

I N D E X  
L I B R O R V M  
O M N I V M T A M A D  
Theologiam, Philosophiam, & Iu-  
ris vtriusq; peritiam, quàm ad qua-  
scumque alias artes, & facultates  
cuiuscumque generis spectantium,  
qui Matriti via Arenaria, iuxta Diui  
Philippi Templum, in nobilissima  
Simonis Vafalini, Veneti  
libraria Venales  
habentur.



*MATRITI,*  
Ex Typographia Regia.

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*M. D. XCVII.*

**Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale  
Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early  
Modern Europe**

edited by Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo







**Selling & Collecting:  
Printed Book Sale Catalogues and  
Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe**

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# **Introduction.**

## **The development of the book market and book collecting in the sixteenth century**

**Giovanna Granata, Angela Nuovo**

This collection of essays on the distribution and acquisition of printed books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is based on the contributions given at the conference *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe* held at the University of Cagliari in September 2017. In particular, the purpose of the conference was to focus on publishers' and booksellers' catalogues as evidence of the advertising and selling techniques used by agents in the book trade. A related theme was private libraries, associated with the growing phenomenon of book collecting, which ensured not only the consumption and accumulation, but also often the preservation, of the works being circulated by the book trade.

In recent years increasing attention to private libraries, associated with the growing phenomenon of book collecting, has brought about a renewal of the study of the history of the book in the early modern period. Research has been characterised by the following two themes: the commercial book trade, its economic goals and operational mechanisms, and, on the other hand, the creation of great private collections driven by encyclopedic and sometimes political ambitions. These two fields, however, have only occasionally been examined within a single context.

In fact, they are more interconnected than is generally recognized. Book collectors are often remarkable people, and in the early modern period their role was certainly pioneering. They were the first to acquire, store and find ways to retrieve great quantities of books, larger than ever before. In Italy and elsewhere,

within a few decades, collections of several hundred books no longer were an exception, and these were in turn eclipsed, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, by individual collections containing ten to thirteen thousand volumes. Book collecting had reached a new level, reflecting a book trade which had become ever more sophisticated. More than ever, books traveled through well-organized networks, reaching a wide variety of purchasers, with different interests and different spending capacities.

Market penetration and expansion were essential needs for publishers. While manuscripts were produced in few copies and were generally commissioned, producers of printed materials had to cope with the sale of large quantities of copies and find even more customers to have a sufficient return on investment. In addition, it was essential to reduce the duration of the economic cycle to a minimum in order to recuperate the money invested as quickly as possible so as to survive economically and be able to reinvest earnings in new projects.

Private libraries represented a substantial share of the market for the book trade. Not surprisingly, they also bear witness to their owners' great interest in the marketing tools perfected by trade agents in the early modern period. Among those tools some of the most important were booksellers' and publishers' printed catalogues, which were distributed through wholesale and retail networks, advertising the works currently on offer. Customers could mark them up to place orders, but they also quickly became instruments of reference. Book collectors started to use them as sources, wish lists, and even as collectable items in themselves. This is why a large number of these vulnerable items are to be found in private collections, many of which are today preserved within institutional libraries.

In the following pages two Italian private libraries are analysed and discussed as the preservation of a collection. Both contain precious and sometimes unique copies of printed booksellers' and publishers' catalogues. These are the library that Prospero Podiani (1535 ca.–1615) established in Perugia and left to the city with the intention of opening it as a public library in 1582 (studied by Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni) and the library put together by the Sardinian jurist Monserrat Rossellò (1568 ca.–1613), today held at the Library of the University of Cagliari (studied by Giovanna Granata). Thanks to the Rossellò collection, at least two otherwise totally unknown printed catalogues have

survived until today, in particular the only such catalogue known from sixteenth-century Spain, from the bookseller Simone Vassalini (studied by Pedro Rueda). In fact, one of the reasons for choosing Cagliari for our gathering was to draw book historians' and bibliographers' attention to the cultural richness of the city which, precisely because it was peripheral, preserves cultural memories and evidence of underused collections which are in certain ways unique today in Europe. A census focused on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions found in Sardinian collections (CLASAR: Censimento dei Libri Antichi in SARdegna), under the supervision of Giovanna Granata, is now devoted to discovering and making them much better known to scholars. Actually, these findings do not come as a complete surprise for book historians, since they are familiar with surveying a wide range of cultural and material transfers within the framework of transnational exchanges, a process which characterized the distribution of printed books.

Archival research in Italy is always rewarding and it is especially true with regard to this aspect, as Graziano Ruffini has demonstrated by studying the documentation on the bulk sale of books held in 1583 Genoa. Documents of this kind show that the ability to negotiate and evaluate book stocks was a crucial skill in the booksellers' trade.

Printed sales catalogues, studied by Christian Coppens and Angela Nuovo, are essential sources for a general investigation of sixteenth-century book prices. An extensive survey on their characteristics, purposes and use (Coppens), cannot be separated from the information they give about book prices established directly by the producers (Nuovo).

Among the many features of the history of the book trade which have been explored over the last few decades, one aspect has to a great extent been neglected, in spite of the amount of surviving documentation relating to it: the economic side of the commercial transactions and, in particular, the problem of the prices of the books. Relevant sources on this topic have now begun to be exploited in a more sophisticated way, opening up new perspectives.

The evolution of book prices over the early modern period is a subject that could only recently started to be investigated systematically thanks to the EMO-BookTrade project, directed by Angela Nuovo and funded by the European Research Council. In order to focus on this subject, the EMOBookTrade re-

search group is taking into account primarily commercial sources containing extensive sets of prices, established by book producers, booksellers and trade professionals in general, such as printed catalogues.

In the following pages, members of the EMoBookTrade team offer some preliminary results of their research on specific problems and sources. The question of book prices is connected with and contextualized within the overall monetary issues of Renaissance Europe by Francesco Ammannati. Specific printed catalogues, their data and the observations that can be drawn from them are treated by Goran Proot in the case of Robert Estienne's catalogues, by Giliola Barbero with an examination of Giolito's sale lists, and by Flavia Bruni for Francesco de Franceschi's books for sale at the Giunti shop in Venice.

These essays offer an exploration of a wide variety of problems posed by these fairly elusive contemporary sources, which hold a hitherto untapped wealth of valuable information which will help us to understand better the ins and outs of the early modern book trade. It is hoped that this collection of studies will inspire new generations of book historians and provide an impetus for the development of improved methods and techniques which will enable these sources to speak to us.

# The collection of Monserrat Rosselló in the University Library of Cagliari

Giovanna Granata\*

The establishment of the University Library in Cagliari is part of the history of the refoundation of the University under the Savoy dynasty. This in turn was a central element in a programme to revive the island's fortunes not only culturally but also economically and socially; the reorganisation of schools and universities was a key part of this plan. The origins of the University in fact go back to the period of Spanish dominion and in particular to Philip III's provision in 1620 in support of the island's pressing demands. Yet a century later, with Sardinia now under the Savoys, the ruling family found the University to be in such a state of decline that they took the decision, confirmed in the 1764 Constitution, to re-found the institution (Sorgia 1986; Merlin 2010).

A central plank in the reforms was the creation of a 'public university library', following in the tradition of the great institutional libraries established in the modern period, above all, the University Library in Turin founded in 1720.<sup>1</sup> It was not an easy undertaking. It required organisation and above all a library collection, which in Sardinia needed to be formed *ex novo*. For this purpose books from the court library were given to the University on the express wishes of Carlo Emanuele and to these were added the volumes produced by the Stamperia Reale in Turin as well as others through the munificence of the Minister Bogino.

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<sup>1</sup> The University Library in Turin was founded by a Royal decree dated 25 October 1720 "per commodo sì delli studenti, che del pubblico" ["for the benefit of students and the general public"] (Teatro 2011). Similarly article 27 of the *Costituzioni* of Cagliari University (Costituzioni 1764, 78-79) stipulates that the new library should have the best books published in every discipline "so that both students and others will be able to make use of it as need arises" ["onde sì gli studenti che altri siano in caso all'opportunità di farvi ricorso"].

Yet the transformation of this initial nucleus of books into a genuine “public institution” only really took shape several years later, when the University received the libraries of Jesuit colleges after the suppression of the order in 1773. At the University’s request, a royal decree in 1779 allowed for the transfer of the Jesuit library collections to the University library which in this way underwent a radical transformation in the quality and range of its contents. It could justifiably aim to become a point of reference for the island’s scholarly community (Martini 1845; Biblioteca 1996). The task of accessioning and ordering the Jesuit books was given to the Professor of Sacred Scripture, Girolamo Hinz; he was at first given a temporary appointment but in 1785 he was offered the post of Librarian. In the same year, as the wooden plaque on the walls of the eighteenth-century reading room in the Library records, the shelving which would house the volumes was finished, although the re-organisation of the books in fact lasted until 1792, the year the Library effectively opened for public use.

The transformation in quality which the Library underwent and which enabled it to fulfil its public role was due to the richness of the Jesuit collection. This in its turn had been much enriched by the extensive library which had been bequeathed to the Society by the Sardinian jurist Monserrat Rosselló in 1613.

Monserrat Rosselló was born in about 1560. He had studied law away from Sardinia, where there was as yet no university, and graduated in Bologna in 1583 (Guerrini 2005, 307), after a spell of study in Pisa. He then returned to Cagliari where he had a highly successful career in local government and jurisdiction. In 1598 he was appointed ‘visitador’ (inspector) of the royal officials in Sardinia, in the same year he became a judge of the ‘Real Audiencia’, and in 1601 ‘abogado fiscal’ (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 13–29; Manconi 2010, 339–343; Ferrante 2013). Little is known of his activities. He took part as a member of the military *stamento*, or class, in the Parliament, or assembly of the traditional estates, which was presided over by the Viceroy, Gastone de Moncada Marquis of Aytona, from 1592 to 1594 and, when the Assembly concluded its work, was sent as a delegate to Madrid to present the Parliamentary *capitoli* for Philip II’s approval (Quaglioni 1997). He was also a member of the Parliament presided over by the Viceroy Antonio Coloma Count of Elda from 1602 to 1603, again following which he was given the responsibility for collecting Sardinian local laws and *consuetudines* as well as preparing the statutes of the University prior to its establishment (Doneddu 2015). However the outstanding aspect of his

career was his passion for collecting books. He assembled a remarkably rich library, both in terms of the period and in the context of the island. The inventory, probably drawn up when the Jesuits took possession of the bequest, comprises at least 4,450 editions, far more than even the most prominent libraries in Sardinia at the time possessed.<sup>2</sup>

In bequeathing his library to the Jesuits, Rosselló imposed as a condition of the gift that they kept it intact, without selling or exchanging any of the books, and that they housed it in a special room separately from the standard library in the College. They were also supposed to add to the collection each year by spending an annual sum of 25 ducats from the inheritance. Finally, they were not to erase the name of the donor from the books but add it both to books already in the collection where it was missing as well as to the new books which they purchased for the library (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 22). The Jesuits adhered to Rosselló's wishes, although the purchase of new books was somewhat neglected over the years; nevertheless, they succeeded in keeping Rosselló's library almost intact until the second half of the eighteenth century, when this remarkably extensive collection was transferred – not without a degree of dispersal – to the new “public library” of the University of Cagliari. When the library opened its doors in 1792 it could boast a collection in the region of 8,000 volumes (Martini 1845, 17).

The extraordinary richness of Rosselló's library as it now survives in the University of Cagliari is well-known to Sardinian scholars. It is perhaps, paradoxically, because of its renown, that, while its overall features are familiar, the collection has been very little studied in detail. What studies of it exist have all too predictably taken a localised approach, meaning that our perception of Rosselló's collections have remained confined to regional perspectives and interests, ignoring both the broader theoretical context as well as the methodological instruments which would instead help to analyse and value its intrinsic characteristics.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The principal libraries of the time on the island were those belonging to Alessio Fontana (d. 1558) in Sassari, the bishop of Cagliari Antonio Parragues de Castillejo (d. 1573), Nicolò Canelles (ca. 1515-1585) the bishop of Bosa and founder of the first printing press in Sardinia, the Sassari humanist – and also bishop of Bosa – Giovanni Francesco Fara (1543-1591). Studies of the inventories of these libraries have been published by Cadoni and Turtas (1988); Cadoni (1989b); Cadoni and Contini (1993); the total number of volumes in each library comes to 236 (Fontana), 550 (Parragues), 425 (Canelles), 1006 (Fara).

<sup>3</sup> The publication of the inventory of Rosselló's library by Cadoni and Laneri (1994/2) is the

It must be emphasised above all that the creation and donation of Rosselló's library form an important episode in library history which cannot simply or fully be explained by reference to historical and cultural developments in Sardinia. It is an episode which displays all the discontinuities which characterise the entry of Sardinia into the 'modern era'. Nicolò Canelles first introduced printing to Sardinia in 1566 (Balsamo 1968); in the same way Rosselló was the first to bring to the island the concept of what a library was, which was gaining currency in continental Europe: not a private collection for personal use but an institution possessing a collective importance and impact and which should, as such, therefore – even though in private ownership – allow some form of public access. This was the model which Gabriel Naudé would soon outline in his *Advis*, based on the examples of the Angelica in Rome, the Ambrosiana in Milan and the Bodleian in Oxford (Naudé 1627).

In the light of this, at least two aspects of the history of Rosselló's collection should be addressed: the ways in which he planned for the future survival of his library and how he oversaw its bibliographical content.

The conditions under which Rosselló bequeathed his library to the Jesuit college are in essence those just mentioned but it is worth looking more closely at the reasons he gave for the bequest and the purposes he foresaw for the collection. Both of these can be found in an important passage in his will which has in general been overlooked in contrast to the prescriptive remarks on which other scholars have focussed but which expresses, albeit in compressed form, some fundamental concepts which underlay what he thought he was doing:

Instituhint dit col.legi a mi hereu universal *ab pacte emperò vincle y condició*: primo que tota la mia llibreria, tant de lleys y cànones com de theologia y altres facultats, que yo tinch, no la vènan ... sinó que

most important contribution on the subject and formed part of a wider project on the book collections of 16th-century Sardinian humanists (see note 2), a broad survey aimed at providing evidence for the circulation of books throughout the island during this period. It was intended to answer a precise historical question, in particular to serve as a response to the harsh judgement of the island's cultural backwardness in the 16th century, a longstanding (dating back to the 16th century itself) critical view (Cadoni 1989a). As well as transcribing the inventory, the study gives a broad outline of the library's main features, but the editions which form the collection are not identified, with the result that important aspects of the bibliographical structure of the library are not brought out and also leading to errors in the analysis of the data: see below for example the entry in the inventory of Rosselló's library (henceforward IRL) 3354, the work Rosselló had published in Madrid.



la conserven, ... tota axí com està en un lloch a part de la llibreria communa que té dit col.legi *per servir-se' n quant convinga; que tots los llibres són a vegades mester tenir, encara que sien de diverses y extraneas facultats de la que hom professa...* (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 163:28-164:4, the italic is mine)

[I hereby name the said College as my universal heir, *but on these binding and non-negotiable conditions*: firstly, that my entire library, both the part on Law and Canon Law as well as Theology and other subjects [*'facultats'*] as well, is never put up for sale ... but is preserved intact just as it is and in a room apart from the general library of the College, *to be used as the need arises; since it is necessary to preserve all the books, even though they treat of different subjects from those which people are interested in*].

As we see, the Jesuits in accepting Rosselló's bequest were obliged to keep the library intact and separate from the rest of their collections, "per servir-se'n quant convinga", so that the books could be read and consulted whenever they were seen to be of use. From this it is clear that the conservation and management of the collection are bound up with its use, while this in its turn is subject to the convenience of those scholars who wish to use them, without further condition. In effect, it is to be freely accessible. This explains why Rosselló's books must not be merged, shelved or even housed with those in the College library, which, according to the rules of the order, was an internal library, not accessible to everyone but only for the use of staff and students who had to obtain the key from the Rector of the College (Vacalebre 2016).

Rosselló's reasons for leaving his library to the Jesuits are given in the phrase which follows in his will. This reflects a concept of the collection which is significantly broader than the utilitarian idea of it as a mere possession: "it is necessary to preserve all the books, even though they treat of different subjects from those which people are interested in". In other words, even if the range of subjects covered by the books in a library exceeds the particular interests of its owner, this does not diminish the necessity and the usefulness of preserving it intact for – though this is not explicitly stated by Rosselló in his will, the implication is clear – others to use. In this way the possession of a collection and the use which is made of it are sharply distinguished. This conceptual distinction underlies both Rosselló's collecting and the obligation he imposes on the Jesuits

not only to keep his library intact but also to add to it with new acquisitions, despite their not being the sole and exclusive users of the collection.

In leaving his collection to the College Rosselló was entrusting it to an institution which could ensure that it would continue to be used over time, freely and without restriction. What was bequeathed to the Society was not the ‘library collection’ as such, regarded as an ‘asset’, but rather the responsibility of preserving and maintaining it as a living resource for everyone who needed it. These are the terms in which it is presented in the will: the Jesuits inherit the collection on condition of assuming the responsibilities of maintaining it. Were they to fall short of the conditions set down in the will, they would lose possession of the library and have to pay a sum of money equivalent to its value to another organisation which played an active social role on the island, the ‘Ospedale di S. Antonio’ in Cagliari (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 164:9–11).

