The Use and Reuse of Printed Illustrations in 15th-Century Venetian Editions

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Abstract A presentation of the 15cILLUSTRATION database and website, a searchable database of 15th-century printed illustrations developed by the 15cBOOKTRADE Project in collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group (VGG) at the Department of Engineering Science of the University of Oxford, is the first comprehensive and systematic tool to track and investigate the production, use, circulation, and copying of woodblocks, iconographic subjects, artistic styles, within 15th-century printed illustrated editions. The paper illustrates the potential of the 15cILLUSTRATION website as a research support tool for art historians, book historians, philologists and historians of visual and material culture.

Keywords Manual image annotation. Visual image search. ISTC. Incunables. Illustration. Woodcut illustration. Woodcuts. Incunabula. Image-matching. Digital humanities. Printed images.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Historical Background. – 3 15cILLUSTRATION Database. – 4 Different Stages of Development from 2014 to 2018. – 5 Illustrative Examples Showing the Use of 15cILLUSTRATION Database as Research Support Tool. – 5.1 Case 1. Search Using Database Images as a Query. – 5.2 Case 2. Search Using Metadata as a Query. – 5.3 Case 3. ‘Upload and Search’. – 6 Computer Software Tools Powering the 15cILLUSTRATION. – 6.1 VGG Image Annotator (VIA). – 7 VGG Image Search Engine (VISE). – 8 Conclusions and Future Work.



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1 Introduction

At a time when the spread of printing facilitated the availability of books to wider sections of society, the images included in these books acted as a primary intellectual tool in the reading process. These images were not only meant to embellish the printed page but were also aimed at providing exegetic support to readers of any social level, thereby contributing to make the meaning of the text more accessible and to fix its content in the memory.

Printed illustration consists of the exact repetition of individual figurative statement in a book. With a technique that preceded the introduction of movable-type printing, images were carved into the surface of blocks of wood – hence the term woodblocks – leaving the printing parts in relief and removing the areas which were meant to remain white. In a minority of cases, these wooden matrices were substituted with metal ones (metalcuts).

The introduction of printed images in movable-type printed books was a gradual process. It started with the impression of engraved wooden borders on selected copies of a certain edition, typically to decorate the frontispiece or the margins of selected pages. The impression of those borders, called ‘xilominiated’ as they represent an intermediate stage between hand-crafted illuminations and decorations printed from a wooden (ξύλον) matrix, usually happened after the printing of the text had taken place.

The second stage of development was the insertion of more complex figurative representations, such as narrative scenes or vignettes; similarly to the xilominiated borders, these images would have been hand-printed in selected copies only, and after the printing of the text itself. In those early phases of evolution, printers did not have the technical means to insert woodblocks directly in the press forme together with the text.

The simultaneous impression of the images and text together in a single stage of the printing process represents the third and final development in the printing of illustrated incunables. As woodblocks began to be inserted in the same printing forme as the text, their use and occurrence throughout the edition necessarily had to follow the practical rules of composition of the printing forme.¹ Woodblocks soon became a fundamental part of printers’ business capital, as much as types, paper, and the press itself were. They had an economic value, they could be loaned to other printers, they were

1 “When using a hand press each sheet of a book is printed from two formes (one for each side of the paper), the inner and outer formes. The outer includes the first page of the resulting gathering, plus those other pages necessary for the correct imposition of the appropriate format; the inner forme includes the remaining pages of the gathering” (Nash, *Forme*, 730-1).

exchangeable and they were marketable. And indeed, from the very beginning, many of the woodblocks which had been commissioned and prepared in order to illustrate specific 15th-century printed editions started to be copied or re-used in other editions, within the same iconographic cycle, or as single images, illustrating the same or a different text, by the same or by different printers, sometimes in different cities or even in different countries.

Unfortunately, documents establishing evident connections between names of artists and the design of specific sets of woodcut illustrations for single editions are scarce. The identification of those artistic personalities, in several cases miniaturists who shifted from the production of hand-painted decoration in books to the design of woodcuts, thus still very much depends on human recognition of stylistic similarities.

From a strictly bibliographical point of view, a more accurate and detailed system to track the circulation, use and reutilisation of early-printed illustrations (that is, of the woodblocks they came from, considered as material of impression, rather than for their pure iconographical content) will benefit different kinds of scholarship.

It will produce an exhaustive and easily accessible inventory of 15th-century printed images and of all the editions in which they occur, with a special focus on the cases of re-use and copying. It will also allow a survey of the illustration practice of every printer, and the analysis of otherwise obscure business relationships between different printers. Ultimately, it will allow philologists and art historians to increase their understanding of the transmission of texts and of different iconographic subjects in the years of the printing revolution, but also it will enable book-historians and historians of material culture to unveil and highlight the complex degrees of exchange and interaction between printers, authors and illustrators.

Over the last century, much has been discovered and said on how the role and the creative process of book decoration changed with the introduction of printing, and on the relationship between painting, illumination and the different stages of printed production and decoration. From the late 19th century, a series of fundamental resources on early-printed illustrations and illustrated editions were produced in various European countries. However, fundamental research questions on the topic have not yet been systematically addressed. These questions span three main research areas:

1. The circulation of images: how did printed images circulate in incunables? What were the different editions and texts in which they were printed? Who were the printers who used them? Is it possible to track the geographical movement of the blocks?
2. Printers' practice: how did printers use images? How did they have them made? What was the relationship between

the printers and the designers and cutters? How did they copy and/or exchange them?

3. Iconographic tradition: what impact did the introduction of printing have on the representation of a certain subject?

The way the same blocks were used in different editions and their conditions at the time of printing can provide valuable elements for establishing chronological and genetic relationships between the editions themselves. In early editions, images also have the added value of aiding in the reconstruction of the transmission of a literary work in print, particularly as they might help to identify links with the manuscript transmission of text and images, which in many cases preceded and often continued to coexist during the early years of printing.

The 15cILLUSTRATION website and database,² described in this paper, allows scholars to address the above mentioned research questions by providing them with a systematic and reliable tool for cataloguing and researching the production, use and circulation of 15th-century printed woodcuts.

The 15cILLUSTRATION database was conceived and developed between 2014 and 2018 and is the result of a close collaboration between the 15cBOOKTRADE team and the scientists of the Visual Geometry Group at the Department of Engineering Science of the University of Oxford. It is one of the digital tools developed within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project to open up the study of incunabula for historical research, along with the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI), TEXT-inc and the visualisation software 15cV.

2 Historical Background

Any attempt to understand how book illustrations were used in the 15th century must be based on an in-depth knowledge of the bibliographical features of the editions in which they appear. In the definition of the bibliographic identity of an edition, the presence or absence of printed illustrations and the way woodblocks or metalcuts were used by printers throughout the book ought to be considered as relevant and meaningful as the other standard elements on which we normally rely such as 'author', 'title', 'place of printing', 'printing shop', 'year of printing', 'number of leaves', 'mise en page', 'type', etc.

The foundations of this methodology of researching the production and use of Italian early-printed illustrations were laid in the late 19th and early 20th century. Central in this sense were works such as Paul Kristeller's *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (1897), and the two rep-

² URL <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>.

ertories by Victor Masséna, Prince d'Essling. In 1895, Essling published his *Les Missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600*, followed in 1914 by the monumental *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, a comprehensive catalogue of all known illustrated editions printed in Venice before 1530, where for each edition particular attention is devoted to the verbal description of figurative representations.³

Essling's example was followed in Italy by Max Sander, who in 1942 published a catalogue modelled on the same structure but with a shift of interest from editions printed in Venice to all those printed in Italy between the 15th and early 16th centuries, and then in Germany by Albert Schramm, with his *Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke* (1920-43).⁴

The argument that research on woodcut illustration should be carried out within the framework of analytical bibliography was reinforced further by Wytze and Lotte Hellinga in the sixties, and has inspired a number of works and scholarly approaches in the past decades, such as the recent analysis conducted by Ina Kok in her *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries* (2013).⁵ The works of Schramm and Kok are organised by printer and woodcut, rather than by edition, as were the earlier works mentioned above.

Meanwhile, the rise of digital technologies facilitated the establishment of new tools for cataloguing incunables, such as the ISTC online, and stimulated new developments of the work on early-printed images. In 1994, in the footsteps of ISTC, Lotte Hellinga launched the Illustrated Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (IISTC), which made images from many early-printed editions available on a CD-ROM.

In more recent years, many projects have also been fruitfully testing the application of digital technologies to different kinds of images, including early-printed images. These efforts were often paired with substantial digitisation campaigns and with the creation and development of major digital collections such as those of the *Index of Medieval Art* at Princeton University, of the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database in London.⁶ These projects, together with the creation of other online tools such as the database *Arkyves*, supported by the publisher Brill and contributed by partners such as the Dutch Rijksmuseum,

³ Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*; Essling, *Les Missels imprimés à Venise*; *Les Livres à figures vénitiens*.

⁴ Sander, *Le Livre à figures italien*; Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*.

⁵ The Hellingas developed this idea as one of the fundamental methodological bases for their extensive research on printing types in the Low-Countries; Hellinga W., Helling L., *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types*, I: xi-xiii in particular; Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, i-iv of the introduction.

⁶ URL <https://ima.princeton.edu/>; <https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/special-collections/photographic-collection/iconographic-database>.

the Netherlands Institute for Art History, the Herzog August Bibliothek, and the university libraries of Milan, Utrecht, Glasgow, and Illinois, suggest how much time and resources have been invested by cultural institutions to take advantage of digital technologies and to make large quantities of images available to scholars and the public.⁷ Some of these efforts have particularly focused on early-printed images, in an attempt to overcome the weaknesses of the traditional ways of cataloguing illustrations with particular reference to the storage of images and their availability to scholars.

Among these, the project *Icono15*, developed between 1988 and 2000, consisted of an electronic census of illustrated French editions and a catalogue of illustrations of French incunables stored in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. *Icono15* was based on the model of the database *Mandragore*, storing images from the illuminated manuscripts owned by the BNF.⁸ In the *Icono15* system, each block appearing in one edition was assigned a unique identifier of the type 6532-04, where 6532 is a number arbitrarily linked to the block and 04 indicates that the same block had already been used three times before that appearance.

The description of every block was then structured according to a series of metadata fields which pertained to the number of its occurrences in one single edition, the leaf where it was printed, its position within the page, its measurements, a synthetic description of the scene that it represents (e.g. 'crucifixion'), and a series of descriptive keywords referring to figurative and iconographic elements of the representation.⁹

Although *Icono15* represents so far the project that has come closest to the idea of a systematic work towards the creation of a database for printed images in incunables, this electronic catalogue of illustrations has always remained an offline tool, apparently on CD-ROM, and the entries describing images, mentioned above, do not have any visual reproduction attached.

These two shortcomings were overcome by the Bodleian Broadside Ballads Project, developed by the VGG at Department of Engineering Science, University of Oxford and hosted by the Bodleian Library.¹⁰

In this context, a system of automatic recognition of printed images was designed and developed within the Bodleian Ballads Online re-

⁷ URL <http://arkyves.org>.

⁸ URL <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>.

⁹ All the following information on *Icono15* is based on Firoben and Petit, *Icono 15*, 295-316.

¹⁰ The Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads Project was developed in collaboration with Giles Bergel of the English Faculty, relying on data previously gathered by Dr Alexandra Franklin (cf. <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ballads/>).

source to assist with the cataloguing and study of the figurative content of early British printed broadside ballads. The ImageMatch tool, which later evolved into the ImageBrowse tool, was used to search a set of 800 high-resolution images of ballads from the 17th century.¹¹ Images of the ballads' illustrations were uploaded in the Bodleian Broadside Ballads database, and their iconographic content was indexed and described using ICONCLASS and integrated with metadata about the collection.¹² An early prototype of the software tools that power the visual search feature of 15cILLUSTRATION database was used for developing the ImageMatch and ImageBrowse tools. In the section "Computer Software Tools Powering the 15cILLUSTRATION" of this paper, we describe the search tool that forms the basis of the visual search feature of 15cILLUSTRATION database as it is now.

The Icono15 database and the Broadside Ballads Project were the starting point for the development, within the 15cBOOKTRADE Project, of a new method to integrate an in-depth analysis of the illustrations printed in 15th-century editions within the major tools for bibliographical research.

3 15cILLUSTRATION Database

15cILLUSTRATION is an online database of 15th-century printed illustrations. It is based on a set of digital reproductions of 15th-century printed images stored on online servers hosted by the VGG that are regularly updated on the basis of contributions from scholars and researchers. It supports search queries based both on text metadata or on image regions, either taken from the images already in the database or from new images uploaded by the user.

In comparison with other categories of images, such as those found in single sheet ballads or prints, scholars aiming to catalogue and classify 15th-century printed book illustrations have to deal with an additional level of complexity, due to the technical constraints of the printing process of a book, which can run to hundreds of pages and contains several illustrations, often repeated. In order to find out how illustrations were used, it is necessary to map in detail their presence inside the editions where they appear.

The filename of every image contained in 15cILLUSTRATION is a unique identifier composed of the following three elements:

¹¹ Quoted from Bergel et al., *Content-Based Image-Recognition*.

¹² ICONCLASS is the most widely accepted multilingual classification system for figurative content in the Medieval and Early Modern periods. In ICONCLASS, subjects of visual representations are described through alphanumeric classification codes, called notations. Every notation is part of a hierarchical structure that functions according to a logic of increasing specificity. Cf. more on ICONCLASS at www.iconclass.nl.

- ISTC number, referring to the edition;
- MEI number, referring to the copy;
- folio reference.

Associating each image with a unique identifier allows us to quickly track the edition and copy from which the image was taken thereby allowing us to link the image with bibliographic information available in the ISTC database and ownership details present in the MEI database. The association (or link) of images with the ISTC database is crucial since, as will be explained in further detail below, it allows us to automatically retrieve the bibliographic information about each edition.

The link with MEI is also of great importance. Although it is easier for scholars to generally rely on the assumption that all the copies of a certain edition have the identical arrangement of illustrations, many examples and study cases prove that often this is not the case. As happens with types and the imprint of the text, the way in which woodcuts are used may present substantial differences between different copies of the same edition. These cases are particularly valuable for scholars, not only because they shed light on the printing material that the printer had at his disposal and on how this evolved over time, but also because they often allow us to distinguish between successive reprints and ultimately help to clarify the different stages of the printing process. Furthermore, such a link to MEI database guarantees that the ownership of the copy and its current location are always acknowledged and presented to the users of 15cILLUSTRATION.

In the digital reproductions of early-printed illustrations uploaded in the 15cILLUSTRATION, the impression of each block is tagged with metadata of two kinds:

- bibliographic metadata automatically sourced from ISTC, through the unique identifier of each image, to record the date and place of printing, the printer, the author and title of the edition where the image is contained;
- descriptive metadata assigned manually, which illustrate different features (figurative content, artistic style, measurements, etc.) of the specific block.

For the first time, the database enables scholars to track the cases of reuse, circulation and copying of single woodcuts through the search for visual samples alone, such as part of a border, an entire vignette or a small detail, as well as through textual keywords and metadata. These two ways of searching the database can also be combined together to further refine the query.

4 Different Stages of Development from 2014 to 2018

In this section, we describe the different development stages of the 15cILLUSTRATION project to provide an insight into the inception and progress of an interdisciplinary project between Humanities and Engineering Science.

The master's thesis by Clementina Piazza (University of Oxford, 2012), under the supervision of Prof. Cristina Dondi, demonstrated the potential benefits of applying innovative digital methodologies, such as visual recognition and image matching, to the research on the production and circulation of early-printed illustrations. Piazza's work focused in particular on the set of woodblocks used by the German printer Johannes Hamman for his incunable editions of the *Book of Hours*, issued in Venice.

The positive outcome of this preliminary assessment and the great potential of this research field gave the 15cBOOKTRADE Project, started in 2014, the confidence to assign a DPhil student (Matilde Malaspina) to expand it on a larger scale, this time in close collaboration with researchers from the VGG who had developed the visual search technologies used in the Bodleian Broadside Ballads Project, mentioned above.¹³

The initial work began in autumn of 2014 by gathering images from Italian, and particularly Venetian editions, with a preference for printed illustrations of Aesopic texts, namely various versions of the *Fabulae* and the *Vita Aesopi*. If one illustration consisted in two or more blocks combined together, they were isolated in different jpeg files, one for each block. Each file was then named separately. At the beginning, the metadata description associated with each illustration was manually stored in a revised version of the spreadsheet initially conceived by Piazza in her thesis work.¹⁴ The metadata descriptions corresponded to the bibliographical features of the book (e.g. imprint and format), and the subject represented in the image. In this respect, a fundamental distinction between the objective description of the figurative subject and its iconographic interpretation had already been introduced through the use of both keywords and iconclass codes to describe it. This resulted in a set of digital images in JPEG format, each containing the photographic reproduction of one single printed block (or region), and in the associated metadata description stored in a row of the spreadsheet. This initial dataset of around 2000 images was sufficient to create an initial prototype of 15cILLUSTRATION that demonstrated the visual search functionality on 15th-century printed illustrations. This initial prototype was

¹³ Malaspina, *15th-Century Printed Italian Editions*.

¹⁴ Piazza, *Cataloguing Images in Incunabula*, 62-8.

presented at the official public launch of the 15cBOOKTRADE Project on 23 June 2016 at the Bodleian Library (University of Oxford). We also described this initial prototype in a research article published in the *Lettera Matematica* journal.¹⁵

This initial prototype lacked the text metadata search functionality because of the limitations imposed by metadata stored in a spreadsheet. The initial prototype helped reveal the limitations of our existing approach of splitting illustrations into multiple JPEG files and storing their metadata descriptions in a spreadsheet. Furthermore, this approach was extremely time consuming and inefficient. To allow online search and visualisation of text metadata, we needed to use a manual image annotation tool to manually define separate regions in an illustration corresponding to separate blocks. Manual image annotation tools also allowed describing these image regions with text metadata. Therefore, we selected an existing manual image annotation tool and began our manual annotation work.¹⁶ We soon realised that we needed to develop our own image annotation tool because the chosen existing tool was difficult to install and use by non-technical users. To suit our needs, we developed a manual image annotation software tool called the VGG Image Annotator (VIA) that did not demand any technical knowledge from its users and was easy to use. The VIA software fulfilled all the manual annotation requirements of 15cILLUSTRATION scholars and has now matured as a general image annotation tool that has become an essential and invaluable research support tool in many academic disciplines. The VIA software tool is described in more detail in “Computer Software Tools Powering the 15cILLUSTRATION” section.

The manually annotated metadata created using the VIA tool allowed us to create the next prototype of 15cILLUSTRATION which included both visual search and text metadata search. This version of 15cILLUSTRATION was presented on 21 February 2017, as part of the Lunchtime Lecture Series of the Centre for Digital Scholarship of the Bodleian Library (University of Oxford). Then we also presented the VIA manual image annotation tool. The tools required to perform visual search and text metadata search were now ready. The remaining time of the project was used to collect more images and let scholars annotate them manually using the VIA tool. We added a text metadata search functionality to the visual search software. We also upgraded the visual search tool to show manually annotated metadata if the search result overlapped with a manually annotated region. Furthermore, the visual search tool was up-

¹⁵ Malaspina, Zhong, *Image-Matching Technology*, 287-92.

¹⁶ LEAR image annotation tool by A. Kläser, https://lear.inrialpes.fr/people/klaeser/software_bbox_image_annotation.

graded to also show bibliographic metadata automatically fetched from the ISTC database.

The final version of 15cILLUSTRATION online database contains 4725 illustrations along with manually annotated metadata associated with most of those illustrations. This version was released to the public in September 2018 and was presented during a conference in Venice.¹⁷ This final version of 15cILLUSTRATION database is now publicly accessible at <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>.

5 Illustrative Examples Showing the Use of 15cILLUSTRATION Database as Research Support Tool

According to ISTC, around 28,500 editions printed with movable types by the end of December 1500 survive today. Out of these, just under 4,000 were printed in Venice or are attributed to Venice-based printers on the basis of typographical features, the use of woodblocks, or historical and documentary sources.

The earliest illustrated Venetian editions that survive today were printed by the German Erhard Ratdolt at the end of the 1470s in partnership with two other Germans, Bernhard Maler ('Pictor', in Latin) and Peter Löslein. In particular, the first examples are two editions, in Latin and Italian respectively, of the *Calendarium* composed by the mathematician and astronomer Johannes Müller from Königsberg in Franconia ('Iohannes de Monte Regio', or 'Regiomontanus').¹⁸

In these cases the illustrations contained in the editions mainly consist of decorated title-page borders and initials, diagrams and astronomical representations. Although narrative vignettes start appearing from Ratdolt's first edition of the *Fasciculus temporum*, printed in November 1480, scholars have remarked how the role of Venetian artists in the design and making of woodcut illustrations became particularly important from the early 1490s onwards.¹⁹

17 Malaspina, Dutta. "The Use and Reuse of Printed Illustrations in 15th-Century Venetian Editions". *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe* (Venice, 21 Sept. 2018).

18 ISTC ir00103000 (the Italian edition) and ir00093000 (the Latin one).

19 The years 1486 and 1487 already saw the appearance of significant illustrated editions, such as the *Supplementum chronicarum* printed by Bernardinus Benalius in December 1486 (ISTC ij00210000), the *Aesopus moralisatus*, also printed by Benalius, in November 1487 (ISTC ia00150400) and S. Bonaventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* with full-page illustrations printed by Hieronymus de Sanctis in 1487 (ISTC ib00922000). A detailed account of the evolution of the practice of woodcut illustration in Italian 15th-century printed books is given by Armstrong, "Gli incunaboli illustrati", 171-228 later republished in Armstrong, *La xilografia nel libro italiano del Quattrocento*, 19-110.

As mentioned above, the research on illustrated editions of the Venetian production already had a valuable foundation in the work by Victor Masséna, Prince d'Essling. In his repertory *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, Essling specifically focused on illustrated editions printed in Venice between the late 15th century and the late 16th century. The work counts 2585 editions in total, of which around 362 were certainly printed before the end of 1500, fifty-two without a precise date and the rest issued between 1501 and 1586. At the moment, around 400 editions are currently recorded in ISTC as having an Essling number. Unfortunately there is no way yet to systematically determine how many illustrated editions among all incunables currently exist.

The cases of reuse and circulation of woodblocks in early-printed editions are many, and concern different types of images: not only narrative vignettes but also diagrams, borders and decorated initials. In this context, the main challenge for scholars is certainly to be able to retrieve the cases where the same figurative representation is used to illustrate different narrative episodes and iconographic subjects.

And this task is precisely where the possibility offered by the 15cILLUSTRATION database becomes particularly innovative and useful, to combine a search via textual metadata with a search which is based purely on the visual instance of the image.

5.1 Case 1. Search Using Database Images as a Query

The structure of the database allows the user to browse through the *c.* 5,000 pilot images which are contained in it, as well as to group them by edition, on the basis of the ISTC number contained in the name of the file. For instance, searching for the ISTC number “ia00110000”, the user finds all the illustrations contained in the corresponding edition, the *Vita Aesopi* printed in Venice by Manfredus de Bonellis on 27 March 1492. The database divides the illustrations according to the different gatherings in which they appear, contributing to clarifying the use and repetition of the blocks throughout the edition as shown in [fig. 1].

From this result, it is possible to select any of the images and search for all its other uses and occurrences through the image matching software. Let us select, for instance, the illustration appearing on the last leaf e10v as shown in [fig. 2]. The woodblock portrays the last episode of the *Vita*, ‘De interitu Esopi clarissimi fabulatoris’, i.e. the scene where Aesop is thrown from a rock and murdered by the citizens of Delphi. The user can now select any portion of the image, such as the central vignette, highlighted in the picture, and search the database for other occurrences of the same impression. In this case, the search operation gives three results as shown in [fig. 3].

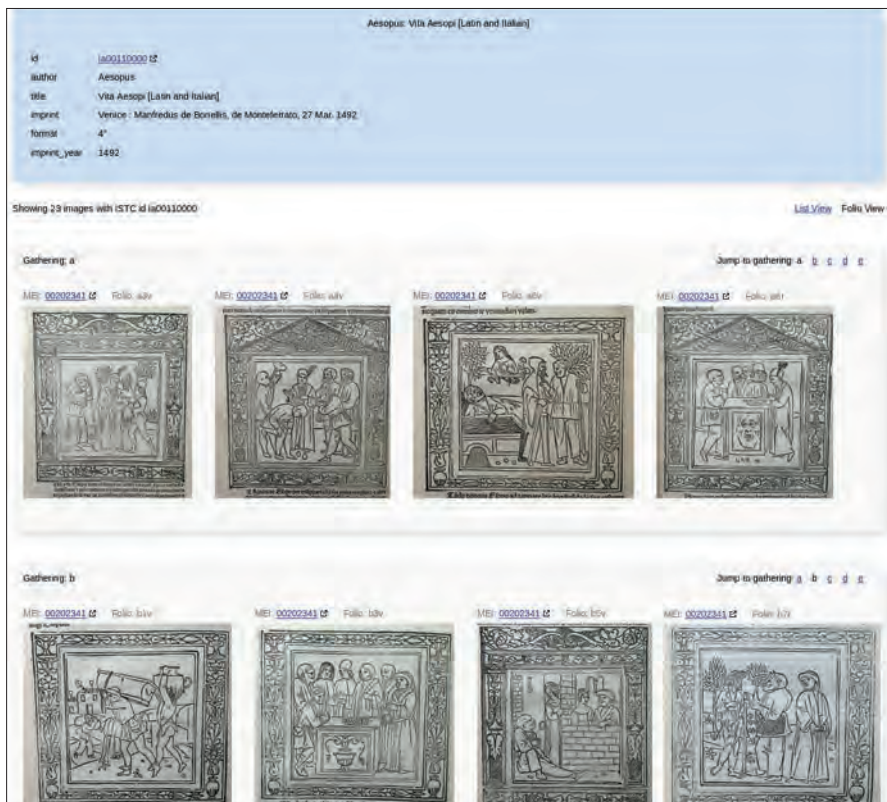


Figure 1 Some of the illustrations contained in the *Vita Aesopi* printed in Venice by Manfredus de Bonellis on 27th March 1492 (ISTC ia00110000), divided by gathering




Figure 2 Visual search query selected from gathering e10v of edition ia00110000

Search Result: 1 to 3 List View [Tile View](#) [Tile View \(images only\)](#)

1 Filename: [ia00110000_00202341_e10v.JPG](#) 6069.0

ISTC Metadata

id	ia00110000 ↗
author	Aesopus
title	Vita Aesopi [Latin and Italian]
imprint	Venice : Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 27 Mar. 1492
format	4°
imprint_year	1492




[Details of Match](#) [Compare Matching Regions](#) [Use this image for further search](#)

2 Filename: [ir00338500_02006269_\[*\]1r.jpg](#) 102.0

ISTC Metadata

id	ir00338500 ↗
author	Rota, Lorenzo
title	La morte del duca Galeazzo
imprint	[Venice : Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, about 1493]
format	4°
imprint_year	1493




[Details of Match](#) [Compare Matching Regions](#) [Use this image for further search](#)

3 Filename: [ia00111000_00201956_e10v.jpg](#) 62.0

ISTC Metadata

id	ia00111000 ↗
author	Aesopus
title	Vita Aesopi [Latin and Italian]
imprint	Venice : Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 8 Nov. 1493
format	4°
imprint_year	1493



[Details of Match](#) [Compare Matching Regions](#) [Use this image for further search](#)

Figure 3 Visual search results for query based on query region selected from gathering e10v of ISTC ia00110000

The first match is with the same edition from which the query image was taken.²⁰ The third match is from a later edition of the *Vita Aesopi*, also by de Bonellis and very similar in text and illustrations to the one where the query image was taken from.²¹ The second match is more surprising, and refers to the appearance of the woodblock on the titlepage of an edition of the vernacular poem *Lamento per la morte del duca Galeazzo*.

The text is a ballad attributed to the Florentine Lorenzo dalla Rota, and composed to commemorate and mourn the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, in December 1476 (ISTC ir00338500).²² Clicking on the ISTC number of the edition, the user discovers that the other illustration used on the verso of the second and last printed leaf of the ballad was also taken from an Aesopic text, and namely from de Bonellis' 1490s editions of the *Fabulae*, that he printed together with the vernacular Italian translation composed by the Veronese poet Accio Zucco di Sommacampagna at the end of the 14th century.