It is hard to say if Rosselló in drawing up his will had a particular model in mind. It is worth pointing out, however, that he possessed in his collection one of the first treatises on librarianship to be published in the early modern period, the future founder of the Angelica Library Angelo Rocca’s work on the Vatican Library.<sup>4</sup> In this book, published in 1591, Rocca undertakes a wide-ranging survey of the most important Italian and European libraries of the time, singling out two features, where they existed, as being worthy of praise, which are the same as those Rosselló later underlines in his will: on the one hand, the breadth and diversity of a library collection and, on the other, the adequacy and convenience in the way that it is organised (Serrai 1993b, 175–176). Among the earliest libraries to be mentioned in Rocca’s account is the Marciana. He does not limit himself to giving a brief description of the library but recounts its institutional history in some detail. In particular he provides a complete translation of the famous letter written in 1468 in which cardinal Bessarion entrusted his library to the city of Venice in order that its contents “assembled with such great pains and at such expense ... would, after [his] death ... not be dispersed or given away but kept in a secure place, for the common use of all scholars...” [“con tanta fatica, et con tanta spesa, ... dopo la morte ... non sarebbero dissipati, et alienati, ma sarebbero seruati in qualche luogo sicuro, et commodo per la

<sup>4</sup> IRL 295 – Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (cum) commentario variarum artium ac scientiarum materiis, 1 t., fol. 4, Romae 1591 (*Edit16. Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/> [henceforward *Edit16 CNCE*] 33796).

comune utilità de gli uomini studiosi...”] (Rocca 1591, 388–390). It is possible therefore that this is the concept which inspired Rosselló when he stipulated that his collection should remain available “per servir-se’n quanto convinga”.

Why did Rosselló choose to entrust his library to the Jesuits? This was probably due in large part to Rosselló’s close personal association with the Society but there is the possibility that another factor affected his choice. By leaving his collection to the Jesuits he was entrusting it to a religious order whose presence in Sardinia was very closely bound up with higher education and with the foundation of the University which was first set up under Spanish rule (Turtas 1988). The repeated attempts in both Cagliari and Sassari to establish a university on the island focussed on the Jesuit colleges which were already present. As it turned out, the university in Cagliari when it was finally established was administered by the City council and the Bishop, but the Jesuits retained an important role and several professorial chairs were reserved for them (Sorgia 1986, 16–18).

It is highly probable that this context is key to understanding Rosselló’s motivation in leaving his library to the Jesuits, taking into account at least three elements. First, Rosselló’s will was drawn up in the same year, 1607, as one of the first official recognitions of the University – the papal bull which authorised its foundation.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, Rosselló himself played an active part in setting up the University. Finally, the way he describes the contents of his collection in his will is itself significant: the subject fields he specifies are not generically chosen but reflect the proposed organisation of the University, where Law and Theology were the two founding faculties together with a third area of the collections indicated as books serving “altres facultats” or “other subjects”. If this interpretation is correct, as I believe it to be, then Rosselló’s library forms the antecedent of the “pubblica biblioteca universale” which would be established in Cagliari at the end of the eighteenth century.

The other innovative element which I would like to discuss here relates not to Rosselló’s arrangements for the future of his collection but to the way he put it together or rather planned its construction. Precisely because the library was

<sup>5</sup> The papal bull, which precedes the royal decree for the foundation of the University in 1620, is dated 12 February 1607 (Sorgia 1986; D’Arienzo 1997), while Rosselló’s will is dated 1 December 1607.

not merely a collection of books acquired for personal and professional reasons but a constructed entity which went beyond the limited references to the “*facultats de la que hom professa*”, it includes a large number of the complex and detailed bibliographical instruments which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had become a necessary resource for finding a way through the by now vast and endlessly varied output of the printing press. This is an aspect of Rosselló’s library which has not been sufficiently noted; indeed, on an initial perusal of the inventory, it easily escapes attention, with more or less generic descriptions of various bibliographical works under the general headings “*Catalogus*” and “*Index*”. Yet it is a highly significant component of the library which throws much light on its overall structure, its intellectual context and the ways in which Rosselló set about building it up.

Rosselló was very much aware of the need to possess some kind of compass to explore, with confidence and within wide horizons, the world of printed books. This was the same awareness which had led Gessner to compile his *Bibliotheca Universalis* and it is not by chance that Gessner’s book was present on Rosselló’s shelves, both in the shortened version or epitome edited by Lycosthenes and published by Oporinus in 1551 and in the Froschauer edition of 1555.<sup>6</sup>

But Gessner’s work is not an isolated example of Rosselló’s interest in bibliography. In the inventory we find one of the main sources used by Gessner in compiling his work, the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of Trithemius,<sup>7</sup> as well as other bibliographical tools of various kinds which in the period after Gessner helped to shape the methods and functions of the bibliography of printed books: the early forms of national bibliographies, bibliographies pertaining to subject disciplines and the catalogues issued by publishers and booksellers.

<sup>6</sup> Despite the discrepancy in the date of publication, IRL 1135 – *Conradi Gesneri Elenchus scriptorium omnium*, 4 fol., Basileae 1552 – can certainly be identified with *Elenchus scriptorium omnium ... in compendium redactus per Conradum Lycosthenem*, Basel, Johann Oporinus 1551 (*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, <http://ustc.ac.uk/> [henceforward USTC] 649812, while the *Epitome Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri ... locupletata per Josiam Simlerum*, Zürich, Christoph I. Froschauer, 1555 (USTC 652948) is probably to be identified with IRL 628 – *Cat(h)alogus scriptorium omnis generis*, fol. Tiguri 1555, which is the title found in the incipit of the book after the *Nuncupatoria* and the *Prefatoria*. Unfortunately neither edition has survived among the books which belonged to Rosselló’s library in the present-day University Library in Cagliari.

<sup>7</sup> IRL 2915 – *Ioannis Tritemii De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus*, 4 fol., Coloniae 1546, to be identified with the edition published by Quentel in Cologne in 1546 (USTC 640871), which was the last 16th-century edition of the work.

As far as national bibliographies are concerned, Rosselló possessed what was a largely comprehensive collection of the editions relevant to the two countries of main cultural reference for him, Italy and Spain. For Spain, we find the apologetic work by Alfonso García Matamoros, the *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* as well as the *Catalogus clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum* by Valerius Andreas,<sup>8</sup> while for Italy there is Doni's *Libreria*, in two different editions – the first edition from 1550 and the revised edition of 1580.<sup>9</sup>

The same detailed degree of coverage can be found among the subject bibliographies in the library, especially in relation to law and jurisprudence. Rosselló possessed copies of the two main bibliographies in this field from the second half of the sixteenth century, following on from Nevizzano's work: the *Index* by Ziletti in the second edition of 1566 (Fig. 1) and Freymon's *Elenchus*, also in the second edition published in 1579.<sup>10</sup>

It is worth examining in further detail, on account of its richness, the third category of bibliographical resources, publishers' and booksellers' catalogues, which provided, as is now recognised – in Italy mostly as the result of Alfredo Serrai's work (Serrai 1993a, 5–75) – a channel of communication with the book-trade world as well as up-to-date and easily consulted guides to both current and past publications (Coppens 2008 and 2012; Nuovo 2016).

Above all Rosselló owned several bookfair catalogues, in particular some volumes of the series of Frankfurt catalogues for the period between the spring of 1586 and the autumn of 1589.<sup>11</sup> These are the years just after his university

<sup>8</sup> The entry IRL 153 – *De asserenda Hispanorum erudi[c]tione*, 1 t., fol. 8 – is for the work by Alfonso García Matamoros, in the Complutensian edition published by Juan de Brocar in 1553 (USTC 336440, 347983-85) while IRL 4371 – *Valerii Andreae Taxandri Cat[h]alogus Hispaniae scriptorum*, 4 fol., Moguntiae 1607 – can be identified with the Mainz edition of Valerius Andreas' *Catalogus* published by Balthasar Lipp in 1607 (VD 17: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, <http://www.vd17.de>, 23:000304L).

<sup>9</sup> See entries IRL 1397 – *Bibliotheca continens nomina et libros auctorum*, 12 fol., Venetiis 1550 (Edit16 CNCE 17682) – and IRL 1397 – *Idem opus vetustius [sic]*, 12 fol., Venetiis 1580, (Edit16 CNCE 17717). Unfortunately neither edition has survived in the present-day University Library in Cagliari.

<sup>10</sup> IRL 2357 – *Index librorum iuris pontificii et civilis*, 4 fol., Venetiis 1566, which can be identified with the corrected and expurgated edition of Ziletti's compilation (Edit16 CNCE 39983; Colli 2006, 205–244) and IRL 1408 – *Elenchus omnium auctorum sive scriptorum qui in iure civili et canonico claruerunt*, 4 fol., Francofurti ad Menum 1579 (USTC 649808). Both editions survive as part of the Rosselló collection today (BUCA, Misc. 1339/1 and Ross. D 405).

<sup>11</sup> Specifically the volumes for the spring and autumn fairs of 1586, the spring fair of 1587 and the

studies in mainland Italy and his return to Sardinia, during which he was beginning his professional career but at the same time he was evidently also starting to build and shape his collection and looking beyond the opportunities for acquisitions found locally to Europe as a whole.

Not by chance another bookseller's catalogue relates to the same period in Rosselló's life: the *Index librorum quorundam Romae impressorum* printed by Giacomo Ruffinelli<sup>12</sup> and containing some 380 16<sup>th</sup>-century editions, all printed in Rome by different printers, particularly for the period between 1581 and the year of Ruffinelli's edition, 1586. But Rosselló's interest in this kind of catalogue never seems to have diminished. In chronological sequence, following this initial set of catalogues, we find three more such publications from the 1590s. The first is the *Indice copioso, e particolare di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti in Venetia, sino all'anno 1592*, the only catalogue dedicated to the output of a single publishing house, the Giolito firm. Then there is the Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue, published in Lyon in 1593, and the similar *Index librorum* issued by the 'Venetian' bookseller Simone Vassalini in Madrid in 1597.<sup>13</sup>

Rosselló's copies of the bookfair catalogues as well as of the Ruffinelli and Giolito catalogues do not survive in the library, whereas the catalogues of Rouillé and Vassalini do (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria [henceforward BUCA] Ross. A 401 and Ross. D 115). On the Vassalini catalogue (Fig. 2), the only known copy of which is in Cagliari, it is noteworthy that the date of its publication, 1597, coincides with the period of Rosselló's visit to Madrid to obtain Philip II's ratifications of the decisions taken by the Sardinian Parliament of 1592-1594. The process of obtaining royal approval was usually a protracted affair, lasting months or even years. In this case it lasted until 1598, probably on account also of the death of Philip II on 13 September of 1598 (Quaglioni 1997, 106-107). Thus Rosselló must have spent a lengthy period of time in Madrid, especially

autumn fair of 1589, described in the inventory at entries IRL 998 – *Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium Francoforti ad Maenum*, fol. 4, anno 1586; IRL 999 – *Catalogus alius novus earundem nundinarum sed autumnalium eiusdem anni*; IRL 1000 – *Catalogus alius earundem nundinarum vernalium, anni tamen 1587*; IRL 1001 – *Catalogus alius earundem nundinarum vernalium anni 1589*. None of these survives in the present-day collection.

<sup>12</sup> IRL 2361 – *Index librorum quorundam*, 24 fol., Romae 1586 (Edit16 CNCE 51878).

<sup>13</sup> IRL 2360 – *Index copiosior et particularis omnium librorum*, 8 fol., Venetiis 1592 (Edit16 CNCE 51033; Coppens 2005). IRL 1002 – *Catalogus librorum Lugduni, Parisiis, Belgiae et Germaniae excussorum*, fol. 12o, Lugduni 1593 (USTC 146296). IRL 2359 – *Index omnium scientiarum et artium*, 4 fol., Madriti 1597 (USTC 343568; Rueda Ramírez 2017).

when we consider the probability he had arrived in the city as early as 1596. It was in 1596 that Rosselló's only book was published – and in Madrid. This was a work on the allegations made in the legal dispute over the hereditary rights of the count of Laconi, don Giacomo di Castelvì, to certain fiefs in northern Sardinia (*Ad causam feudorum civitatis Plovacensis, et oppidorum de Salvennor, et Florinas ... pro d. Iacobo a Castelvi Responsum*), printed by Luis Sánchez and already recorded by Pérez Pastor (1891, 523, cf. Clemente San Román 1998, 710) although, as it was published anonymously, it was never attributed to Rosselló. The work however can be firmly ascribed to him on the basis of the inventory of his library where, at IRL 3354, it is described as follows: “Monserrati Rosello i.c.ti Responsum ad causam feudorum civitatis Plovacensis et oppidorum de Salvennore et Florinas etc. aliorum pro don Iacobo a Castelvi Laconensi comite, fol., Mantuae Carpentanae 1586”. This is certainly the edition published in 1596, despite the date, which must be an error of transcription: as is clear from the *Responsum* itself, the question of the succession to the fiefdom did not come into being earlier than 1591.

Thus we can safely assume I think that he purchased the catalogue in the course of his stay in the Spanish capital from 1596 to 1598. It is likely that he also acquired the 1593 Rouillé catalogue (Fig. 3), given that it circulated in Spain where the Rouillé had an extensive commercial network.<sup>14</sup> There is another feature to do with Rosselló's copy of the 1593 Rouillé catalogue which is worth noting. It is bound with another bookshop catalogue which is not known in any other copy: a list of Giolito editions which, as a bibliographical production, is much less polished than the 1592 catalogue mentioned above but largely overlaps with it in terms of content, except for some additions and some cancellations. It reflects a phase of revision of the *Indice* datable to around 1596 (Granata 2017) and therefore appears to be a variant of the lists which were issued in this final phases of the publisher's activity (Coppens 2005). In connection with Rosselló's library, the date of publication means that it belongs to a period which appears to have been a significant one for his acquisition of this kind of bibliographical material.

<sup>14</sup> The 1593 catalogue survives in other two copies, for one of which there is also a Spanish connection since it is found in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid), 40-VI-29. Enc. Esc (Castelli 2014). The other copy is in Rome (Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Oe 111/1).

Another aspect worth mentioning is that both the Rouillé and Vassalini catalogues show signs of use (Figs. 4-5). In particular, several titles have been marked with a dot written in black ink in the margin. In the Rouillé catalogue these marks indicate for the most part law books, especially the series of *Consilia* published in Italy. The marks are more frequent in the Vassalini catalogue and are mainly found in the sections on Theology and on Canon and Civil Law. Once again, in the section on Civil Law, the *Consilia* are marked as a block of titles together with several *Decisiones* and *Pratiche*. It should be noted that Rosselló's library was very well provided with this kind of work; the collection of *Consilia* by Italian jurists is one of the richest aspects of the legal content of the library, with in the region of 150 titles. In the Theology section the markings are more sporadic and indicate individual titles here and there; it is significant that one of these is the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* by Angelo Rocca, held by Rosselló and described in his inventory.

Indeed, the marginal marks in both catalogues reveal a specific focus on subject areas which are the ones most strongly represented in Rosselló's library. This, together with the fact that in general these titles are also found in the collection, might plausibly suggest that Rosselló himself marked up the catalogues. The same method of marking can be found in other surviving copies from his library, in particular the Ziletti *Index* where in addition to the dot we find another type of mark, an oblique stroke in the inner margin by the side of individual entries (Fig. 6). This second type of marginal marking can be found in various sections of the catalogue, whereas the dot, as in the Rouillé and Vassalini catalogues, has been added systematically above all in the part on the *Consilia*, where again there is a high degree of overlap between the editions marked in this way and actual copies in Rosselló's library. However, the marks do not appear to relate directly to the specific acquisition of these editions. Some occur in both catalogues while, on the other hand, some of the titles indicated in the catalogues are listed in different editions in the inventory. It is therefore perhaps more probable that the marks were part of either a preliminary or subsequent stage of checking what was already in the collection vis-à-vis the availability of titles in the booktrade. What remains significant is that the two catalogues were not only acquired but also used by Rosselló.

It is not possible to check such indications of use in the last catalogue – last in chronological sequence – mentioned in the inventory, the *Catalogus librorum*



*qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae, Ioannis Baptistae Ciotti, et sociorum*, published in Venice in 1608,<sup>15</sup> since it does not survive as part of the library today. As with the examples of Rouillé and Vassalini, it is a bookseller's catalogue which does not merely include the output of the partnership of Giovanni Battista Ciotti and Bernardo Giunta, which in 1608 had only very recently been formed, but also the stock of the two partners before their agreement (Rhodes 2013, 72–75). It comprises approximately 3,500 editions, a very large number which would certainly have attracted Rosselló's attention. But while we cannot check the actual copy for signs of use, it is worth noting that the date of publication is very close to the date when Rosselló drew up his will; its acquisition thus shows the enduring continuity of his interest in this type of bibliographical resource thanks to which he was able to discover what was on offer in the book-trade throughout western Europe and intervene in its transnational circuits.

His familiarity with this type of catalogue, within the broader context, as mentioned before, of his interest in bibliographical resources in general, helps to explain both the extraordinary growth of Rosselló's library and why it was so innovative among the collections built up by other Sardinian 'humanists'. They provided Rosselló with a formidable tool not only for acquisition but also of information which he could use alongside more traditional methods which he also certainly made use of. One of these was certainly the local circulation, commercial and otherwise, of books within Sardinia, as we see from various copies which survive as part of the library and which show signs of provenance from other Sardinian collections, which were either sold or dispersed.<sup>16</sup> We also know that Rosselló availed himself of the information he received from correspondents outside Sardinia, as he confirms in his will in which he names a Jesuit living in Naples, a certain Father Figus, to whom he owed a sum of money for the supply of various books (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 169:3–13).

<sup>15</sup> IRL 1003 – Catalogue librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae et sociorum, fol. 12, Venetiis 1608 (Castelli 2014, 315–316).

<sup>16</sup> The present author is carrying out a census of the copies in the Rosselló collection as part of a wider study of the library as a whole. The data currently available is not complete but already provides some evidence for this phenomenon, which supports the archival investigations into Rosselló's acquisitions of material from other collections in Sardinia (Fiesoli, Lai and Seche 2016, 229–30, 241). The indication of Canelles, the first printer in Sardinia, as a former owner in one copy in the library (BUCA Ross. A 137) is of especial interest since it seems to confirm the suggestion that part of Canelles' library was acquired when it was put up for sale after Canelles' death (Cadoni 1989, 20).

The bookshops in Cagliari certainly played a part in the growth of Rosselló's collection although very little is known about them. The few studies which exist on the subject provide the names of several merchants working in Sardinia in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, who normally did not specialise in the sale of books (Di Tucci 1954; Turtas 1988), with the exception of Canelles, who, like his successors, combined running a bookshop with the activity of printing (Balsamo 1968; Corda 1992-1994; Ledda 2012). Finally among these methods of acquisition we should also take into account the opportunities which Rosselló's own travels afforded him. The rich collection of editions from Madrid, for example, that makes the University Library of Cagliari so interesting for Iberian studies (Romero Frias 1983) could have been acquired – and most probably were – during Rosselló's diplomatic mission in Spain at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, almost half of the approximately 150 entries of the inventory are dated between 1595 and 1598.

Yet, whatever the methods of acquisition and provision Rosselló employed, the important point to make is that they underpinned a wide and continuously updated knowledge of publishing output which enabled Rosselló to range the world of books systematically and to choose what he wanted with a full awareness of what was available.

The library he assembled as a result was quite remarkable for its sheer size in Sardinia at the time; even more importantly, it was conceptually different from the other collections on the island because of the potential of the information it brought together. It is this latter quality which means it transcends the private sphere to become a collective resource.

Rosselló knew this and therefore made sure that his collection not only remained intact in terms of its contents but was also made accessible as a working library. These are the requirements he stipulated in giving his books to the Jesuits, intended to ensure that his library both continued to be used and continued to grow with new acquisitions. As far as these were concerned, his instructions to the Jesuits on how to go about acquiring reflect his own approach:

Y perquè més se conserve y augmente dita llibreria és també ma voluntat que, ... cascun any se compren y ajusten a dita llibreria fins la summa de vint-i-sinch ducats de llibres, un anyn de lleys y cànones, altre de theologia y altre de altres facultats o llibres spirituals a arbitre

del superior, ab que dels tres anys no se'n dexe un any de comprar llibres de lleys y cànones que és lo principal d'esta llibreria (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 164:19–27).

[And in order to maintain and increase the said library, it is also my wish that each year the sum of 25 ducats' worth of books should be purchased for inclusion in the library, one year publications in Law and Canon Law, the second year Theology, the third year other subjects or devotional works as the Director sees fit, in such a way that every three years one year is dedicated to the purchase of books on Law and Canon Law, which is the main subject area of the library].

These provisions reflect Rosselló's own experience. By asking the Jesuit fathers to acquire books in alternating years for each of the different subject areas of the library, not forgetting its legal content, clearly remote from the order's own interests, Rosselló was in effect requiring them to adopt and apply the same criteria of comprehensive and systematic coverage which he himself had used.

Seen from this point of view, Rosselló's bequest to the Collegio Cagliaritano did not merely represent a vast collection of books but above all a concept of what a library should be which reflected the model which was emerging across Europe in the same period. His collection is in this sense the mirror of a new sensibility which was itself part of the far-reaching development which led to the establishment in modern times of the idea of a public library.

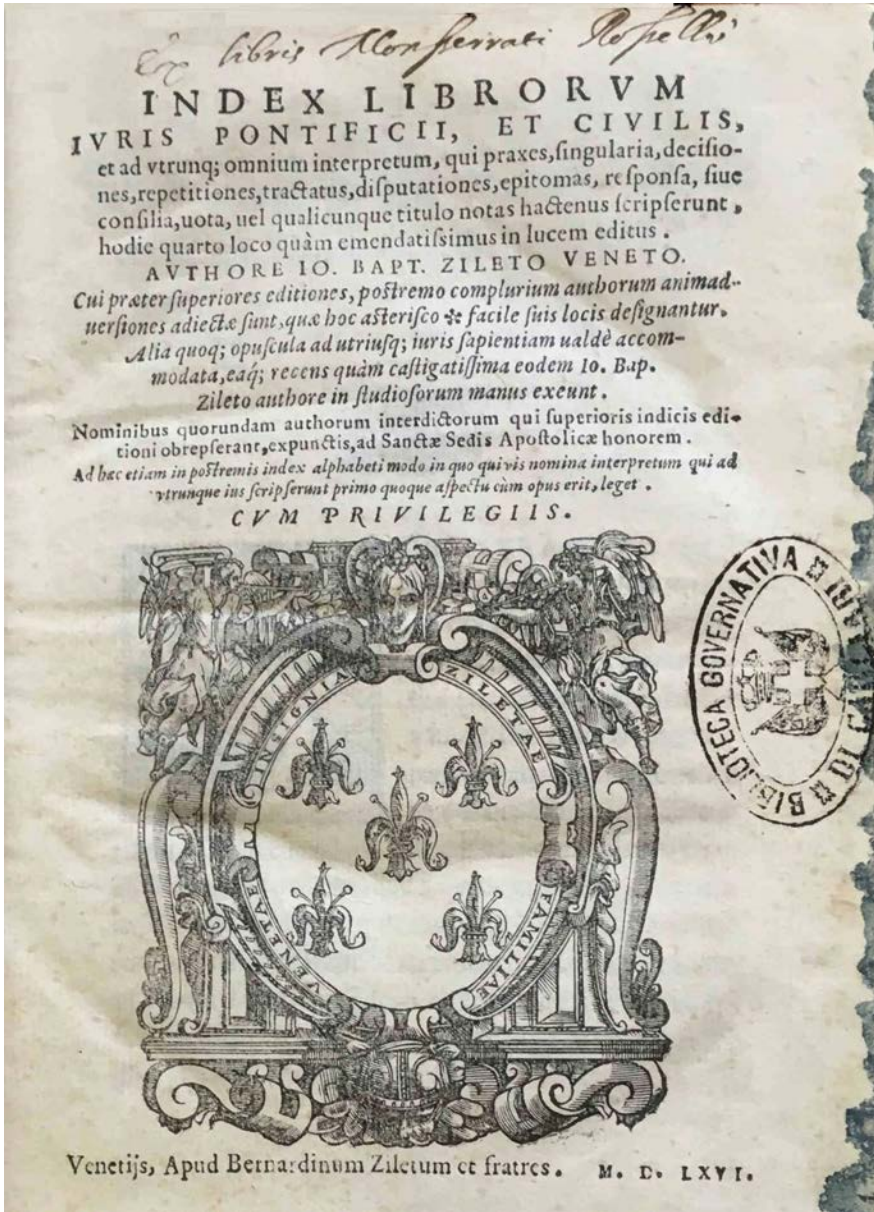


Fig. 1. Ziletti Index (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Misc. 1339/1).

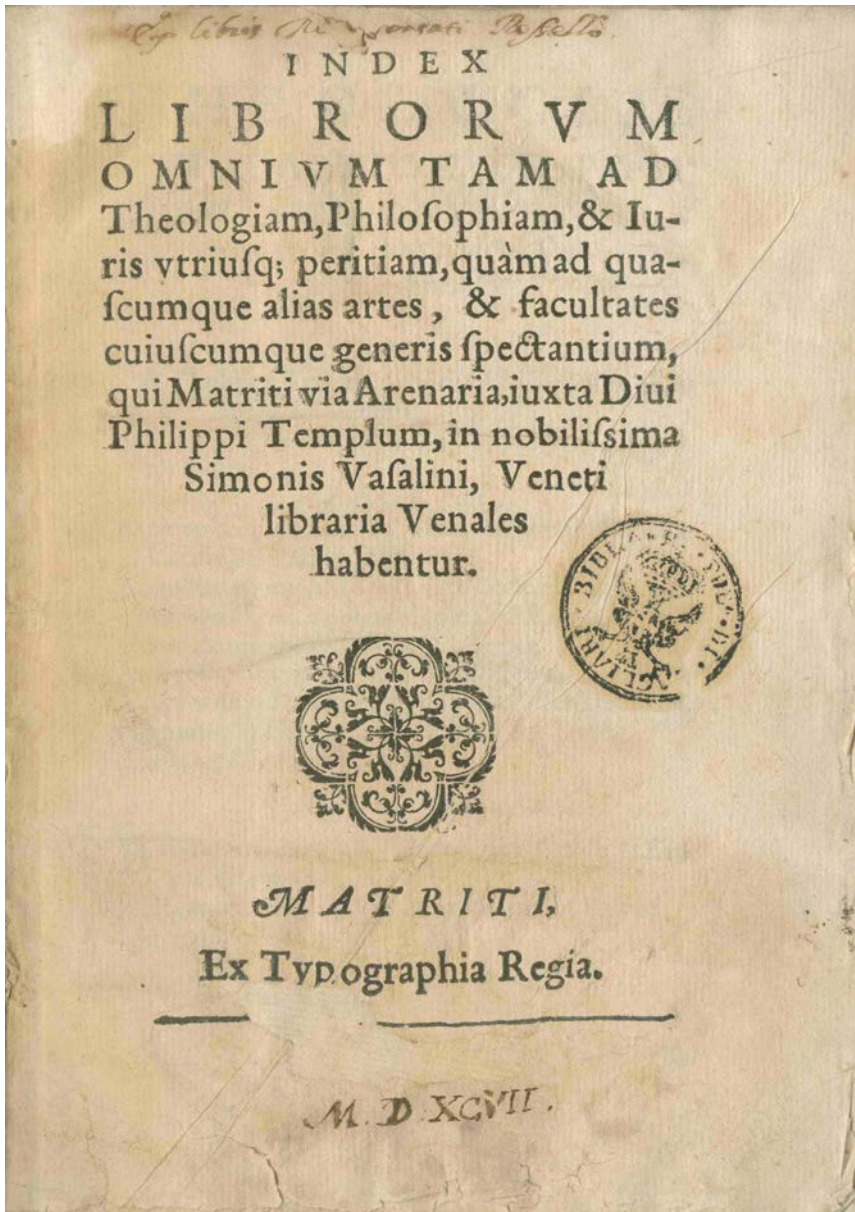


Fig. 2. Vassalini catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. D 115)

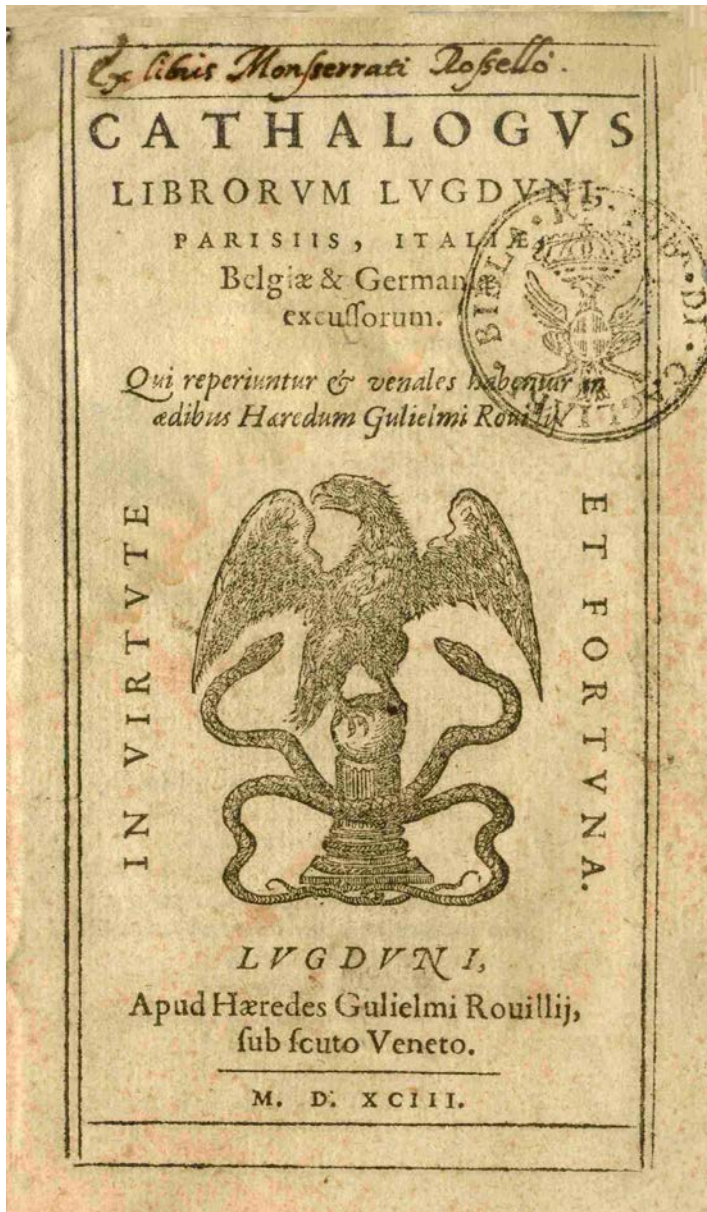


Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. A 401).

Fig. 4. Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. A 401). Italian section, A1v-A2r: Consilia.

Fig. 5. Vassalini catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. D 115). Civil law section, C2v-C3r: Consilia.

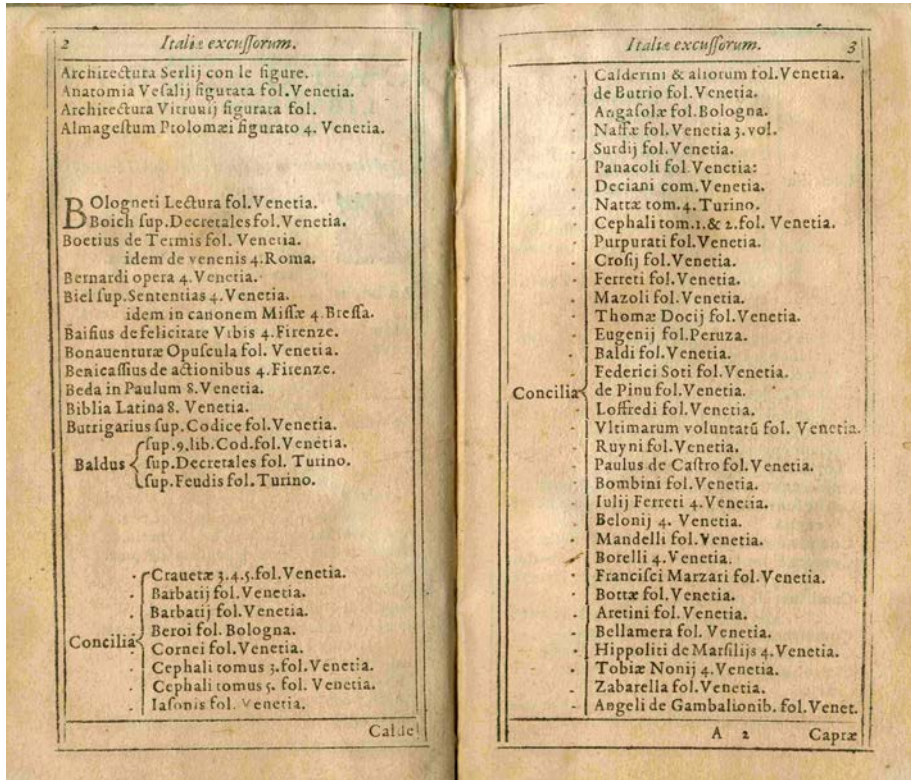


Fig. 4.

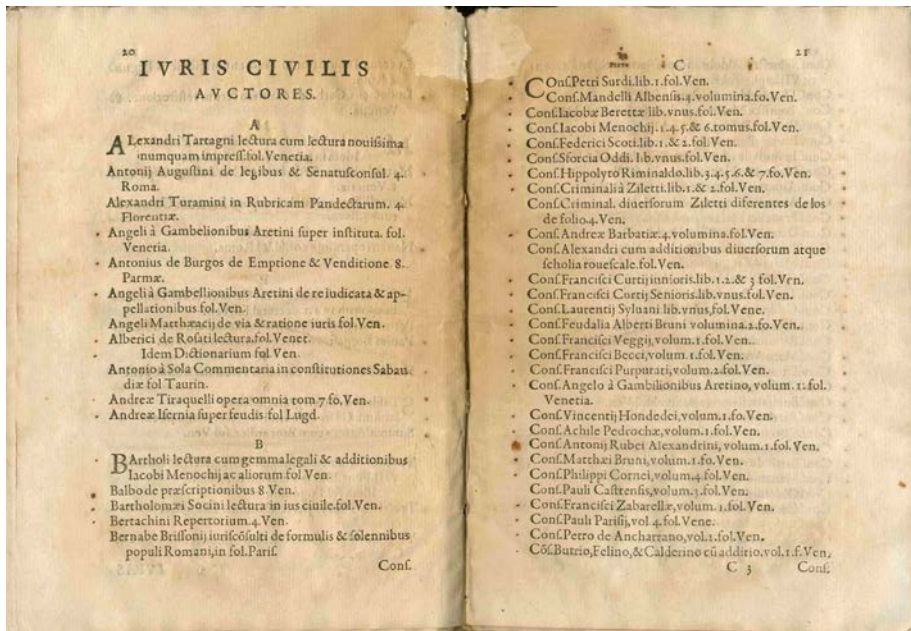


Fig. 5.