The specific image that concludes Rota's *Lamento* represents a rider galloping in the woods, while beating his mule on the back with a stick. A big fly is portrayed on the back of the mule. This woodblock was used as a narrative scene to illustrate the fable 'De musca et mulione' in all four editions of the *Esopo zucarino* printed by Manfredus de Bonellis between 1491 and 1497.²³ The fable tells the dialogue between the mule and the fly, where the latter takes advantage of the reproaches of the rider against the slow mule.

5.2 Case 2. Search Using Metadata as a Query

The 15cILLUSTRATION also allows the user to search the database using metadata and keywords. In this case, the search is performed through a searching screen where two searching strings are available. In each string the user can type a bibliographic element concerning the imprint of the image (such as author, title, imprint) or a descriptive element concerning its figurative or iconographic content, its style, any text that might be included, its state of conservation and so on. In both strings, the user is requested to specify whether the search should be performed within the descriptive metadata, assigned through the tagging, or within the bibliographic metadata, automatically imported from ISTC.

20 Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis de Monteferrato, 27 Mar. 1492 (ISTC ia00110000).

21 Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis de Monteferrato, 8 Nov. 1493 (ISTC ia00111000).

22 On the ballad and its literary, historical and cultural significance cf. Salzberg and Rospocher, *Murder Ballads*, 164-85.

23 ISTC ia00151000, ia00152000, ia00153000 and ia00154000.

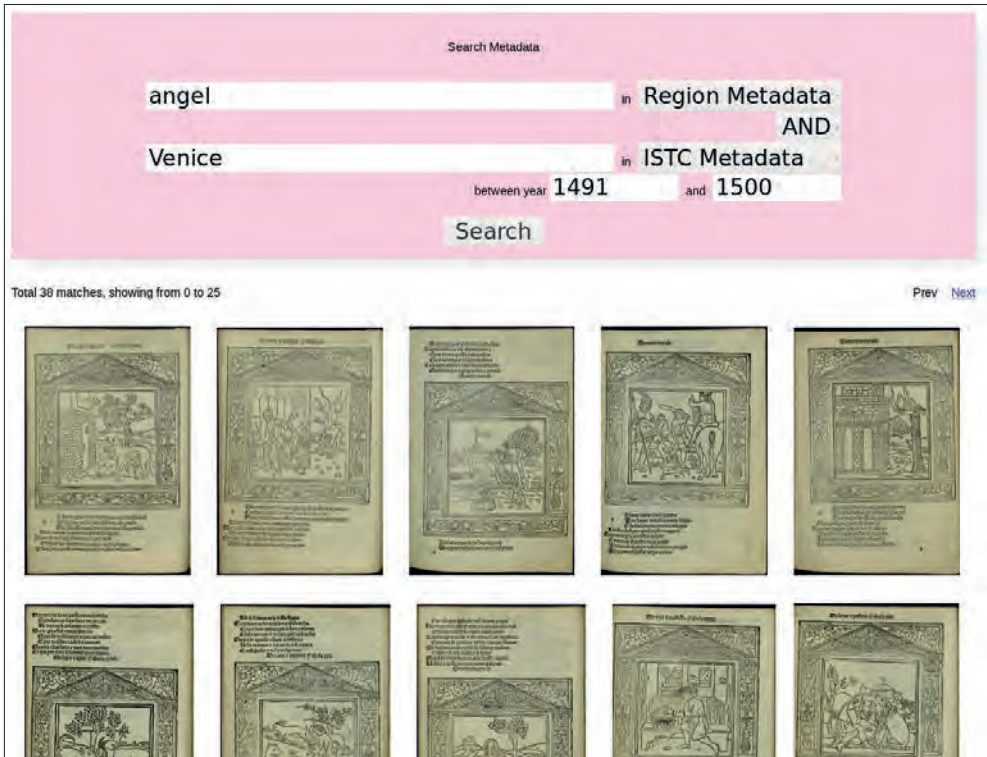


Figure 4 Metadata search result for query all images containing 'angel' (descriptive metadata) printed in 'Venice' (bibliographic metadata) 'between 1491 and 1500' (bibliographic metadata)

The two strings can be combined, so that it is possible to perform different sorts of combined searches, such as:

- all the images containing a 'dog' (descriptive metadata);
- all the images containing a 'dog' (descriptive metadata) and a 'woman' (descriptive metadata);
- all the images contained in editions printed in 'Venice' (bibliographic metadata);
- all the images contained in editions printed in 'Venice' (bibliographic metadata) in '1491' (bibliographic metadata);
- all the images containing a 'dog' (descriptive metadata) in editions printed in 'Venice' (bibliographic metadata).

A third string is dedicated specifically to searching editions printed in a certain year, or between two specific years. Among the many different possible searches that can be performed, the sample presented during the Printing Revolution conference concerned all the images containing 'angels' (descriptive metadata) printed in Ven-



Figure 5 Francesco Corna, *Istoria della Regina Oliva*. [About 1500].
Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa. Leaf a1r (ISTC ic00909825)



Figure 6 Francesco Corna, *Istoria della Regina Oliva*. [About 1500].
Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa. Leaf b4v (ISTC ic00909825)

ice (bibliographic metadata) between the years 1491 and 1500 (bibliographic metadata). At the time of the conference, this query gave thirty-eight results, including a variety of images, among which the very common central vignette representing an angel which is found in many editions of popular texts printed in Northern Italy, and which was copied and reused many times, and images of decorated borders or laurel wreaths with winged putti appearing in them, as well as more iconographically complex representations as shown in [fig. 4].

5.3 Case 3. ‘Upload and Search’

In fifteenth-century Venetian production, along with the monumental frontispieces and beautiful editions of classical and liturgical texts containing long and fully developed programmes of images, there were many editions of popular texts in the vernacular, often in verse, which might contain only one or two illustrations only.

Among these is the *Historia della Regina Oliva*, a poem in eight-line stanzas, composed towards the end of 15th century by the Italian poet Francesco Corna da Soncino. The story tells about the adventures of the Roman emperor’s daughter, trying to escape from her father who loves her.

Four incunable editions of this work survive from the 15th century, all produced in Venice; out of them, only one is illustrated, printed by Iohannes Baptista Sessa in 1500.

The edition contains two illustrations: on leaf [a1r] is a decorated border surrounding the frontispiece page [fig. 5].

The second one, placed on the last leaf [b4v], below the colophon, portrays a group of men engaged in discussion [fig. 6].

One of them is sitting on a throne, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre. The one standing on his right side looks deformed in his face, and touches his breast. On the right side of the image, a second scene is visible: a man is standing next to a coffin, holding a sword. A second man is sitting inside the coffin, with half of his bust emerging and visible in profile [fig. 6]. The details of the scene depicted do not correspond to any of those narrated in the book, so one might ask who these characters actually are and where this woodblock was taken from.

When the figurative representation and the iconographic content have so little in common with the text, it would be particularly difficult to retrieve the illustration used by relying solely on a verbal description, which often turns out to be too vague.

The ‘Upload and search’ feature of the 15cILLUSTRATION database allows a researcher to check if an unidentified illustration appears in the database and to track all the occurrences of that illustration in other 15th-century printed editions relying solely on the visual features of the query image itself.

Going through all the matches and their associated metadata (ISTC and manually annotated regions), can help in identifying the earliest appearance of the image, and therefore in revealing its original iconographic meaning.

In this case, the outcome of the query suggests that the image was first employed in Manfredus de Bonellis' edition of the *Vita Aesopi* published in Venice in 1492 and then again in 1493. In de Bonellis' editions the texts appears both in Latin and in its Italian translation, following Francesco del Tупpo's version established in print in 1485.²⁴ In particular, the woodblock in question was meant to illustrate the seventeenth episode of Aesop's life, 'Quo pacto Esopus magnifice sub licuro [sic] rege Babilonie deguerit ob sanam enigmatum interpretationem'. In this episode it is told how Aesop, after leaving the isle of Samos, reached the kingdom of Babylon, where he became one of the trusted men of the king Lycurgus and he also adopted a stepson, named Ennus. In order to hide his guilt at having slept with one of Aesop's servants, Ennus created false evidence to accuse Aesop of betrayal towards Lycurgus. Convinced by Ennus' staging, Lycurgus decided to condemn Aesopus to death and to order his man Hermippus to execute him. The Latin text then specifies that: «At Hermippus Esopi studiosus ipsum in sepulcro clanculum abscondidit, ibique diu vivum servavit». Hermippus secretly saved Aesop and hid him into a coffin, where he kept him alive for some time.

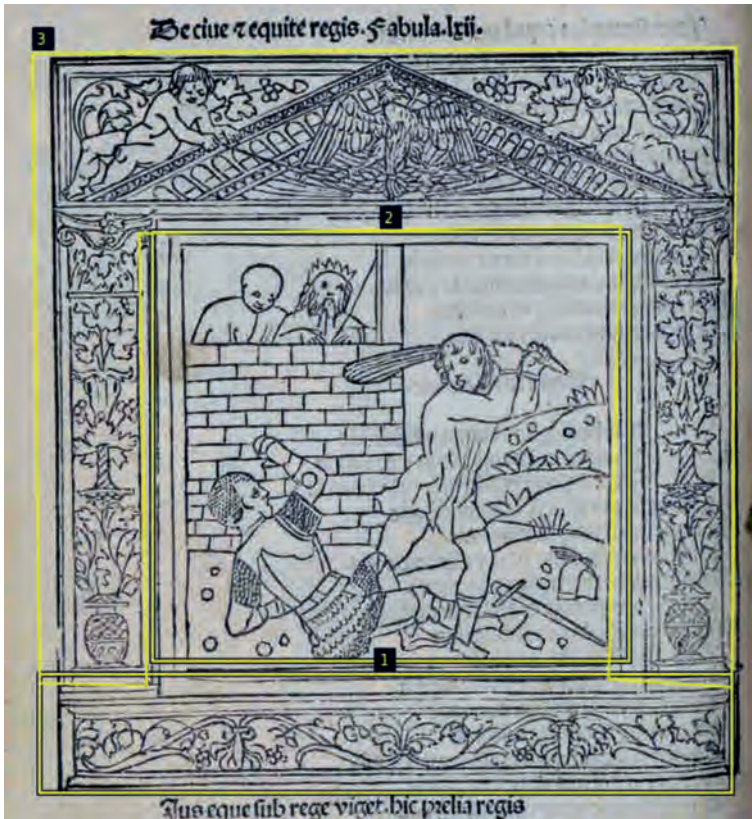
In light of this, the main scene of the illustration has to be recognised as the accusation of Aesop standing to the left of the king Lycurgus sitting on the throne. In front of Aesop stands the young boy Ennus, with long hair, on the right side of the image. The accusation takes place at the presence of another man, possibly Hermippus himself. The scene added on the right side of the woodblock [fig. 6], on the other hand, is that where Aesopus is hidden in a coffin by his friend and ally Hermippus, after having been unjustly sentenced to death by Lycurgus himself.

6 Computer Software Tools Powering the 15cILLUSTRATION

The 15cILLUSTRATION online database allows scholars to search the database of 15th-century printed illustrations in the following two ways: (a) Metadata Search and (b) Visual Search.

Using metadata search, scholars can retrieve a set of all illustrations whose metadata conforms to user defined constraints on the

²⁴ Francesco del Tупpo, *Vita Aesopi* and *Fabulae*. Naples: 13 Febr. 1485 (ISTC ia001155000); cf. also Rovere, *L'Esopo napoletano*.



folio	iconclass	internal_number_of_object	keywords
h7v	48AA983111 acanthus - ornament - AA - stylized; 48C161 column, pillar - architecture; 48AA9831 foliage, tendrils, branches - ornament - AA - stylized; 41D2652 lace;	b11	Foliage; Vase; ornament; Wings; Tendrils; Grapes; Columns;
h7v	85A(DE CIVE ET EQUITE REGIS) FABLES OF AESOP (WITH TITLE); 31D14 adult man; 31A2242 elbow; 45C12(CLUB) weapons for striking a blow; club; 41A43361 human figure at [open] window, seen from outside - AA - feigned window; 47G532 tiles, bricks - building material; 44B113 king; 44B1212 throne; 44B191 crown (symbol of sovereignty); 46A12 nobility and patriciate; chivalry, knighthood; 41A31 facade [of house or building]	t62	Elbow; Rider; Club; Armour; King; Crown; Bricks; Wall;
h7v	48C162 arch, archivolt - architecture; 48AA983111 acanthus - ornament - AA - stylized; 48C161 column, pillar - architecture; 48AA9831 foliage, tendrils, branches - ornament - AA - stylized; 92B1916 cupids; 'amores', 'amoretii', 'putti'; 25F33(EAGLE) predatory birds: eagle; 41D2652 lace; 11GG191 angel(s) represented as child(ren) - GG - lower angel(s) without wings; 5(+1111) Abstract Ideas and Concepts (+ nude with wings); 25F3 birds	b10	Foliage; Vase; Ornament; Wings; Tendrils; Grapes; Columns; Laces; Putti; Eagle; Angels; Grapes; Columns; Archivolt; Nude; Bird;

Figure 7a-b Example of manually defined regions (a) and their description (b) created by research scholars using the VIA software loaded with a 15th-century printed illustration. Sample Image from Database (b) detected regions

metadata. The following is an example of a metadata search query: “Find all the illustrations containing ‘angels’ [*descriptive metadata*] printed in Venice [*bibliographic metadata*] between 1491 and 1500 [*bibliographic metadata*]”. Bibliographic metadata and descriptive metadata are essential to support such metadata queries. The required bibliographic metadata is sourced automatically from the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC) database.²⁵ The descriptive metadata is manually defined by scholars using a manual image annotation tool called VGG Image Annotator (VIA).²⁶

The visual search capability of 15cILLUSTRATION allows scholars to visually search the 15th-century printed illustrations present in the 15cILLUSTRATION database using an image region as search query. Such a visual search feature is essential to address research questions related to the circulation of printed illustrations. This visual search is powered by VGG Image Search Engine²⁷ (VISE) which searches through thousands of images in the 15cILLUSTRATION database and instantaneously shows the images that visually match the search query image.

In the next two sections, we describe VIA and VISE software tools in more detail and how they are being used to power search functionalities offered by the 15cILLUSTRATION online database. VIA and VISE are open source software tools and therefore can be used for any purpose without paying any licensing fees. Therefore, these tools can be used as research support tools for other similar projects.

6.1 VGG Image Annotator (VIA)

Manual image annotation is the process of defining regions in an image and describing those regions using textual metadata. We have developed a manual image annotation software tool, called the VGG Image Annotator (VIA),²⁸ to allow scholars to manually annotate the 15th-century printed illustrations. There are a large number of manual image annotation tools but we invested in developing VIA because most of the existing tools require complex installation and setup procedures which often present a barrier to non-technical users. VIA does not require any additional software installation and runs solely in a web browser. Therefore, this application can run seamlessly in many platforms like Windows, MacOS and Linux and does not demand any technical knowledge from its users.

²⁵ URL https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.

²⁶ URL <http://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/via/>.

²⁷ URL <http://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/vise/>.

²⁸ Dutta, Zisserman, “The VIA Annotation Software for Images, Audio and Video”.



Figure 8a-b A sample image from the database of 15th-century printed illustrations. Query Image. (b) Detected regions in query image

Scholars who have expertise in the research and analysis of 15th-century printed illustrations, use the VIA software to manually define rectangle shaped regions on the images present in the 15cILLUSTRATION database and describe these regions using textual metadata.

The rectangular shaped regions often correspond to the full illustration, details in it, or the border decorating it. The manually defined textual metadata is grouped under nine attributes shown in Table 1. The VIA software creates an easy to use interface to define these attributes. Fig. 7 shows a screenshot of the three manually defined regions and their corresponding descriptions for a 15th-century printed illustration. Producing these manual annotations is a time consuming process and therefore the VIA software allows the saving of ongoing annotation at the end of one session and resuming of the annotation process in another session. This manually annotated metadata associated with each image in the 15cILLUSTRATION database represents the descriptive metadata of the illustrations in the 15cILLUSTRATION database.

The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) database is the source of our bibliographic metadata that is automatically queried by the 15cILLUSTRATION online database to obtain Author, Title, Imprint details, Format and Imprint Year associated with each 15th-century printed illustration.

Based on the descriptive metadata and bibliographic metadata, the 15cILLUSTRATION online database is able to offer users the capability to perform metadata search queries like “Find all the printed illustrations containing the keyword “angel” and printed in Venice

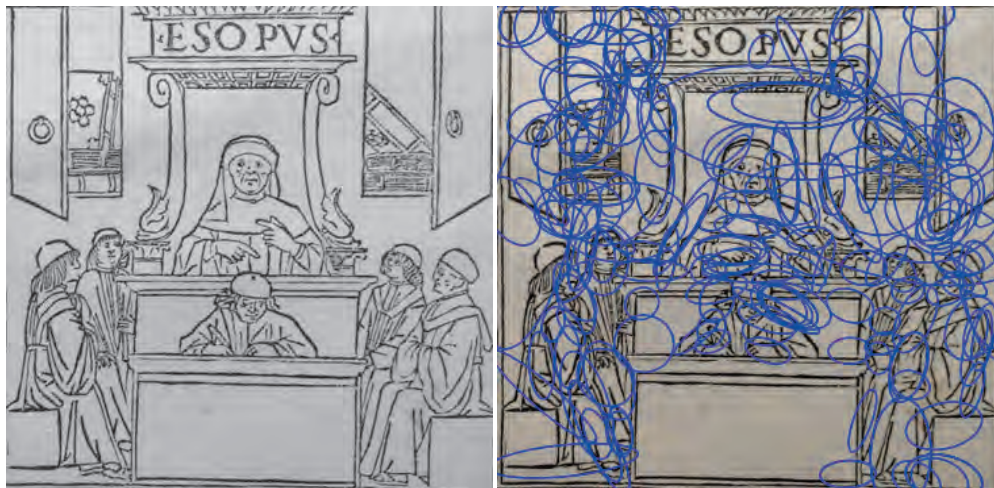


Figure 9a-b A sample query image and its detections region

Figure 10 131 matching regions (correspondence depicted using green line) between query (left) and match (right) image

between 1491 and 1500". For this illustrative search query, 15cILLUSTRATION first searches the bibliographic metadata – Author and Imprint details – to select a subset of all the illustrations printed in Venice between 1491 and 1500 and then performs exact text keyword search²⁹ to obtain a final list of all the illustrations that were manually tagged by scholars with the keyword “angel”.

7 VGG Image Search Engine (VISE)

The visual search capability of 15cILLUSTRATION database relies on the VGG Image Search Engine (VISE) to instantaneously search through a database of thousands of 15th-century printed illustrations using an image region as search query. This visual search functionality is essential to study the use and reuse 15th-century printed illustrations.

The VISE software performs visual search by finding and matching image regions that can be consistently detected even when the image content is scaled, rotated or translated or when there is change due to hand-illumination or slight change in viewpoint. These are the variations that we observe when photographing an object (or an illustration) from different viewpoints or under different hand-illumination conditions. For the purpose of illustration, let us consider a 15th-century printed illustration shown in **fig. 8a** and assume that this illustration is part of a large database of images that needs to be visually searched by VISE. **Fig. 8b** depicts the extent and shape of detected regions denoted by coloured ellipses. The visual content in each elliptical region is denoted using a feature vector (i.e. a sequence of numbers). These feature vectors are capable of summarising the visual content of the region in such a way that two regions having similar visual content produce similar features. The region detection and feature vector computation is performed on all the images in the database. The same region detection and feature vector computation process is also applied to the user’s uploaded search query image as shown in **fig. 9**. The task of searching for the query image in a large database of images now boils down to efficiently finding all the images in the database that match a large number of similar features with the query image. The feature vectors are transformed into a representation that allows robust and fast comparison of feature vectors while reducing the storage requirements. This operation results in a ranked list of matching images with the best match appearing at the top of the list and containing the largest number of

²⁹ URL <https://pandas.pydata.org/pandas-docs/stable/reference/api/pandas.Series.str.contains.html>.

matching visual regions with the query image. To further improve the quality of search results, the ranked list is re-ranked based on geometric consistency between the query image and the initial search results. **Fig. 10** shows a sample of the top matching result where the green lines depict correspondences between the detected elliptical regions in the query image (left side) and the matching result (right side) from the database. Notice how the software is able to match corresponding regions even when a section of the illustration (i.e. the text “ESOPVS”) is removed or occluded in the match image.

The VISE software builds on the software code developed by Relja Arandjelović during his post doctoral research at the Visual Geometry Group (VGG). The research underpinning different components of the VISE software is described in his DPhil thesis.³⁰ An early version of this software was also used to power the visual search functionality of the ImageMatch and ImageBrowser components of the Bodleian Broadside Ballads Project.

Table 1 Attributes of descriptive metadata associated with the 15th-century printed illustrations present in the 15cILLUSTRATION database. The descriptive metadata are defined manually by research scholars

Attributes of Descriptive Metadata	Description
Artistic_style	Synthetic description of the style of the woodcut, i.e. ‘Italian Venetian’; ‘German’; etc.
Date_that_the_image_was_made	E.g.: ‘21/10/2018’
Folio	Where the image is found in the book, e.g. ‘h7r’ if the foliation is printed or ‘[h7r]’ if the foliation is inferred
Iconclass	Iconographic elements found in the image, listed with their ICONCLASS codes
Internal_number_of_object	A progressive number which distinguishes within each edition all the centres (‘c1’, ‘c2’, ‘c3’, etc.), borders (‘b1’, ‘b2’, ‘b3’, etc.), diagrams (‘d1’, ‘d2’, ‘d3’, etc.), and initials (‘i1’, ‘i2’, ‘i3’, etc.). This combination allows to know not only the number of impressions contained in each edition, but also the number of woodblocks used, excluding repetitions

30 Arandjelović, *Advancing Large Scale Object Retrieval*.

Keywords	A synthetic description of the main figurative elements of each image, using keywords
Name	Name of the cut, consisting in the unique identifier of the picture (ISTC_MEI_foliation) plus the specific indication of the type of cut, e.g. ‘ia00151000_02011231 a7v bottom border’
State_of_conservation	Synthetic information on whether the state of conservation of the block is good / worn / broken
Type_of_cut	Specifies whether the woodblock described is a central vignette, a border, a diagram or an initial
Owner_of_the_image_Library	The library owning the copy of the edition from which the image was taken
Owner_of_the_image_Scholar	Name of the scholar who contributed the image (if applicable)
Owner_of_the_description_Scholar	Name of the scholar who assigned the metadata

8 Conclusions and Future Work

In this paper we presented the 15cILLUSTRATION, which is an online database of 15th-century printed illustrations that supports both visual and textual metadata search. The 15cILLUSTRATION database has the potential to address many research questions related to the circulation of images, printers’ practice and development of the iconographic tradition for editions printed in the 15th century. Throughout the article, we illustrated the different types of research questions which can be addressed using the 15cILLUSTRATION.

Furthermore, the 15cILLUSTRATION represents a positive and successful example of how collaborative efforts between researchers in the fields of humanities and engineering science can lead to the development of tools that have widespread applications in answering novel and challenging research questions in several academic disciplines. These fruitful forms of collaboration can also inspire further positive outcomes, and in fact the tools originally conceived and created as a part of 15cILLUSTRATION have now become valuable research supports for many other projects as well. For instance, the VIA image annotation software is now being used by academic re-

searchers in the Humanities, Art History,³¹ Zoology, Geography, Anthropology, Engineering and other fields; and the VISE software is delivering visual search functionality to many other projects in Humanities such as the Iberian Book Project.³²

At present, the 15cILLUSTRATION contains around 5,000 images. We are actively seeking to expand the coverage of the database by receiving contributions in the form of images and text metadata. Our aim is to improve this collection by inviting more institutions and scholars to contribute images to the database. In this respect, we have already agreed to collaborate with Marieke van Delft from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague to incorporate in the 15cILLUSTRATION database a set of images printed in incunables from the Low Countries. Furthermore, we are also collaborating with Dr Laura Carnelos (University of Reading) and Dr Barbara Tramelli (Equipex Biblissima, CNRS/CESR) to include in the 15cILLUSTRATION database also images printed in the 16th century. It is a fact that woodblocks and iconographic themes travelled beyond geographical and chronological boundaries. In fact, many interesting examples of reuse and circulation of woodblocks originally issued for editions printed before January 1501 are actually found in much later editions and in some cases the existence of entire illustrated incunable editions, now lost, has been inferred from the appearance of their illustrations in the 16th century and later.³³ As is well known among scholars, the chronological line which was drawn to differentiate incunables from the rest of early-printed material, particularly before 1550, is purely conventional and mainly meant to facilitate surveys, research developments, and scholarly discussion.

One of the main challenges in this case is to find ways to uniquely associate each image with bibliographic metadata pertaining to the respective 16th-century printed edition and copy (similar to ISTC and MEI databases for the 15th century). Nonetheless, we are particularly keen on the inclusion in the 15cILLUSTRATION also of printed illustrations found in 16th-century editions. At present, the system allows the upload of the images only by VGG or 15cBOOKTRADE editors. In the near future, we would like to have a network of external editors which, through their own access credentials, can contribute images autonomously from their own devices.

31 Griffin, *Diagram and Dimension*.

32 URL <https://iberian.ucd.ie/>.

33 Among other cases, this hypothesis has been advanced for two illustrated editions of the *Vita Aesopi* recorded in bibliographical repertories. No copy of these editions remains today but some illustrations which are found in other 16th century editions portray subjects and scenes of the *Vita Aesopi*. Cf. also Davies, "A Tale of Two Aesops", 257-88, esp. 284 on their longevity.

We also aim to attract more contributions from scholars in order to improve the quantity and quality of the descriptive metadata associated with each illustration. For the time being, descriptive metadata can only be added to the images through the VIA tagging system before they are uploaded in the 15cILLUSTRATION. To make this process easier, we are currently exploring ways of upgrading the VIA image annotation tool to support collaborative annotation of images in the 15cILLUSTRATION database by granting access to scholars all over the world who are interested in contributing to 15cILLUSTRATION. Again, such an upgrade to VIA will not only be useful for this project but also has immense value for projects in other disciplines such as Zoology, Medicine, History of Art, Geography and Engineering.

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The Essling LOD Project

From the Census to the Copies

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Abstract *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe* (1907-1914), whose author is Victor Masséna, Prince of Essling, is a census of all illustrated books printed in Venice from 1469 to 1525. The bibliographical descriptions are chronologically organised, on the basis of a ‘genealogical’ approach, suitable for studying the iconographical and stylistic evolution of illustration. Almost all copies of Essling’s Venetian collection are now part of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini library. We conceived a digital tool based on the LOD technology that allows easy navigation among the data, connected with the national and international catalogues, and accompanied by facsimiles of the Cini copies.

Keywords Book Illustration. Digital Humanities. Duc de Rivoli. Early-Modern Printed Book. Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Linked Open Data. LOD. Victor Masséna. Prince d’Essling. Renaissance. Semantic web. Xylography. Venice. 15th century. 16th century.

Summary 1 The Author. – 2 *The Census*. – 3 The Essling LOD Project.

1 The Author

Les Livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe (1908-14) is a census of all illustrated books printed in Venice from the introduction of moveable type to 1525.

Its author is Victor Masséna (1836-1910), duke of Rivoli and after the death of his older brother in 1898, prince of Essling, a nephew of a famous Napoleonic marshal and the son of François-Victor Masséna, an amateur ornitholo-



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gist, and Anne Debelles, lady in waiting of empress Eugénie, the wife of Napoleon III.¹

After a brief military career and a few years as a member of the French parliament, and following his marriage in 1882 to Paule Furtado-Heine, the daughter of a rich banker and the widow of another Napoleon associate who left her an impressive inheritance, Essling decided to dedicate himself from 1885 to the twin tasks of adding to his exceptional collection of illustrated incunabula and sixteenth century books, Venetian in particular, and of studying it systematically according to a highly original method.