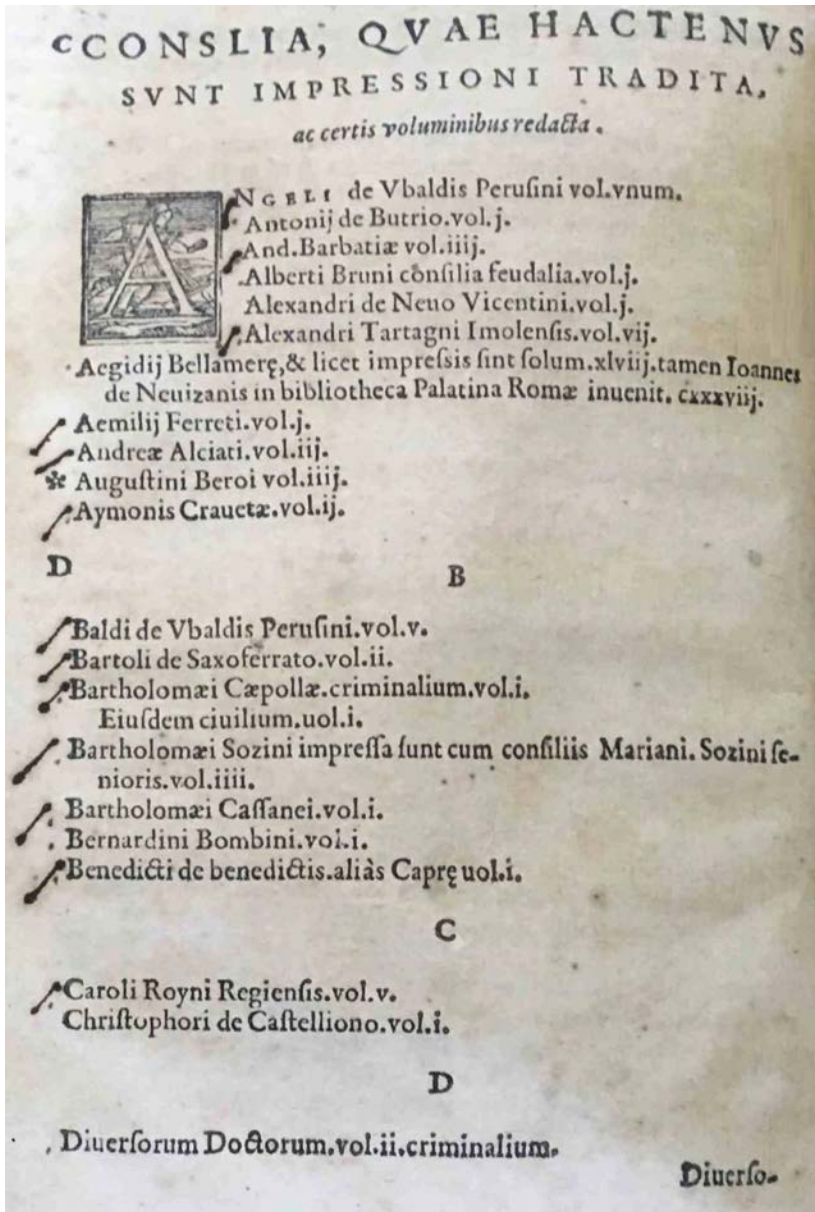


Fig. 6. Ziletti Index (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Misc. 1339/1). Consilia section, O4v.



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# **Building an up-to-date library. Prospero Podiani's use of booksellers' catalogues, with special reference to law books**

**Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni\***

## **Podiani and his library**

Prospero Podiani, citizen of Perugia, must be esteemed the equal of the princes of our time for the magnanimity and nobility that he has shown himself to possess and which are needed for the foundation of a library. He has, in fact, established in Perugia a Library which is admirable, since it is full of a great variety of manuscripts, as well as of printed books which have been published up to the present times.<sup>1</sup>

In 1591 Angelo Rocca, later to become celebrated for the foundation of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (Serrai 2004), wrote this description of the library that Prospero Podiani (1535 ca.-1615) established in Perugia. In his brief account of the library, Rocca made some remarkable statements. Among other things, he highlighted the fact that the library was an up-to-date collection, full of modern editions. Rocca was not relying on second-hand information: he had studied in Perugia and had met Podiani, from whom he had even borrowed

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<sup>1</sup> “Prosperus Podianus, civis Perusinus, animi nobilitate ac magnitudine in hac praesertim re praesanda, hoc est in Bibliotheca instituenda, Principibus viris aetate nostra haudquaquam cedere debere iudicatur: extruxit enim Bibliothecam Perusiae mira manuscriptorum codicum, omniumque librorum, qui ad hanc usque diem in luce prodierunt, varietate refertissimam» (Rocca 1591, 396; on Podiani: Vian 2015; Bartoli Langeli and Panzanelli Fratoni 2016).

some books (Panzanelli Fratoni 2002, p. 281). Furthermore the accuracy of his description has been borne out by subsequent information, especially the data gathered from the inventory of the library drawn up in 1617, two years after Podiani's death.<sup>2</sup> This inventory provides detailed descriptions which allow us to figure out the main features of the collection, the bulk of which was formed by editions printed between the 1530s and 1580s. These were mainly scholarly publications by the major authors of all ages, in any field and language. Moreover, very importantly, they were editions printed all over Europe (Panzanelli Fratoni 2016a, 86–93; Dondi and Panzanelli Fratoni 2016, 134–140).

The library was the result of Podiani's ambitious project to build a 'universal' collection, formed of all the best editions ever published, so as to provide scholars of any discipline with all the works they needed. In doing this, he was drawing on his personal passion for books, a passion he had developed since his childhood. Very little is known about Podiani's education but he certainly received a good training in the humanities: along with Latin, he probably studied Greek, at least enough to read it and to write a few lines. We can also infer, from various sources, that his family played an important role in his education. Prospero was born around 1535 to a family of professionals and landowners who came from a village near Perugia (Poggio Aquilone, from which the family name derives: de Podio, then Podiani). Towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century they moved to Perugia where they soon became involved in the government of the city and in the University. An important member of the family was Lucalberto (1471-1551), *doctor artis et medicinae*, but also secretary of the Priori (the city governors), and dean of the *Domus Sapientiae Veteris* (the earliest college in Perugia). Interestingly, when Prospero introduced himself to a cardinal (Fulvio Della Cornia), whose patronage he wished to obtain, he did it by making a reference to Lucalberto. Around 1580, when he was "half way through the journey of his life" Podiani announced his plan to transform his book collection (which at the time consisted of about 7,500 books) into an institutional library. In 1582 an agreement was drawn up between him and the city governors, and the city Library was established, with the name Biblioteca Augusta. In return for his generous donation, Podiani would be elected Librarian, with an annual salary of 150 scudi.

<sup>2</sup> Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS 3082; if not otherwise stated, all manuscripts and printed books mentioned in this article are found in this library.

It has been written that the official opening of the library did not take place until 1623, some years after Podiani's death (1615). It has been proven, however, that the library was in fact in existence at least as earliest as the 1590s, and there is evidence that a number of scholars made heavy use of the books (Panzanelli Fratoni 2002; 2006; 2009; 2013). It was an imperfect arrangement, though, since Podiani continued to manage the collections as if they were still his own property. Records of loans or expenditure for the library do not have the form of official documentation. Several registers exist, scattered within the manuscript collection, with lists and notes of various kinds written in Podiani's hand: some were conceived as tools for organising the collections, including a treatise on library management on which the present writer is currently working. Other registers were used to record notes of loans or expenses, but often in a disordered way and undated. Analysis and interpretation is needed of the information found in these notebooks, which is significant for our understanding not only of Podiani's library. Furthermore, along with his notes, he kept valuable printed material related to the booktrade.

In this article I will analyse a number of sale catalogues, printed and manuscript, which contain abundant data concerning the book-trade on an international scale. The final section is dedicated to law books, of particular significance since the Faculty of Law was a very important one in the University of Perugia. A detailed examination of the law books found in Podiani's library can serve as a significant test of its up-to-dateness.

## How Podiani dealt with the bookmarket

On 13 July 1591 a certain Filippo Guidalotti, probably a native of Perugia but by then living and working in Venice, sent a letter to Podiani.<sup>3</sup> He was glad to inform him – he wrote – that “Sig. Bernardo” (Giunta?), who always had Podiani's interests at heart, had just sent him a note to say that a ‘catalogue of the last Frankfurt fair’ was waiting for him [in Sig. Bernardo's bookshop] to collect.

<sup>3</sup> A collection of about 300 letters, mainly received by Podiani from more than 150 correspondents, is preserved in Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio storico del Comune di Perugia (= ASPg, ASCPg), Miscellanea 103.

Al Molto Mag.co Sig.r e p.ron mio  
 il sig. Prospero Pudiani  
 Perugia

Molto Mag.co sig. mio

V.S. potra cognoscire di continuo la memoria che tiene il sig. Bernardo di lei. In una fattura mandata à m. Michele Vaschetto, costi che vi è notato per V.S. un **Catalogo venuto dalla fiera di Francoforte cioè di questa ultima fiera**, et rendesi conto V.S. che dove la potrò servire, io sempre mi troverò paratissimo.

Ringratio somamente V.S. della alegrezza che à preso di me, quando à sentito che me ritrovo apresso al signor Bernardo, che del tutto sia rengratiato Dio et per essere novitio in questa terra, per ora non li potrò dare haviso particolare che lo farò con prima occasione; né essendo questa per altro, Nostro sig. Dio vi felicitè e contenti.

di Venetia il dì 13 di luglio 1591

D.V.S.M.M.  
 Aff.mo p. s.r  
 Filippo Guidalotti

This letter reveals clearly Podiani's acquaintance with major publishers and booksellers; it also clarifies, at least on this occasion, how he acquired the numerous sale catalogues he owned, as we can see from the considerable number described in the inventory mentioned above (MS 3082). Furthermore, once these descriptions are identified with copies still in the library, they are often found to refer to *Sammelband*, where the catalogue described is merely the first of a series:

[Inv. 2580, f. 48r]: “**Indice di tutti i libri, Latino, Francfort, 1569, in 4**”

Shelfmark	Description	Place	Year
I L 1328(1-2)	<i>Catalogus Librorum a nundinis Francofurti ... in Officina libraria Georgij Vvilleri ...</i>	Frankfurt	1569
I L 1328(3)	<i>Catalogus eorum librorum qui post vernaes Francofordienses Nundinas anni MDLXXI ad autumnales usque in lucem prodierunt. Francofurti ad Moenum, per Nicolaum Basse</i>	=	1571
I L 1328(4-5)	<i>Catalogus nuntinarum autumnalium Francoforti ad Moenum ...</i>	=	1572
I L 1328(6-11)	<i>Catalogus novus ex nundinis autumnalibus Francofurti ad Moenum ...</i>	=	1573-76
I L 1328(12-15)	<i>Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium Francofurti ad Moenum, anno MDLXXVII ...</i>	=	1577-78



The catalogue mentioned in the letter can easily be identified with the item in the inventory listed as **“Nuouo Catalogo della fiera di Francfort 1590, latino, Francfort”** (no. 5710, f. 104r). This has been bound with five more Fair catalogues for the immediately following years: *Catalogus novus nundinarum Francofurti ad Moenum ...* Winter 1590; Winter 1591 (2 copies); Autumn 1592 (2) Autumn 1593 (I I 2945(1-6). There was a ‘new catalogue of all books in Italian Spanish and French’, printed in 1592 (f. 3v, no. 110: **“Elenco nuovo, Catalogo di tutti libri Italiani spagnuoli e francesi, Latino, Francfort, 1592”**) and a series of the catalogues printed at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century:

[Inv. 3843, f. 70r]: **“Indice generale de libri stampati dal 1500 sino al 1600, latino, Francfort”**

I I 2877(1	<i>Elenchus seu Index generalis in quo continentur libri omnes, qui ultimo, seculo 1500. lustro, post annum 1593. usque ad annum 1600. in S. Romano Imperio &amp; vicinis regionibus novi auctive prodierunt.</i>	Eisleben	1600
I I 2877(2-7	<i>Elenchi seu indicis Quinquennalis continuatio prima [-sexta]</i>	Leipzig	1600-02
I I 2877(8-10	<i>Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus, de anno 1605.</i>	Frankfurt	1605
I I 2877(11	<i>Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus, de anno 1608. ... excudebat Ioannes Saur</i>	Frankfurt	1608

## Publishers' and booksellers' catalogues

Some very rare and on occasion unique copies of booksellers' catalogues have been found in Podiani's collection, such as the following: *Index librorum qui Lugduno veniunt, et sunt apud Ioannem Tallinum bibliopolam in Vrbe* (IT\ICCU\UM1E\025796), described in the inventory as: **“Indice dei libri che si uendono in Leone, latino, Roma, 1599”** (no. 5391, f. 98v) and once again bound with other catalogues including an *Index librorum quorundam Romae impressorum* (Rome: Zannetto, 1580; Edit16 CNCE 51877; Renzi 2016a). The **“Catalogo della libreria de Giunti Ciotti e co(m)p(agni) in Venetia, lat. Venetia, 1608”** (no. 6306, f. 113v) can easily be identified with the copy shelfmarked I O 1424: *Catalogus librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae, Io. Bapt. Ciotti, et sociorum* (Venetiis, 1608), which brings us back to the already cited letter from

Filippo Guidalotti who was indeed probably an employee in the bookshop of Bernardo Giunta.

Of particular interest is the following entry: “**Indice di libri della stampa d’Aldo et altri libri, 1535**” (no. 2626, f. 49r). This might refer to a *Sammelband*. In fact, while there is no known catalogue of the Manutius’ publishing house printed in 1535, a copy of the 1563 catalogue (Edit16 CNCE 51311; Ald 350) can be found today in the Biblioteca Augusta which certainly belonged to Podiani who wrote a humanistic *ex-libris* in Greek in it: “Prosperi Podiani” (Coppens 2008, 109; Panzanelli Fratoni 2009b; Renzi 2016a, 79; Renzi 2016b, 102). This copy is currently disbound but it is probable that this has not always been the case. We know that, between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup>, a librarian working in the Augusta, with the intention of giving more prominence to certain areas of the collections, such as incunables and Aldines, started shelving them together, detaching them if necessary from other copies in which they had been bound (Dondi and Panzanelli Fratoni 2016, 147–148). If confirmed, this would explain the ‘wrong’ description in the inventory but also the fact that we do not find, in there, any items for the 1563 catalogue of Aldines.

A mistake was made in writing the entry for the catalogue of the works of the Accademia Veneziana, initially recorded as the Florentine academy: “**Somma dell’opere nella stampa dell’Acad(emi)a Fiorentina Venetiana, Volgare, Venetia, 1558, in folio**” (no. 4874, f. 89v). Luckily this copy of the celebrated catalogue printed by Paolo Manuzio (Edit16 CNCE 71) has not been treated as other Aldines (possibly it was not identified as such) and it has been survived the form Podiani would have handled it: a *Sammelband* made up of fifteen different works, most of which are sale catalogues (Figg. 2-16):

shelfmark	description	place	date	unica in Italy
Ald 558(1)	Accademia Veneziana. <i>Somma delle opere</i>	Venice	1558	
Ald 558(2)	M. Cholin. <i>Librorum qui apud Maternum Cholinum ...</i>	Cologne	1565	X
Ald 558(3)	Guillaume Postel. <i>Astronomicae considerationis brevissima synopsis</i>	Paris	1553	
Ald 558(4)	Rihel. <i>Catalogus librorum typis Riheliani</i> ...	Strasbourg	[1556/57]	X

Ald 558(5)	<b>Hervagius.</b> <i>Catalogus librorum Tabernae Hervagianae</i>	[Basel]	1569	
Ald 558(6)	<b>P. Perna.</b> <i>Index librorum officinae typographicae Petri Perna</i>	[Basel]	1565	X
Ald 558(7)	<b>Episcopius.</b> <i>Librorum Tabernae et Officinae Episcopiana</i>	[Basel]	1567	
Ald 558(8)	<b>Giunta.</b> <i>Index librorum ... Iuntarum typographia ... MDXCI</i>	[Venice]	1591	
Ald 558(9)	[List in alphabetical order with no title nor imprint]	—	[1590s?]	X
Ald 558(10)	<b>D. Tarino.</b> <i>Lista de libri di Gio. Dominico Tarino, stampati in Torino</i>	Torino	[1600 ca.]	X
Ald 558(11)	<b>C. Plantin.</b> <i>Typographiae Plantini</i>	Antwerp	1579	X
Ald 558(12)	<i>Libri di stampa forestiera latini</i>	—		
Ald 558(13)	<b>Giolito.</b> <i>Libri di stampa de Gioliti</i>	[Venice]	[1587]	
Ald 558(14)	<b>Giolito.</b> <i>Libri spiritali di stampa de' Gioliti</i>	[Venice]	[1587]	X
Ald 558(15)	<b>A. Du Verdier.</b> <i>Supplementum Epitome Bibliothecae Gesnerianae</i>	Lyon	1585	

The importance of this collection has been highlighted by Christian Coppens (Coppens 2008, 116–117, 121–124: the information on unique copies is taken from here). More recently a presentation of Podiani's catalogues overall was shown as part of an exhibition on the library, in which sale catalogues and bibliographies were displayed together in order to show their use as tools used by Podiani in building up his collections (Renzi 2016a). It can also be observed that this *Sammelband* includes two bibliographical works: no. 15 (Du Verdier), but also no. 3 (Postel) an analysis of a specific discipline which is conceptually close to a bibliography.

The data found in this extraordinary collection is significant in itself (unica are obviously very important) but also when it is put in relation to other documents as the following examples show. Valuable information on currencies is found in the catalogue of books sold by Giovan Domenico Tarino in Turin, the title of which is full of information; it tells us that the “books are listed with their prices” and explains the latter: “12 grossi make 1 florin, and 10 florins and 6 grossi make 1 Italian scudo of gold”. In doing this, Tarino also provides his customers (and us) with a clue on how to read the symbols used for the coins: ff = florins, gr/g = grossi. The scudo never occurs in this broadsheet, although many items were priced at more than 10 ff and 6 g (Fig. 11). The question of how to interpret the symbols used for coinage is one of the many issues which

arise in studying prices and currencies (Ammannati and Nuovo 2017); shown here also by the different systems that we can see in Giolito's and Giunti's catalogues (Figs. 14-15, 9).

Different problems arise with catalogues no. 9 and 12, which are both lacking an imprint. No. 9 consists only of a list of titles in alphabetical order and was probably printed in the 1590s, to judge from some of the titles. Certainly this is not a catalogue of a publishing house; maybe it was printed for a bookseller, but it is also possible that it was made for a private collector wishing to sell duplicates or discarded copies, just as Podiani himself would do. Evidence of Podiani's habit of selling off books from his library, an important aspect of the way he managed his collection, is found in various documents, including the presence of multiple copies of the same editions. Catalogue no. 12 is only apparently clearer; the heading, in Italian, reads "books printed abroad in Latin" (*Libri di stampa forastieri latini*) and one would think that it therefore includes books printed outside Italy. For most of them, however, Venice is given as the place of printing; others were printed in Milan, Florence, Turin and Ferrara. My hypothetical conclusion is that this catalogue was not printed outside Italy, in the overall sense, but in one of the Italian states existing at the time; possibly the Kingdom of Naples, as the cities mentioned in it cover almost all the states in northern Italy.

Manuscript annotations and manicules are found in the catalogues of Rihel, Hervagius, Perna, Episcopius, and Plantin (Figg. 5-7, 12); they are particularly relevant in the latter, where a price is added to most of the items, expressed in florins (fl) and stuivers (st). Interestingly prices appear in all categories apart from the section of books printed in Dutch (*Flandrico sermone*).

## **A manuscript collection of catalogues**

Podiani's library contains other information on the contemporary booktrade. Among the many notebooks that Podiani filled with lists of various kinds, there is a small register (MS H 20; mm 205x150, 150 leaves) that seems to be entirely dedicated to the booktrade. It is mostly in Podiani's handwriting, with lists of books arranged according to various criteria, almost always with a price, expressed in various currencies (Figg. 17-23). The central section of the register is, again, a collection of sale catalogues, remarkably similar to the one that has been just analysed but much richer in the data it provides.

	Heading in the list	page
1.	<i>Giolito</i>	15r
2.	<i>Tramezzino</i>	16r
3.	<i>Valgrisi</i>	18r
4.	<i>Scotto</i>	21r
5.	<i>Diversi</i>	24r
6.	<i>Sigismundus Feyerabend civis et Bibliopola Francofurtensis</i>	25r-26v
7.	<i>Haeredes Egenolphi Francofurtensis</i>	27r-28r
8.	<i>Nicolaus Basseus Francofurtensis</i>	28rv
9.	<i>Frobenius</i>	29r
10.	<i>Eusebius Episcopus</i>	30rv
11.	<i>Hervagius et haeredes Basilee</i>	31rv
12.	<i>Haeredes Oporini, Basilee</i>	32r
13.	<i>Haeredes Brylingerii, Basilee</i>	32v
14.	<i>Sebastianus Henricipetri, Basilee</i>	33r-34v
15.	<i>Thomas Guarinus, Basilee</i>	35rv
16.	<i>Del Gionta</i>	36r
17.	<i>Petrus Perna Basiliensis</i>	37r-38r
18.	<i>Andreas Gesnerus et Christ. Froscouerus</i>	39rv
19.	<i>Ingolstadij. Dylingae. Augustae</i>	40r-41v
20.	<i>Guerinus Callennius, Coloniae</i>	42rv-45r
21.	<i>Haeredes Jodochi Bricmanni [sic] Coloniae</i>	45r-46v
22.	<i>Jo. Gymnicus Coloniensis</i>	61v-62v
23.	<i>Petri Hort Coloniae</i>	63r-64r
24.	<i>Christophorus Plantinus Antuerpiae</i>	65v-70v
25.	<i>Haeredes Joannis Stelsij</i>	70v-72r
26.	<i>Jo. Bellerus Antuerpiae</i>	72r-73v
27.	<i>ex off.na Christ.ri Plantini</i>	119v-120r

At the beginning of the register and also interspersed among the publishers' catalogues there are lists of books arranged in alphabetical order by author's name or by subject, also with prices, which recall the anonymous catalogue no. 9 of the *Sammelband* mentioned above; perhaps a more extensive analysis of the two documents will contribute to a better understanding of the purpose of this kind of list.

The lists are made up of short titles and format, as in printed catalogues. Various symbols are found to indicate the currency, not always perfectly clear; however,

kreuzer, florins, lire, scudi and the related smaller monetary denominations can be recognised. Taken as a whole, this register appears to be a rather comprehensive survey of the international booktrade. It is hard to say whether these lists were made by copying printed sale catalogues or Podiani was compiling ‘catalogues’ for his own use by listing books he was looking for or which he had seen in a book-fair or a shop. Possibly all these methods were used in the lists.

Along with information on which editions were available at which prices, there are also notes on the future availability of certain editions (forthcoming), or the opposite (out of stock), respectively indicated by the notes “sub prelo” (in press) and “non extat” (unavailable). A few examples of the three possibilities (on sale, in press, not available) can be found in the lists on editions published by Christophe Plantin:

MS H 20 Plantin	Transcription	Identified editions	Bibliography
<i>on sale</i>			
119v	Corpus Civile Carondae f. [i.e. Louis Le Caron, 1534-1613] <b>[Kreuzer?] 6</b>	<i>D.N. Sacratissimi principis Iustiniani ... opera &amp; diligentia L. Charondae iurisconsulti 1575. Fol.</i>	Voet 1035, series B
=	[ <i>manicula</i> ] Civile cum glossis f. <b>[Kreuzer?] 15</b>	<i>Corpus iuris civilis ... ex Pandectis Florentinis ... commentariis Accursii, &amp; multorum neotericorum ... 1575. Fol. (6 vols)</i>	Voet 1035, series A
<i>In press</i>			
66r	Lat(in)a cum figuris eneis f <sup>o</sup> <b>sub prelo</b>	<i>Bible [in Latin], 1583. Fol</i>	Voet 1980-83 I p. 365, no. 690
=	Hebraica in 4 <b>sub prelo</b>	<i>Bible [Hebrew], 1582. 4<sup>o</sup></i>	Voet no. 654
=	[ <i>manicula</i> ] Hebraicolat. interlindaris(?) <b>sub prelo</b>	<i>Biblia hebraica eorundem latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariae Montani ... cum interlineari interpretatione 1584. Fol</i>	IT\ICCU\ BVEE\022352 Voet?
=	Lat.a in 8 <b>sub prelo</b>		Voet 689 (1582), 691 (1583), 692 (1584)

<i>not available</i>			
119v	Corpus Canonicum in 8 <b>non extat</b>	<i>Decretorum canonicorum collectanea</i> <b>1569-70</b>  [or] <i>Compendium of canonic Law</i> <b>1566</b>	Voet 1030/ 1032- 33
=	<i>Corpus Civile Duareni</i> [i.e. François Duaren 1509-59] in 8 <b>non extat</b>	<b><i>Ius ciuile manuscriptorum librorum ... auctoritate Fran. Duareni I.C. 1567</i></b>	Voet 1034-35

These records provide a wealth of information on the availability and prices of editions printed all over Europe for a resident in the Papal State. How did Podiani amass such an extraordinary collection of publishing data? How did he manage to be in touch with what all the major publishing houses across Europe were producing?

## Reaching the European market through Rome and Venice

Podiani did not spend all his time in Perugia; he was frequently in Rome, where he had a house. Evidence of his book-trading in Rome is also found in letters that he exchanged with Pietro Paolo Giuliani, the printer and bookseller whose name appears in the registers of the so-called “Inchiesta clementina” (Barberi 1981, 339–359; Fiorani-Lebreton 1985, 47). Giuliani was from Perugia and in Rome he worked in the shop of Giovanni Tallini; it was through Giuliani that Podiani probably acquired his copy of Tallini’s catalogue of books printed in Lyon.

Podiani does not seem to have travelled outside Italy: so far only one piece of evidence has been found for a lengthy journey he made to towns in Northern Italy, during which he took notes on all the money spent on travelling from one place to another and purchasing all kinds of commodities (MS I 93; Bignami Odier 1964; Cecchini 1978, 113–114, 569). He went to Venice (6 scudi), in Cremona he purchased knives for 2 scudi and socks in Mantua for the same price; he visited Ferrara, Bologna, Pesaro, and Padua, paying for horses, local taxes and fares:

[f. 22r] Per la strada sino a **Venetia** spesi [scudi] 6 ... Per comperar cortelli in **Cremona** [scudi] 2 ... Per comperar li calzini in **Mantua** [scudi] 2 ...

[23r] Per pagare la bolletta e il datio [scudi] 1 ... Per venire sino a **Ferrara** e per le spese [scudi] 2 ... [23v] Per pagare il cavallo da **Bologna** sino a Pesaro [scudi] 1 ...

[24r] Per pagar la gabella in **Pesaro** g[iuli] 12 ...

[32v] Per andare a **Padova** [L?] 1.

In all these places Podiani could purchase books. Venice, however, was the gateway for the European market, and it was through Venitian booksellers that Podiani purchased the bulk of the editions printed in Northern countries. A vivid illustration of this is found in another letter to him, sent in 1587 by a certain Ludovico Carbone, who wrote:

As soon as I received your letter I went to look for the books you wish to have. [...] I have not bought the other booklet because it costs up to **40 solidi**, I think because only one copy is available, in the **Valgrisi bookshop** [...]. As for the **catalogues** I went to visit all the bookshops I know but I could not find the ones you are looking for; and because I wished to do everything I could in order to satisfy you, I went to see sig. **Pietro Longo**, and told him I was doing this on your behalf. He replied that **he knows you** and that he would be very happy and grateful if you wished to ask him for his services, because – so he said – **no one else deals with books printed abroad** to the extent that he does.<sup>4</sup>

This is a colourful piece of evidence for something which is already well known to scholars (Maclean 2012, 172; Nuovo 2013, 287–291): Pietro Longo was a leading bookdealer, in touch with the major book collectors of the time, such as Gian Vincenzo Pinelli. As Angela Nuovo has pointed out, Longo regularly visited the Frankfurt Fair also on behalf of the major Italian publishers who preferred not to attend in person in order to avoid the censor's strict controls. Longo was in touch with reformed publishers, such as Perna and Wechel, and specialised in the publication of legal texts. The letter from Carbone highlights

<sup>4</sup> “Non ho mancato subito hauta la sua di far diligenza di haver quelli libri che lei desidera. Trovai le Questioni de Plutarcho, ma senza quell'altro opuscolo, et però non l'ho voluta pigliare senza altra sua commissione et massime per che ne dimanda sino a **40 soldi** et è un'operetta di pochissime carte, credo per che non ve ne è se non una in botega del **Valgrisi**. [...] quanto alli **cataloghi** ho recercate tutte queste librerie, et non ho trovati quelli che V.S. desidera et per non lasciar di far ogni diligenza so andato a trovar **m. Pier Longo** et gli ho detto che voleva questo servitio per V.S. et me disse che la conosceva, et che V.S. gli farà cosa grata nelle occorrenze di servirsi di lui per che **non vi è altro che così a tenda a libri forastieri come lui fa** ...” (ASPg, ASCPg, Misc. 103).



the fact that he was very proud of his expertise in dealing with foreign books. However, this very expertise might have drawn the authorities' attention to him; in January 1588, just a few months after Carbone sent his letter to Podiani (9<sup>th</sup> May), Longo was arrested and put to death.

Prohibited books and censorship are not the subject of this article; however, it should be pointed out that an important part of the scholarly production of the period was written, edited and published by Protestants or in countries which adhered to the Reformation and that this production was prohibited in various ways.<sup>5</sup> This kind of production was the core of Podiani's collection, and he found his own way of acquiring it, even when it was prohibited. A subset of about 500 editions listed in the Roman indexes has been identified within his collection (Alfi and Panzanelli Fratoni 2016) and some research has been carried out in order to understand how Podiani was able to maintain such a collection almost intact until his death (Fragnito 2001, 35–36; Panzanelli Fratoni 2016c). An important part of this section of the library was formed of legal texts, that attracted the attention of the censors for various reasons (Savelli 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2006). Such texts, however, could also be essential if the Law School, which was still the main Faculty in the University of Perugia, was to keep abreast of new developments in the discipline.

## Law Books in Podiani's collection

The fame of Perugia's Law School stemmed from the teaching of Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313/14–1357/58), who had spent the largest part of his career in Perugia where he pioneered a new approach to the study of Roman Law, the so-called School of Commentators. The motto "nemo iurista sine Bartolista" was still in use in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and after the invention of printing Bartolus was among the most popular authors (there are about 200 editions of his works printed between 1450 and 1500).<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the expression

<sup>5</sup> A vast bibliography on censorship is available today; in the last two decades, studies in the field have been strongly enhanced by the opening of the Archives of the Holy Office and by research projects such as RICCI, which is making available data and publications based on study of the lists of the "Inchiesta Clementina" (Borraccini, Granata and Rusconi 2013). On the subject of the effect of censorship on literacy and scholarly publications see the work in general of Paul F. Grendler, Gigliola Fragnito, Ian Maclean, Adriano Prospero, Ugo Rozzo.

<sup>6</sup> Scholarship on Bartolus is possibly as vast as scholarship on Dante; an overall idea can be inferred from the entries in major dictionaries and conferences: Segoloni 1962; Calasso 1964; Lepsius 2013; Bartolo da Sassoferrato 2014; Crescenzi and Rossi 2015; Treggiari 2016.

“Bartolism” began to acquire negative connotations. A new trend in the study of Law appeared on the scene, based on a philological approach and the search for original witnesses of the Justinian texts. This was a humanistic approach to law, also known as *mos gallicus*, as the new school of thought first emerged in France, in opposition to a *mos italicus*, the traditional approach rooted in Italy. Recent scholarship on legal history has begun to trace a more nuanced development of Legal Humanism<sup>7</sup> however, and in this debate, book and library historians might play a role, by providing evidence of the popularity of authors and works during the period. In Perugia, the birthplace of Bartolism, we might expect to find the most traditional approach to the study of Law being maintained. An analysis of the section on law in the Biblioteca Augusta, given that Podiani conceived it as a working research library for scholars, may provide a way of testing such hypotheses.

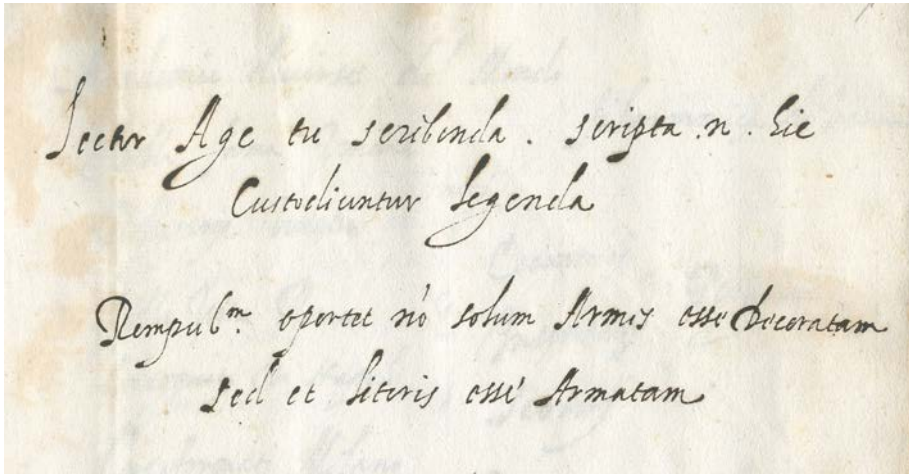


Fig. 1. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS E 1, f. 1r.

“*Rempublicam oportet non solum Armis esse Decoratam, sed et Literis esse Armatam*”: the *Res publica* not only needs to be adorned with weapons, it also needs to be armed with culture. This sentence is found, in Podiani’s hand, at the opening of a register which he was going to use for the compilation of a catalogue of Italian books ([P. Podiani] *Indice de’ libri toscani*, MS E 1). It comes right after another sentence which sounds like a complex invitation to the reader.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Du Plessis and Cairns 2016.