In the numerous and often picturesque woodcuts that adorned popular booklets as well as books made for the intellectual elites, Essling looked for evidences of an Italian Renaissance, hitherto known only by its masterpieces. Because of this quasi archaeological concern he sought original purity in his books. This led him to have his copies washed, pressed and whitened, to obtain 'ideal copies' that he protected under bright new bindings mostly produced in the Parisian workshop of Lortic - with rare exceptions for some of the oldest ones or for others already bound in the same 19th century taste. Their brilliantly coloured skins and parchments always bore his not so discrete gilded coat of arms that makes them easily recognisable: a winged victory holding a palm branch and an olive crown, with salient hound at the bottom, two rampant lions on the sides, the ducal - then princely - crown on top and below the motto *Victor et Fidelis*. They were prominently displayed in the library of Essling's Parisian *hôtel particulier*, 8, Rue Jean Goujon, next to the Champs Élysées.

His first scholarly endeavours, erudite articles based on extensive archival research, were dedicated to aspects of Venetian illustration between the Quattrocento and the Cinquecento. They were mostly published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.² In 1892, Essling published his first book, *Bibliographie des livres à figures vénitiens (1469-1525)*, primarily based on his own collection but also on copies that he consulted during numerous scholarly trips, or on descriptions sent to him by the keepers of the main public and private book collections in Europe, with whom he always maintained intense relationships and an abundant correspondence.³ Four years later, in 1896, he followed suit with his monumental work on Missals printed in Venice, *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les missels imprimés à Venise de*

1 Ramsden, "Early Venetian Illustrated Books"; Andreoli "Masséna, Victor, Rivoli".

2 [Essling], "À propos d'un livre à figures vénitiens"; "Études sur les Triomphes de Pétrarque"; "Notes complémentaires"; "Notes sur les xylographes vénitiens"; "Zooan Andrea et ses homonymes"; *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise*; "Les Livres d'heures françaises"; "Le Premier Livre xylographique italien"; "Les premiers ornements xylographiques".

3 [Essling], "Bibliographie des livres à figures à figures vénitiens".

1481 à 1600, description, illustration, bibliographie.⁴ Another monumental book was published in 1902 with the Alsatian-French art historian Eugène Müntz, *Pétrarque, ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes, ses portraits et ceux de Laure, l'illustration de ses écrits*, with 191 photo-engravings, 21 of them full page.⁵

Essling spent the last years of his life working on the book that is still his main claim to fame: the volumes of the *Livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, published in three parts and six volumes, the last volume, the third part, published posthumously in 1914 by his secretary and librarian, Charles Gérard.⁶

Essling used in it the results of the systematic, in-depth study of the documents in the State Archive in Venice that he funded between July 1901 and April 1904, recording all existing information about miniaturists, printers and engravers active during the first century of print, the results of his impressive correspondence with curators and collectors in Europe, and especially, of course, the attentive examination of his own books, which are indicated in the catalogue by a small star in the list of the known copies of each edition.⁷

As in his first work of 1892, Essling organised his census of Venetian illustrated books according to a 'genealogical' approach. After the first illustrated edition of a title, he indicated all successive ones until the middle years of the 16th century. Identifying the series of illustrations allows the reader not only to construct a hierarchy of iconographic developments, but also to compare contemporary editions united by the same graphic style. This method was wholeheartedly defended by Essling against professional bibliographers, who found it confusing, because he thought it well suited to the study of illustration and specifically to woodcuts.⁸

Chance and fortune characterised the fate of the Essling library. The Parisian bookseller Louis Giraud-Badin sold it to the Swiss Ulrich Hoepli who organised a public sale in Zurich. Meanwhile, the learned Italian bookseller Tammaro De Marinis (1878-1969) signalled the collection to Count Vittorio Cini (1885-1977) – a collector and bibliophile as original as Essling had been, with a special interest in *livres à figures* – who decided to buy the Venetian core of Essling's collection even before Hoepli could publish the catalogue of the sale that was supposed to take place in 1939.⁹ The rest of the collection was dis-

⁴ Essling, *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise*.

⁵ Essling, Müntz, *Pétrarque, Ses études d'art*.

⁶ Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens*.

⁷ Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Archivietto*, busta "Duca di Rivoli".

⁸ Kristeller, "La xilografia veneziana".

⁹ On Vittorio Cini as a collector, cf. <http://www.vittoriocini.it/vittoriocini/en/coll.html>; *Lo specchio del gusto. Vittorio Cini e il collezionismo d'arte antica nel Nove-*

persed during two public sales in 1939 and 1942.¹⁰ After keeping the Essling Venetian books in his castle of Monselice, where De Marinis prepared their first catalogue, in 1962 Cini offered them to the Foundation that he created on the Venetian island of San Giorgio Maggiore island, in memory of his son, Giorgio, killed in an air crash.¹¹ The very same year, De Marinis, who had personally acquired some 15th and 16th century Florentine editions and the reference library of the prince, gave them to the new institution.¹²

The *Nuova Manica Lunga*, the Fondazione's new and stunning library that now occupies the former dormitory of the Renaissance Benedictine monastery, holds the largest portion of Venetian books in Essling's collection. It is exceptional that such an important collection, a remarkable source for the history of the Renaissance illustrated book and Venetian woodcuts, remarkable also because of the quality of its copies, would have been kept almost whole. Editions printed in other Italian, French or Northern printing towns, and some duplicates, are now in the most important American libraries such as the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the Beinecke Library in Yale University, the Boston Public Library, the Getty, etc. Essling copies still regularly appear, and disappear, on the market.

2 The Census¹³

Today *Livres à figures* is still the indispensable bibliographical reference tool for the study of illustrated Venetian books. It is essential reading for historians of the book, for librarians, for rare-book dealers and collectors, but also for art historians and print experts who consider illustrated books as a mirror of contemporary art and a medium for its diffusion.

The Essling census covered the first century of the history of printing, when Venice was the European capital of printing and when some of the most important printers and artists of the Venetian Renais-

cento = *Proceedings of the Conference* (Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 14 November 2017), forthcoming. On Tammaro de Marinis: De Maio, "Tammaro de Marinis"; Branca, "Tammaro De Marinis"; Perosa, "Ricordo di Tammaro De Marinis"; Petrucci Nardelli, "Tammaro de Marinis"; *Multa renascentur: Tammaro De Marinis studioso, bibliofilo, antiquario, collezionista*.

¹⁰ *Livres à figures; Livres rares et précieux*.

¹¹ De Marinis, *Il Castello di Monselice*. About the Fondazione, Agnati, *La Fondazione Giorgio Cini*.

¹² Rhodes, *Catalogo del fondo librario antico*.

¹³ The Authors express their heartfelt thanks to Alessandro Antonuccio of hstudio, for the graphic conception.

sance were active: the illustrations that adorn the pages of the books described by Essling are thus a precious testimony to this extraordinary moment in the history of Venice, and in the history of the illustrated printed book.¹⁴

As previously indicated, the content of the census is organised chronologically, the description of the first illustrated edition of a given title being followed, as in a genealogical tree, by the descriptions of all subsequent illustrated editions. The trunk, so to speak, is the title of the work; the limbs are all the editions presented in chronological order, while the leaves are the copies, the material objects.



Figure 1 Graphic representation of *Divine Comedy*'s editions listed by Essling

We use a woodcut from an edition of *Hortus sanitatis* to visualise the work's structure:¹⁵ it represents the *Divine Comedy*; the leaves correspond to copies identified in one or more libraries as described by Essling; those in the shape of stars represent the copies owned by Essling, now at the *Nuova Manica Lunga*. Because of the unique connoisseurship of the author, the census is much more than a mere list of illustrated Venetian editions. It contains abundant notes in which Essling provided detailed descriptions of illustrations that he minutely compared with those present in other editions.

¹⁴ Zorzi, *La vita nei libri*; Pon, Kallendorf, *The Books of Venice*.

¹⁵ Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens*, entry no. 1723, fig. 1; *Ortus sanitatis* [...]. Venetijs: per Bernardinum Benalium: Et Joannem de Cereto de Tridino alias Tacuinum, 1511 Die XI Augusti.

There are 2,889 entries in the census: 2,585 are numbered, 275 are not, and there are 29 more in the *Addenda*. There are 488 descriptions based on Essling's own copies. Some of these were not found in the holdings of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, probably because dispersed before the sale, 'lost in transaction', to quote Falk Eisermann.¹⁶ However, thanks to an important donation of more than 800 15th- and 16th-century books that entered the library in 2008, the Grassetto collection, many books mentioned in *Livres à figures* but not owned by Essling, have now enriched the library's collections.¹⁷ Moreover, Cini and Grassetto, who knew one another, exchanged some copies and, thanks to this donation, some Essling books could rejoin their original collection.

3 The Essling LOD project

The unique character of the Essling census made us wonder whether a digital tool could be created to allow easy navigation among the editions described and to link the Essling descriptions with major reference tools. Taking into account the work of ICCU¹⁸ in terms of Semantic Web and Linked Open Data (LOD) we contacted Regesta.exe, a service provider for Cini digital archives, with whom we plan to publish the data in open and shared format with controlled vocabulary and formal ontologies, in relation with other Open Data that share the same features.¹⁹

Bearing in mind the indications of the Digital Agenda for Europe in terms of interoperability, and well aware that library catalogues cannot be accessed through search engines, we decided to base the entire project on the Resource Description Framework Standard (RDF) and Linked Open Data (LOD) technology.²⁰ We also decided to use Semantic Web tools because they facilitate the discovery of new information assets as well as the use of available data. These choices highlight our will to work collaboratively, using international standards and supporting interoperability.

16 Eisermann, "Lost in Transaction". Some missing copies identified in American libraries were probably sold before the catalogue for the 1939 sale was prepared. Essling continued to add to his collection after the first volumes were published, so that the Fondazione Cini possesses copies described in the census but not identified as his.

17 The catalogue of the Grassetto collection, compiled by Daniele Danesi with Ilenia Maschietto, is forthcoming (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore).

18 Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, https://www.iccu.sbn.it/it/attivita-servizi/attivita-nazionali/pagina_0007.html.

19 URL <https://www.regesta.com/info/>.

20 URL <https://www.w3.org/RDF/>; <https://www.ifla.org/about-linked-data>; <https://www.w3.org/DesignIssues/LinkedData.html>.

We also have endeavoured to guarantee the permanence of digital information on the web in the long term as well as its high level of availability and visibility. LOD technology and its best practices, first conceived by Tim Berners-Lee,²¹ creator of the World Wide Web, was immediately put to good use by international experts working in archives and libraries so that the huge mass of available bibliographical data, structured according to Web standards, could be linked to each other.²² Using standardised vocabularies, specific ontologies and shared languages was indispensable to allowing access not only to the data base but to numerous external resources.

RDF-standard defines relations between objects through triples. This way, contents are created out of a simple relationship, according to the 'subject-predicate-object' model. We thus produced a set of metadata and ontologies with wide granularity levels, describing the resources, in accordance with the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records model (FRBR),²³ at three levels of abstraction: work ('short title'), instance (edition) and item (copy), which corresponded to Essling's trunks, limbs and leaves. We specifically use the Bibframe model²⁴ to describe data referring to the individual bibliographic unit of the Essling census and Dublin Core vocabulary metadata for more general information;²⁵ from every bibliographic unit we extract and 'triplify' information about the identification of the editions; then, each unit is associated with VIAF authorities²⁶ and is linked to the same edition, as described in other national and international catalogues such as SBN, Edit16, ISTC;²⁷ likewise, we link the Cini copies with the descriptions in MEI and Archivio Possessori, thus increasing also the CERL Thesaurus.²⁸ This interconnection will be achieved through the use of Natural Language Processing tools that

21 Berners-Lee, Fischetti, *Weaving the Web*; Bizer, Heath, Berners-Lee, "Linked Data-The Story So Far".

22 Bianchini, "Dagli OPAC ai library linked data"; Guerrini, *Linked data per biblioteche*; Cervone, Svensson, *Linked Data and User Interaction*; Baker, "Designing Data for the Open World of the Web", 63-6.

23 International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions; IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records, *Functional Requirements*; Coyl, *Frbr, Before and After*; Galeffi, Sardo, *FRBR*; Guerrini, Bianchini, Possemato, *Manuale RDA*.

24 URL <https://www.loc.gov/bibframe/docs/bibframe2-model.html>.

25 URL <http://dublincore.org/documents/dces/>.

26 URL <https://viaf.org/>.

27 URL <https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/avanzata.jsp>; http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/imaain.htm; https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.

28 URL https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search; Archivio Possessori Biblioteca Marciana <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/la-biblioteca/cataloghi/archivio-possessori>; CERL Thesaurus https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/_search.

will extract the entities present in quotations. The operational steps of the project include a first phase of transformation into RDF according to the established ontologies of metadata related to the quotations of the Essling's census, the reconciliation of internal information through the use of SKOS vocabularies ('a common data model for sharing and linking knowledge organisation systems via the Web')²⁹ and thesauri and, finally, an interconnection with external datasets through the automatic identification and validation of triples.

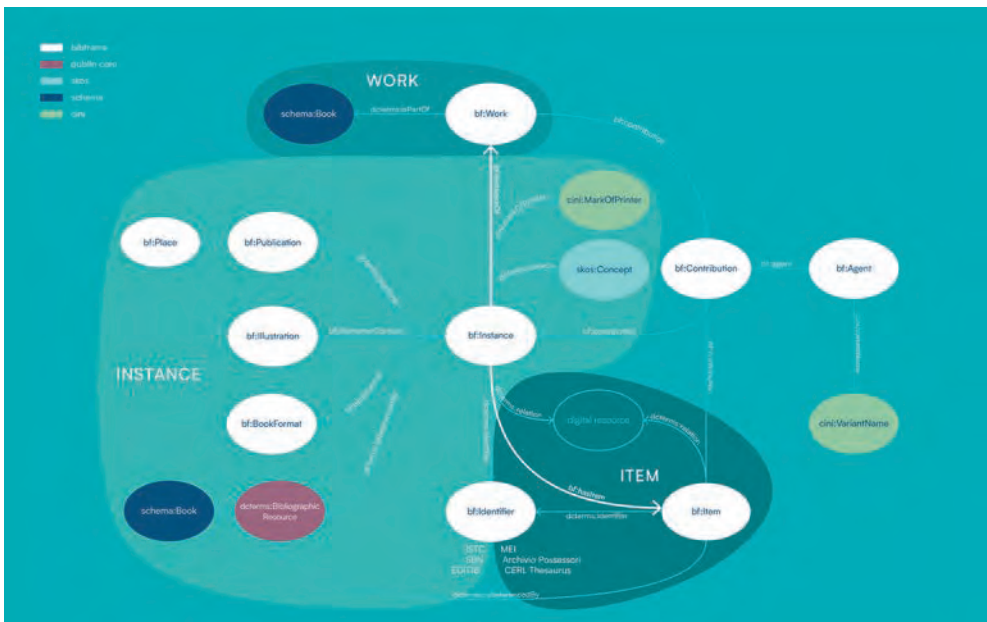


Figure 2 Graph summarisation of the Essling LOD project

We started to transfer the data in the new database, based on xDams.³⁰ xDams is a multimedia and document platform, designed and developed by Regesta.exe in 2002, with subsequent enhancements, and available under an Open Source licence from 2012. Thanks to its own versatility it has been possible to perfect a scientific model for collecting data [fig. 2], suitable for the different type of data and for the main national and international bibliographic standards. Thanks to this digital tool, we were able to insert and link together the stand-

²⁹ URL <https://www.w3.org/TR/skos-reference/>.

³⁰ URL <https://www.xdams.org/>.

ardised bibliographic information of the edition (author, title, printer, place and date of printing, format, etc.) with the copy specific data (binding, ownership, manuscript annotations, etc.), also standardised by means of specific vocabularies. Thanks to continuous and close collaboration between specialists of the hand printed book and data architects, we created a digital tool based on the latest information technology, able to meet the needs of librarians as well as to those of scholars.

The final result of this project will be a portal through which to interrogate the Essling census; compared to the original printed one, the Essling LOD will be enriched by bibliographic information assembled by bibliographers and librarians during the course of the century following the original publication; information made uniform, standardised, open and shareable through electronic catalogues.

The library of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini was the best suited to develop a new relationship between the census and the collection with LOD because of the unique character of its rare book collection and a policy that favours the development of new tools to make the collection more accessible.

In the context of the *Printing Revolution* conference, we decided to conduct a simulation using a well-known title, published both in the fifteenth century and in the following one: Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*, of which Essling listed nine illustrated editions, published in Venice from 1491 to 1522, three of them owned by him and now in the Cini collection [fig. 3].

As we can see [fig. 4], the short title (work) "Fasciculus medicinae" introduces a list of nine editions (instances), each providing different bibliographic information, first about the edition:

- label: Essling's entry, date, printer and title;
- title: edition's title;
- alternative title: edition's alternative title;
- provision Activity Statement: printer/publisher as reported in the census;
- source: known copies quoted by Essling;
- work: work's short title;
- isReferencedBy: bibliography of the edition, links to Sander's census;³¹
- identifier: identification number in Edit16, SBN and ISTC catalogues;
- contribution: agent's responsibilities in the edition (i.e. author, editor, translator, etc.);
- physical description: leaves, illustration;
- impronta: fingerprint;

31 Sander, *Les livres à figures italien*.



Figure 3 Graphic representation of Ketham's editions listed by Essling

- printer's device: entries and images from Edit16;
- relation: external link to digital copies;
- date Integration: updated information about the date;
- note: notes (for the administrators, not visible for the users);
- book Format: format;
- *has Item [copy]: link to data about the former Essling copy.

Clearly, the editions identified in the census with a star, that is described in Essling as his own copies and now at the Fondazione Cini, are described in depth at the item level, providing much more information on the specific Essling copy:

- label: title;
- identifier: handwritten number on Essling's copies;
- custodial History: provenances notes;
- shelfmark: Cini's shelfmark;
- historical shelfmark: former shelfmarks;
- Essling binding-cover material;
- Essling binding-coat of arms;
- Essling binding-cover colour;
- other binding;



Figure 4 Graph summarisation of Ketham's editions in the Essling LOD project

- isReferencedBy: bibliography about the copy, references to De Marinis and Rhodes catalogues;
- contribution: agent's responsibilities in the copy (binder, former owner, etc.);
- identifier: identification number in MEI and Archivio Possessori;
- digital copies on the web: link to the digitized copy provided by the Cini's library.

Another development providing access to the collection of rare books in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini is the digitisation of the entire collection; copies owned by Essling have priority and they will be digitised first. In collaboration with ARCHiVe (Analysis and Recording of Cultural Heritage in Venice), the new centre for digitisation inaugurated a few months ago on the island of San Giorgio Maggiore, we are currently working on guidelines for a standard model adapted to the rare books collection. ³²

³² URL <https://www.cini.it/istituti-e-centri/archive-analysis-and-recording-of-cultural-heritage-in-venice>; Barbon, "Nasce il progetto ARCHiVe".

Work done on metadata³³ will make it possible, for example, to extract the files with engravings, woodcuts, frames, ornamental initials, and graphs coming from incunabula and contribute to 15cILLUSTRATION, the image-matching system developed by the 15cBOOK-TRADE Project.³⁴

The digital reproductions of the rare books stored in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini will be linked to their specific descriptions in the Essling LOD. This means that it will be possible to read *Les livres à figures* and to have digital access to the copies owned by the author during his bibliographical activities, coming full circle, back to the title, from the census to the copies.

It is important to underline how this project represents the meeting point of information technologies and bibliographic skills, where the digital world meets primary and secondary sources of the humanities. We can talk with every justification of a project in the field of digital humanities; the achievement is the result of efforts made by very different actors to learn the vocabularies and tools of each other, with the common goal of publishing and sharing data for the entire scientific community.

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34 URL <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/>; <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/>; Malaspina 2017; cf. also Dondi, Dutta, Malaspina, Zisserman in this volume.

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Visual Interpretation of the ISTC

The Atlas of Early Printing and the Material History of Data

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Abstract The Atlas of Early Printing is an online resource built with GIS tools to depict the spread and development of printing during the incunable period in Europe. It has been online since 2008 and continues to be developed. The site uses data from the *Incunabula Short Title Catalog* (ISTC) and other sources, providing a visualisation of the databases from which the data is retrieved. The data being visualised is the result of many decades of cataloguing, arranging, publishing, and migrating; the work that followed was informed by material constraints and has left material traces. For the ISTC, an important period in the development of data formats was the work Margaret Bingham Stillwell undertook from 1924 to 1940 for the bibliography *Incunabula in American Libraries, a Second Census*. The data she gathered were meticulously coordinated through mailing campaigns and organised on cards, and then translated into print according to the publisher's requirements. The decisions underlying Stillwell's descriptions were migrated to Frederick Goff's *Third Census* and eventually directly into the first version of the ISTC. The structures she developed serve as the foundation for modern efforts to expand beyond the limitations of the short-title format, and to provide the data for geographic and other visualisations.

Keywords Incunabula. ISTC. Data visualisation. GIS. Book history. Short title. History of data. Data provenance. Data archaeology. 15th century booktrade. Margaret Bingham Stillwell. Frederick Goff. Second census. Third census.



In January 1940, a young Frederick R. Goff was working as the assistant to Margaret Bingham Stillwell as she compiled the massive bibliography *Incunabula in American Libraries, a Second Census*, which was then just on the verge of publication. One of his responsibilities was to assist with the steady flow of correspondence that arrived at the Annemary Brown Memorial in Providence, Rhode Island, where Stillwell was librarian and where her work coordinating the Census was centred. Many of the letters and postcards contained copy-specific information on individual incunables or general descriptions of how many incunables a collector or institution held. But there were also questions – about books, about editions, and about collections. Goff answered these as best as he could with what time he had. This particular January, he responded to a question from Milton Anastos, a professor of Byzantine, Greek, and History at the University of California, Los Angeles, regarding book distribution. Goff wrote: “if, on the other hand, you mean distribution in the fifteenth century, I am unable to help you. Little is known about the book trade during the century, and to attempt a generalization is hazardous”.¹

While many hazards remain, much more is known today about the book trade in the fifteenth century. The contributions of Stillwell and Goff are an important factor in how this knowledge has been formed – by the meticulous recording of editions begun with their Census work, alongside the cataloguing of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) in Berlin, extended through to the online accessibility of records from the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), and expanding today through the globally-distributed work of Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI).² Our knowledge is developing in dynamic new ways, aided by the availability of new tools and methods. Many of these are based upon data, as in the case of the Atlas of Early Printing, which visualises incunabula data via online mapping.³ But what is the data, and where is it from? Derived from the ISTC, it is data that has existed in other formats, that was created for other uses, and that has been migrated through the development of new database tools. The provenance of this data informs its current state, and the material history of its development illuminates the constraints that define its creation. The line from a contemporary online mapping tool to the work of Margaret Bingham Stillwell illustrates the historical legacies that inform today’s approaches.

The Atlas of Early Printing first came to life in 2006 as an attempt to bring traditional mapping of fifteenth century printing, most com-

1 Stillwell papers, Goff to Anastos, 19 January, 1940.

2 URL <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>; https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search; https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search.

3 URL <http://atlas.lib.uiowa.edu>.

monly represented by the maps in Febvre and Martin's 1958 work *The Coming of the Book*, into a digital format.⁴ The spread of printing is the most frequently depicted aspect of the era to be shown with maps, and the Atlas was designed to animate mapping that had previously been static. The first version of the Atlas went online in 2008 and fulfilled its purpose to introduce the basic concepts underlying the early development of printing to a non-scholarly audience.

A second version of the Atlas was released in 2013. This version added a layer depicting the development of printing using data extracted from the ISTC. This layer was named "Output by Location", which placed a circle on the map corresponding to the number of editions printed in that location in the year, or range of years, selected. By using the timeline slider and the mapped data points, the map became a mechanism to search the ISTC visually and geographically.

Version 3 of the Atlas debuted in 2019, and once again brought the opportunity to expand the site's content. New layers include ecclesiastical borders and the locations of Bishopsrics. Perhaps the most significant addition is a depiction of typography, drawn from data contributed by Oliver Duntze at the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Dr. Duntze has created a digital version of Konrad Haebler's *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke* (TW), which, when mapped, depicts the spread of Gothic, Roman, and other 15th century typefaces.⁵ Additional work will allow for individual M-types to be dynamically followed on the map as they change owners and locations of use.

A new map has been generated as an element in the 2018 *Printing Revolution 1450-1500: Fifty Years that Changed Europe* exhibition at the Museo Correr showing the present-day locations of incunables around the world. This will soon be available in the new Atlas, expanding once again the site's functionality as a visual search engine for ISTC data. As the Atlas enters its second decade of development it needs to become a more open, expandable, even experimental site, one that is responsive to user input, and capable of being modified to correct errors and add new information at a greatly increased rate. The potential exists for the site to interact more dynamically with the ISTC in real time, which suggests an aspect of the Atlas's construction that is fundamental to how it can be used and understood. As data is extracted from the ISTC or the TW or any other database, it is placed on a map that creates a visualisation of the topic. In fact, the visualisation is more specific: it is of the database itself. If the points on the map depict editions, it is only those surviving editions that have been described in the ISTC, a nuance that is often lost in the presentation of the design.

⁴ Febvre, Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*.

⁵ URL <https://tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/>.

The ISTC itself is a dynamic set of data and, despite the high degree of comprehensiveness it can claim today, the database is an assembly of descriptions that are both newly created as well as migrated from previous versions and formats. The provenance of this data is of increasing interest. It is well-documented that the first version of the ISTC was a direct input of entries in Goff's *Incunabula in American Libraries, a Third Census*.⁶ The short title format was particularly amenable to the database structures of the early eighties. Thus, the ISTC depends not just on Goff, but more specifically on the structures devised by Margaret Bingham Stillwell for *Incunabula in American Libraries, a Second Census*, published in 1940. Stillwell created the descriptive format that was perpetuated by Goff.

As noted in the Introduction to a recent volume of the History of Science journal *Osiris* on Historicizing Big Data, "data practices involving computers were strongly conditioned and constrained by practices developed around earlier technologies, such as punched-card tabulators, printed tables, index cards, and even simple lists".⁷ The editors elaborate: "contingent decisions – the adoption of particular tools or techniques at one point in time – have often strongly constrained subsequent developments".⁸ There is a history to these decisions, material traces of the tools and techniques that provide a glimpse at the constraints that informed the final product. For Stillwell, some of those traces have survived in her personal papers, held today at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. Stillwell lived and worked in Providence for her entire professional career as the Librarian for the Annmary Brown Memorial, which began as a private library founded by General Rush C. Hawkins. It had as one of its central features copies of the first books issued from the first presses, documenting the geographic spread of printing in the form of a collection.⁹

Stillwell's work was done in an environment of limited support, inadequate funding, and the pressures of being a woman in a field dominated by men. These factors represent a few of the constraints that informed the contingent decisions underlying the Second Census, along with the constraints placed upon her work by her colleagues at the Bibliographical Society of America, the organisation that sponsored the census project. Stillwell's correspondence reveals how early decisions regarding entries for the Census were informed by two separate influences. One was in the form of an editor of the first census, George Parker Winship. The second was the work of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, which had just established itself as the leading

6 Needham, "ISTC and the Census of Incunabula in American Libraries".

7 Aronova, von Oertzen, Sepkoski, *Historicizing Big Data*, 16.

8 Aronova, von Oertzen, Sepkoski, *Historicizing Big Data*, 16.

9 Hawkins, Pollard, *Catalogue of Books*.

international project to describe the printed output of the 15th century. The constraints of her time influenced these decisions as well, as the world transformed around her during the sixteen years she was actively engaged with the project. At the beginning, American-German cooperation on describing and identifying incunabula held the promise of a rapid transformation of knowledge. By the end, in 1940, the world was at war.

The idea for Stillwell to take over the revisions of the First Census came from Harry Lydenburg of the New York Public Library.¹⁰ Winship agreed and wrote to Stillwell in December, 1924 with support and suggestions. He refers to “the bulk of the material, the boxes of cards from which the manuscript for printing was compiled”. He handed these over to Stillwell, and recommends she start “a new file, on cards or slips to be kept in covers, for all data that comes to you”.¹¹ Stillwell records her understanding of the project in a letter back to Lydenburg: “I have since accumulated a quantity of new data, and I have been in constant communication with the secretary of the commission which is preparing the forthcoming *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*”.¹²

As plans progressed, Winship continued to consider the decisions Stillwell would face: “the immediate Census question I think is detailed form of entry – the most information that is not to be had elsewhere, in the most compact form”.¹³ Stillwell considers these questions in the context of the biggest decision yet to be made, the choice of printer and publisher. There was significant consideration of the costs to print such a large book, which affected the choices made for entries. The Hain number was relegated to second place, following the GW number, which had become authoritative.

From the beginning of work on the Second Census, the *Gesamtkatalog* was a presence informing activities. Stillwell reflected years later: “I went twice to Berlin and worked there for a period on each occasion, in order to co-ordinate the Census entries with those being developed for the international *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*”.¹⁴ The early output of the GW provided guidance, and also caused Stillwell and Winship to differentiate their project in the eyes of their colleagues, who often saw two large-scale bibliographic undertakings proceeding on parallel lines. In 1926, over a year after beginning the project, Stillwell wrote to Winship with her rationale for why the Second Census would not threaten to make the GW in-

¹⁰ Stillwell papers, Stillwell to Lydenburg, 29 May, 1925.

¹¹ Stillwell papers, Winship to Stillwell, 6 December, 1924.

¹² Stillwell papers, Stillwell to Lydenburg 29 May, 1925.

¹³ Stillwell papers, Winship to Stillwell, n.d. [1925?].

¹⁴ Stillwell papers, *The First Through the Third Census of Incunabula*.

complete, with her primary reason being, “the GW is a catalogue of books, not a census of copies”.¹⁵ The goals of the projects were completely distinct, but the questions about potential overlap informed Stillwell’s decision-making in the planning stages.

Stillwell already had a significant relationship via correspondence with the editors of the GW. She served as an American contact for providing the Kommission with data on American copies, and this work continued as she became more deeply involved with the Census. Stillwell’s diary from July 7, 1931 records, “the last of the B’s from Census files copied and forwarded to the *Gesamtkatalog* for the forthcoming vol. V”.¹⁶ She was particularly concerned to follow the GW’s lead in terms of data formatting, to ensure compatibility. In 1932 she made one of her two trips to Germany to visit the headquarters of the GW at the State Library in Berlin. Her journal records her aims, and her fears: “I hope the seizure of the government, threatened by the Hitler party, may not take place before I have had opportunity to secure in Berlin the 15th century author-entry forms from *Gesamtkatalog* headquarters”.¹⁷ She was able to complete the trip, in the company of her mother, and obtain what she needed. In only a few more years, however, correspondence with the GW ceases, and the Second Census was moved forward into publication, in part to compensate for the halt in progress from the GW. While the Second Census was conceived as a separate project with distinct goals, in the end its publication may have served in some measure to fill the space left by the difficulties faced by the GW.

Stillwell utilised a variety of material forms to collect her data. Following her correspondence with Winship on the information needed, and a request for him to share and update his address list of contacts, a form letter was circulated, alongside an accompanying campaign of notices placed in scholarly and literary publications [fig. 1]. Several variations appear throughout the life cycle of the project. A follow-up form with a set of questions gathered additional information where needed [fig. 2]. Oftentimes these exchanges developed into lengthy conversations through the mail, such as correspondence in 1936 with John Scheide that records his acquisition of Donatus fragments and the 1455 indulgence, which prompts Stillwell to annotate the letter with “important” in the margin.¹⁸

As reports accumulated, Stillwell’s methods diversified. The heart of the effort lay with index cards, which were developed according to a specific framework. It remains unclear at present how many of

15 Stillwell papers, Stillwell to Winship, 29 April, 1926.

16 Stillwell papers, Diary, 7 July, 1931.

17 Stillwell papers, Diary, 15 June, 1936.

18 Stillwell papers, Scheide to Stillwell, 15 January, 1936.

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THE ANNARY BROWN MEMORIAL
LIBRARY OF INCUNABULA
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, U. S. A.

ON MARCH 16, 1936

the records of the
**SECOND CENSUS OF 15TH CENTURY BOOKS
OWNED IN AMERICA**
will be closed to further reports

If there are books printed before 1501 in your collection which have not yet been registered, in the interests of the forthcoming *Second Census*, will you kindly report such titles, on cards, following the form of the sample card reproduced below:

(Please leave this line blank)

<i>Hain no.</i>	<i>Author Brief title Place: Printer, date</i>
	<i>Bibliographical references other than Hain Provenance</i>
<i>Name of present owner Address</i>	

(3 x 5 inches)

And, if the titles which were credited to you in the *Census* of 1919 are not correct at the present time, will you kindly report such titles, for CANCELLATION or CORRECTION.

M. B. STILLWELL, *Editor*
(For the Bibliographical Society of America)

*No books printed before 1501 have been added to
our collection since the Census of 1919.*

KRAUTH MEMORIAL LIBRARY
LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
MT. AIRY, PHILADELPHIA.

29 Jan. 1936 *W. J. Bieder
ant. stud.*

Figure 1 Data collection form for the Second Census. This form was used in the latter stages of data collection in the thirties

the index cards have survived. What is certain are the cards that crept into other portions of her papers and were saved. These do at least demonstrate the form that data collection took. The short title format emerges from the brief entries contained in the cards [fig. 3]. Stillwell also employed a variety of lists and charts to track the constant flow of information arriving in Providence [fig. 4].

The material history of the Second Census has an additional aspect, which has not survived but is recorded in Stillwell's journal,

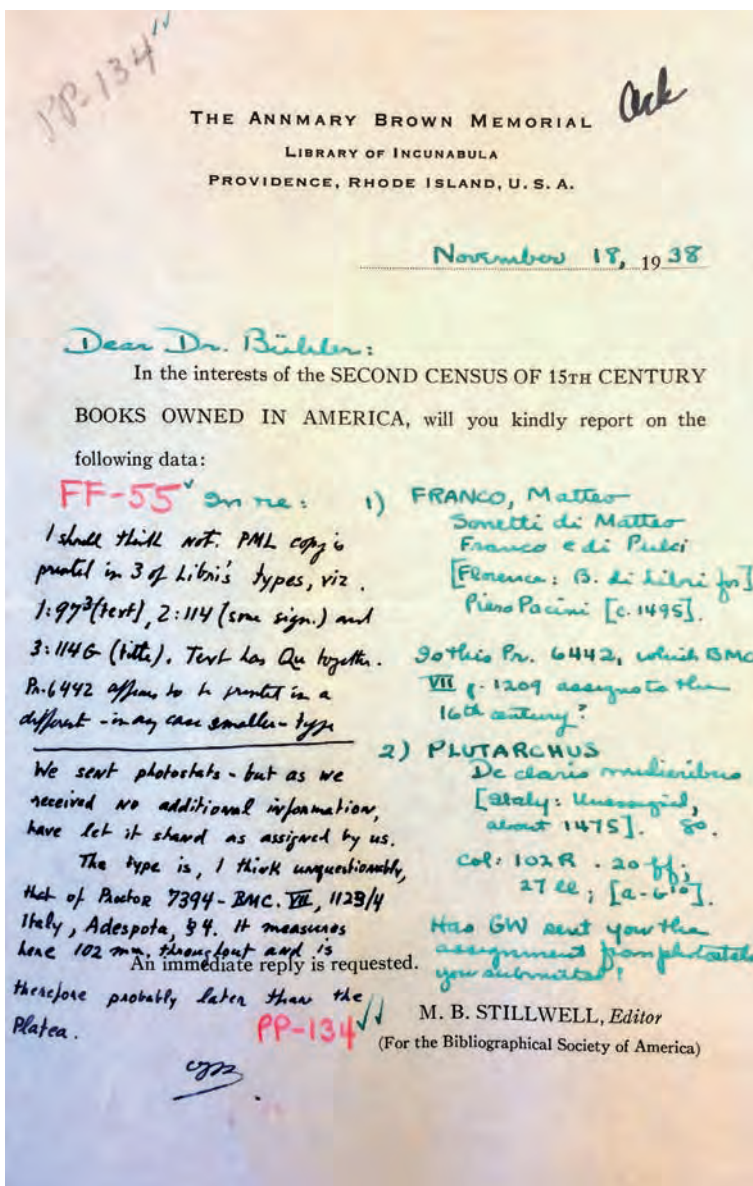


Figure 2 Sample of the follow-up correspondence form. In this case, Stillwell is requesting detailed information from Curt Bühler

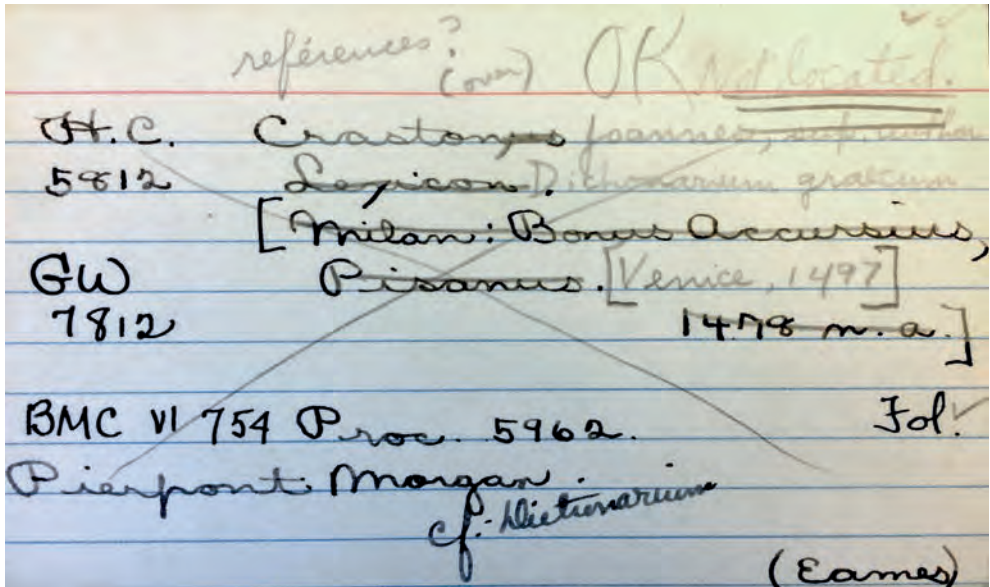


Figure 3 One of the index cards Margaret Bingham Stillwell used to gather data for the Second Census

and later in her memoir *Librarians Are Human*.¹⁹ Stillwell referred to the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum* (BMC) frequently, but she did not have a copy at the Memorial where she worked, and she could not afford to obtain one. She records in her journal how she finally arrived at the decision to “resort to the medieval method of borrowing the work and copying it. Volume I [...] has now been transcribed in card form and verified title by title”.²⁰ To support the data collection being done via index cards for the Second Census, a complete copy of the BMC was transcribed onto cards, providing another layer of migration to the collation of sources for the project. In a cruel twist, a copy of BMC was eventually donated to the Memorial by Lawrence Wroth in 1941, “the year after the publication of the Second Census [...] during the compilation of which it would have been extremely useful”.²¹

The Second Census was published in 1940 to widespread recognition of its significance, and it was not long after that efforts to con-

¹⁹ Stillwell, *Librarians Are Human*, 199.

²⁰ Stillwell papers, Diary, 5 October, 1934.

²¹ Stillwell papers, Stillwell to Wroth, 4 April, 1941.

One edition of each title, under the following authors to be checked for author-form.

<u>FROM:</u>	<u>TO:</u>	<u>NUMBER OF TITLES:</u>	<u>COMMENT:</u>
Abbreuiatura	T Tritheim, Johanna	2	2 Benc
Aegidius-Monaehus	A Aegidius Corboliensis	2	2 Benc + 2 SW
Ambrosius de Spira	S Spira, Ambrosius	1	Benc
Analogia	B Beneuolentia, Barthol.	1	Benc + SW
Anglicus, Johannes	D Duna Scotus CW 9088	1	SW (A = 2001)
Anglicus, Johannes	B Baoc, Johannes SW 3150	2	2 SW (A = 2001)
Aragon, Marques de Villena	V Villena, Henricus de.	1	Hand. SW II + C. (Handwritten note)
Arminensis	P Prologus-Arminensis	1	Handwritten note
Arthur	M Malory, Thomas	1	Duff, Handwritten note
Atanagio	O Ordine-delle nozze	1	Benc
Bembus, Bonifacius	C Caesius Dio	1	SW + Handwritten note
Bewahrung dass die Juden irren	S Seelen-Wurzgarten	1	Handwritten note
Bonaccursius Dominicus	M Montemagno, Bonaccursius de	2	Handwritten note
Bont, Guillelmus	L Lignano, Johannes de	1	Handwritten note
Bont, Guillelmus	U Ubaldis, Baldus de.	1	Handwritten note
Bonum universale	T Thomas Cantipratensis	2	Handwritten note
Brebia, Gabriel	P Psalterium, Milan 1477	1	Handwritten note
Brouwerde, Philippus de	J Johannes de Bromyard	2	Handwritten note
Brucella, Johannes de	M Mauburnus, Johannes	2	Handwritten note
Brun, Urbanus Prebusinus de	P Prebusinus, Urbanus	1	Handwritten note

Figure 4 Author chart for recording editions in the Second Census

tinue compiling locations of copies began. Stillwell revised the last Second Census request form to accommodate needs according to the published format of the Second Census. Following his move to Washington DC and the Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress, Frederick Goff undertook the responsibility for creating the Third Census, which was eventually published in 1964. The few changes made to Stillwell's system included a new numbering sequence, which became a standard reference and provided the model for numbering within the ISTC.

Goff and Stillwell enjoyed a warm correspondence through the years. He was always F. Richmond to her, and he would send post-cards during his travels. One of these came from London in 1980 and reported on a new project Goff had witnessed: "it was interesting to see Census III as a computer printout (so far through "L"). It has pos-

sibilities for Census IV. Lotte Hellinga inquired after you”²² Thus, two women are linked through Goff, one who created the structures of description that proved solid enough to serve as the model for the other, who began its transfer to electronic form.

A project such as the Atlas of Early Printing is designed to provide an easy-to-understand visual interpretation of a complex subject. But rather than existing as a site that presents a highly selected, curated view of a topic, it can evolve to accommodate a diversity of views from multiple sources of data. The ability to overlay and interact with these different data sets allows geography to be the unifying visual factor between disparate groups of data. A more robust exploration of the development of the *Gesamtkatalog's* structures, and how the Kommission and Stillwell collaborated, is still to come, and will illuminate the thought underlying the systems that continue to evolve today.

Abbreviations

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*

TW = *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*

BMC = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*

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²² Stillwell papers, Goff to Stillwell, 27 May, 1980.

The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) Past, Present and Future

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Abstract From its foundation in 1980, the ISTC has been one of the most important international reference sources for incunabula studies. Based on a merger of F.R. Goff's *Incunabula in North American Libraries: A Third Census* and the *Indice Generale degli Incunaboli delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, it aimed to be a comprehensive list both of 15th-century editions and of surviving copies of incunabula. While maintaining its original purpose, it has striven to take advantage of new partnerships and technical innovations to ensure its continued utility as a cornerstone of incunabula research. Managed by the British Library in London and hosted by CERL, the ISTC continues to rely on cooperation and partnership from holding institutions and researchers worldwide. Free since 2003, the ISTC can be used as a simple guide to editions and copies, but also as a dataset enabling researchers to look at 15th-century printing in new ways. After briefly looking at the ISTC's history, this essay focuses on new developments made to the database, highlighting its continued relevance and potential to support traditional incunabula research as well as new projects, and its managers' intention and flexibility to improve the file in response to its users' feedback.

Keywords Incunabula. ISTC. Digital humanities. British Library. CERL.

Summary 1 The Past. – 2 The Present. – 3 Future.



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1 The Past

With ISTC (founded in 1980) now approaching its fortieth anniversary, it seems an opportune moment to consider what the database has achieved in that time, and to look to its future. Although begun, and still managed today, at the British Library in London, it must be said at once that nearly all its success derives from the enthusiastic support of the custodians and cataloguers of incunabula across the world.¹

ISTC arose in part as the British Library wished to further explore the use of its cataloguing systems to hold bibliographic records that would be simpler than full-dress catalogue records, but would address the needs and wishes of scholars frustrated by the lack of easy access to information about the books they wanted to see. The Library had started down this route with the launch in 1976 of the *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, ESTC: an international partnership that aimed to produce a simplified but usable catalogue of English printing from what was then seen as a difficult period for bibliography, bringing together libraries holding relevant material from across the globe.

Access to incunabula at that time was also far from easy. Many libraries had catalogues that were only available at the library itself (this is the period before online access and retrospective cataloguing), or if published, were still incomplete, as was the case at the British Library. In many libraries, incunabula had been regarded as a relatively low priority earlier in the twentieth century as it was expected that the soon-to-be completed Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke would provide all the necessary information. Although the Gesamtkatalog's publication had restarted in 1972 after a pause of over thirty years, publication was only proceeding slowly, and at the time ISTC was conceived, the letter F had yet to be completed; and of course, the Second World War had not only disrupted the Gesamtkatalog, but had rendered a proportion of its location information out-of-date. So there were good reasons for looking at a computerised bibliography of incunabula as a way forward. As Lotte Hellinga at the British Library realised, this was an idea whose time had come.

Frederick R. Goff's census of incunabula in North America was chosen as a place to start, with Goff's support.² There were good

¹ There is not the space here for a full list of those whose work has made ISTC what it is. But we would like to remember a few of the people whose contributions have been outstanding, traces of whose work can be found throughout the database. At the British Library, Lotte Hellinga, Martin Davies, Marcella Leembruggen and Craig Mitchell. At the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gertrud Friedl and Bettina Wagner. At the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, Giuliana Sciascia and Pasqualino Avigliano. At the Royal Library at The Hague, Gerard van Thienen. At the Huntington Library, Stephen Tabor.

² Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries*.

reasons for this choice. A great virtue of Goff's catalogue is his highly regularised and simplified form of recording, derived of course from older traditions for the description of incunabula. All places of printing and printers' names, for example, are recorded in exactly the same form, regardless of what appears in the books themselves. Goff also only printed each heading, each author's name and each title once, using dashes to stand in when describing other editions. This high degree of uniformity and repetition meant that his entries could be very easily keyboarded to form the initial database, and with the added advantage that his entries were instantly indexed without needing extensive editing; indeed without needing much editing to speak of at all. Goff's entries also provided generous quantities of references to other published catalogues. Rendering these into electronic form facilitated reference to other sources, and would therefore help to identify entries in other catalogues not already present in ISTC.

Another reason for favouring Goff as a place to start rested in the representative nature of the North American collections that he covered. Although other printed union catalogues of incunabula existed at the time that could in theory have been used, for Poland, for Hungary, and of course for Italy, none was as large, or as comprehensive, as Goff. This is to do with the nature of American collecting, and the wide range of books that American collectors and libraries have been able to amass (and are still amassing). It also supported the goal of ISTC from the outset, which was to contain brief information on all known surviving editions of books printed in the 15th century. Information collected along the way ensured that ISTC has also come to act as a census of surviving copies of incunabula. From the beginning, ISTC's aim was thus in many ways very different from that of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*: only rarely has ISTC provided incipit and explicit transcriptions, collational formulae, details of numbers of leaves, or details of types used. This is very much the GW's area of expertise, and users should consult both files in parallel.

ISTC was not to confine itself to the Anglophone world. Right from the start there was interest from continental Europe. Permission was granted almost at once for ISTC to add records for books appearing in the Italian national census, the IGI, that had no entry in Goff, with the intention of using ISTC as the basis for a revision and updating of IGI.³

An editing phase began with the harmonisation of Goff and IGI. This was coupled with filling out the data by listing the incunables at the British Library, the Bodleian at Oxford, and the university libraries in Cambridge and Manchester. All of these libraries provided data in the same Proctor-order as in use at the BL, enabling editing

3 Guarnaschelli, Valenziani et al., *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*.

to be done from a place-and-printer viewpoint as well as the alphabetical approach of Goff and IGI.

Help from other countries was not slow in coming: the Royal Library in Brussels was keen to use ISTC to update the locations of incunabula in Belgium that had been published in the thirties. Even more significant was the offer from the late Gerard van Thienen at the Royal Library in The Hague to supply records for all books in Dutch libraries not already in ISTC, and for all books printed in the Low Countries not yet in the database.⁴

The Low Countries' contributions helped to demonstrate the advantage of electronic compilation then only beginning to be exploited, i.e. the facility for continual revision. Low Countries printing is characterised by the substantial proportion of books with no printer's name or date. Goff's Census, which provided ISTC's base file, had been published in 1964, only a few years before the Hellingas' account of Dutch printing produced in some cases ground-breaking new chronologies for the Dutch book.⁵ Gerard van Thienen nobly undertook to digest this information for ISTC and provide revised dates for each ISTC number affected. While this work was in progress, the dating of Dutch books was revised yet again by Ina Kok on the basis of illustrated incunabula.⁶ More recently many dates had to be revised all over again to take account of van Thienen's own work based on his extensive examination of paper and watermarks, published in the Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries database, WILC, to which relevant ISTC entries are linked.⁷

But this is to jump ahead. 1984 saw ISTC become publicly available via the British Library's online system BLAISE. Almost prohibitively expensive for use outside the British Library, internally it enabled us to answer questions from users, and to interact with the data in ways we had not always expected. Most usefully, it became even easier to provide printouts of selections by author, or printer or library that could be easily checked and annotated by contributors.

Also in 1984 Lotte Hellinga organised a small colloquium, designed to explore the research needs of people using or wanting to use 15th century books. The discussions in the colloquium showed very clearly the expectations that ISTC had already raised, and made clear to us the frustration felt by users of the plethora of catalogues and bibliographies that were coming into being. Something that indexed all of these catalogues and bibliographies was clearly very desirable. An important matter raised early on at the colloquium was

⁴ Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés*; van Thienen, *Incunabula in Dutch libraries*.

⁵ Hellinga W., Hellinga L., *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*.

⁶ Published later as Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*.

⁷ URL <http://watermark.kb.nl/page/index/title/Introduction>.

the question whether ISTC should include copy-specific information. It seemed to us at the time that the need for the overarching list of editions and the location of copies should be our priority, but that we should not turn our backs on copy information, which could be addressed at a later stage.⁸

There is only space here to pick out a handful of other significant developments. 1988 saw the signing of an agreement to help establish an office at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich to carry out a census of incunabula in West Germany, supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Technological developments now meant that it was possible to exchange data electronically (the Dutch and Belgian information had all had to be keyboarded from paper slips), and so floppy disks travelled by mail from London to Munich and back, later replaced by ftp and e-mail attachments. After 1989, the census was soon extended to cover newly unified Germany, and a parallel office was set up in Rome at the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in 1991 to realise the vision of the revision of IGI. I am happy to note that both projects are now largely complete, and have added extensive quantities of data to ISTC. The German census team also added a substantial number of bibliographical references to ISTC, and incorporated the whole of the catalogue of German single-sheet printing, the VE15, as well as many other entries for editions new to ISTC.⁹

Incunabula from many other countries have been added to ISTC via other shared projects that have now encompassed most of the rest of Europe, as well as the smaller accumulations of incunabula that are to be found in such places as Asia, Australasia, Latin America and South Africa. In many cases lists or data have been sent to ISTC; in other cases we have been directed to published, or nowadays online, information, and have been able to extract the data ourselves. In this last task, we have been frequently assisted by accepting postgraduate students wishing to gain some experience in the field. A particular contribution has been made by students from the École des Chartes in Paris, who have done more in recent years to help keep ISTC up-to-date than almost anyone else.

We have always been concerned about the ease of access to ISTC, and to keep up its momentum, and have aimed to achieve this by taking advantage of technological developments. ISTC records have been loaded into various data systems outside the British Library, for example, such as RLIN in the United States, LIBRIS in Sweden, and the Hand Press Book database (now Heritage of the Printed Book =

⁸ The proceedings were published as *Bibliography and the Study of 15th-Century Civilisation*, edited by Lotte Hellinga and John Goldfinch.

⁹ Eisermann et al., *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts*.

HPB) of the Consortium of European Research Libraries. By the early nineties, CD-ROM was becoming an increasingly popular alternative to expensive online databases, and, together with a consortium of our partners, the EU funded a project, INCIPIT, to make ISTC available on CD-ROM together with scanned images of pages from as many incunable editions as we could manage. Full digitisation was impractical in the nineties, and we hoped that showing key pages would help overcome the absence from ISTC of full descriptions, and would remove some of the need for the traditional transcription of key passages, a descriptive method always prone to error. Our commercial partner, then called Primary Source Media, would handle the production and sale of the CD, and was committed to publishing regular updates. A first version appeared in 1996, with a second edition in 1998.

The CD-ROM made ISTC directly available to researchers in libraries for the first time, and led to feedback of all kinds from academic researchers as well as encouraging more approaches from libraries. It also enabled users to interact with the data in ways that had only hitherto been possible within the British Library, and the first attempts to examine the data from new perspectives, as demonstrated in 2005 by Jonathan Green.¹⁰

By the early 2000s, the CD-ROM was already becoming out-of-date, and the old British Library systems were being closed down. Thanks to some imaginative partnerships between some of our technical colleagues at the Library and university computing departments, Liverpool University devised a website to hold the ISTC data, as well as an editing interface, which deposited us in 2003 into the full glare of the Internet. At a stroke, ISTC became freely available to anyone with a web connection, and as a result use increased around the world. From the start the records were available for Google and other search engines to index, resulting in greater numbers of additions and corrections being reported, and it became a simple matter to incorporate live links between ISTC and other online catalogues such as Bod-inc and BSB-Ink, and especially the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, where work was carried out by both ISTC and the GW to exchange information to reduce errors and to align the projects more closely.

2 The Present

For many researchers ISTC is now the starting point for their work from where they move on to other databases, digital surrogates or individual library catalogues. It is still a comprehensive list of 15th-century editions and a census of surviving copies, but it has under-

¹⁰ Green, "Opening the Illustrated Incunable Short Title Catalog on CDROM".

gone a number of changes and developments over the years and will of course continue to do so. From the British Library's BLAISE-LINE service via CD-ROMs and Liverpool to CERL, ISTC has moved several times since its foundation in 1980. All moves brought with them changes and opportunities as well as issues and challenges, and the latest move was no exception. Since the end of 2016, the file has been hosted by CERL and is being maintained by Alexander Jahnke and his team at the Data Conversion Group (DCG) in Göttingen. The editorial centre remains at the British Library in London and ISTC's regular contributors at the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Rome and the Bavarian State Library in Munich have retained their full editorial rights.

The British Library decided to move ISTC to CERL because it was keen to secure the database's survival within a European context. The move was also necessary for two other reasons. First, a safe and reliable host was needed for the data. With a constantly growing database, it is important to ensure that all data is safe and that there is no risk of major data loss. Second, ISTC needed to be moved to a more flexible and more up-to-date software that could cope with and accommodate the changes and developments that need to be implemented in order to keep the file relevant for incunabula researchers in the 21st century. The combination of changing user needs and habits and the flexibility of the new software has also made ISTC mobile-device friendly for the first time in its history.

The data was moved from Liverpool to CERL in the summer of 2016, and just before Christmas that year the new version of ISTC was made available to researchers all over the world. The current interface looks very different from the one in Liverpool, but it is very familiar to researchers using other CERL databases, such as Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) or the CERL Thesaurus. There were of course teething problems in the transfer of the data, and the editors received a number of comments and suggestions from ISTC's regular users and contributors. These led to small changes soon after the database was launched and have largely now been completed.

All updates to ISTC are now instant, and all changes can be seen by anyone straight away. This makes working with contributors a lot easier as they can review and comment on any changes the editors make in real time. The URLs for all records are now stable, so if libraries or researchers add them to their catalogue records or databases, they will be easy to translate into new URLs should the database need to move again in the future. The database structure has been made clearer and more flexible, and records are no longer hampered by a limit on the number or size of fields as they were in older versions of ISTC. The database is currently available in English and in German, and the language is set depending on the user's IP address with the default outside Germany being English. There are plans to develop interfaces in other languages in due course.