<sup>8</sup> “*Lector age tu scribenda, scripta enim hic custodiuntur legenda*”: Reader, do things that are

How Podiani devised this refined invitation has not yet been found. Instead, the source of his inspiration for his dictum on the Republic and its cultural needs is well known: it is a paraphrase of the incipit of the Justinian's *Institutiones*: "Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam". Podiani's reinterpretation of the Emperor's statement is highly significant in relation to his project of founding a library, which was clearly conceived as an instrument of cultural politics.<sup>9</sup> It also shows that he was acquainted with Roman Law, even though he was not a jurist.<sup>10</sup> Professional jurists, though, and law students were among the scholars who made use of his collection as the annotations made in the catalogues also show. The section on law books, as reconstructed through the inventory made in 1617 (MS 3082), comprises about 330 editions.

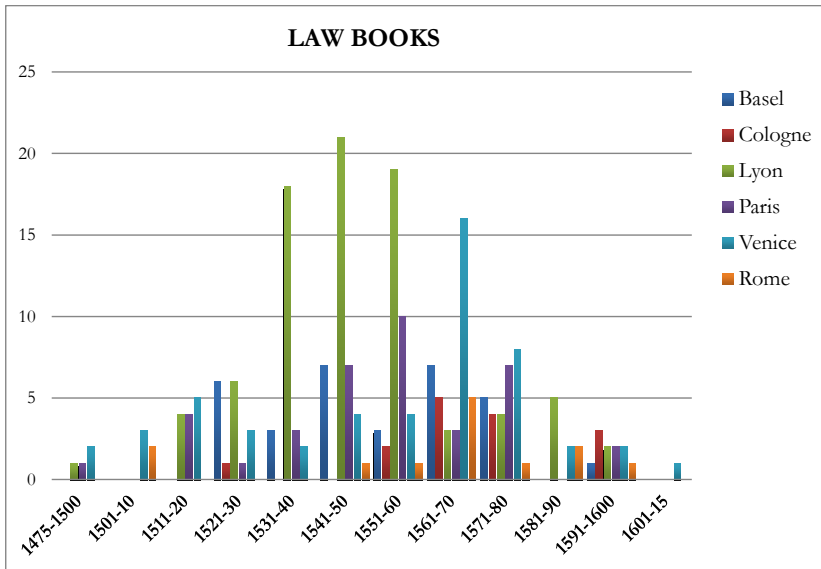


Table 1. Dates and places of printing of law books: towns where ten or more editions were printed.

worth writing about; once written, in fact, they will be kept here to be read. The two sentences and other quotations from Podiani's writings have been commented on in the catalogue of the exhibition organised to celebrate him (Bartoli Langeli and Panzanelli Fratoni 2016, 31, 72).

<sup>9</sup> Bartoli Langeli seeks to interpret this sentence as a decided expression of Podiani's republican sympathies (Bartoli Langeli 2016b, 31).

<sup>10</sup> Podiani has sometimes been described as a jurist, but there is no evidence of his ever having undertaken legal studies. He certainly had a knowledge of the laws, rules and customs, acquired through his family and his personal involvement in the city government.

This means that it was not a major component of the library (which at the time was said to contain 10,000 volumes) but nor was it a negligible part. Most importantly, it was made up of new editions, by the leading modern legal authors and printed by the major publishing houses. Here a list of the authors of legal texts found in the inventory (in chronological order; authors with three or more entries of legal works and a selection of authors with two entries):

Author	dates	entries
Ubaldi, Baldo degli	1327-1400	5
Nebrija, Antonio de	1444-1522	3
Decio, Filippo	1454-1535	4
Zasius, Ulrich	1461-1536	7
Budé, Guillaume	1467-1540	5
Alciati, Andrea	1492-1550	7
Azpilcueta, Martin de	1493-1586	6
Duaren, François	1509-1559	3
Agustín, Antonio	1517-1586	4
Baudouin, François	1520-1573	3
Cujas, Jacques	1520-1590	2
Hotman, François	1524-1590	6
Förster, Valentin	1530-1608	3
Wesenbecius, Matthaeus	1531-1586	5
Vivien, Joris	1536 (n.)	4
Nevizzano, Giovanni	1540 (m.)	4
Gentili, Alberico	1552-1608	2

Bartolus is never explicitly mentioned in the inventory; Baldus, the most renowned of Bartolus's pupils, has five entries, each referring to his commentary on a section of the *Corpus iuris*. Most of the collection was made up of works by modern jurists, including those who were on the Index of prohibited books. Some of the most important critical editions of the various sections of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, on which much scholarship was produced during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is present: the edition of Justinian's *Novellae*, as established by Gregor Haloander (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1531) is described as “**Giustiniano Nouvelle Constit.ni legali Greco e lat. Norimberg 1531**” (Inv. 802, f. 17r). Under the

entry no. 7537 (f. 134v) one finds the description of the celebrated edition by Lelio Torelli of Justinian's *Digest* (Florence: Torrentino, 1553; CNCE 13438): "**Pandette, Volumi tre latino Fiorenza 1553**".

## Law Books on sale

Two later editions, also based on the Florentine manuscript which was the earliest witness of the *Digest*, appear, in Podiani's hand, in another list of books. Podiani wrote this list on the remaining blank pages of a manuscript which has been used by another hand to transcribe poems by another author: MS I 22, (260 leaves), entitled 'Miscellanea latina'. Podiani's handwriting can be seen on leaf 54r, and on leaves 124-188: on 54r there are a few Jurists' *Consilia*; all the rest is clearly the second half of a single catalogue, arranged by author's name (first name) from L to V. Altogether about 250 books are listed (Fig. 24-28). The bibliographical descriptions are quite precise and detailed, consisting of author, title, and (in the vast majority of cases) imprint, format and, most significantly, prices. These are always expressed with the symbols used for scudi and baiocchi, the currency used in the Papal State. Blank leaves inserted between each lettered section suggest the catalogue was to be supplemented. Also, a number of shorter descriptions, consisting only of author and title, show that the list (or part of it) was drawn up on two separate occasions: first, the work (author and title) was listed, then the edition and its price was added. Books are printed in different towns and by various publishers; the date of printing also varies, ranging from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The following table gives a synoptic view of the information contained in the list:

<i>years of printing</i>	<i>Law</i>	<i>Theology</i>	<i>Literature</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Medicine</i>	<i>total</i>
1471-80	1					1
1491-1500	1					1
1501-10	1					1
1511-20	2		1			3
1521-30	2					2
1531-40	8					8
1541-50	17					17
1551-60	28		1			29

<i>1561-70</i>	28	2	2			32
<i>1571-80</i>	50	2				52
<i>1581-90</i>	36	6			1	43
<i>s.a.</i>	48	6	6	3		63
<b>total</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>252</b>

Since the catalogue only includes authors from the second half of the alphabet, we cannot be sure whether some of the most important jurists of the Middle ages (such as Bartolus or Baldus) were in fact present. We can see, however, that most of the authors are from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The following list includes those authors with three or more works:

<b>Author</b>	<b>Titles</b>
Mantova Benavides, Marco (1489-1582)	18
Vigel, Nikolaus (1529-1600)	12
Rebuffi, Pierre (1487-1557)	10
Medici, Sebastiano (m. 1595)	6
Follerio, Pietro (m. 1588)	5
Natta, Marco Antonio (m. 1568)	5
Sanders, Nicholas (1530?-1581)	5
D'Afflitto, Matteo (ca. 1448-ca. 1528)	4
Decio, Filippo (1454-1535)	4
Grammatico, Tommaso (1473-1556)	4
Paschal, Pierre de (1522-1565)	4
Pierre de Belleperche (m. 1308)	4
Bellarmino, Roberto (1532-1621)	3
Belloni, Niccolò (m. 1552)	3
Bohier, Nicolas (1469-1539)	3
Cucchi, Marcantonio (1506-1567)	3
Fanucci, Fanuccio (sec. 16.)	3
Odofredus Bononiensis (m. 1265)	3
Sangiorgio, Giovanni Antonio (1439-1509)	3
Zasius, Ulrich (1461-1536)	3

Finally a list of the most expensive editions: in the first column is a transcription of Podiani's manuscript entries; the last column contains the control numbers

for the editions used by the major online database tools:

Description	price:		Author/Title	Identified edition
	scudi	baiocchi		
Tract. In f. in 28 Volumina Franc.cus Zilettus 1584	70		Tractatus illustrium in vtraque tum pontificii, tum caesarei iuris	IT\ICCU\RMLE\002972
Repet.s Iur. Civilis in f. in [...] Hugo a Porta 1553	35		Repetitionum seu commentariorum in varia iurisconsultorum responsa.	IT\ICCU\RMLE\011134
Repet. In Universas fere Iuris. Canonici partes volum. Sex Venet. Apud Iunctas 1587 in f.	16	50	Repetitionum in vniuersas fere iuris canonici	Edit16 CNCE 27720
Stephani Beltrandi Cons.a in f. Lugduni Claudius Servantius 1560	15		Bertrand, Étienne (ca. 1434-ca. 1516)	IT\ICCU\BVVE\015688
Nicolai de Tudeschis Abbatis supra Decretal. Clem Questiones et Tractatus Cons. Practica de Arbitris in f. Ven apud Iuntas 1582 9m Volum.	12		Tedeschi, Niccolò (1386-1445)	Edit16 CNCE 75286
Raphaelis Cumani et Fulgosii super ff. et Cod. f in 8 Vol. Lug. Ugo. 1544	12		Fulgosio, Raffaele (1367-1427)	IT\ICCU\LO1E\007708
Eiusdem [i.e. Petri Rebuffi] Gul. Rerullius 1576 haec 6 vol. const.	11		Rebuffi, Pierre (1487-1557)	IT\ICCU\RMGE\000584
Eiusdem [i.e. Nicolai Vigelii] Partes 6x in Digesta sex Voluminibus Oporini in f. 1570	10		Vigel, Nikolaus (1529-1600)	IT\ICCU\BVVE\015755
Odofredi Lectura Lugd. Pet. Compater. 1552 in f. in sex. Vol.na	10		Odofredus Bononiensis (m. 1265)	GVK PPN 314393188
Per. De Ancarano supra lib. 5 Decret.m 6° et Clem.nis in f. in 6x vol. 1581 Bonon. Societ.	10		Pietro d'Ancarano (ca. 1330-1416)	Edit16 CNCE 32268

Tiberii Deciani Cons.a in f in 4or Volumin. Venetiis Zenarii 1579	<b>10</b>		Deciani, Tiberio (1509-1582)	IT\ICCU\TO0E\022280
Uldrichi Zasii opera in 4.or Volumina in f. Griphius [1550-51]	<b>9</b>		Zasius, Ulrich (1461-1536)	IT\ICCU\VIAE\017943
Pauli Castrensis Lectura in f. in 5 vol. ad signum Coronae 1550	<b>8</b>		Paolo di Castro (ca. 1360-1441)	IT\ICCU\BVEE\014904, IT\ICCU\URBE\018710 [-018716, -018717, -018719].
Prepositus super 2. et 4. Decretalium in 3 Volum. Venet. Iuntae 1578	<b>8</b>		Sangiorgio, Giovanni Antonio (1439-1509)	IT\ICCU\VIAE\000122
Vincentii Herculani super p.a et 2.a Infortiati et ff. Novi in f. Perusiae Franc.cus Balthasar <del>1570</del> 1507 in 2 vol.	<b>8</b>		Ercolani, Vincenzo (m. 1539)	Edit16 CNCE 18261
Eiusdem [i.e. Petri Philippi Cornei] Consilia in 5 volumina Lugd. Incolus Myt 1531	<b>7</b>		Corneo, Pier Filippo (ca. 1420-ca. 1493)	IT\ICCU\RMSE\056062
Petri Episcopi Brixienensis Repertorium in f in 2 volumina Romae apud S.m Marcum 1576 [i.e. 1476]	<b>7</b>		Del Monte, Pietro (1400-1457)	ISTC im00842000
Eiusdem [i.e. Pet. Pauli Parisii] Cons. Venet in 4or vol. 1543	<b>6</b>		Parisio, Pietro Paolo (1471-1545)	IT\ICCU\BVEE\044982
Pand. Florent. In 8 Antuerp. Christ. Plantinus 1567	<b>5</b>	<b>20</b>	<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	IT\ICCU\PUVE\017355
Pandectae Florentinae Lug. ni [de] Rouilius 1561 in 2 volum.	<b>5</b>		<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i>	IT\ICCU\BVEE\015793
Petri Peraltae in Tit ff. De haered. Inst.ne et ff de leg. 2 et 9 in fo. In 2 vol. Salam 1563 [scudi] 4,5	<b>4</b>	<b>50</b>	Peralta, Pedro de (1498-1561)	IT\ICCU\BVEE\007533

The most expensive edition is, not surprisingly, the celebrated *Tractatus Vniversis Iuris* printed by Ziletti: 28 volumes sold for 70 scudi (by way of comparison, the



annual salary assigned to Podiani in 1582 as the city librarian was 150 scudi). The list is clearly different from the sale catalogues examined in the first part of this essay. It describes a stock of books comprising both recent publications as well as earlier editions and consists almost entirely of law books. Very few of the books in the list correspond to books described in the inventory of the Library, which could mean that the list might correspond to a section of his collection that Podiani eventually decided to sell. In any case, it is noteworthy that these books were all sold at prices which are calculated in the currency in use in the Papal State, though they were printed in various other countries and were most probably purchased for sums in other currencies. A comparative analysis of this list and the sales catalogues might well provide us with valuable information also on the matter of currency change and the variation of the value of books.

## Conclusion

Podiani's book collection was one of the major private libraries in 16<sup>th</sup> century Italy (Nuovo 2010). The actual number of books which were in the collection is open to discussion (Bartoli Langeli 2016), but that part of it which is best known – the portion which eventually became the Perugia City Library, confirms that it was indeed an extraordinary collection (about 7659 items are in the inventory), formed of up-to-date editions of the most important works in every discipline as well as a number of manuscript works and incunabula editions. How Podiani managed to build up such an impressive collection can be explored by studying the many documents that still survive, such as the sale catalogues presented in this article. Taken as a whole, these documents provide much information on Podiani's bibliographical activities. However, much more data can be derived from the documentation when a more in-depth analysis is carried out, identifying editions and recording all the listed prices. Information on the various aspects of the contemporary booktrade can be extracted: prices, currencies, second-hand books, variations in prices over time and in different places, as well as on the circulation of certain sectors of publishing production, such as law books. The documents associated with Podiani's library constitute therefore a valuable resource for a better understanding of the 16<sup>th</sup> century book-market.

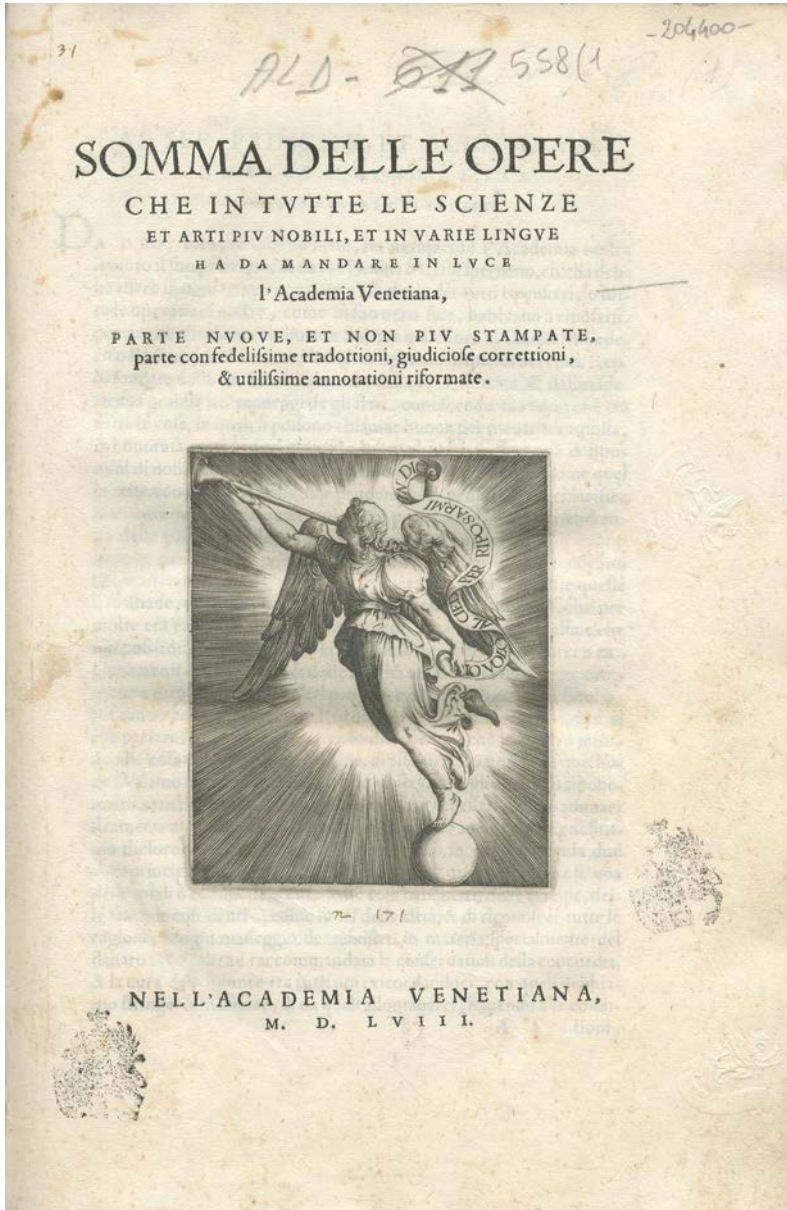


Fig. 2. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(1).