The functionality of ISTC is unchanged, but the display of the records has become clearer. The bibliographical part of the entries as well as the order of fields within the body of the record remains unchanged: ISTC ID, author, title, imprint, format, notes, references, and related resources. The links to databases and catalogues such as GW and BSB-Ink are still there, and links to Bod-Inc have been added. All fields are searchable and author, BL shelf mark, copy-specific note, publication year, format, printer/publisher, place of publication, ISTC number, holding institution (all of them, including those in the US), publication year (original), references, and title can also be browsed.

Most users will remember that ISTC used to contain countries of holding institutions called 'Other' and 'Other Europe'. These were a compromise due to the number of fields allowed in former versions of the database, but they enabled the editorial team to accommodate more countries than the system had fields for. The new software does not have such constraints and can accommodate all countries individually. The holdings are now listed by country in alphabetical order of English country name with all holding institutions listed alphabetically within each country. The alphabetical sorting by English country names means that in the German interface some countries are out of sequence, most notably probably 'Deutschland' which is filed under G for 'Germany'. The editors and CERL know that this is not ideal, but it is unfortunately technically not possible at the moment to have two separate alphabetical orders. Despite this, however, the listing of individual holding institutions within countries allows users to get a more accurate picture of the distribution of surviving copies of individual editions in institutions and private hands around the world.

ISTC's current interface also has a counting tool, but this is currently a location count rather than a copy count due to the fact that the information on the numbers of copies held by institutions is contained within the general copy-specific notes field and not yet in a field of its own. Moving from location counting to copy counting will be a future development, but the interim location count at least makes it easier for users to get a more accurate picture of the numbers of surviving copies of each edition in the database. Rather than having to count every single copy individually, users now only have to add institutions with multiple holdings to the total provided automatically at the end of each record.

To enable users to manipulate datasets for their own research purposes, ISTC now provides a download function. The data is available in different formats that can be specified by the user. The most frequently used format is Excel, but the data is also available in YAML, ISBD, MARC21, and BibTeX. Every user can create a log-in that enables them to save searches or individual records and revisit them at a later stage.

From an editorial point of view it has become easier to deal with larger amounts of data and to edit several records at the same time using bulk editing. For example, a large number of links to digitised

incunabula can now be uploaded easily if contributors send the information to the editors in the correct format, ideally in an Excel spreadsheet listing ISTC numbers and corresponding URLs.

In its first iteration, the search field of the current ISTC consisted of one box only, and users had to construct their searches by not only entering their search terms but also the codes for the fields to be searched. All fields are searchable and can be combined, and while the search is very powerful and accurate, it is rather labour-intensive. While it is of course still possible to enter search terms in the search box without specifying the fields to be searched, the results are less reliable than when the fields to be searched are specified.

Responding to user feedback, especially around the search functionality, the ISTC's editors have worked closely with CERL to improve the file further and have made enhancements to the search functionality their highest priority. While the simple search remains and users can still search for a random selection of terms or specify the fields to be searched, an 'advanced search' functionality has been added. This contains a combination of drop-down lists, free text fields and suggester fields to allow users to construct more complicated searches without having to enter the field codes together with their search terms. The file shows users the number of records retrieved for each search term they entered so that they can see how far their results are being limited by entering additional search terms. When users click on the number next to the search box, the search will be carried out in the database and the list of records will be displayed.

The display of the results list has also changed. Users can now look at a short list of records or at a detailed list of records. From each entry in the short or in the detailed list users can go to the full records. Search results can be sorted alphabetically, chronologically, by author/title, by oldest or newest date of publication, by ISTC number, by country of publication, by place of printing or by printer. The facets on the right-hand side allow users to limit their search results by format, country of holding institution and country of publication. Other facets will be added in the future when constraints on the numbers of items displayed for each list of facets have been removed from the software.

3 Future

Improvements to a live file will always be necessary: some of them are the legacies of earlier iterations of the database, others are long-held desiderata. Following the changes to the search functionality and the display that were implemented in September 2018, the editors and CERL held a meeting in January 2019 to discuss the next stages of development. While small changes, additions and corrections will always be made on a daily basis and records are tidied up as necessary, work has begun on further improvements. The first step is to work through the list of holding institutions and move the data currently incorrectly held in the holdings field into the copy-specific notes field. This will make an overview of holdings by institution easier and will provide a more accurate count of the number of incunabula held in each institution. As part of this development, users will be given the opportunity to see full institution names for all holding institutions and not, as is so far the case for all institutions but those in the US, abbreviations only. The counting of holding institutions will be developed into a counting of copies. However, this is a longer-term ambition as it will require a number of changes to the structure of the data before copies rather than institutions can be counted. Links to digitised incunabula will continue to be added as and when they are reported to the editors. There are also plans to add links from ISTC records to descriptions of individual copies of incunabula in MEI where these are available and to run the CERL Thesaurus in the background of ISTC so that variant forms of names can be retrieved more easily.

ISTC is and always will be a work in progress. For all of the changes and improvements its editors made in the past, make now and we will make in the future, they rely very much on holding institutions and researchers around the world to work with them and to provide feedback on how ISTC can be improved further in the future and retain its status as the go-to database for incunabula researchers around the world.

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A New Tool for Describing Provenance Images

CERL's Provenance Digital Archive

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Abstract Following the rise of the study of the history of the book in the eighties and nineties, provenance studies have become an important component in the research of social and cultural historians. This development was noticed and embraced by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). The Consortium incorporated results of provenance research in existing resources and new ones were developed. The latest development is the CERL Provenance Digital Archive, an international online database to describe images of provenance marks.

Keywords Provenance research. History of the book. Images. Provenance marks.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 CERL and Provenance. – 3 The Development of the Provenance Digital Archive. – 4 The CERL PDA. – 5 Benefits of the CERL PDA.

1 Introduction

Suppose, you are researching the provenance of an incunable and you find the bookplate that is shown in fig. 3? How would you find out who owned the book in former times? After a period of studying book production and the dissemination of the book through publishers and book shops, questions of readership became a main interest of social and cultural historians dealing with literacy and the spread of ideas. At the same time, a separate developing concern about the security of library collections has widened the inter-



est in recording provenances of all sorts, ancient and modern. These developments stimulated The Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL)¹ to incorporate provenance research among its goals.

2 CERL and Provenance

Fifteen years ago, David Pearson, author of the handbook for provenance research² wrote in the proceedings of one of CERL's conferences: "The idea of creating a database which links biographical and bibliographical information about early book owners with their distinctive marks of ownership seems an obvious possibility and one which could be useful to cataloguers and researchers alike once it developed a critical mass".³ Since then, CERL developed many resources that provide an environment for the recording of provenance data for both manuscripts and books of the hand-press period. CERL's tools and databases register provenance data in various levels of detail. First of all there is the *Heritage of the Printed Book Database* (HPB). This is a steadily growing collection of files of catalogue records from major European and North American research libraries covering items of European printing of the hand-press period (c. 1455-c. 1830) integrated into one searchable environment. Increasing numbers of records in this database record provenance information that is made searchable in the HPB. Then there is the *CERL Thesaurus*. This resource contains multilingual information on names and variant names of persons and places pertaining to books of the hand-press period. Provenance Names are also included in this database, they are marked as such and again retrievable under this particular aspect. The *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI) is specifically designed to record and search material aspects of 15th-century printed books by capturing ownership and other provenance evidence such as bindings, manuscript annotations, book prices and bookplates. The same model has been applied to post-1500 printed books in a project generated database currently named *Patrimoni*. Moreover, CERL hosts resources that were developed by scholars, such as *Early Book Owners in Britain* created by Meg Ford or Paul Needham's *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum*. These resources, originally in spreadsheet or Word format, have been converted by CERL into searchable resources accessible via CERL's general provenance page.⁴

1 Cf. for all described resources the CERL website: <http://www.cerl.org>.

2 Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*.

3 Pearson, "Provenance and Rare Book Cataloguing".

4 URL <https://www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/main>.

All resources mentioned until now are text based. But provenance often manifests itself physically: in an ex-libris, a signature, an inscription, a stamp, etc.; therefore, the association of a provenance description with an image was wished for. For a long time CERL has strived to develop a resource that could include descriptions *and* images. A first step was achieved with the *Can You Help* section at CERL's website since 2009, managed by David Shaw. Users could send provenance queries (including images) to David Shaw and post replies to other people's requests. As the number of questions grew, this approach became unmanageable and poorly usable. This stimulated the search to develop a resource where images could be uploaded and described: the Provenance Digital Archive (PDA), a database where images of provenance marks can be stored and searched. This tool should offer researchers, users of and contributors to certain CERL services such as Can You Help, MEI and Patrimoni, the possibility to upload images, describe the content and connect them to other CERL resources (and other provenance databases).

3 The Development of the Provenance Digital Archive

CERL's Provenance Working Group formulated a set of user scenarios to make sure that the tool CERL was going to develop would be useful for our target group of cataloguers, bibliographers and researchers. In short, we wanted the system to be a central place for provenance images where libraries and scholars could store photographs they took during their cataloguing activities and research and that helps them to identify the unknown provenance marks they encountered. These wishes led to the following list of requirements:

1. an intuitive and simple description model that includes all necessary elements but is not too detailed, so participants can easily describe and retrieve provenance marks;
2. possibility of uploading single images with basic metadata;
3. possibility of batch uploading of images with basic metadata provided by the uploader;
4. editing facilities for registered users; they should be able to edit their own records and comment on records of other users within the CERL PDA; dialogue visible to all;
5. possibility to add the identification to unidentified provenance marks;
6. integration of current Can You Help facilities in the new resource; facility for alerting new questions to identify provenance marks to registered users;
7. possibility to download images; therefore the images provided should be free of copyright;
8. possibility of replacing images with better ones;

9. possibility of adding more than one image for one provenance mark;
10. possibility of adding different provenance marks pertaining to one source;
11. facility to link to the existing CERL Thesaurus records and add new names in the CT where necessary;
12. adding extra sources when a provenance mark occurs in more than one source;
13. the CERL PDA must be open access.

In Arkyves, CERL found a partner that would be able to embed the desired functionality in an existing and rich infrastructure. Arkyves is based in Leiden and related to Brill Publishers.⁵ It is a “collection of image collections” from museums, libraries and research institutes worldwide, among them the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Emblems, book illustrations, printed initials, bookplates and so forth are brought together in one large database, each description sharing one feature: they all use the same standard subject classification for cultural visual content: Iconclass. This is a classification system designed to describe the contents of an image, using letters and numbers instead of language.⁶

4 The CERL PDA

The Arkyves team, now part of Brill, developed the CERL PDA as a separate, yet integrated, section in the Arkyves collection. It can be approached via the Arkyves website by clicking the “CERL Provenance Digital Archive” bar in the website of Arkyves. To upload and describe images, one has to log in with a Google, Facebook or Orcid account; searching the CERL PDA can be done without logging in. Some 140 items are described as a test, and these already give an impression of the many possibilities offered by the CERL PDA. One can find ex-libris, bookbindings, inscriptions, armorial images etc. As with any database, its value as a research tool will increase with the growth of its contents.

⁵ URL <https://www.arkyves.org>.

⁶ URL <http://www.iconclass.nl/home>. Iconclass consists of a hierarchically ordered collection of definitions of objects, people, events and abstract ideas that represent the subject of an image. There are 9 main divisions, further specified through subdivisions. For example, the main division ‘Nature’ (2) is further divided in ‘earth’ (25), holding the subdivision animals (25F), holding the subdivision mammals (25F2) and so on. So every image can be captured in numbers and letters. The classification system is thus language independent.

The screenshot shows the editing interface for the CERL Provenance Digital Archive. At the top, there is a blue header with the Consortium of European Research Libraries logo and a search button. Below the header, the form is titled 'CERL Provenance Digital Archive'. The form is organized into several sections: 'Source URL' (with a dropdown menu showing 'HPB/MEH/STC'), 'Caption/Description', 'Institution Name', 'Shelfmark of the provenance' and 'Kind of provenance' (with a dropdown menu), 'Location in source', 'Bibliographic Details' (including 'Title', 'Author', and 'Imprint'), 'Description of the provenance' (including 'Transcription'), 'Language', 'Century', and 'Date', 'ICONCLASS', 'Technique', 'Width', and 'Height', and 'Place of use'. Each section contains input fields and dropdown menus for data entry.

Figure 1 Screenshot of the editing form of the CERL PDA

For every provenance mark, a short description is given: the source (i.e. in which book the provenance mark was found), the institution that holds the book, the measurements of the provenance mark, the type, the technique, the time period and the location of the mark in the book. And of course, the most important characteristic: the owner indicated by the provenance mark, i.e. the person or institution that connected the provenance mark to the book, the former owner of the book. Elements as the source and the names of former owners are linked to other CERL resources such as MEI, ISTC, HPB and the CERL Thesaurus; from these resources they can be linked to the PDA as well, now or in the future. Furthermore an Iconclass code is added. Every element in the description is indexed so that all elements in the description can be searched, separately or in combination.

The last element of the description, the Iconclass code, is added to make subject retrieval more adequate. This Iconclass code indexes the subject of the provenance marks at different levels. An example will explain this. To the bookplate [fig. 2] of the Dutch physician Cornelis Hendrik à Roy,⁷ the following Iconclass codes were connected, describing on the one hand the kind of object (ex-libris, mark of ownership) and on the other the elements of the image (horse, helmet, foliage):

- 49M8 ex-libris
- 49L27 mark of ownership
- 46C13141 horse
- 45C221 helmet
- 48AA9831 foliage, tendrils, branches ~ ornament - AA - stylized

This is a relatively elaborate Iconclass subject indexing; a more basic description will suffice for the record to be accepted in the database.

CERL also strives to collaborate with other provenance resources and aspires to support bulk uploads, so that the pool of data will rapidly be increased and expanded. Then, more results can be offered to researchers and cataloguers searching for the former owner associated with a certain provenance mark.

Now that the database is developed, users can start uploading and describing the images they collect during their research. For this, a set of guidelines is available.⁸

5 Benefits of the CERL PDA

The development of the CERL PDA was finished in September 2019 after intensive testing. Now CERL expects that almost all of the requirements defined above are met. During the testing phase some 150 provenance marks have been added, mostly originating from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), The Hague. These are provenance marks that were found while contributing to CERL's Material Evidence in Incunabula database, so they were found in the incunabula of the KB. Although the corpus at this moment is still small, users can already consult the database when they find a provenance mark that they do not know. If, for example, someone is cataloguing a book with a stamp VF in the middle of a wreath (garland), this person can search the PDA with the words "VF" and "wreath" and will find an

⁷ URL https://www.arkyves.org/r/view/cerlpda_0a45a/him_CERLPDA (2019-11-08).

⁸ Marieke van Delft with contributions of Cristina Dondi, Marian Lefferts and John Goldfinch, *Guidelines for uploading and describing images in the CERL Provenance Digital Archive*. Version 0.4. Summer 2019.



Figure 2 Bookplate of the Dutch physician Cornelis Hendrik à Roy. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KW 171 D 17

entry. If the provenance mark in the book in hand is similar with the image in the PDA⁹ [fig. 3] the user can conclude that this book once belonged to the University of Freiburg im Breisgau.

⁹ VF stamp in CERL PDA: https://www.arkyves.org/r/view/cerlpda_00d32/him_CERLPDA.

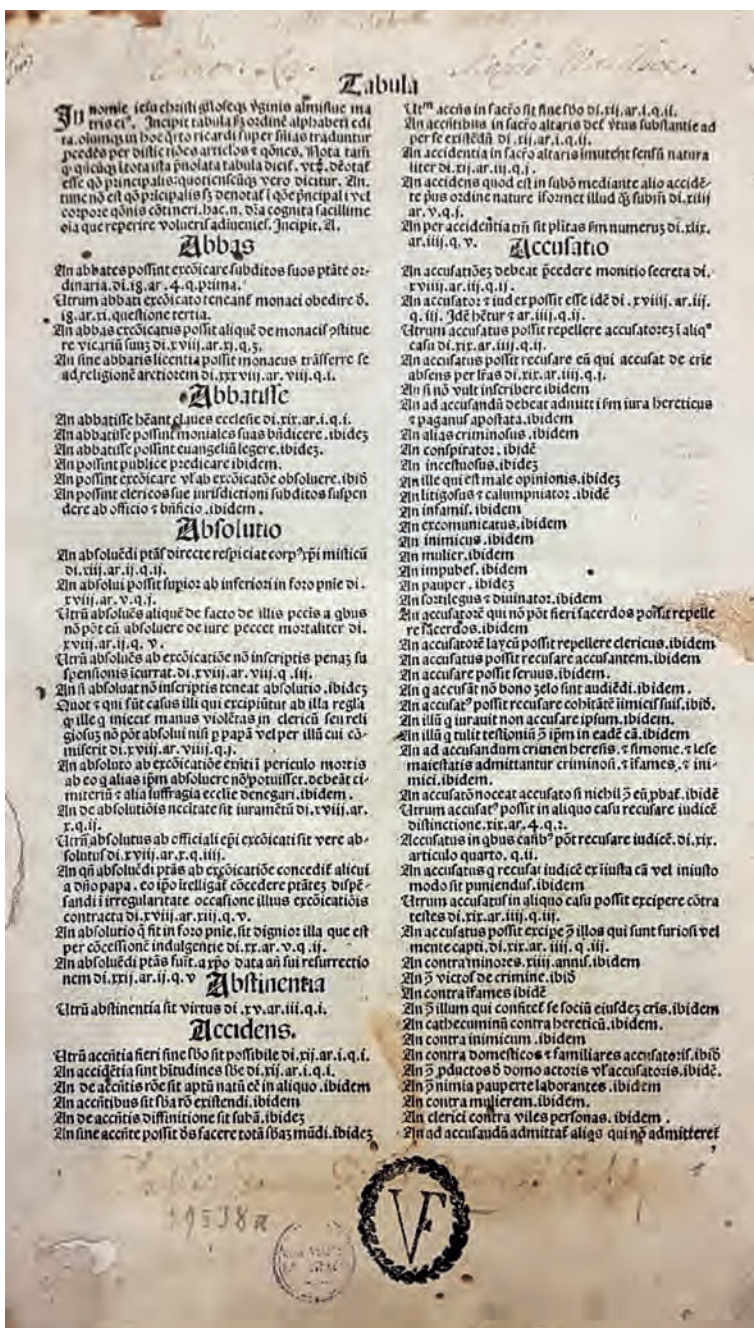


Figure 3 With the CERL PDA this monogram can be identified as a bookplate stamp from the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KW 151 E 19



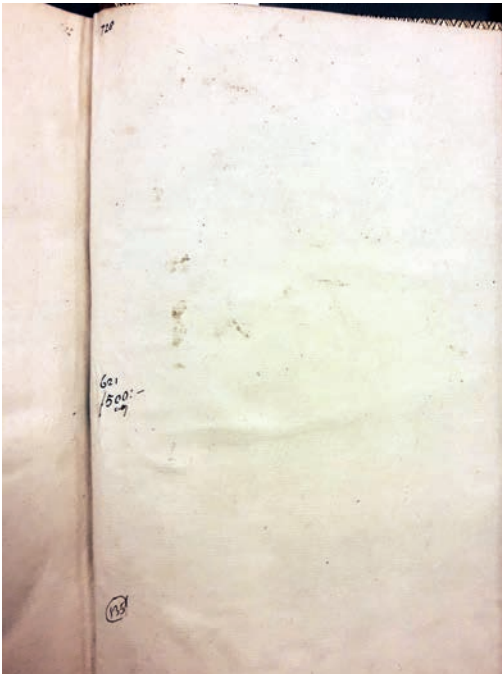


Figure 4 The Leiden lawyer Joost Romswinkel noted details about the acquisition of his books in a characteristic manner that makes it possible to identify books from his collection. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KW 168 B 22

Another example: if a researcher encounters books with a specific notation of prices and numbers, he/she can also search the CERL PDA with specific words such as “inscription”, “price” or “circle”. The user will then find an image [fig. 4] that might have the same composition as he found in the books he is describing and will then know that this book once belonged to the Leiden lawyer Joost Romswinkel (1745-1824).¹⁰ And of course, the usability and benefits of the CERL PDA will further increase when more provenance marks are inserted.

Another gain of the CERL PDA is that it can be used as Can You Help resource. In the description a box can be ticked if the user would like to share the image with other users hoping that other people can help to identify the mark. Someone can upload an image he wants to identify, tick this box and then it will be shown via an RSS feed to researchers that indicated that they are willing to help to identify the persons or institutions that used a certain image. These names then can be connected to the descriptions in the CERL PDA.

¹⁰ Image of the notation of purchase information of Joost Romswinkel: https://www.arkyves.org/r/view/cerlpda_daad0/him_CERLPDA.

The CERL PDA is developed as a section of Arkyves. From this follows that it is part of a very large collection of images from various European and American institutions. In the context of Arkyves, more images of provenance can be found deriving from other collections. Here, it should be mentioned that, while the CERL PDA is a free resource, Arkyves as a whole is a subscription database held by Brill, Leiden. This means that when a single user searches the CERL PDA, he/she will find the images described in this specific section, whereas a subscriber to the full Arkyves database would be presented with additional provenance marks. If, for example, a subscriber to Arkyves wants to identify a bookplate that is not yet described in the PDA, he might find it in the rest of the Arkyves collection [fig. 5]. This is true, for example, for a bookplate with a snake, a bird and branches that is held in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel) as part of their Virtual Print Cabinet. Then the user would find that this was the bookplate of Christian Johann Lange. Moreover, even if no similar image is found, related images may point a user in which direction he/she should continue the research. Still, to be clear, a user does not have to subscribe to Arkyves to use the CERL PDA. This is an open resource of CERL. On its own, the CERL PDA will grow into a very useful book historical tool, becoming more and more beneficial as it expands.

In the past years, CERL became more and more connected to provenance research through the development of the Material Evidence in Incunabula and Patrimonit databases. The need for an international provenance image database that could be used by anyone studying manuscripts and books from the hand-press period and beyond was felt and CERL undertook steps to develop a resource for this. The aim was that users could upload their images and describe them in an intuitive way and others should be able to search this image database and find the information they are looking for. Via the CERL PDA, the Consortium hopes to support the work of many researchers and cataloguers that will fill and use this resource and will contribute to building an international, open, frequently-used online tool for the benefit of the study of books and their history.



Figure 5 This ex-libris of Christian Johann Lange is not yet described in the CERL PDA, but was found in one of the other collections in Arkyves, in this case the Herzog August Bibliothek Virtual Print Cabinet of Wolfenbüttel

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Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>Confessiones</i> . [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1470]. Folio. GW 2893; ISTC ia01250000	25
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De civitate dei</i> . [Subiaco: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz], 12 June 1467. Folio. GW 2874; ISTC ia01230000	13
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De civitate dei</i> . Venice: Johannes and Vindelinius de Spira, 1470. Folio. GW 2877; ISTC ia01233000	28
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De civitate dei</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Oct. 1475. Folio. GW 2879; ISTC ia01235000	11
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De civitate Dei</i> . Basel: Michael Wenssler [and Bernhard Richel], 25 Mar. 1479. Folio. GW 2885; ISTC ia01241000	6
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De civitate dei</i> (Comm: Thomas Waleys and Nicolaus Trivet). Basel: Johann Amerbach, 13 Feb. 1489. Folio. GW 2887; ISTC ia01243000	14
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>De trinitate</i> . [Basel]: Johann Amerbach, 1489. Folio. GW 2926; ISTC ia01343000	14
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>Explanatio psalmodum</i> . Basel: Johann Amerbach [and Johann Petri de Langendorff, not after 8 Sept.] 1489. Folio. GW 2909; ISTC ia01272000; MEI 02127249	14
Augustinus, Aurelius, <i>Sermones</i> . With additions by Sebastian Brant. Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1494-95. Folio. GW 2909; ISTC ia01308000; MEI 02108477; MEI 02122977	14
Avicenna, <i>Metaphysica</i> [Latin]. Ed: Franciscus de Macerata and Antonius Fracantianus. Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, for Hieronymus de Durantibus, 26 Mar. 1495. Folio. GW 3130; ISTC ia01431000	10
Bagellardus, Paulus, <i>De infantium aegritudinibus et remediis</i> . [Padua]: Bartholomaeus de Valdezoccho and Martinus de Septem Arboribus, 21 Apr. 1472. 4°. GW 3166; ISTC ib00010000	5
Bagellardus, Paulus, <i>De infantium aegritudinibus et remediis</i> [Italian]. [Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, after 16 Mar. 1486]. 4°. GW 3168; ISTC ib00012000	5
Bagellardus, Paulus, <i>De infantium aegritudinibus et remediis</i> . [Padua]: Matthaeus Cerdonis, 10 Nov. 1487. 4°. GW 3167; ISTC ib00011000	5
Balbus, Johannes, <i>Catholicon</i> . Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 30 Apr. 1469. Folio. GW 3183; ISTC ib00021000	20
Balbus, Johannes, <i>Catholicon</i> . [Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), between 1475-77]. Folio. GW 3185; ISTC ib00023000	20

Balbus, Johannes, <i>Catholicon</i> . Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 24 Sept. 1483. Folio. GW 3188; ISTC ib00026000	20
Barbarus, Ermolaus, <i>Castigationes Plinianae et Pomponii Melae</i> . Cremona: Carolus de Darleriis, 3 Apr. 1495. Folio. GW 3342; ISTC ib00102000	23
Barberii, Philippus de, <i>Discordantiae sanctorum doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini; Sibyllarum et prophetarum de Christo vaticinia</i> . Add: Proba Falconia: <i>Cento vergilianus</i> ; Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas: <i>Praefatio super symbolum Athanasii; Explanatio super orationem dominicam; Explanatio super salutationem angelicam; Explanatio super Te Deum; Explanatio super Gloria in excelsis; Donatus theologus</i> . Rome: Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, [after] 1 Dec. 1481. 4°. GW 3386; ISTC ib00119000	10
Barlasina, Matthaeus, <i>Repertorium in Singularia iuris Ludovici Pontani et Matthaei Mattaselani</i> . [Milan: Johannes Antonius de Honate, not before 28 June 1477]. Folio. GW M34966, ISTC ib00128500	4
Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i> [French] <i>Le propriétaire des choses</i> etc. Ed. Pierre Farget. Lyon: [Claude Davost], for Jean Genin le Dyamantier, 17 Apr. 1500 [1501?]. Folio. GW 3422; ISTC ib00149000	26
Barthomomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i> [Spanish]. Tr: Vicente de Burgos. Toulouse: Henricus Mayer, 18 Sept. 1494. Folio. GW 3424; ISTC ib00150000	26
Bartolus de Saxoferrato. All editions	4
Benivieni, Girolamo, <i>Canzonie sonetti dell'amore e della bellezza divina, con commento</i> . Florence: Antonio Tubini, Laurentius (Francisci) de Alopa, Venetus and Andrea Ghirlandi, [7 or 8] Sept. 1500. Folio. GW 3850 (+ var, dated 8 Sept. 1500); ISTC ib00328000	10
Bernardus Claravallensis, <i>Epistolae</i> . [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472]. Royal folio. GW 3923; ISTC ib00383000	18
Beroaldus, Philippus, <i>De felicitate</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1 Apr. 1495. 4°. GW 4132; ISTC ib00482000	23
Beroaldus, Philippus, <i>Orationes et poemata</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1491. 4°. GW 4144; ISTC ib00491000	23
Beroaldus, Philippus, <i>Orationes et poemata</i> . Ed: Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 4 Sept. 1492. 4°. GW 4145; ISTC ib00492000	26
Bessarion, <i>Adversus calumniatorem Platonis</i> . Add: <i>Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete. De natura et arte</i> . Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [before 28 Aug. 1469]. Folio. GW 4183; ISTC ib00518000	29
<i>Biblia</i> [German]. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, before 27 June 1466]. Folio. GW 4295; ISTC ib00624000	20
<i>Biblia</i> [Italian]. Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 15 October 1490. Folio. GW 4317; ISTC ib00644000	28
<i>Biblia latina</i> . 42 lines. [Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg and Johann Fust), ca. 1455]. Folio. GW 4201; ISTC ib00526000	6
<i>Biblia latina</i> . 36 lines. [Bamberg: Printer of the 36-line Bible (Albrecht Pfister?), not after 1461]. Folio. GW 4202; ISTC ib00527000	6

<i>Biblia latina</i> . Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 Aug. 1462. Folio. GW 4204; ISTC ib00529000	6
<i>Biblia latina</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1475. Folio. GW 4223; ISTC ib00541000	22
<i>Biblia latina</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW 4222; ISTC ib00547000	28
<i>Biblia latina</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1479. Folio. GW 4238; ISTC ib00563000	11, 28
<i>Biblia latina</i> . Ulm: Johann Zainer, 29 Jan. 1480. Folio. GW 4242; ISTC ib00567000	6
<i>Biblia latina</i> . With additions by Menardus Monachus. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 14 Apr. 1480. Folio. GW 4243; ISTC ib00568000; MEI 02127329	14
<i>Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra</i> . Venice: [Johannes Herbort de Seligenstadt], for Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson, et socii, 31 July 1481. Folio. GW 4286; ISTC ib00611000	28
<i>Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, 1482-1483. Folio. GW 4287; ISTC ib00612000	28
<i>Biblia latina</i> etc. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485. Folio. GW 4288; ISTC ib00613000	26
<i>Biblia latina</i> etc. [Lyon]: Johannes Siber, [after 7 May 1485, about 1488]. Folio. GW 4290; ISTC ib00615000	26
<i>Biblia latina</i> . With table of Gabriel Brunus (revised). Basel: Johann Froben, 27 Oct. 1495. 8°. GW 4275; ISTC ib00598000; MEI 02019396	14
<i>Biblia latina cum glossa</i> . Basel: Johann Froben and Johann Petri, de Langendorff, 1 Dec 1498. Folio. GW 4284; ISTC ib00609000	25
<i>Biblia latina</i> (cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto-Caro). [Basel]: Johann Amerbach for Anton Koberger, [1498-1502]. Folio. GW 4285; ISTC ib00610000	26
Boccaccio, Giovanni, <i>Decamerone</i> . Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 20 June 1492. Folio. GW 4449; ISTC ib00728000	28
Boccaccio, Giovanni, <i>Genealogiae deorum</i> . Additions by Dominicus Silvester. Add: <i>De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus, de nominibus maris</i> . Reggio Emilia: Bartholomaeus and Laurentius de Bruschi, Bottonus, 6 Oct. 1481. Folio. GW 4476; ISTC ib00751000	11
Boethius, <i>De consolatione philosophiae</i> (with commentary ascribed in the text to Thomas Aquinas). Add: <i>Compendiosa consolationis resumptio</i> . Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 2 Sept. 1500. 4°. GW 4568; ISTC ib00807000; MEI 02020045	14
Bologninus, Ludovicus, <i>Interpretationes novae pars secunda</i> . Bologna: Hieronymus de Benedictis, [dopo il 20 Apr.] 1497. Folio. GW 4625; ISTC ib00839300	23
Bonaventura, S. [pseudo; Johannes de Caulibus], <i>Meditationes vitae Christi</i> [Italian]. Venice: Petrus Maufer de Maliferis and Nicolaus de Contugo, 10 Mar. 1483. 4°. GW 4789; ISTC ib00918000	20

Bonaventura, S. [pseudo; Johannes de Caulibus], <i>Meditationes vitae Christi</i> [Italian] <i>Le deuote meditatione sopra la passione del nostro signore</i> . Venice: Hieronymus de Sanctis and Cornelio, 1487. 4°. GW 4795; ISTC ib00922000	30
Bonaventura, S., <i>Opuscula</i> . Strasbourg: Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg), 31 Oct. 1489. Folio. GW 4647; ISTC ib00927000; MEI 02124278	14
Bonaventura, S., <i>Opuscula</i> . [Strasbourg: Printer of the Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1495. Folio. GW 4648; ISTC ib00928000	6
Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i> (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 17 Dec. 1465. Folio. GW 4848; ISTC ib00976000	4, 6
Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., <i>Liber sextus Decretalium</i> (with gloss of Johannes Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 17 Apr. 1470. Folio. GW 4850; ISTC ib00978000	4
Bonifacius VIII, Pont. Max., <i>Liber sextus decretalium</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW 4856; ISTC ib00984000	4, 28
Bossus, Matthaëus, <i>De instituendo sapientia animo</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, [6 Nov.] 1495. 4°. GW 4954; ISTC ib01043000	23
Bossus, Matthaëus, <i>Epistolae familiares et secundae</i> . Add: Jason Mayno and Balthasar Crassus. Mantua: Vincentius Bertochus, 9 Nov. 1498. Folio. GW 4956; ISTC ib01042000	24
Bossus, Matthaëus, <i>Recuperationes Faesulanae</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, [20 July] 1493. Folio. GW 4958; ISTC ib01045000	23
Brack, Wenceslaus, <i>Vocabularius rerum</i> . [Basel: Peter Kollicker], 27 Oct. 1483. Folio. GW 4984; ISTC ib01058000	25
Brant, Sebastian, <i>Das Narrenschiff</i> [Latin] <i>Stultifera navis</i> . Tr: Jacobus Locher Philomusus. Etc. Basel: Johann Bergmann, de Olpe, 1 Mar. 1497. 4°. GW 5054; ISTC ib01086000	14
<i>Breviarium Eystettense</i> (Diocese of Eichstätt). Basel: Michael Furter, 1497. 8°. GW 5341; ISTC ib01161400	6
<i>Breviarium Pataviense</i> . Passau: [Benedictus Mayr], 6 Aug. 1481. 8°. GW 5424; ISTC ib01174000	6
<i>Breviarium Romanum</i> (Franciscan usage). Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1477. 8°. GW 5146; ISTC ib01118000	22
Breydenbach, Bernhard von, <i>Peregrinatio in terram sanctam</i> . Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 11 Feb. 1486. Folio. GW 5075; ISTC ib01189000	29
Breydenbach, Bernhard von, <i>Peregrinatio in terram sanctam</i> . [Speyer]: Peter Drach, 29 July 1490. Folio. GW 5076; ISTC ib01190000	10
Breydenbach, Bernhard von, <i>Peregrinatio in terram sanctam</i> [Spanish] <i>Viaje dela tierra sancta</i> , Tr. with additions by Martin Martinez de Ampies, etc. Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, 16 Jan. 1498. Folio. GW 5082; ISTC ib01196000	26
Brunschwig, Hieronymus, <i>Chirurgia</i> [German] <i>Das ist das buch der Cirurgia</i> . Strasbourg: Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger, 4 July 1497. Folio. GW 5593; ISTC ib01225000	5

Brunschwig, Hieronymus, <i>Chirurgia</i> [German] Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, Dec. [14]97. Folio. GW 5594; ISTC ib01226000	5
Brunschwig, Hieronymus, <i>Kleines Destillierbuch</i> . Strasbourg: Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger, 8 May 1500. Folio. GW 5594; ISTC ib01227000	5
Brunus Aretinus, Leonardus, <i>Epistolarum familiarium libri VIII</i> . Ed: Antonius Moretus and Hieronymus Squarzaficus. [Venice: Printer of Brunus Aretinus (H 1565)], for Antonius Moretus, 1472. Folio. GW 5606; ISTC ib01242000	11, 19
Brunus Aretinus, Leonardus, <i>Epistolarum familiarium libri VIII</i> . Ed: Antonius Moretus and Hieronymus Squarzaficus. [Venice: Damianus de Mediolano, de Gorgonzola, in part by Petrus de Quarengiis, Bergomensis], 15 June 1495. Folio. GW 5607; ISTC ib01243000	10
Brutus, Jacobus, <i>Corona aurea</i> . Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, 15 Jan. 1496/97. 4°. GW 5657; ISTC ib01262000	10
Brutus, Petrus, <i>Victoria contra Iudaeos</i> . Vicenza: Simon Bevilaqua, 3 Oct. 1489. Folio. GW 5659; ISTC ib01264000	10
<i>Büchlein von der Speise des Menschen</i> . [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, about 1495]. 4°. GW 5693; ISTC ib01271500	5
Burchiello, Domenico di Giovanni, called il, <i>Sonetti</i> . Venice: Antonius de Strata, de Cremona, 8 Feb. 1483/84. 4°. GW 5743; ISTC ib01289000	20
Buridanus, Johannes, <i>Quaestiones et dubia in Aristotelis Politica</i> . Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Durand Gerlier, [about 1489]. Folio. GW 5753; ISTC ib01293000	25
Buridanus, Johannes, <i>Quaestiones in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea</i> . [Paris: Johannes Higman and] Wolfgang Hopyl, 14 July 1489. Folio. GW 5727; ISTC ib01294000	25
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de, <i>De ludo</i> . Add: Angelus and Baldus de Ubaldis, Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Martinus de Fano, Odofredus, Ludovicus Pontanus, and Dinus de Mugello: Tracts. Urbino: Henricus de Colonia, Aug. 1493. Folio. GW 5839; ISTC ic00004000	4
Caccialupis, Johannes Baptista de, <i>De modo studendi in utroque iure et vita doctorum</i> . Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: <i>Contrarietates</i> . Matthaeus Mattaselanus: <i>De electione opinionum</i> . Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3-4 July 1493. Folio. GW 5841; ISTC ic00006000	4
Caesar, Gaius Julius, <i>Commentarii de bello Gallico</i> . [Strasbourg: Printer of the 1472 Aquinas 'Summa'], 1473. Folio. GW 5874; ISTC ic00027000	3
Calderinus, Domitius, <i>Commentarii in Juvenalem</i> . Ed: Johannes Calphurnius. Corr: Antonius Moretus. Add: <i>Defensio adversus Brotheum</i> . [Venice: Printer of Domitius Calderinus, 1476-77]. Folio. GW 5886; ISTC ic00035000	19
Calixtus III, Pont. Max., <i>Bulla Turcorum</i> . [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, about 1456]. 4°. GW 0591610N; ISTC ic00060000	4
Calixtus III, Pont. Max., <i>Bulla Turcorum</i> [German] <i>Die Bulla widder die Turcken</i> . (Tr: Heinrich Kalteisen). [Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, after 29 June 1456]. 4°. GW 5916; ISTC ic00060100	4
Campanus, Johannes Antonius, <i>Opera</i> . Ed: Michael Fernus. Rome: Eucharius Silber, for Michael Fernus, 31 Oct. 1495. Folio. GW 5939; ISTC ic00073000	10

<i>Canon missae</i> . [Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, about 1458]. Folio. GW M23863; ISTC im00736000	6
Caracciolus, Robertus, <i>Sermones de adventu, Sermo de S. Joseph</i> , etc. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, about 1480]. Folio. GW 6049; ISTC ic00141000	26
Caracciolus, Robertus, <i>Sermones de timore divinatorum iudiciorum</i> etc. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1477]. Folio. GW 6114; ISTC ic00186500	26
Caracciolus, Robertus, <i>Sermones quadragesimales</i> [Italian collection] <i>Le Prediche di Frate Roberto</i> . [Venice: Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria], 30 Sept. 1476. Folio. GW 6088; ISTC ic00153000	22
Caracciolus, Robertus, <i>Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia</i> . [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1477]. Folio. GW 6077; ISTC ic00180500	26
Caracciolus, Robertus, <i>Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia</i> . Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 3 Feb. 1497. 4°. GW 6079; ISTC ic00182000; MEI 02123081	14
Carcano, Michael de, <i>Sermonarium de peccatis per adventum et per duas quadragesimas</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1476. Folio and 4°. GW 1476; ISTC ic00194000	22
Cassianus, Johannes, <i>De institutis coenobiorum</i> etc. Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1497. 4°. GW 6162; ISTC ic00235000	26
Cassianus, Johannes, <i>De institutis coenobiorum</i> . Add: <i>Collationes patrum XXIV</i> . Venice: [Dionysius Bertochus], 1491. Folio. GW 6161; ISTC ic00234000	10
Celsus, A. Cornelius, <i>De medicina</i> . All editions	5
Cepio, Coriolanus, <i>Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta</i> . Venice: Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, 1477. 4°. GW 6473; ISTC ic00378000	19
Cermisonus, Antonius, <i>Consiglio per preservar della peste / Ricette contro la pestilenza</i> . All editions	5
Chalcondylas, Demetrius, <i>Erotemata</i> [Greek]. Add: Manuel Moschopulus, <i>Erotemata</i> [Greek]. Gregorius Corinthius, <i>De dialectis</i> [Greek]. [Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, about 1493]. Folio & 4°. GW 8250; ISTC ic00419860	11
Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, <i>Indulgentia, 1454</i> . [Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible (Johann Gutenberg), 1454-55]. Broadside. GW 6555; ISTC ic00422400	4
Chappe, Paulinus, commissary, <i>Indulgentia, 1454-1455</i> . [Mainz: Printer of the 31-line indulgence and of the 36-line Bible, 1454-55]. Broadside folio. GW 6556; ISTC ic00422600	4
<i>Chirromantia</i> [Italian]. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, [about 1480], 4°. GW 6643; ISTC ic00467600	20
Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i> . [Venice: Adam de Ambergau, c. 1471]. 4°. GW 6701; ISTC ic00492000	7
Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i> . [Vicenza: Johannes de Reno, 1476]. 4°. GW 6696; ISTC ic00493000	7
Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i> . [Parma: Printer of Hieronymus, 'Epistolae', c. 1481]. 4°. GW 6697; ISTC ic00493500; MEI 02121018	7

Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i> . Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus [and Dionysius Bertochus], 5 Feb. 1484. 4°. GW 6698; ISTC ic00494000	7, 13, 20
Chrysoloras, Emanuel, <i>Erotemata</i> . [Florence: n.pr., about 1488-94]. 8°. GW 669310N; ISTC ic00489500; MEI 02127812, 02126544	7
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De finibus bonorum et malorum</i> . [Cologne: Ulrich Zel, about. 1471]. 4°. GW 6884; ISTC ic00564000	25
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De officiis</i> . Venice: Vindelinius de Spira, 13 Aug. 1470. 4°. GW 6926; ISTC ic00577000	28
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De officiis</i> (Comm: Petrus Marsus) etc. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 27 May 1494. Folio. GW 6965; ISTC ic00609000	26
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De oratore</i> . [Subiaco: Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, before 30 Sept. 1465]. 4°. GW 6742; ISTC ic00654000	13
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De oratore</i> . [Venice]: Cristophorus Valdarfer, 1470. Folio. GW 6746; ISTC ic00658000	28
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Epistolae ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, ad Atticum</i> . Add: Francesco Petrarca: <i>Epistola ad Ciceronem</i> ; Cornelius Nepos: <i>Vita Attici</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470. Folio. GW 6859; ISTC ic00500000	3, 28
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1467. 4°. GW 6799; ISTC ic00503500	11, 20
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> . Add: <i>Epistola suppositicia consulum Romanorum ad Pyrrhum regem data</i> . [Venice: Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria], 1476. Folio. GW 6819; ISTC ic00516000	22
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i> (Comm: Hubertinus clericus). Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula and Bartholomaeus de Blavis, de Alexandria, 31 Jan. 1483/84. Folio. GW 6838; ISTC ic00524000	20
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>In Catilinam oratio I</i> . Ed: Paulus Niavis. [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, about 1495]. 4°. GW 6782; ISTC ic00552250; MEI 02017143	14
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Orationes</i> . Ed: Ludovicus Carbo. Venice: Christophorus Valdarfer, [not after 9 Nov.] 1471. Folio. GW 6765; ISTC ic00542000; MEI 00203715	3, 28
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>Partitiones oratoriae</i> . Ed: Gabriel Fontana. [Milan: Antonius Zarotus, after 14 July] 1472. 4°. GW 6757; ISTC ic00666000	11
Cirvelus, Petrus Sanchez, <i>Algorismus</i> . Paris: Guy Marchant, '22 Feb. 1495' [about 1499]. 4°. GW 7053; ISTC ic00699600	10
Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 25 June 1460. Folio. GW 7077; ISTC ic00710000	4, 6
Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 8 Oct. 1467. Folio. GW 7078; ISTC ic00711000	4
Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus, [12 Apr.] 1473. Folio. GW 7084; ISTC ic00715500	4

Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW 7098; ISTC ic00728000	4, 28
Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Ferrara: Augustinus Carnerius, 1479. Folio. GW 7099; ISTC ic00729000	4
Clemens V, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones</i> (cum apparatu Joannis Andreae). Pavia: Gasparinus de Fianbertis, 31 May 1482. Folio. GW 0709510N; ISTC ic00725400	4
Colatius, Matthaëus, <i>Opuscula</i> . Venice: Bernardinus Rizus, Novariensis, 1486?. 4°. GW 7156; ISTC ic00750000	10
Columbus, Christophorus, <i>Epistola de insulis nuper inventis</i> . [Rome: Stephan Planck, after 29 Apr. 1493]. 8°. GW M07173; ISTC ic00756500	27
Columna, Franciscus, <i>Hyperotomachia Poliphili</i> . Add: Leonardus Crassus, Johannes Baptista Scytha and Andreas Maro. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, for Leonardus Crassus, Dec. 1499. Folio. GW 7223 (+ Accurti(1936) p.117); ISTC ic00767000	10
<i>Compendium Margarita legum appellatum</i> . Add: Amanellus de Claris Aquis: <i>Casus speciales</i> ; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis, Angelus de Ubaldis, Antonius de Butrio, Angelus de Gambilionibus, Guillelmus Salicetus, Guillelmus de Ludo: <i>Textus et glosae singulares et speciales</i> ; Bartolus de Saxoferrato: <i>De testibus et de eorum reprobationibus</i> . [Vienne: Eberhard Frommolt, about 1481]. 4°. GW M20994; ISTC im00264700	4
<i>Coniugationes verborum graecorum barytonorum</i> . Deventer: [Richardus Pafraet, before 12 Dec. 1488]. 4°. GW 11016; ISTC ic00826850	7
Conrad von Megenberg, <i>Buch der Natur</i> . All editions	5
Conradus de Alemania, <i>Concordantiae bibliorum</i> . Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 27 June 1485. Folio. GW 7420; ISTC ic00851000; MEI 02006694	3
Corna, Francesco, <i>Istoria della Regina Oliva</i> . Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, [about 1500]. 4°. GW 7544; ISTC ic00909825	30
Cosmico, Niccolò Lelio, <i>Canzoni</i> . Venice: Bernardinus Celerius, 10 Apr. 1478. 4°. GW 7803; ISTC ic00943000	11
Crastonus, Johannes, <i>Lexicon Graeco-Latinum</i> . [Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [not after 28 Mar. 1478]. Folio. GW 7812; ISTC ic00958000	7, 11
Crastonus, Johannes, <i>Lexicon Graeco-Latinum</i> . Vicenza: Dionysius Bertochus, 10 Nov. 1483. 8°. GW 7816; ISTC ic00962000	7
Crastonus, Johannes, <i>Lexicon Latino-Graecum (Vocabulista)</i> . [Milan]: Bonus Accursius, [about 1480]. Folio. GW 7813; ISTC ic00959000	7
Crastonus, Johannes, <i>Lexicon Latino-Graecum (Vocabulista)</i> . [Vicenza: Dionysius Bertochus, about 1483]. 4°. GW 7817; ISTC ic00963000	7
Cyprianus, <i>Opera</i> . Venice: Lucas Dominici F., Venetus, 4 Dec. 1483. Folio. GW 7885; ISTC ic01013000	23
Dante Aligheri, <i>La Commedia</i> . Milan: Ludovicus and Albertus Pedemontani, 27 Sept. 1477; 22 Nov. 1477; 9 Feb. 1478. Folio. GW 7965; ISTC id00028000	28

Dante Alighieri, <i>La Commedia</i> (Comm: Christophorus Landinus). Add: Marsilius Ficinus, <i>Ad Dantem gratulatio</i> [Latin & Italian]. Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, Alamanus, 30 Aug. 1481. Folio. GW 7966; ISTC id00029000	11
Dante Alighieri, <i>La Commedia</i> . Venice: Petrus de Plasiis, Cremonensis, 18 November 1491. Folio. GW 7970; ISTC id00033000	28
Dares Phrygius, <i>De excidio Troiae historia</i> . Prelim: Cornelius Nepos, Pseudo-, <i>Epistola ad Sallustium Crispum</i> . [Venice: Florentius de Argentina, about 1472]. 4°. GW 7987; ISTC id00041000	11
Datus, Augustinus, <i>Elegantiolae</i> . [Venice]: Adam de Ambergau, [about 1472]. 4°. GW 8037; ISTC id00055500	13
Datus, Augustinus, <i>Elegantiolae</i> . Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, Gallus], 20 Sept. 1475. 4°. GW 8048; ISTC id00061000	11
Datus, Augustinus, <i>Elegantiolae</i> . [Venice: Antonius de Strata, de Cremona, 1480-83]. 4°. GW 8066; ISTC id00069600	20
David Kimhi, <i>Perush al Neviim Aharonim</i> . Guadalajara: Solomon Alkabiz, between 25 Aug. 1481 and 4 Jan. 1482. Folio. GW 8170; ISTC id00102710	8
Derrames, Johannes, <i>Carmina de conditionibus medicinarum solutarum</i> . [Padua: Matthaeus Cerdonis, after 4 July 1487]. 4°. GW 8252; ISTC id00141000	5
Dio Chrysostomus, <i>De regno</i> . Tr: Publius Gregorius Tiphernas. Ed: Pius III (Franciscus de Piccolomineis). [Venice: Christophorus Valdarfer, not after 9 Nov. 1471]. 8°. GW 8368; ISTC id00204000	11
Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliothecae historicae libri VI</i> . Tr: Poggius Florentinus. Add: Tacitus: <i>Germania</i> . Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 31 Jan. 1476/77. Folio. GW 8375; ISTC id00211000	11
Dionysius Periegetes, <i>De situ orbis</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, 1478. 4°. GW 8427; ISTC id00254000	20
Dioscorides, <i>De materia medica</i> [Latin]. Ed: Petrus de Abano. Comm: Petrus de Albano. Colle Val d'Elsa: Johannes de Medemblick, July 1478. Folio. GW 8436; ISTC id00261000	5
Dioscorides, <i>De materia medica</i> [Greek]. Add: Pseudo- Dioscorides: <i>De venenis</i> , <i>De venenatis animalibus</i> [Greek]; Nicander: <i>Theriaca</i> ; <i>Alexipharmaca</i> ; <i>Scholia</i> [Greek]. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, after 8 July 1499. Folio. GW 8435; ISTC id00260000	5
<i>Diurnale</i> . [Lübeck: Johann Snel, about 1480-82]. 8°. GW 8565; ISTC id00287850	15
Donatus, Aelius. <i>Ars minor</i> (26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, and 35 lines). [Mainz]. All editions	6
Donatus, Aelius, <i>Ars minor</i> . [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, about 1478]. 4°. GW 8991; ISTC id00341930	20
Donatus, Aelius, <i>Commentarius in Terentii Comoedias</i> . [Strasbourg: The R-printer(Adolf Rusch?), not after 1473]. Folio. GW 9037; ISTC id00354000	25
Donatus, Aelius. <i>Rudimenta grammatices</i> . Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 30 May 1492. 4°. GW 9025; ISTC id00350200	6

Duns Scotus, Johannes, <i>Quaestiones in primum librum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> [i.e. Reportata Parisiensia]. Ed: Bartholomaeus Bellatus. [Bologna]: Johannes Schriber, de Annunciata, 6 Apr. 1478. Folio. GW 9086; ISTC id00398000	24
Duranti, Guillelmus, <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i> . [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 6 Oct. 1459. Folio. GW 9101; ISTC id00403000	6, 11, 20
Duranti, Guillelmus, <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i> . Ed: Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus. Venice: Georgius Walch, 18 May 1482. Folio. GW 9124; ISTC id00426000	20
Eberhardus de Amorsfordia and Johannes de Nuringen, <i>Commentaria in libros Aristotelis De coelo et mundo cum textu</i> . Add: Rudolfus Langius; Johannes de Nuringen: <i>Commentaria in libros de coelo et mundo Aristotelis</i> . Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 14 Aug. 1499. Folio. GW 9184; ISTC ie00002800	5
Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>De evangelica praeparatione</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470. Folio. GW 9440; ISTC ie00118000	28
Ellenbog, Ulrich von, <i>Instruction wider die Pestilenz</i> . Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1494. 4°. GW 9287; ISTC ie00038000	25
Ellenbog, Ulrich von, <i>Ordnung wider die Pestilenz</i> . Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, [about 1494-95]. 4°. GW 9288; ISTC ie00038100	25
<i>Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum</i> [Greek]. Ed: Marcus Musurus. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1499. 4°. GW 9367; ISTC ie00064000	10
<i>Etymologicum Magnum Graecum</i> [Greek] (Ed: Marcus Musurus). Add: Johannes Gregoropulus. Venice: Zacharias Callierges for Nicolaus Blastus and Anna Notaras, 8 July 1499. Folio. GW 9426; ISTC ie00112000	11
Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>Chronicon</i> (Tr: Hieronymus). With the continuations of Prosper Aquitanus and Matthaues Palmerius Florentinus. Prelim: Boninus Mombritius, <i>Epigrammata tria ad lectorem</i> . [Milan]: Philippus de Lavagnia, [about 1474-75]. 4°. GW 9432; ISTC ie00116000	11
Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> . Tr: Rufinus Aquileiensis. Add: Beda: <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> . Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 14 Mar. 1500. Folio. GW 9439; ISTC ie00129000; MEI 02124910	14
Faber Runcinus, Johannes, <i>Breviarium super Codicem</i> . Prelim: Johannes Oliverus, <i>Carmen</i> ; Ludovicus Honnomus, <i>Epistola</i> . Add: <i>Repetitio super materia quaestionum sive torturarum</i> ; Bartolus de Saxoferrato, <i>De insigniis et armis</i> . Ed: Matthaues Quadrigerius. Paris: André Bocard, for Jean Petit and Jean Alexandre at Angers, 15 Dec. 1499. Folio. GW 9632; ISTC if00009900	4
Ferrerius, Vincentius, S., <i>De fine mundi</i> . [Treviso: Hermannus Liechtenstein], 12 May 1477. 4°. GW 9849; ISTC if00121000	10
Ferrerius, Vincentius, S., <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i> . Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell], 1485. Folio. GW 9835; ISTC if00129000; MEI 02124279	14