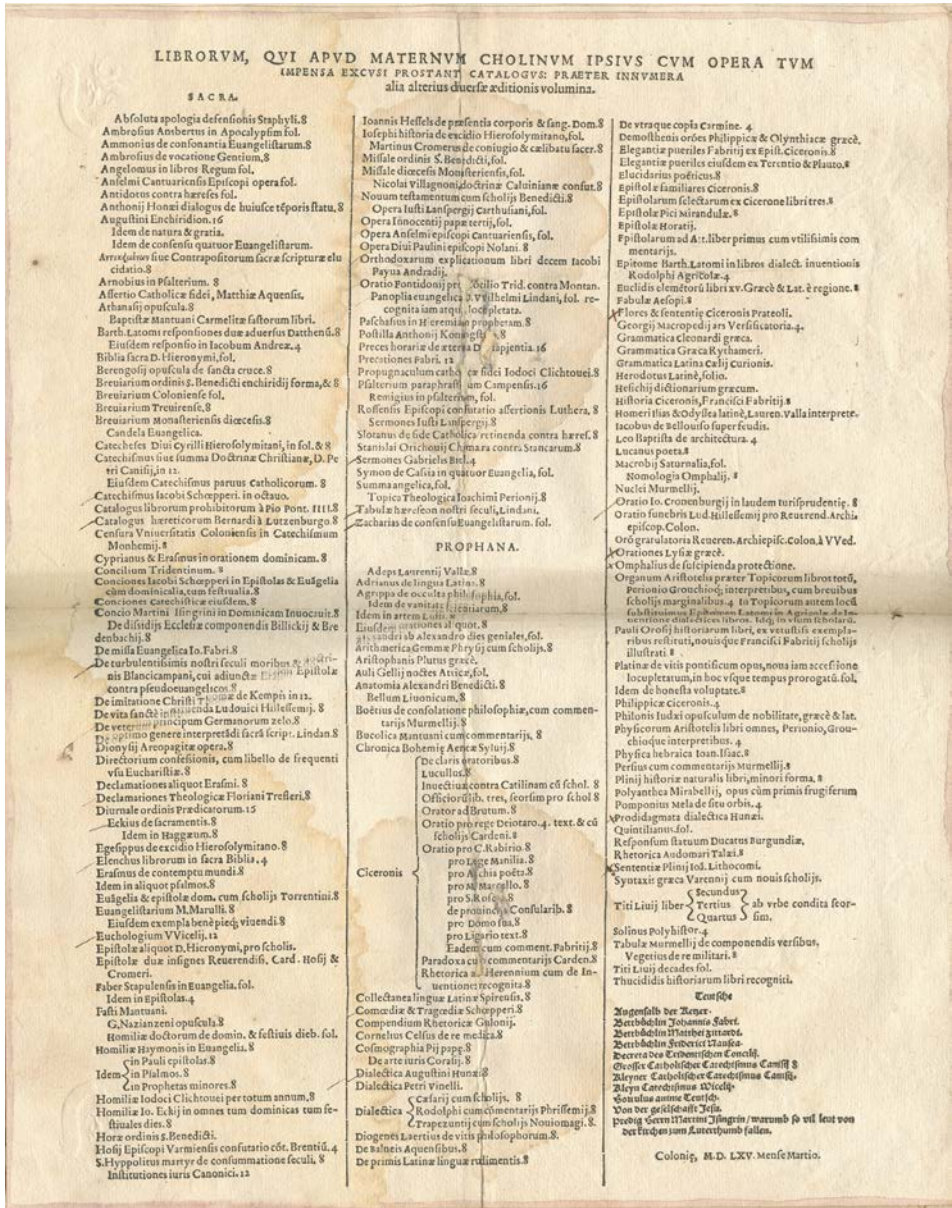


Fig. 3. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(2).

### Astronomicae considerationis breuissima synopsis, à Guiljelmo Postello

vna cum trium fororum mathematicarum disciplinarum compendii quom stipendiarium lectorem Regium agete edita, nunc & aucta & cum ceteris rursus emissa in Reip. compendium.

Astronomia versatur aut in	<p>Materia, figurae, motusque caelestium contemplatione, &amp; deaeatium corporibus gloriosis simile, cuius naturae sunt aeterni animi.</p> <p>Motum vniuersi in partibus, &amp; in vniuerso, Circulorum, linearum, pundorum, in planetarum orbibus positione, Longitudinum &amp; latitudinum dimensione, sinuum obseruatione, Arcuum, chordarum, segmentarum &amp; caelestium orbium in quantis partem menturatione.</p>	Astrologia, quam iudi- ciarum vo- cant, in	<p>Horoscopi in rerum principis obseruatione, Domorum duodecim ex figuris 12. erectio, Temperamentum particularium significatio, Prosperæ &amp; aduersæ fortunæ successus &amp; praedictio, quae omnia quae extra generalis considerationis rationes ad inditiduum applicando vt plurimum sine temere excogitant, &amp; maior temeritate quotidie aucta, vt incertissima &amp; ridicula missa facio. Nam generalis agens nobilitatis, &amp; in generalia potissimum agit vt regnis &amp; provin- ciis consolat.</p>
Caeli	<p>Materia priuatione cognoscitur esse vniuersi, id est quintum elementum, à prima horum inferiori materia eductum, sed corruptiuis accidentibus spoliatum, &amp; deaeatium corporibus gloriosis simile, cuius naturae sunt aeterni animi.</p> <p>Figura circularis oculis patet &amp; demonstratione, quod omnes partes sunt maximè tales, &amp; quod vniuersi aequè à centro distet.</p> <p>Motus est vniuersi primus mobilis ab ortu in occasum, &amp; inde in ortum 24. horis fieri solitus, &amp; quicquid inferiora omnia.</p> <p>Ab occasu in ortum, vt orbit alterius Zodiacum mobilem deferentis annis 49000. fieri potest, vt antiqui, vt alij 36000.00. annis vno gradu.</p> <p>A meridie in septentrionem, vt regulatiois super principia Arietis &amp; librae, 7000. annorum fieri solitus.</p> <p>Mixtus potest addi planetarum, qui obliquè ab occasu in ortum tendunt secundum Zodiacum.</p>		
Partes sunt aut vt	<p>Puncta, vt ortus, occasus, merides, septentrion, quilibet venti &amp; eorum partes, duo poli mundi, duo Zodiaci, orbium omnium, verticis &amp; oppositionis, quae di- cutuntur, &amp; zentri, praeterea quaeuis duo puncta pro distantia data inter alia quaeuis aut spatia, Apis summa apsis ima.</p> <p>Lineae, rectae, vt est axis vniuersi à polo in polum per centrum mundi fieri dictus, pariter omnia circuli, item chordae arcuum &amp; figurae. Circulares, vt arcus aut segmenta circulorum quorumcuque.</p> <p>Circuli: Quatuor maiores, Meridianus, Horizon, Aequator, Zodiacus, quibus quatuor est, constans circuli, quorum ediplica linea est medius.</p> <p>Decem Quatuor minores, Tropicus cancri, Alter Capricorni, duo polares Arcticus &amp; Antarcticus, qui statim describuntur.</p> <p>Triangula, vt sunt figura duodecim ab ediplica ad polos, quae vtrinque procedentes rhombum faciunt.</p> <p>Superfici- es, Tetragonae, vt sunt figura 12. Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpius, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. Sunt verò al- tera parte longiores, lati 11. aut 16. gradus, longi 10.</p> <p>Triangula, Tetragonae, Pentagonae, Hexagonaeque superficies, atque irrationales, vt signa &amp; imagines excogitantur illic per ediplicam &amp; vni- uersum mobilem, firmamentum, vt diximus. Hunc sequitur 9. sphaera, quae 100. annis vno gradu, &amp; octauo repeditantur.</p> <p>Orbes aliqua crystal- line, vt Saturni, qui 30. annis redit ad notas, contrario primo mobili motu, aut remittentia, quotidie ergo duo minuta facit.</p> <p>Iouis Sphaera 12. annis motui solita, quotidie 5 gradus sicut pupa peragit.</p> <p>Martis, qui biennio motus, quotidie 31. minutum subducit à primo mobili.</p> <p>Solis, Mercurij &amp; Veneris, qui anno vno cursum complet, quotidie 59. minuta peragendo.</p> <p> Luna, quae 7. die orbem suum complet, sed 30. soli iungitur, quotidie 13. gradus 10. minuta pererrat.</p>		
Majo- res	<p>Meridianus est qui transit per medium circuli, regionem vericem, &amp; polos mundi, quem quod attingit sol, est merides, vnde habet nomē. differentias lon- gitudinum feruax parallelis interfecido, sicut educto ab ipsis pro ratione latitudinis interfecido, in singulis locis legitudine differentias diuersis.</p> <p>Aequator, qui &amp; equinoctialis &amp; aequidies dicitur, aequidies fecit in duo equalia sphaeram (vt quilibet circulus in sphaera maior) in quem quon pec- uenit sol, suo motu facit per vniuersum orbem noctem diei aequalem, &amp; contra.</p> <p>Zodiacus obliquus orbis est, solus &amp; circulus caelestium habens latitudinem 12. graduum vt antiqui, 16. vt recentiores, in quo sunt incluse 12. ediplicae prius dictae, quo tempore incedunt planetarum, aliquando ad extrema tendentes, quam donec medio finirent. Sol vniuersum quon recedit à medio, quod lineam ediplicam &amp; vniuersum solis inde appellat. Ediplicam quidem, quoniam quom cōtingit lunam in coniunctione esse sub eadem linea, officit lu- minis solis. In oppositione verò sub eadem linea ab vmbilico vmbrae terrae, quae nos est, solis lumine priuatur, tota fit facta per medietatem, si no- di tantum accedit. Illa linea diuiditur in 360. partes, quos gradus vocant, quod est illi &amp; ceteris maioribus circulis commune, sed praecipue obser- uari solent in Aequatore, per quem longitudines, &amp; Meridiano, per quem latitudines habentur, in minoribus autem rata proportione. Obliquitas eius varietatem dierum &amp; noctium facit, mediores 12. horarum in medio, summos 6. mensum sub polis.</p>		
Mino- res	<p>Tropicus Cancri aut solstitialis, in quo sol nobis maximam totius anni diem facit, maximam noctem oppositior, &amp; contrā.</p> <p>Tropicus Capricorni, in quo sol maximam diem nobis oppositior, nobis verò noctem maximam.</p> <p>Circulus polaris seu arcticus aut ostendit ambitum polorum Zodiaci circa polos mundi, aut attingendo finitorem in vno puncto stellas perpetuè in singulis regionibus apparentes segregat ab alijs.</p> <p>Circulus polaris antarcticus est eadem vt opposita. Inter istos 4. &amp; polos sunt 9. zontae, falso ab antiquis partim inhabitabiles creditae. Contingit his vt &amp; primis diuidi in 360. partes, sed tanto minores, quanto magis ab aequatore (cum quo dicuntur paralleli 5.) recedunt.</p> <p>Sunt praeterea minores circuli qui climata &amp; parallelis determinant, varietatemque dierum demonstrant: Klima sicut quom dimidia hora, paralle- lus quom quadrante crescit dies donec ad declinam sphaeram veniat, ubi dies maxima habet plusquam 24. horas. Sicut verò climata 19. paralleli 39. aut in magna contradiçione Ptolemaei possunt videri. Sed como diuis videtur vt 12. climata singula singulis vniuersi horae incrementis ponantur ut duplo, triplo aut quadruplo numero parallelorum ad 1. vel ad 1. vel ad 1. horarum.</p>		
Circuli, lineae & puncta in or- bitibus plane- tarum secun- dum	<p>Astro- nomos</p> <p>Concentricus in omnibus planetis deferens dicitur.</p> <p>Homocentricus tribus constans orbibus vnum homocentricum constituentibus.</p> <p>Epicycclus in omnibus praeter solem, ob motus inaequalitatem, in eo fuit accessus, recessus, stationes.</p> <p>Luna verò repugnat habere epicycclum. Sed multo maxime soli.</p> <p>Aequus equalis est eccentrico, sed interfecit illum, vt regulariter centrum eccentrici secundum eum moueatur.</p> <p>Puncta sunt apogium vel aug. &amp; perigium vel oppositum augis, longitudo longior, &amp; breuior.</p> <p>Lineae tres longitudinis, maioris medij, &amp; minimae, &amp; à centro in quodlibet orbis punctum.</p> <p>Peripeteticos, qui nihil istorum recipiunt vel utraque repugnantium, sed omnes circulos volunt esse homocentricos, &amp; per circulos tardiori fieri mo- tu aut citatori apparentes verò demonstrant posse videri aliquod corpus aliis maioribus, alijs minus. Ceterum videndus est Aristoteles in Metaphisica 12. &amp; Iohannes Amicus, quem hic excudentem curauit. Hieronymus Iraculiosius amplissime illa monstrat, &amp; contra eos qui talia ponunt disputat.</p> <p>Longitudo in stellis conuicem cum antedicta, latitudo est à medio Zodiaci ad extremum, aut ad polum, aut ab aequatore eodem.</p>		

G. Postell. Regius, sed aduersus summae veritatis interpres, D. Joanni à Morullerio Episcopo Aurelianensi. S.

Amplissima multorum auctorum potissimum de Arithmetica, Musica, & Astronomia volumina, nunc Geometricam iniquis veluti compendij minimè capaxem) fitegram in summum compendium reducere, & postrema isthac editione quantum compendij ratio passè est avari, caeteris potissimum familiariter exponere conatus, quatenus, vt ait Cicero, in vite humanae vsum condicunt. Tibi autem, non tam quod viro in dignitate, publico merito, & doctrinis omnibus summo putem esse quicquid in his dignum, licet summae veritatis demonstrative elementa sint, quae vt amoris & officij erga me sui significacionem, me longè maiori carere primò monuit me omnino cupere intelligas. Prima editioe illi inscripseram, qui tibi quatenus potuit veneno vitam abstulit, tibi secunda dicata volo, quod maxima vti cuiusq; mortalium tibi de-  
beat. Vale.

L V T E T I A F.

Apud Guiljelmum Cauerlerum singui Gallinae, ex aduerso Collegij Cantuariensis.

Fig. 4. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(3).

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Spisstaemer Hieronymi Boec.  
Seelen argnet.  
Testament teutsch mit figuren. in 16. Vffter büch.  
die sibem Wissen messer.

Fig. 5. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald. 558(4).

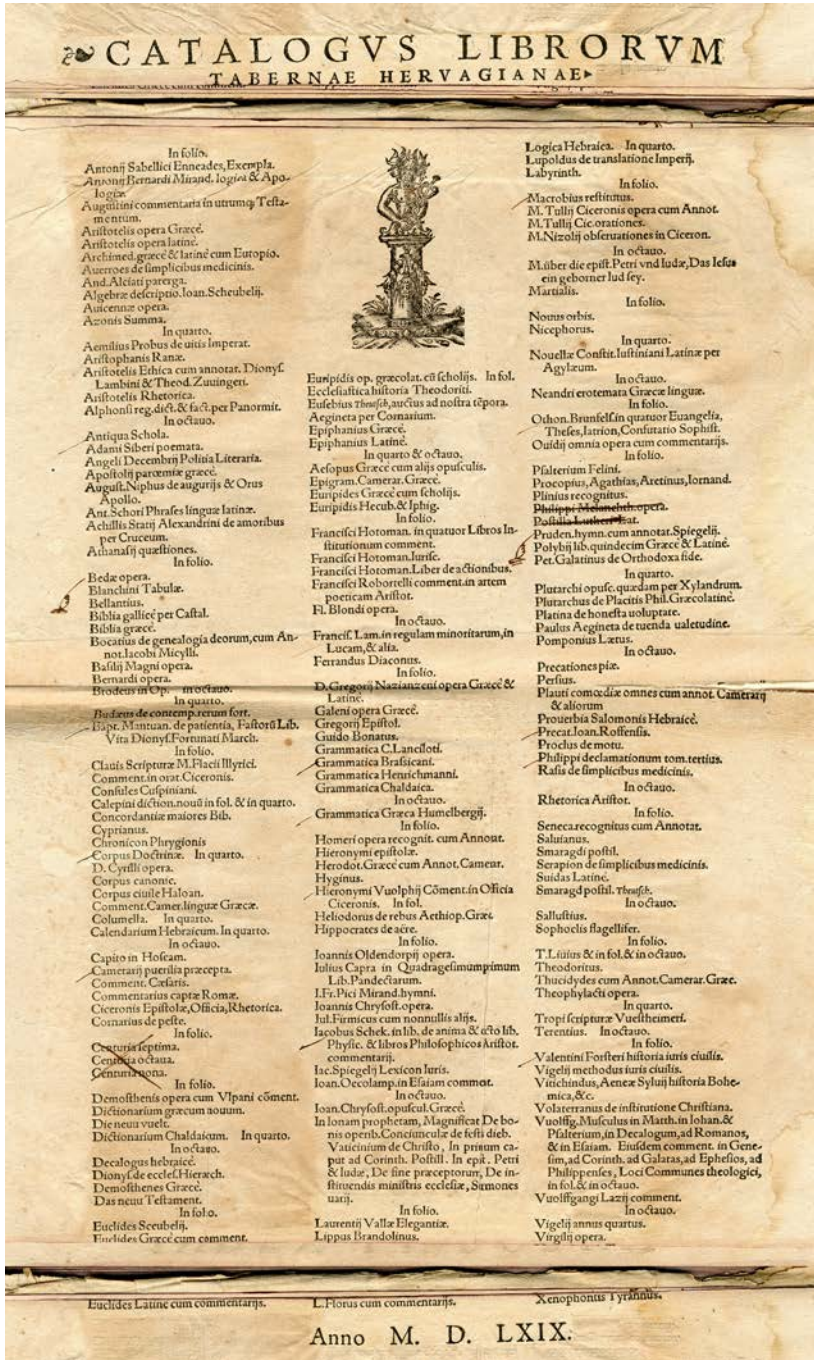


Fig. 6. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald. 558(5).