Ferreries, Vincentius, S., <i>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</i> . Add: Franciscus Castellioneus, <i>Vita S. Vincentii Ferrerii</i> ; Petrus Ransanus, <i>Carmen in laudem S. Vincentii Ferrerii</i> . Venice: Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, 1496. 4°. GW 9843; ISTD if00137000	10
Ficinus, Marsilius, <i>De Christiana religione</i> [Italian]. Pisa: Lorenzo and Angelo di Firenze, 2 June 1484. Folio. GW 9879; ISTD if00151000; MEI 02126538	14
Ficinus, Marsilius, <i>Epistolae</i> . Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Hieronymus Blondus, 11 Mar. 1495. Folio. GW 9873; ISTD if00154000	26
Fiera, Baptista, <i>Coena, sive De cibariorum virtutibus</i> . [Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1489-98]. 4°. GW 9891; ISTD if00167000	5
<i>Fiore di virtù</i> . Venice: Andreas de Bonetis, 6 May 1484. 4°. GW 9942; ISTD if00178800	20
<i>Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia</i> . Venice: Petrus de Plasiis, 25 Dec. 1484. 4°. GW 9908; ISTD if00171950	20
Firmicus Maternus, Julius, <i>Mathesis (De nativitatibus libri VIII)</i> . Ed: Franciscus Niger. Add: Marcus Manilius, <i>Astronomicorum libri V</i> . Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> [Latin and Greek]. Tr & adapt: Germanicus Caesar, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Rufius Festus Avienus. Theon, <i>Commentaria in Aratum</i> [Greek]. Pseudo- Proclus Diadochus [i.e. Geminus], <i>Sphaera</i> [Greek and Latin]. Tr: Thomas Linacrus. Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, June and [17] Oct. 1499. Folio. GW 9981; ISTD if00191000	11
Fliscus, Stephanus, <i>Sententiarum variationes, seu Synonyma</i> [Latin and German]. [Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, about 1479]. 4°. GW 10002; ISTD if00201700; MEI 02017244	14
<i>Flores legum secundum ordinem alphabeti</i> . All editions	4
<i>Formularium diversorum contractuum</i> . Florence: Francesco di Dino, [about 1487]. Folio. GW 10190; ISTD if00249000	4
Gaietanus de Thienis, <i>Expositio in libros Aristotelis De caelo et mundo</i> . Ed: Joannes Antonius Sicanus. Venice: Otinus de Luna, Papiensis, for Benedictus Fontana, 3 Oct. 1498. Folio. GW M45977; ISTD ig00029000	10
Galenus, Claudius, <i>Opera</i> . Ed: Diomedes Bonardus. Venice: Philippus Pincius, 27 Aug. 1490. Folio. GW 10481; ISTD ig00037000	5
Galenus, Claudius, <i>Therapeutica</i> [Greek]. Venice: [Zacharias Callierges, for] Nicolaus Blastus, 5 Oct. 1500. Folio. GW 10482; ISTD ig00038000	5
Gambilionibus, Angelus de, <i>Tractatus de maleficiis, cum additionibus Hieronymi de Castellanis</i> . Add: Bartolus de Saxoferrato: <i>Ordo iudicii</i> . Pavia: Antonius de Carcano, for Jacobus de Sancto Petro, 25 Apr. 1477. Folio. GW 10523; ISTD ig00060000	4
Garlandia, Johannes de. <i>Composita verborum</i> . Strasbourg: [Johann Prüss], 1490. 4°. GW M13723; ISTD ig00078000	6
<i>Gart der Gesundheit</i> . Ed: Johann von Cube. All editions	5, 10
Gellius, Aulus, <i>Noctes Atticae</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: In domo Petri de Maximis [Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz], 11 Apr. 1469. Folio. GW 10593; ISTD ig00118000	11, 29
Gellius, Aulus, <i>Noctes Atticae</i> . Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 1477. Folio. GW10596; ISTD ig00121000	19

Georgius Trapezuntius, <i>Commentarii in Philippicas Ciceronis</i> . Venice: [Filippo di Pietro, about 1475]. 4°. GW 10657; ISTC ig00155000	11
Georgius Trapezuntius, <i>Rhetorica</i> . Venice: Vindelinius de Spira, [not before 1472]. Folio. GW 10664; ISTC ig00157000	11
Gerson, Johannes [pseudo-; Thomas a Kempis], <i>Imitatio Christi</i> . Venice: Peter Loeslein, 1483. 4°. GW M46816; ISTC ii00005000	3, 20
Gerson, Johannes, <i>Collectorium super Magnificat</i> . [Strasbourg: Printer of the 1472 Aquinas 'Summa'], 1473. Folio. GW 10765; ISTC ig00199000; MEI 02124292	14
Gerticz, Petrus, <i>Parvulus logicae</i> . [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, about 1492-95]. 4°. GW M29527; ISTC ig00277350; MEI 02018182	14
<i>Graduale romanum</i> . Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, for LucAntonio Giunta, 28 Sept. 1499; 14 Jan. 1499/1500; 1 Mar. 1500. Folio. GW 10982; ISTC ig00332000	28
Gratianus, <i>Decretum</i> (cum apparatu Bartholomaei Brixiensis). <i>Various editions</i>	4, 14, 25, 28
Gratianus, <i>Digestum</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1477. Folio. GW 11357; ISTC ig00366000	28
Gregorius I, Pont. Max., <i>Moralia sive Expositio in Job</i> . Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1496. Folio. GW 11434; ISTC ig00432000	25
Gregorius IX, Pont. Max., <i>Decretales, cum glossa</i> . <i>Various editions</i>	4, 25
Guarinus Veronensis, <i>Regulae grammaticales</i> . Venice: [Henricus de Harlem?], 10 Apr. 1484. 4°. GW 11653; ISTC ig00536500	20
Guillemus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis. <i>De fide et legibus</i> . [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, not after 1476]. Folio. GW 11863; ISTC ig00711000	6
Guillemus, <i>Postilla super epistolas et evangelia</i> . [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, about 1495]. 4°. GW 11967; ISTC ig00663000; MEI 02122974	14
Guillemus, <i>Postilla super epistolas</i> . [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1472]. Folio. GW 11930; ISTC ig00642000	25
Heinrich von Laufenberg, <i>Contra pestem Regiment</i> [German]. Strasbourg: Bartholomaeus Kistler, 1500. 4°. GW M17214; ISTC ih00012000	5
Heinrich von Laufenberg, <i>Versehung des Leibes</i> [German]. Augsburg: [Erhard Ratdolt, 14]91. 4°. GW M17217; ISTC ih00013000	5
Hentisberus, Gulielmus, <i>De sensu composito et diviso. Regulae solvendi sophismata</i> . Add: Radulphus Strodus: <i>Consequentiae</i> . Hentisberus: <i>Sophismata</i> . Strodus: <i>Obligationes</i> . Ed: Ludovicus de Carera and Pasius de Bisiolis. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 15 Mar. 1491. Folio. GW 11901; ISTC ih00056000	10
<i>Herbarium Apulei</i> . All editions	5
<i>Herbarius latinus</i> . All editions	5, 14
Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> . Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, [bef. Dec.] 1474. Folio. GW 12321; ISTC ih00088000	28
Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> . Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 8 Mar. [after 30 Mar.] 1494. Folio. GW 12323; ISTC ih00090000	28
Herolt, Johannes. <i>Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis</i> . Strasbourg: [Martin Flach], 1488. Folio. GW 12364; ISTC ih00114000	6

Herolt, Johannes. <i>Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis</i> . Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1487. Folio. GW 12362; ISTC ih00113900	6
Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 Dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000	11, 29
Hieronymus, <i>Commentarium in Bibliam</i> . Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1497-1498. Folio. GW 12419; ISTC ih00160000	28
Hieronymus, <i>Epistolae</i> . Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 Dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000	25
Hieronymus, <i>Vita et transitus</i> . Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis and Dominicus Bertochus, 20 Dec. 1485. 4°. GW 9451; ISTC ih00243000	20
Hieronymus, <i>Vitae sanctorum patrum</i> [Italian]. Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 25 June 1491. Folio. GW M50957; ISTC ih00232000	28
Hippocrates, <i>De esse aegrorum, seu de Medicorum astrologia</i> . Ed: Alexander de Appellatis. Padua: [Matthaeus Cerdonis], 1483. 4°. GW 12483; ISTC ih00275000	5
Hippocrates, <i>De insomniis</i> . Ed: Andreas Brentius. [Rome: Oliverius Servius, about 1481]. 4°. GW 12479; ISTC ih00277000	5
Hippocrates, <i>De natura hominis</i> . Add: <i>De victu; De tuenda valetudine;</i> <i>Medicinae lex; lusiurandum; Demonstratio quod artes sunt; Invectiva</i> <i>in obtrectatores medicinae</i> . Tr: Andreas Brentius. [Rome: Eucharius Silber, about 1483-86]. 4°. GW 12481; ISTC ih00278000	5
Hippocrates, <i>De natura hominis</i> . Add: <i>De victu; De tuenda valetudine;</i> <i>Medicinae lex; lusiurandum; Demonstratio quod artes sunt; Invectiva</i> <i>in obtrectatores medicinae</i> . Tr: Andreas Brentius. [Rome: Stephan Planck, 1492-93]; [Eucharius Silber, undated]. 4°. GW 12482; ISTC ih00279050	5
Homerus, <i>Batrachomyomachia</i> [Italian]. Tr: Giorgio Sommariva. [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson?, about 1475]. 4°. GW 12902; ISTC ih00304400	11
Homerus, <i>Opera</i> [Greek]. Ed: Demetrius Chalcondylas. Florence: [Printer of Vergilius (C 6061)], for Bernardus and Nerius Nerlius and Demetrius Damilas, [not before 13 Jan. 1488/89]. Folio. GW 12895; ISTC ih00300000	11
<i>Horae ad usum Romanum</i> . [Venice, Andreas Torresanus, de Asula], for Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson and partners, 22 Dec. 1481, 32°. GW 13362; ISTC ih00357700	20
<i>Horae ad usum Romanum</i> . Verona, Boninus de Boninis de Ragusia, 24 Oct. 1481, 16°. GW 13389; ISTC ih00357600	20
Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, <i>Opera</i> . Ed. and comm: Christophorus Landinus. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 1486. Folio. GW 13462; ISTC ih00450000	10
Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, <i>Opera</i> , with commentary by Cristoforo Landino. Venice: Johannes de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, et Socii, 17 May 1483. Folio. GW 13459; ISTC ih00448000	6

<i>Horologium</i> [Church Slavonic] <i>Chasoslovets</i> . Cracow: Swietopolk Fiol, 1491. 4°. GW 13447; ISTC ih00484300; MEI 02126520	14
<i>Hortus sanitatis</i> . All editions	5
Hyginus, Gaius Julius, <i>Poetica astronomica</i> . [Ferrara]: Augustinus Carnerius, 1475. 4°. GW 13677; ISTC ih00559000	11
Hyginus, Gaius Julius, <i>Poetica astronomica</i> . Ed: Jacobus Sentinus and Johannes Lucilius Santritter. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 14 Oct. 1482. 4°. GW 13678; ISTC ih00560000	10
Gerson, Johannes [pseudo-; Thomas a Kempis], <i>Imitatio Christi</i> . Add: Johannes Gerson: <i>De meditatione cordis</i> . [Venice]: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis and Dionysius Bertochus, 1485. 4°. GW M46818; ISTC ii00008000; MEI 02121973	14
Innocentius III, Pont. Max., <i>Compendium breve quinque libros continens</i> . Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer, 17 Sept. 1473. 4°. GW M12106; ISTC ii00081800	4
Innocentius III, Pont. Max., <i>Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis</i> . [Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggstein, about 1473]. 4°. GW M12152; ISTC ii00082000	4
Innocentius III, Pont. Max., <i>Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis. Etc.</i> [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, about 1484/85-87]. 4°. GW M12132; ISTC ii00087000	4
Innocentius IV, Pont. Max., <i>Apparatus super libros Decretalium</i> . Ed: Franciscus Moneliensis. Venice: Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino, 25 Aug. 1495. Folio. GW M12166; ISTC ii00098000	26
Innocentius VIII, Pont. Max., <i>Indulgentia 1491. In favour of Christians captured by the Turks</i> . [Lyon: Janon Carcain? 1491]. Broadside. GW M1232510; ISTC ii00134040	26
Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, <i>Malleus maleficarum</i> . [Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1495]. 4°. GW M12480; ISTC ii00167300; MEI 02125007	14
Institoris, Henricus and Jacobus Sprenger, <i>Malleus maleficarum</i> . Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 17 Jan. 1496. 4°. GW M12473; ISTC ii00168000	10, 14
Jacobi, Johannes, <i>Regime de l'epidemie</i> [French verse]. [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, about 1476]. 4°. GW M10492; ISTC ij00013900	5
Jacobus de Amorsfordia, <i>Commentaria in libros de generatione et corruptione Aristotelis</i> . [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1497]. Folio. GW M10513; ISTC ij00016000	5
Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> . [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1474]. Folio. GW M11185; ISTC ij00082000	25
Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> . Reutlingen: [Johann Otmar, before 24 Aug. 1485]. Folio. GW M11267; ISTC ij00113000	25
Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> . Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 25 June 1486. Folio. GW M11175; ISTC ij00114000; MEI 02126637	14

Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> . Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 16 Aug. 1490. Folio. GW M11281; ISTC ij00124000; MEI 02018060	14
Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> . Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 9 Aug. 1492. Folio. GW M11283; ISTC ij00129000; MEI 02126633	14
Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia</i> [Italian]. Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 10 Dec. 1492. Folio. GW M11481; ISTC ij00179000	28
Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo, <i>Supplementum Chronicarum</i> . Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 15 Dec. 1486. Folio. GW M10971; ISTC ij00210000	30
Johannes Carthusiensis, <i>Nosce te</i> . Add: <i>Corona senum. De immensa caritate Dei. De humilitate interiori et patientia vera. Flos vitae</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1480. 4°. GW M13476; ISTC ij00274000	11
Johannes de Hildesheim, <i>Liber de gestis et translatione trium regum</i> . Modena: Dominicus Rocociolus, 17 Aug. 1490. 4°. GW M14017; ISTC ij00340000	10
Johannes de Sacro Bosco, <i>Sphaera mundi</i> . Gloss: Georgius de Monteferrato. Venice: [Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco] for Georgius de Monteferrato, 28 Jan. 1500/01. 4°. GW M14661; ISTC ij00421000	10
Johannes Ferrariensis, <i>De coelesti vita</i> (Ed: Antonius de Canchorio). [Venice]: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Hieronymus Blondus, 19 Dec. 1494. Folio. GW M13549; ISTC ij00313000	10
Johannes, Monachus Cisterciensis, <i>Defensorium iuris</i> . Add: Dinus de Mugello: <i>De praescriptionibus</i> . Jacobus de Montepessulano: <i>De arbitriis et arbitratoribus</i> . Galvanus Salvianus de Bononia: <i>Differentiae legum et canonum</i> . Bartolus de Saxoferrato: <i>De tabellionibus</i> . Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 18 Mar. 1499. Folio. GW M13387; ISTC ij00378200	4
Johannes Presbyter, <i>De ritu et moribus Indorum</i> [French] <i>Prestre Jean</i> . [Lyon: Jean de La Fontaine, about 1488-90]. 4°. GW M14519; ISTC ij00398700	26
Johannes XXI, Pont. Max., <i>Copulata tractatum Petri Hispani et parvorum logicalium etiam Syncategorematum, cum textu, secundum doctrinam Thomae Aquinatis</i> . [Nuremberg: Anton Koberger], 15 June 1494. 4°. GW M32376; ISTC ij00239000	14
Johannes XXI, Pont. Max., <i>Thesaurus pauperum</i> [Italian] <i>Tesoro de poveri</i> . All editions	5, 10
Johannes XXI, Pont. Max., <i>Thesaurus pauperum</i> . Antwerp: Thierry Martens, 22 May 1497. Folio. GW M32419; ISTC ij00241000	5
Johannes XXII, Pont. Max., <i>Constitutiones Johannis Papae XXII cum apparatu Jesselini de Cassanis necnon cum additionibus Johannis Francisci de Pavinis. Decretales extravagantes communes selectae Johannis XXII, Benedicti XI et Clementis V</i> . Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 4 Sept. 1497. Folio. GW M1275210; ISTC ij00247100	4

Johannes XXII, Pont. Max., <i>Decretales extravagantes</i> . Comm: Jesselinus de Cassanis. Add: Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis: <i>Preludium ad extravagantes</i> . [Lyon: Johannes Siber, about 1488]. Folio. GW M12748; ISTC ij00247300	4
Jordanus Nemorarius, <i>Arithmetica</i> . Ed & Comm: Jacobus Faber. Add: Jacobus Faber Stapulensis: <i>Elementa musicalia; Epitome in duos libros arithmeticos Boethii</i> . [Faber; or John Sherwood:] <i>De ludo arithmomachiae, sive Rithmimachiae ludus</i> . Paris: Johannes Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl, 22 July 1496. Folio. GW M15065; ISTC ij00472000	10
Joseph Albo, <i>Ikkarim</i> . Soncino: [Joshua Solomon Soncino], between 31 Oct. and 29 Dec. 1485. Folio. GW M15130; ISTC ij00479800; MEI 02123420	9
Josephus, Flavius, <i>De antiquitate judaica</i> [Catalan] <i>Lo libre de les antiquitats iudaycas</i> . [Barcelona: Nicolaus Spindeler, 1 Apr. 1482]. Folio. GW M15178; ISTC ij00487600	27
Justiniano, Leonardo, <i>Canzonette</i> . Venice: Antonius de Strata, de Cremona, 9 Mar. 1482. 4°. GW M15586; ISTC ij00501000	20, 28
Justinianus, Bernardus, <i>De vita beati Laurentii Justiniani Patriarchae Venetiarum, ad Monachos Carthusienses</i> . Venice: Jacobus Rubeus, 10 May 1475. 4°. GW M15546; ISTC ij00611500	10
Justinianus [i.e. <i>Corpus iuris civilis: Institutiones; Digestum Vetus; Digestum Infortiatum; Digestum Novum; Codex Justinianus; Novellae Constitutiones; Liber feudorum</i>]. All editions	4, 20, 26
Justinus, Marcus Junianus, <i>Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias</i> . [Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis and Albertinus Vercellensis] for Bernardinus Rasinius Novocomensis, [before 4 Apr. 1494]. Folio. GW M15642; ISTC ij00620000	25
Juvenalis, Decimus Junius, <i>Satyrae</i> . Comm: Domitius Calderinus and Georgius Valla. Add: Domitius Calderinus: <i>Defensio adversus Brotheum</i> . [Venice]: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 8 Mar. 1492. Folio. GW M15775; ISTC ij00658000	10
Juvenalis, Decimus Junius, <i>Satyrae</i> . Comm: Domitius Calderinus, Georgius Merula and Georgius Valla. Add: Domitius Calderinus: <i>Defensio adversus Brotheum</i> . Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, [about 1496-97]. Folio. GW M15767; ISTC ij00665000	10
Juvenus Presbyter, <i>Historia evangelica heroicis versibus conscripta</i> . [Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, between 23 June 1491 and 25 Jan. 1492]. 4°. GW M15923; ISTC ij00672000	3
Ketham, Johannes de, <i>Fasciculus medicinae</i> . Add: Petrus de Tussignano: <i>Consilium pro peste evitanda</i> . All editions	5
Lactantius, Lucius Coelius Firmianus, <i>Opera</i> . Subiaco: [Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz], 29 Oct. 1465. Folio. GW M16541; ISTC il00001000	13
Lactantius, Lucius Coelius Firmianus, <i>Opera</i> . Add: S. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus: <i>De Resurrectione Christi carmen</i> . [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. Folio. GW M16566; ISTC il00005000	11

Lancelot du Lac, <i>La première partie de Lancelot; La seconde partie de Lancelot</i> . Rouen: Jean Le Bourgeois, 24 Nov. 1488. Folio. GW 12621 (I); ISTC il00033500	26
Lancelot du Lac, <i>La tierce partie de Lancelot</i> . Paris: Jean Du Pré (printer of Paris), 16 Sept. 1488. Folio. GW 12621 (II); ISTC il00033000	26
Landinus, Christophorus, <i>Formulario di lettere e di orazioni in volgare</i> . Bologna: Ugo Rugerius, 23 June 1485. 4°. GW M16849; ISTC il00037500	20
Lascaris, Constantinus, <i>Erotemata</i> . Milan: Dionysius Paravisinus, 30 Jan. 1476. 4°. GW M17102; ISTC il00065000	7
Lascaris, Constantinus, <i>Erotemata</i> . Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 29 Sept. 1480. 4°. GW M17096; ISTC il00066000	7
Lauretus, Bernardus, <i>Casus in quibus iudex saecularis potest manus in personas clericorum sine metu excommunicationis imponere</i> . Add: Boninconcus Andreae: <i>De privilegiis clericorum. De exemptionibus</i> . Baldus de Ubaldis: <i>De carceribus</i> . Bartolus de Saxoferrato: <i>De alimentis</i> . All editions	4
Leonardus de Utino, <i>Sermones de sanctis</i> . Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475. 4°. GW M17905; ISTC il00157000	19
Leonardus de Utino, <i>Sermones de sanctis</i> . Vicenza: Stephan Koblinger, 1480. 4°. GW M17910; ISTC il00162000	19
Leonicens, Nicolaus, <i>De morbo gallico</i> . Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, June 1497. 4°. GW M17947; ISTC il00165000	10
Levi ben Gershom, <i>Perush ha-Torah</i> . [Mantua]: Abraham Conat and Abraham Jedidiah, [1475-76]. Folio. GW M18044; ISTC il00189700; MEI 02122230	8,9
<i>Libri venales Venetiis, Nurenbergae et Basiliae impressi</i> . [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, after 1500]. Broadside. GW 5678; ISTC ik00044500	25
Livius, Titus, <i>Historiae Romanae decades</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1470. Folio. GW M18494; ISTC il00238000	28
Livius, Titus, <i>Historiae Romanae decades</i> [Italian]. Add: Leonardus Brunus Aretinus: <i>De primo bello Punico</i> [Italian]. Venice: Johannes Rubens Vercellensis, for Lucantonio Giunta, 11 Feb. 1493. Folio. GW M18518; ISTC il00255000	28
Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus, <i>Pharsalia</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1469. Folio. GW M18850; ISTC il00292000	29
Lucianus Samosatensis, <i>Dialogus de funerali pompa</i> [Latin] (Tr: Rinucius Aretinus). Add: <i>De praecedentia Alexandri, Hannibalis et Scipionis</i> [Latin] (Tr: Johannes Arispa i.e. Aurispa). Francesco Petrarca: <i>Recommendatio heremi</i> . Isidorus Hispalensis: <i>Synonyma de praesentis vitae regimine</i> . [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1492-93]. 4°. GW M19022; ISTC il00325000	3
Lucianus Samosatensis, <i>Vera historia</i> [Latin], etc. Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, for Benedetto Bordon, 25 Aug. 1494. 4°. GW M19059; ISTC il00329000	28
<i>Luctus Christianorum, ovvero Pianto dei cristiani per la passione di Cristo</i> [Italian]. [Venice]: Nicolaus Jenson, 4 Apr. 1471. 4°. GW 19148; ISTC il00335500	11

Ludovicus Pruthenus, <i>Trilogium animae</i> . Ed: Paulinus de Lemberg. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 6 Mar. 1498. 4°. GW M29841; ISTC il00379000	10
Lupoldus Bambergensis, <i>Germanorum veterum principum zelus et fervor in christianam religionem Deique ministros</i> . Add: Sebastian Brant. Ed: Jacobus Wimpheling. Basel: Johann Bergmann, de Olpe, 15 May 1497. Folio. GW M17964; ISTC il00399000; MEI 02125591	14
Macrobius, Aurelius Theodosius, <i>In Somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. GW M19702; ISTC im00008000	11
Macrobus, Aurelius Thoedosius, <i>In somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia</i> . Venice: [Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 29 June 1492. Folio. GW M19707; ISTC im00012000	25
Mahazor. Soncino and Casal Maggiore: Sons of Israel Nathan Soncino, between 10 Sept. and 9 Oct. 1485 and 21 and 29 Aug. 1486. Folio. GW M19921; ISTC im00007850	8
Maimonides, Moses, <i>Aphorismi secundum doctrinam Galeni</i> . Add: Johannes Damascenus (Mesue): <i>Aphorismi</i> . Rhasis: <i>De secretis in medicina</i> . Hippocrates: <i>Capsula eburnean</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, for Benedictus Hectoris, 29 May 1489. 4°. GW M20016; ISTC im00077000	10
Maimonides, Moses, <i>Moreh Nevukhim</i> . [Italy: Printer of the Moreh Hanevukhim, about 1473-75]. 4°. GW M2004010; ISTC im00079800	8
Maioranis, Franciscus de, <i>Super primo libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> . Treviso: Michael Manzolus, 1476. Folio. GW M22459; ISTC im00090000	22
Maius, Junianus, <i>De priscorum proprietate verborum</i> . Treviso: Bernardus de Colonia, 1477. Folio. GW M20099; ISTC im00096000	19
Maius, Junianus, <i>De priscorum proprietate verborum</i> . Ed: Bartholomaeus Parthenius. Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 3 June 1482. Folio. GW M20104; ISTC im00098000	19
Manfredis, Hieronymus de, <i>Tractatus de peste</i> . [Bologna: Johannes Walbeck, after 31 Dec. 1479]. 4°. GW M20568; ISTC im00196000	5
Manfredis, Hieronymus de, <i>Trattato della pestilenza</i> [Italian]. [Bologna: Johannes Schriber, de Annunciata, after 5 Dec. 1478]. 4°. GW M20567; ISTC im00197000	5
Manilius, Marcus, <i>Astronomicon</i> . Comm: Laurentius Bonincontrius. Rome: [Printer of Manilius, 'Astronomicon'], 26 Oct. 1484. Folio. GW M20631; ISTC im00204000	10
Marchesinus, Johannes, <i>Mammotrectus super Bibliam</i> . [Cologne: Conrad Winters, de Homborch], 24 Dec. 1476. Folio. GW M20797; ISTC im00235000; MEI 02124321	14
Marchesinus, Johannes, <i>Mammotrectus super Bibliam</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1476. 4°. GW M20827; ISTC im00236000	22
Marcilletus, Stephanus, <i>Doctrinale florum artis notariae</i> . All editions	4
Marlianus, Raimundus, <i>Index locorum in commentario Caesaris Belli gallici descriptorum</i> (Rev: Bonus Accursius). [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1478]. 4°. GW M21077; ISTC im00276000	11

Masuccio, Salernitano, <i>Novellino</i> . Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 21 July 1492. Folio. GW M21558; ISTC im00346000	28
Mates, Bartholomaeus, <i>Grammatica seu libellus pro efficiendis orationibus</i> . [Barcelona: Johannes Gherlinc, 1468 [1488]. 8°. GW M21602; ISTC im00352350	27
Maurocenus, Paulus, <i>De generatione aeterna et temporali Christi</i> . Padua: Bartholomaeus de Valdezoccho and Martinus de Septem Arboribus, 28 Apr. 1473. 8° or 4°. GW M21883; ISTC im00380000	10
Mediavilla, Richardus de, <i>Commentum super quarto libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> . Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for the heirs of Octavianus Scotus, 17 Dec. 1499. 4°. GW M22511; ISTC im00426000; MEI 02126704	14
<i>Megillot</i> (Comm: Solomon ben Isaac and Abraham ibn Ezra). [Bologna: Abraham ben Hayyim, about 1482]. Folio. GW 12115/10N; ISTC ib00525980	8
Mela, Pomponius, <i>Cosmographia, sive De situ orbis</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, 1478. 4°. GW M34879; ISTC im00450000	22
Mela, Pomponius, <i>Cosmographia sive De situ orbis</i> . Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 18 July 1482. 4°. GW M34876; ISTC im00452000	20
Mesue, Johannes, <i>Opera medicinalia</i> . Ed: Johannes Theobaldus and Marcus de Papia. Lyon: Martin Huss and Johannes Siber, 31 Mar. 1478. Folio and 4°. GW M23033; ISTC im00511500	26
Methodius, S., <i>Revelationes divinae a sanctis angelis factae</i> . Add: Wolfgangus Aytinger: <i>Tractatus super Methodium</i> . [Augsburg]: Johann Froschauer, 1 Sept. 1496. 4°. GW M23054; ISTC im00522000	10
<i>Methodus utriusque juris</i> . All editions	4
Metlinger, Bartholomaeus, <i>Ein Regiment der jungen Kinder</i> . All editions	5
Michael Scotus, <i>Expositio super auctorem sphaerae</i> . Bologna: Justinianus de Ruberia, 16 Sept. 1495. 4°. GW M23273; ISTC im0055000	10
<i>Mishnayot</i> (Comm: Maimonides). Naples: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 8 May 1492. Median folio. GW M23779; ISTC im00624700	8,9
<i>Missale Herbipolense</i> [Würzburg]. Commissioned by Rudolphus de Scherenberg, Episcopus Herbipolensis. Würzburg: Georg Reyser, [after 8 Nov. 1481]. Folio. GW M24419; ISTC im00663900	20
<i>Missale Herbipolense</i> [Würzburg]. Commissioned by Laurentius de Bibra, Episcopus Herbipolensis. Würzburg: Georg Reyser, [after 11 Oct. 1499]. Folio. GW M24435; ISTC im00666200	20
<i>Modus legendi abbreviaturas</i> . All editions	4, 15
Montagnana, Bartholomaeus, <i>Consilia medica</i> . Padua: Fridericus Johannis Teutonicus, June or July 1476]. Folio. GW M25271; ISTC im00814000	5
Moses ben Nahman, <i>Perush ha-Torah</i> . [Rome: Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome, 1469-73]. Folio. GW M25518; ISTC im00866140	8
<i>Neviim Aharonim</i> . Comm: David Kimhi. [Soncino: Joshua Solomon Soncino, about 1485]. Folio. GW M35702; ISTC ib00525780; MEI 02123777	9
<i>Neviim Rishonim</i> . Comm: David Kimhi. Soncino: [Joshua Solomon Soncino], 15 Oct. 1485. Folio. GW M35702; ISTC ib00525760; MEI 02123328	9

<i>Neviim Rishonim</i> . Comm: David Kimhi and Levi ben Gershom. Leiria: [Samuel Dortas], 27 Jan.-2 Feb. 1494. Folio. GW M35717; ISTC ib00525770; MEI 02122479	9
Nicolaus de Ausmo, <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i> . Add: Astesanus de Ast, <i>Canones poenitentiales</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1474. Folio. GW M26249; ISTC in00061000	22
Nicolaus de Ausmo, <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i> . Add: Astesanus de Ast, <i>Canones poenitentiales</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1474. Folio. GW M26252; ISTC in00060000	22
Nicolaus de Ausmo, <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i> . Add: Alexander de Nevo, <i>Consilia contra Judaeos foenerantes</i> ; Astesanus de Ast, <i>Canones poenitentiales</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1476. Folio. GW M26253; ISTC in00067000	22
Nicolaus de Ausmo, <i>Supplementum Summae Pisanellae</i> . Add: Alexander de Nevo, <i>Consilia contra Judaeos foenerantes</i> ; Astesanus de Ast, <i>Canones poenitentiales</i> . Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, and Petrus de Bartua, 1477. Folio. GW M26257; ISTC in00068000	22
Nicolaus de Blony, <i>De sacramentis</i> . [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss], 21 Oct. 1486. Folio. GW M26309; ISTC in00081000	6
Nicolaus de Cusa, <i>De vera sapientia (Ydiota)</i> . [Cologne: Cornelis de Zierikzee, about 1499]. 4°. GW M31551; ISTC in00100000	3
Nicolaus de Lyra, <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471-72. Folio. GW M26523; ISTC in00131000	29
Niger, Petrus, <i>Contra perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus veri Messiae</i> . Esslingen: Conrad Fyner, 6 June 1475. Folio and 4°. GW M27101; ISTC in00257000	9
Nonius Marcellus, <i>De proprietate latini sermonis</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW M27232; ISTC in00265000	11
<i>Nuovo ricettario composto dal Collegio dei Dottori di Firenze</i> . Ed: Hieronymus dal Pozzo Toscanelli. Florence: Societas Colubris (Compagnia del Drago), 10 Jan. 1498, '21 Jan. 1498'. Folio. GW M37189; ISTC ir00190600	5
Occam, Guilielmus, <i>Dialogorum libri septem adversos haereticos</i> , etc. Ed: Jodocus Badius Ascensius. [Lyon]: Johannes Trechsel, [not before 12 Sept. 1494]. Folio. GW 11908; ISTC io00009000	26
Occam, Guilielmus, <i>Opus nonaginta dierum et dialogi</i> . Ed: Augustinus de Ratisbona, Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 16 July 1495. Folio. GW 11910; ISTC io00013000	26
Occam, Guilielmus, <i>Quaestiones et decisiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum</i> etc. Ed: Augustinus de Ratisbona, Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 9-10 Nov. 1495. Folio. GW 11916; ISTC io00015000	26
<i>Officium, sive Collectio Psalmorum et precum ad usum Herculis Ferrariae Ducis</i> . Ferrara: Laurentius de Rubeis, de Valentia, 18 Oct. 1492. 8°. GW 5175; ISTC io00049500	24

Offredus, Apollinaris, <i>Expositio in primum Posteriorum Aristotelis</i> . Ed: Hieronymus Surianus. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 19 Mar. 1493. Folio. GW M27708; ISTC io00056000	10
Orosius, Paulus, <i>Historiae adversus paganos</i> . Ed: Aeneas Vulpes. [Vicenza]: Hermannus Liechtenstein, [about 1475]. Folio. GW M28420; ISTC io00097000	28
Orosius, Paulus, <i>Historiae adversos paganos</i> . Ed: Aeneas Vulpes. [Vicenza]: Leonardus Achates de Basilea, [about 1482]. Folio. GW M28419; ISTC io00097500	11
Ortolff von Bay(e)rlandt, <i>Arzneibuch</i> . All editions	5
Ortolff von Bay(e)rlandt, <i>Büchlein der schwangeren Frauen</i> [German]. Johann Schönsperger, about 1495]. 4°. GW M28468; ISTC io00113000	5
Otto von Passau, <i>Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron</i> . [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1483]. Folio. GW M28510; ISTC io00121500	6
Otto von Passau, <i>Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron</i> . Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 28 Mar. 1500. Folio. GW M28512; ISTC io00123000	15
Ovidius, Naso Publius, <i>Heroides</i> [Italian verse]. Brescia: Baptista Farfengus, 2 Oct. 1489. 4°. GW M28842; ISTC io00150700	23
Ovidius, Naso Publius, <i>Heroides</i> [Italian verse]. Brescia: Baptista Farfengus, 5 Nov. 1491. 4°. GW M28844; ISTC io00150800	23
Ovidius Naso, Publius, <i>Opera</i> . Ed: Franciscus Puteolanus. Bologna: Balthasar Azoguidus, 1471. Folio. GW M28557; ISTC io00126000	17
Panormitanus de Tudeschis, Nicolaus, <i>Lectura super V libros Decretalium</i> . Venice: Dionysius Bertochus and Gabriel Physicus, 1491-93. Folio. GW M47841; ISTC ip00053000	19
Papias, <i>Vocabularium</i> . Venice: Andrea de Bonetis, 30 June 1485. Folio. GW M29305; ISTC ip00078000	23
Papias, <i>Vocabularium</i> . Venice: Theodorus de Ragazonibus, 17 Mar. 1491. Folio. GW M29307; ISTC ip00078500	23
Papias, <i>Vocabularium</i> . Venice: Philippus Pincius, 19 Apr. 1496. Folio. GW M29306; ISTC ip00079000	23
Paraldus, Guilielmus, <i>Summa de vitiis</i> . [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1474]. Folio. GW 12051; ISTC ip00089000	26
<i>Pater noster</i> . Venice: Johannes Hamman, 1494. 4°. GW M29758; ISTC ip00148470	20
Paulus de Sancta Maria, <i>Scrutinium scripturarum</i> . Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 7 Jan. 1478. Folio. GW M29976; ISTC ip00205000	26
Paulus Pergulensis, <i>Compendium logicae</i> . Venice: Erhard Ratdolt for Johannes Lucilius Santritter, 13 Sept. 1481. 4°. GW M30236; ISTC ip00190000	10
Paulus Pergulensis, <i>Compendium logicae</i> . Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 16 Dec. 1483. 4°. GW M30240; ISTC ip00191000	20
Paulus Venetus, <i>Expositio librorum naturalium Aristotelis</i> . Milan: Christophorus Valdarfer, 17 July 1476. Folio. GW M30374; ISTC ip00211000	6
Paulus Venetus, <i>Logica</i> . Venice: Gabriel de Grassis, [about 1485]. 4°. GW M30347; ISTC ip00226000	20

Perottus, Nicolaus, <i>Rudimenta grammatices</i> . [Barcelona: Iohannes Salsburga and Paula Hurus, 12 Dec. 1475]. 8°. GW M31136; ISTD ip00304800	27
Perottus, Nicolaus, <i>Rudimenta grammatices</i> . Venice: [Jacobus de Fivizzano, Lunensis], for Marcus de Comitibus and Gerardus Alexandrinus, 17 Jan. 1476. Folio. GW M31260; ISTD ip00305000	11
Perottus, Nicolaus, <i>Rudimenta grammatices</i> . Tortosa: Nicolaus Spindeler and Petrus Brun, 16 June 1477. Folio. GW M31244; ISTD ip00307900	27
Persius, Aulus Flaccus, <i>Satyrae</i> , with the commentary of Bartholomaeus Fontius. Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 24 Dec. 1482. Folio. GW M31386; ISTD ip00345000	20
<i>Pestilentia. Pestblatt, Pestregiment</i> . All editions	5
Petrarca, Francesco, <i>Canzoniere e Trionfi</i> . [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1470. 4°. GW M31675; ISTD ip00371000	29
Petrarca, Francesco, <i>De Remediis utriusque fortunae</i> . [Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochzer?, not before 1490]. 4°. GW M31621; ISTD ip00408000; MEI 02017141	14
Petrus Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i> . [Chambéry: Printer of the Breviarium Sedunense, GW 5459 (Henricus Wirtzburg?), not after 1486]. Folio. GW M32165; ISTD ip00464000	26
Petrus Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i> . Strasbourg: [Georg Husner], 15 July 1500. Folio. GW M32180; ISTD ip00466000; MEI 02125138	14
Petrus de Abano, <i>De venenis</i> . Add: Matthaueus Silvaticus, <i>De lapide Bezoar</i> ; Arnoldus de Villanova, <i>De arte cognoscendi venena</i> ; Valascus de Tarenta, <i>De epidemia et peste</i> . [Padua]: Matthaueus Cerdonis, 18 Dec. 1487. 4°. GW M31877; ISTD: ip00442000	3
Petrus de Bergamo, <i>Confessione cavata de l'Antonina</i> . [Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, after 1491] and [Bologna, Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, after 1494]. 4°. GW M32080; ISTD ip00447300	23
Petrus de Palude, <i>Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi</i> . Strasbourg: [Martin Flach (printer of Strasbourg)], 1487. Folio. GW M41836; ISTD ip00503500; MEI 02018157	14
Petrus de Palude, <i>Sermones Thesauri novi de tempore</i> . Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum'], 1483. Folio. GW M41792; ISTD ip00519000	6
Petrus Lombardus. <i>Sententiarum libri IV</i> . Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 29 Nov. 1489. Folio. GW M32586; ISTD ip00492000	6
Philelphus, Franciscus, <i>Epistolae</i> . Venice: Philippus Pincius, 5 Sept. 1492. Folio. GW M32993; ISTD ip00591000	10
Philelphus, Franciscus, <i>Orationes cum quibusdam aliis eiusdem operibus</i> . Add: (Pseudo-) Aristoteles: <i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i> . Tr: Franciscus Philelphus; Plutarchus: <i>Apophthegmata</i> . Tr: Franciscus Philelphus; Galenus: <i>Introductorium ad medicinam principis</i> . Tr: Georgius Valla. Venice: Bartholomaeus de Zanis, 28 Mar. 1491. 4°. GW M33051; ISTD ip00609000; MEI 02017144	14
<i>Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne</i> . [Lyon: Pierre Boutellier (Schenck), about 1487]. 4°. GW 12707; ISTD ip00645350	26

Pius II, Pont. Max., <i>Epistolae familiares. De Duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia</i> (etc.). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 16 Sept. 1481. Folio. GW M33692; ISTC ip00717000	6
Platea, Franciscus de, <i>Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum</i> . [Venice]: Bartholomaeus Cremonensis, 1472. 4°. ISTC ip00752000; GW M00836; MEI 02006676	3
Platea, Franciscus de, <i>Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum</i> . Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 25 Mar. 1474. 4°. GW M00828; ISTC ip00755000	18, 28
Platea, Franciscus de, <i>Opus restitutionum, usurarum, excommunicationum</i> . Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 22 Jan. 1477. Median 4°. GW M00831; ISTC ip00758000	18
Platina, Bartholomaeus, <i>De honesta voluptate et valetudine</i> [Italian]. Venice: [Hieronymus de Sanctis and Cornelio], 15 Dec. 1487. 4°. GW M33903; ISTC ip00766500	23
Platina, Bartholomaeus, <i>De honesta voluptate et valetudine</i> [Italian]. Venice: [Bernardinus Benalius], 25 Aug. 1494. 4°. GW M33905; ISTC ip00767000	23
Platina, Bartholomaeus, <i>Vitae pontificum</i> . [Venice]: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 11 June 1479. Folio. GW M33887; ISTC ip00768000	11
Plautus, Titus Maccius, <i>Comoediae</i> . Venice: [Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca)], 23 Nov. 1495. 4°. GW M34010; ISTC ip00782000	23
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Venice: Johannes de Spira, [before 18 Sept.] 1469. Folio. GW M34312; ISTC ip00786000	28
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [between 8 Apr. and 30 Aug.] 1470. Folio. GW M34306; ISTC ip00787000	29
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. GW M34326; ISTC ip00788000	11, 28
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Ed: Nicolaus Perottus. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 7 May 1473. Folio. GW M34308; ISTC ip00789000	5
Plinius Scundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> [Italian] (Tr: Christophorus Landinus). Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476. Folio. GW M34342; ISTC ip00801000	28
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Ed: Philippus Beroaldus. Treviso: Michael Manzolus, [not before 13 Oct.] 1479. Folio. GW M34310; ISTC ip00791000	19
Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Pliny, the Elder), <i>Historia naturalis</i> . Ed: Philippus Beroaldus. Venice: Reynaldus de Novimagio, 6 June 1483. Folio. GW M34329; ISTC ip00794000	19
Plotinus, <i>Opera</i> . Tr. & comm: Marsilius Ficinus. Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 7 May 1492. Folio. GW M34374; ISTC ip00815000	11

Plutarchus, <i>Vitae illustrium virorum</i> [Latin]. Ed: J.A. Campanus. Add: Sextus Rufus: <i>De historia Romana</i> . [Rome]: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), [1470]. Folio. GW M34472; ISTC ip00830000	29
Plutarchus, <i>Vitae virorum illustrium</i> [Latin]. Add: Sextus Rufus: <i>De historia Romana</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Jan. 1478. Folio. GW M34480; ISTC ip00832000	28
Poggio, Jacopo di, <i>Sopra il Trionfo della fama di messer Francesco Petrarca</i> . Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, for Alessandro Varrochi, 24 Jan. 1485/86. 4°. GW M34528; ISTC ip00852000	3
Poggios Florentinus, <i>Facetiae</i> . Add: Aesopus: <i>Fabulae</i> (Tr: Laurentius Valla); Francesco Petrarca: <i>De salibus virorum illustrium</i> . Paris: [Au Soufflet Vert (Louis Symonel et Socii), about 1475]. 4°. GW M34576; ISTC ip00857000	3
Politianus, Angelus, <i>Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano de' Medici</i> . Add: Orfeo. <i>Stanza ingeniosissima "Che fai tu Eco mentr'io ti chiamo?"</i> . <i>Canzonetta "Non potrà mai dire Amore"</i> . Prelim: Alessandro Sarti: <i>Epistola ad Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 9 Aug. 1494. 4°. GW M34732; ISTC ip00900300	23
Priscianus, <i>Opera</i> . Ed: Benedictus Brognolus. [Milan: Printer of Servius, 'Commentarius in Vergilium', 1475 (Dominicus de Vespolate), for Boninus Mombritius, after 24 Feb. 1476]. Folio. GW M35369; ISTC ip00963000	11
<i>Processus Satanae. Processus judicarius Mascaron contra genus humanum, sive Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomine diaboli</i> . All editions	4
<i>Psalterium</i> . Milan: [Bonus Accursius], 20 Sept. 1481. 4°. GW M36246; ISTC ip01035000; MEI 00561637	7
<i>Psalterium</i> . Venice: [Laonicus and] Alexander, 15 Nov. 1486. 4°. GW M36247; ISTC ip01034000; MEI 02127798	7
<i>Psalterium puerorum</i> . [Venice]: Erhard Ratdolt, [not after 1486]. 4°. GW M35931; ISTC ip01073500	20
Pseudo-Homerus, <i>Batrachomyomachia</i> . [Brescia: Thomas Ferrandus, about 1474]. 4°. GW 12900; ISTC ih00300800	7
Pseudo-Homerus, <i>Batrachomyomachia</i> . Venice: Laonicus [and Alexander], 22 Apr. 1486. 4°. GW 12901; ISTC ih00301000	7
Publicius, Jacobus, <i>Artes orandi, epistolandi, memoranda</i> . Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 30 Nov. 1482. 4°. GW M36431; ISTC ip01096000	10
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, <i>Institutiones oratoriae</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, [after 30 Aug. 1470]. Folio. GW M36812; ISTC iq00025000	29
Rainerius de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae</i> . [Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474. Folio. GW M36921; ISTC ir00006000	25
Rainerius de Pisis, <i>Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae</i> . Ed: Jacobus Florentinus. [Basel: Berthold Ruppel, not after 1476]. Folio. GW M36924; ISTC ir00009000	6,26
<i>Reformation der Stadt Nürnberg</i> . [Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger], 1488. Folio. GW M27327; ISTC ir00038000	15

Regiomontanus, Johannes (Müller, Johann, of Königsberg), <i>Kalendarium</i> [Latin]. Venice: Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, 1476. 4°. GW M37455; ISTD ir00093000	30
Regiomontanus, Johannes (Müller, Johann, of Königsberg), <i>Kalendarium</i> [Italian] <i>Calendario</i> . Venice: Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, 1476. 4°. GW M37479; ISTD ir00103000	28, 30
Rhasis, Mohammed, <i>Hystoria d'Almansore philosopho: Liber tertius ad Almansorem</i> [Italian] <i>Libro terzo d'Almansore, 'Cibaldone'</i> . All editions	5
Rhasis, Mohammed, <i>Liber ad Almansorem sive Tractatus medicinae</i> . Etc. Milan: Leonard Pachel and Ulderico Scinzenzeler, 14 Feb. 1481. Folio. GW M37978; ISTD ir00175000	24
Rhasis, Mohammed, <i>Liber nonus ad Almansorem</i> . Comm: Silanus de Nigris. Add: Petrus de Tussignano: <i>Receptae super nonum ad Almansorem</i> . Venice: Otinus de Luna, Papiensis, 21 July 1497. Folio. GW M38028; ISTD ir00184000	10
Rimbertinus, Bartholomaeus, <i>De deliciis sensibilibus Paradisi</i> . Add: Henricus de Vrimaria: <i>De quattuor instinctibus</i> . Venice: Jacobus Pentius, de Leuco, for Lazarus de Suardis, de Saviliano, 25 Oct. 1498. 8°. GW M38185; ISTD ir00198000	10
Rodericus Zamorensis, <i>Compendiosa historia Hispanica</i> . [Rome]: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), [not after 4 Oct. 1470]. 4°. GW M38526; ISTD ir00211000	29
Rodericus Zamorensis. <i>Speculum vitae humanae</i> [French] <i>Le Miroir de la vie humaine</i> . Tr: Julien Macho. Lyon: [Guillaume Le Roy] with Barthélémy Buyer, 8 July 1477. Folio. GW M38513; ISTD ir00229000	26
Roelans de Mechlinia, Cornelius, <i>Opusculum aegritudinum puerorum</i> . [Louvain: Johann Veldener, about 1486-87]. 4°. GW M38569; ISTD ir00241000	5
Rolandinus de Passageriis, <i>Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis</i> . All editions	4
Rolewinck, Werner, <i>Fasciculus temporum</i> . [Speyer]: Peter Drach, 24 Nov. 1477. Folio. GW M38715; ISTD ir00257000; MEI 02123369	14
Rolewinck, Werner, <i>Fasciculus temporum</i> . Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 28 May 1484. Folio. GW M38735; ISTD ir00270000; MEI 02126478	14
<i>Rubricae iuris civilis et canonici</i> . All editions	4
Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius, <i>Decades rerum Venetarum</i> . Venice: Andreas Torresanus, 21 May 1487. Folio. GW M39264; ISTD is00005000	28
Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius, <i>Enneades ab orbe condito</i> . Venice: Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus and Matthaeus Venetus, 31 Mar. 1498. Folio. GW M39255; ISTD is00007000	19
Sallustius Crispus, Gaius, <i>Opera</i> . Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 23 Mar. 1474. 4°. GW M39595; ISTD is00056000	28
Sallustius Crispus, Gaius, <i>Opera</i> . Venice: [Nicolaus Girardengus, de Novis], 1480. Folio. GW M39660; ISTD is00067000	20
Santcliment, Francesc de, <i>Summa de la art de arismètica</i> . [Barcelona: Petrus Posa, 1482]. 4°. GW M00877; ISTD is00163200	27

Saxolus Pratensis, <i>De accentibus [...] et formatione praeteritorum graecorum</i> . [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1480]. 8°. GW M40738; ISTC is00300500	7
Schedel, Hartmann, <i>Liber chronicarum</i> . Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 12 July 1493. Folio. GW M40784; ISTC is00307000	14
Schedel, Hartmann, <i>Liber Chronicarum</i> [German] <i>Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten</i> . Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 23 Dec. 1493. Folio. GW M40796; ISTC is00309000	25
Scotus, Michael, <i>Liber physiognomiae</i> . [Treviso: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, about 1483]. 4°. GW M23305; ISTC im00551800	20
<i>Scriptores rei militaris</i> . Bologna: Franciscus (Plato) de Benedictis, 1495-96. Folio. GW 10410; ISTC is00345000	23
<i>Scriptores rei rusticae</i> . Venice, Nicolaus Jenson, 1472. Folio. GW M41065; ISTC is00346000	28
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, <i>Opera philosophica. Epistolae</i> . [Naples: Matthias Moravus, 1475]. Folio. GW M41235; ISTC is00368000	27
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, <i>Tragoediae</i> . Comm: Gellius Bernardinus Marmita and Daniel Caietanus. Etc. Venice: Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino, 7 Apr. 1498. Folio. GW M41439; ISTC is00438000	14
Sensenschmidt, Johann and Andreas Frisner, <i>Bücheranzeige</i> [Advertisement for the Codex of Justinianus with the commentary of Accursius (GW 7723)]. Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, [1475]. Broadside folio. GW M41555; ISTC is00443200	4
Serapion, Johannes, the Elder, <i>Breviarium medicinae</i> . Tr: Gerardus Cremonensis. Add: Serapion the Younger: <i>In medicinis simplicibus</i> . Tr: Simon a Cordo Januensis and Abraham Judaeus Tortuosiensis). Galenus: <i>De virtute centaureae</i> ; Johannes Platearius: <i>Practica brevis</i> ; Matthaeus Platearius: <i>De simplicibus medicina "Circa instans"</i> . Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 16 Dec. 1497. Folio. GW M41687; ISTC is00466000	10
Serpus, Franciscus, <i>Grammatica</i> . Venice: Bernardinus de Choris, de Cremona, 19 Apr. 1492. 4°. GW M41853; ISTC is00475600	23
Sibylla, Bartholomaeus, <i>Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum</i> . Rome: Eucharius Silber, 27 Aug. 1493. 4°. GW 3459 (+ Accurti(1936) p.73); ISTC is00491000	10
Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i> . Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 6 May 1483. Folio. GW M42117; ISTC is00507000	24
Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i> . Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 18 May 1492. Folio. GW M42113; ISTC is00508000	24
Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i> . Comm: Petrus Marsus. Venice: [Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino], 20 Sept. 1493. Folio. GW M42109; ISTC is00509000	24
Silvaticus, Matthaeus, <i>Liber pandectarum medicinae</i> . Ed: Matthaeus Moretus. Lyon: Mathias Huss and Johannes Siber, 27 Apr. 1478. Folio. GW M42127; ISTC is00511500	26

Solinus, <i>Polyhistor, sive De mirabilibus mundi, sive Collectanea rerum memorabilium</i> . Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1473. 4°. GW M42828; ISTC is00615000	28
Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret, <i>Teshuvot She'elot</i> . [Rome: Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome, 1469-73]. 4°. GW M41203; ISTC is00625100; MEI 02122869	9
Solomon ben Isaac [or Rashi], <i>Perush ha-Torah</i> . Reggio Calabria: Abraham ben Garton, 17 Feb. 1475. Folio. GW M41207; ISTC is00625180	8
<i>Speculum exemplorum</i> . Strasbourg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 4 Dec. 1495. Folio. GW M42959; ISTC is00655000; MEI 02124494	14
<i>Speculum humanae salvationis</i> [French] <i>Le mirouer de la rédemption</i> . Tr: Julien Macho. Lyon: Mathias Huss, 1483. Folio. GW M43034; ISTC is00661600	26
Steinhöwel, Heinrich, <i>Büchlein der Ordnung (Pest Regiment)</i> . All editions	5
<i>Storia di S. Margherita</i> . Bologna: [Bazalerius de Bazaleriis, about 1495]. 4°. GW M20957; ISTC im00261300	23
<i>Storia di S. Margherita</i> . Florence: [Lorenzo Morgiani & Johann Petri, about 1495]. 4°. GW M20956; ISTC im00261350	23
Strabo, <i>Geographia, libri XVI</i> (Tr: Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tiphernas). Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, [1469]. Folio. GW M44085; ISTC is00793000	29
Strabo, <i>Geographia, libri XVI</i> (Tr: Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tiphernas). Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 1472. Folio. GW M44100; ISTC is00794000	11
Strabo, <i>Geographia, libri XVI</i> (Tr: Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tiphernas). Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, 12 Feb. 1473. Folio. GW M44087; ISTC is00795000	29
Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius, <i>Vitae XII Caesarum</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Prelim: Johannes Andreas: <i>Epistola ad Paulum II</i> ; Ausonius: <i>Versus</i> . Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, [after 30 Aug.] 1470. Folio. GW M44221; ISTC is00816000	29
Sulpitius Verulanus, Johannes, <i>De arte grammatica</i> . Venice: Christophorus de Pensis, de Mandello, 4 Apr. 1489. 4°. GW M44348; ISTC is00836000	23
Sulpitius Verulanus, Johannes, <i>De arte grammatica</i> . Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1490. 4°. GW M44342; ISTC is00838000	23
Sulpitius Verulanus, Johannes, <i>De arte grammatica</i> . [Venice: Christophorus de Pensis, de Mandello, 1495 circa]. 4°. GW M4434720; ISTC is00841000	23
Suso, Henricus, <i>Das Buch gennant Seuse</i> [German]. Augsburg: Anton Sorh, 19 Apr. 1482. Folio. GW M44616; ISTC is00871000	25
Tartagnus, Alexander, <i>Apostillae ad Bartolum</i> . All editions	4

Terentius Afer, Publius, <i>Comoediae</i> . Ed: Raphael Zovenzonius. Add: <i>Vita Terentii</i> . [Venice: Vindelinius de Spira] for Johannes de Colonia, [not before 23 Nov.] 1471. 4°. GW M45573; ISTC ISTC it00065000	3
Terentius Afer, Publius, <i>Comoediae</i> . Ed: Antonius Moretus Prelim: <i>Epitaphium Terentii</i> . Add: Francesco Petrarca: <i>Vita Terentii</i> . [Venice: Printer of Brunus Aretinus (H 1565), about 1472]. 4°. GW M45353; ISTC it00066500	19
Terentius Afer, Publius, <i>Comoediae</i> . Prelim: Francesco Petrarca, <i>Vita Terentii</i> ; <i>Epitaphium Terentii</i> . Milan: Antonius Zarotus [for Marco Roma], 23 Feb. 1476. 4°. GW 45422; ISTC it00072600	11
<i>Textus sequentiarum, cum optimo commento</i> . [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1496]. 4°. GW M41642; ISTC is00459000; MEI 02020162	14
Themistius Peripateticus, <i>Paraphrasis in Aristotelem</i> (Tr: Hermolaus Barbarus). Ed: Ponticus Facinus. Treviso: Bartholomaeus Confalonierus and Morellus Gerardinus, 15 Feb. 1481. Folio. GW M45754; ISTC it00129000	11
Theocritus, <i>Idyllia</i> . Add: Hesiodus, <i>Opera et Dies</i> . [Milan: Bonus Accursius, about 1480]. 4°. GW M45823; ISTC it00143000; MEI 02127813, 02018625	7
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Catena aurea super quattuor evangelistas</i> . Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1470. Folio. GW M46094; ISTC it00225000	29
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Commentarius in librum Aristotelis De anima</i> . Venice: Raynaldus de Novimagio, 22 May 1481. Chancery folio. GW M46045; ISTC it00237000	18
Thomas Aquinas, <i>De ente et essentia</i> . Ed: Ludovicus Regius, Venice: Johannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis, for Franciscus Bolanus, 'xix kalendas Martii' 1488. 4°. GW M46142; ISTC it00288000	10
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis et in De interpretatione</i> . Etc. Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1477. Folio. GW M46287; ISTC it00252000	24
Thomas Aquinas, <i>Opuscula</i> . [Ed: Paulus Soncinas]. Milan: Beninus and Johannes Antonius de Honate, 1488. Folio. GW M46023; ISTC it00259000	26
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