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Fig. 7. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(6).

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Fig. 10. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(9).

**LISTA DE LIBRI DI GIO. DOMINICO TARINO, STAMPATI IN TORINO,**  
Con il prezzo loro: Auertendo, che grossi 12. fanno vn fiorino, & fiorini 10. grossi 6. fanno vn scudo d'oro d'Italia.

<b>A</b> betti Pansarmitani, real. ff 40 gr.	Grammatica Caffari, 8. con giunta. ff 1 8 9	<b>T</b> elli Ciulli, rossi, & negri. ff 8 1 2
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Agricolina Carlo Stefano, 8. ff 3 8	De Turco, & Persiani, 8. ff 1 8	Treatato de primis iuramenti Seraphini, 4. ff 4 8 2
Gallo, 8. ff 3 8	Isonis, lettura. ff 50 8	De primis. F. P. Perugini, 4. ff 4 8 2
Idem, 4. ff 3 8	Innocentio sopra Decretale. ff 9 8 8	Criminali Tibery Deciani, fo. vol. 4. ff 10 8 8
<b>B</b> aroli, lettura, real. ff 60 8	Idem Speculatio Matematica, & Fifi- ff 4 8	Tante preparatorie per la Messa. ff 4 8 8
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Sopra Fendis. ff 4 8 8	Instituta spirituale del Quarte, 12. ff 2 8 6	<b>V</b> alerio in constitutione artis, fol. ff 5 8 8
Brenzani lettera teoda, 8. ff 4 8 8	In. Barilli Breuier de Orologio, fol. ff 6 8 7	Verigli, 8. ff 1 8 8
Idem in testino, 8. ff 4 8 8	Iacobis Mesochi de praesump. con additiones, fo. ff 30 8 8	Valerio Massimo. ff 1 8 8
<b>C</b> onstituti Decy. ff 15 8 8	Iustitiani Christiane del Porcillo, 8. ff 36 8 8	Staggio del serenissimo Duca di Savoia in ff 1 8 8
Consiliani & C. C. C. fol. ff 7 8 8	Oratio. Aldo, 8. ff 1 8 8	Spagna al suo marzamento, 4. ff 1 8 8
Luodici Ronconi. ff 9 8 8	<b>L</b> ettere del Guazzo, 8. ff 10 8 6	Villanc de Pedraro, 4. ff 1 8 7
Angeli de Perisio. ff 6 8 8	Manuale N.uari Latino, 4. ff 5 8 8	
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Cicroni de Officiis, 8. ff 1 8 8	Mistale fol. nono, con Meste de cinque Santi. ff 1 8 8	
Comentaria Sola sup. Altitata vetera Sub, fol. ff 6 8 7	Madvegeli del Cotone a 5. ff 1 8 8	
Idem sopra nona constitutioni, fol. ff 6 8 6	Dietro l'ecoli, 5. ff 1 8 8	
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Del Rosario con figure, 8. ff 2 8 8	<b>O</b> fficio della Donna maritata, 12. ff 1 8 2	
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Communes opinarij diu. forum con additio- ff 42 8 8	Idem 12. ff 2 8 8	
ni, vol. 4. ff 8 8 8	Idem 16. ff 1 8 6	
<b>D</b> ecio in Cuius. ff 8 8 8	In 32. Roman. carta mezzana. ff 8 8 9	
Sopra Decretale. ff 10 8 6	In 32. carta piccola. ff 8 8 9	
De regu. iur. ff 1 8 2	11. Lettera antica. ff 8 8 10	
<b>D</b> idaci Conarmitani opera, fol. con additiones, ff 27 8 6	12. Lettera moderna. ff 8 8 10	
fol. 2. ff 2 8 6	23. Settimana Santa. ff 1 8 6	
<b>D</b> ialogi della vita vedonale del Tyotto, 8. ff 2 8 6	16. Settimana Santa. ff 1 8 6	
Idem della felicità, 8. ff 8 8 9	Opera spirituale di Gennaro Astorini, 11. ff 1 8 6	
Distorso de' Stati di Francia, 8. ff 8 8 7	Practica, & Observacione Camera Imperia- ff 33 8 8	
Dino de regu. iur. ff 1 8 10	lis Andrea Gaili, & Joachimi Stylinger in ff 18 8 8	
Dioniso Romano, 6. ff 9 8 8	nuovo volumen real. ff 2 8 8	
Decretalis Pedemontana Cacereno, fol. ff 9 8 8	Idem R. echi, fol. ff 7 8 8	
Idem Pedemontana Augustina, fol. ff 8 8 8	Julij Clary, fol. ff 9 8 8	
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Dictionario volg. & Lat. 8. con aggiunta nono. ff 1 8 6	Perri Ricordi de legatis legatarum, fol. ff 3 8 8	
Dionisio de quattuor novissimis, 12. nono. ff 2 8 6	Tredici del Piana, primo, seconda parte, 4. ff 10 8 8	
Distorso del D. Treuato sopra il Pater noster, 4. ff 2 8 8	1. fo. lettura. ff 8 8 8	
De pelle del Lenrosio, 4. ff 4 8 8	Ristorica ad Ereniano, 8. ff 4 8 6	
Decreta Sabaudia, 4. ff 4 8 7	Ragionamenti del Guazzo, 4. ff 4 8 6	
<b>E</b> ncirion inus, 6. ff 4 8 7	Ragionamenti sopra l'Evangelio del Zarab. 4. ff 20 8 8	
Epistole Evangelij del Remigio, 4. ff 1 8 2	Summa Aronit, con Ercardica. ff 12 8 8	
Idem 8. ff 2 8 8	Summa de Confessi del Pedraro, 8. ff 11 8 6	
Quinto, 8. ff 1 8 8	Officij. ff 50 8 8	
Cicroni, 8. ff 1 8 8	Santi Thoma, fol. ff 4 8 8	
Erasio, 8. ff 1 8 8	Rolandina, 8. con giunta. ff 1 8 8	
Elegence Aldo, 8. ff 1 8 8	Servatio Sacrodotale, 12. ff 1 8 2	
Epistole Savonarotium, 12. ff 21 8 8	Sette Salini, 24. ff 2 8 2	
<b>F</b> abre sopra Iustitia. ff 5 8 8	In 72. lettera grossa. ff 2 8 2	
Formularum Institutionum, 4. ff 4 8 8	Salustio, 8. ff 1 8 7	
Flores Theologicarum, 16. ff 2 8 8	Secreti Don Alefo, 8. ff 1 8 2	
Italia, 8. ff 2 8 7	Torta, 8. ff 8 8 6	
Fernandi Mesa de sanguinis missione, 8. ff 1 8 6	Fioranti, 8. ff 8 8 6	
Fles Sanctorum volgare, fol. ff 10 8 8	Zapata, 8. ff 8 8 6	
Francisj Monica de conciliis, & vltima ff 10 8 6	Secretario Sanfonio, 8. ff 8 8 9	
non volanti, fol. ff 4 8 8	Stefani Plazoni, 8. ff 7 8 9	
Francisj v. alij de sacra Filosofia, 4. ff 1 8 6	Sententia Cicronis, 12. ff 8 8 9	
Interrogatorio, 8. ff 1 8 6	Specchio della lingua Latina, 12. ff 8 8 7	
De pulsibus, & vitiis, 8. ff 5 8 8		
De moribus popularibus, 8. ff 1 8 3		
De ratione vultus, 8. ff 1 8 3		
<b>G</b> ardino spirituale 12. con figure. ff 1 8 3		
Galatoo de Costumi. ff 8 8 9		
Guida de peccatori, 16. ff 8 8 9		
Grammatica Dispartiti, 8. ff 8 8 9		
Alvari, 8. ff 8 8 7		
Cleandra Greca, 8. ff 1 8 4		

Fig. 11. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(10).



LIBRI DISTAMPA FORESTIERA LATINI		
<b>A</b> mbrosius Catharinus de consideratione. Venetia 8	Blondus Italia illustrata. 4	De bello Rhodia. fol.
Idem de Institutione. Venetia 8	Benedicti Peroni Super Instituta 8	Dialogus Ludi.
Augustini Dati. Venetia 8	<b>C</b> apella Capella Venetia. 4	Deliberatio Monitorum. Venetia 8
Augustini Meditationes. Venetia 16	Compendium Grammatica Genoua 8	De Eccles. Republica 8
Ausonius Pedianus in Orationes. Aldo 8	Collumella cum commento. fol.	Declaratio negotiorum Regi. per Augustina.
Archimedes Siragusanus 8. Venetia	Idem Aldo 4	Dispensarium Valerij Corda. E
Anatomia Curtij. 8 Paris	Alto Tacito Roma. fol.	<b>E</b> gidius de iudicij orationum 8
Acta generalia Concilij Tridentini. Milano 8	Idem Venetia fol.	Eucirridion de penitentia 8
Adrianus de Sermone Latini. 8 Venetia	Idem Aldo 4	Scotalicum.
Andrea Mocenigo In pentateuicum. 8 Venetia.	Carnucopia Aldo fol.	Efflor Picius in Execheleam Spag. fol.
Ars testandi. 8 Venetia.	Idem 4	Epistole Quidij con commento 4.
Apologia Pandolfi Collonij. 4 Roma	Caiccanus Super anima. F.	Idem Fo. et 8
Andrea Turino de Curatione. 8	Carmina quinque poetarum. Venetia 8	Antonij Flaminij 8
Augustini Retractiones. 8 Venetia.	Communes Sententia Ioannis Bellonij 16	Ejusdem ad Paulum Tertium. 8
Idem de gratia & libero arbitrio. 8 Venetia	Comentarij Galeati Capella Lat. 8	Pantrarij Iustiniani 8
Idem de Spiritu, & litera. 8. Venetia.	Christophori Longolij. Defensio. 8	Expofitio Titulorum. 8
Antonij Faurentini in Posteriora. 8	Comentaria Casaris. Venetia fol.	Epistole Mamardi primo Secundo
Alexander Acciaolius de Praepositionibus. fol.	Gausfili Grammatica. Venetia 8	Santi Ignacij 16
Athanasius de Compositione medicamentorum. 16 Venetia	Idem ad Collectas 4	Filefij 8
Idem de ratione uisus. 8	Confilia Federici de Senis fol.	E fpedito Aphrica. 8
Antonij Mancinelli grammatica. 8	Rolandus a Valle F. tomo 3. fol.	Elucidatio ueritatis Catholicae
Idem Spica 8	Craneta primo, Secundo fol.	Erotomata Gherini Greca 8
Angelus de maleficijs. 8. Venetia	Cagno. de reguis iuris Venetia 8	Examen airtutum. & uitiorum 16
Aristotelis methica Philosophia. 4	Comentarij pro G. Rolcio Manuij. 8	Elcgantia Valle F. & 8
Idem problemata 16	Catezanus in Euangelia. 8	Eufebius de demonstratione. fol.
Idem Physica. 8	Idem ientacula Venetia. 8	<b>F</b>
de animalibus Greco. 4	Concilium Colonense. 4	Ranccisi Robertelli adnota. diuer.
Elianus de re militari. 4. Greco	Ferraria, & Florentia fol.	Greco Latino 8
Idem laiuo. fol.	Consolatorium timorata Conscientie. 8	Nigri 8
Aulus Cellius. fol.	Claudianus de laudibus Italia Et Heruaria. 4	Idem 4
Augustini Iustiniani de 75. nominibus Christi. 8	Catullus cum commento. fol. & 8	Besti in predic. & metabof. 4
Augustini Beroni questio. 8	Comentarij quinquum Fratrem 8. Venetia.	Fernardi in Seneca. 4
<b>B</b>	Claudij Crescerelli. Venetia 8	Fernelius de Euacuandi ratione 8
Aptista Bonus de statuarijs Urbis. 16	Comentarij in medicina. 8	In medicina F.
Boetius de consolatione. 8 Venetia	Constitutiones. F. 8	Francisci Imper. in medicina. 4
Baptista Mantuani de Sacris diebus. 8 Milano	<b>D</b>	Idem Terilli in medicina 4
Idem bucolica. 4 Turino	Donatus 8	Pafini 4
Bernardini Erutij in Epistolas Ciceronis 4. Venetia	Dialogus Coltrij 8	<b>G</b>
Bartolomeus Caranzanus de residentia Epif. 8. Venetia	Demosthenis orationes contra Pbilip. 4 Venetia.	Aleni methodus 16
Benedicti Aretini de bello Hierusalem 4. Venetia	Dieta notabilia 16	Ara medicinae
Basilus de Virginitate. Venetia 8	Dialogus Baldini 8	In pronostica Hipocrius. 8
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	Diascorides. Venetia 16	Plaxonis. 8
	Decius de regulis iuris. 8	Theodori Gazze. 8
	De origine Principum fol.	Idem Greca & latina. 8
	Dialogus Flaminij 4	Idem. 4
	Distinctiones Bartoli fol.	Scope. 4
	Duellum Epistolarem. Venetia fol.	Fannonis. 4
		Trigianerfic. 8
		Galeatus Martij de homine. 4

Fig. 13. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(12, recto).

ALD 558 (13)

## LIBRI DI STAMPA DE GIOLITI.

<b>A</b> ppiano, Alessandrino 12. tre libri .	L.	fs	10	Sopra la passione dell' <i>Aurifco</i> . 12.	L.	fs	4
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Annunciationi sopra il Petrarca di Giulio Camillo.	L.	fs	10	Dialettica del Scandense. 4.	L.	fs	16
Arcadia del Sanazaro. 8.	L.	fs	10	Diameron del Marcellino. 4.	L.	1	fs 4
* Amori del Cataneo. 8.	L.	fs	12	* Disprezio del mondo. 12.	L.	fs	15
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* Apoftegmi di Plutarco. 4.	L.	4	fs	* Diodoro Siculo. 4. volg.	L.	9	fs
* Accbille del Dolce. 4.	L.	4	fs	Idem in 8.	L.	fs	12
Amertimenti sopra la peste del Centorio. 4.	L.	3	fs	De causis pestilentia.	L.	fs	4
Amertimenti del Crispoldo sopra la Passione. 12.	L.	fs	16	De Summo Pontifice. 4.	L.	fs	4
<b>B</b> occaccio Fiammetta 8.	L.	fs	10	<b>E</b> rodiano delle vite d' Imperatori. 8.	L.	fs	12
* Labirinto. 12.	L.	fs	5	Epistole Fallaride. 8.	L.	fs	6
* Ameto. 8.	L.	fs	12	Egloghe del Mutio. 8.	L.	fs	15
Beda in Epistolas Pauli in 8.	L.	3	fs	Eserciti del buon Christiano. 4.	L.	1	fs 4
<b>C</b> aminia Lampriadi. 8.	L.	fs	10	Emilio probo. 8.	L.	fs	8
Cortigiano. 8.	L.	1	fs	Entociasmo del Camilla 8.	L.	fs	8
Idem 12.	L.	fs	15	<b>F</b> atti d' Alfonso d' Aragona. 4.	L.	2	fs 10
Commentarij del Capella. 4.	L.	1	fs	Filoftrato. 8.	L.	1	fs 10
Croniche di Spagna. 8.	L.	1	fs 16	Fatto d' arme del Taro. 8.	L.	fs	8
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Idem sopra la passione. 12.	L.	fs	16	Francia Antartica. 8.	L.	1	fs 10
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Cagioni delle guerre. 4.	L.	2	fs	Guerra di Cartagine. 8.	L.	fs	10
Commentarij d' Europa del Centorio. 4.	L.	2	fs	De' Goti. 8.	L.	fs	10
Commentarij di Cesare. 12. volg.	L.	2	fs	Di Gierusalem. 8.	L.	fs	12
Confesion Panormitano. 12.	L.	fs	4	Gaudentii Merula memorabilium. 8.	L.	fs	6
Fra Michele. 8.	L.	fs	8	Gioie historiche. 4.	L.	2	fs 10
Per le donne.	L.	fs	2	Grammatica P' trunio. 8.	L.	fs	15
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Correccio. anni. 8.	L.	fs	2	Del mondo nuouo, cioè Perù. 4.	L.	2	fs
<b>D</b> ignità de' Consoli Romani. 4.	L.	5	fs	Del Zonora. 4.	L.	5	fs
Dialogo dell' Orator di Cic. volg. 12.	L.	fs	15	Del Guicciardini. 4. ultimi libri.	L.	3	fs
Di Polidoro uirg. 8.	L.	fs	15	Di Niceforo 4.	L.	1	fs 10
* Domenichi. 8.	L.	1	fs 4	D' Aurelio, & Isabella 8.	L.	fs	5
Dialogo delle partitioni oratorie. 4.	L.	1	fs 4	* Di Niceta, e Niceforo, insieme.	L.	4	fs 10
Discorso di Dario Attendoli del duello. 8.	L.	fs	5				
Del Possenino. 4.	L.	fs	6				

Fig. 14. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(13, recto).

ALD 558 (14)

## LIBRI SPIRITUALI DI STAMPA DE' GIOLITI.

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Idem in 4. L. 1 s. 10	<b>R</b> etorica Cipriani in 12. L. s. 10
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	<b>V</b> ita della Madonna in 4. L. 1 s. 8
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Fig. 15. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(14).

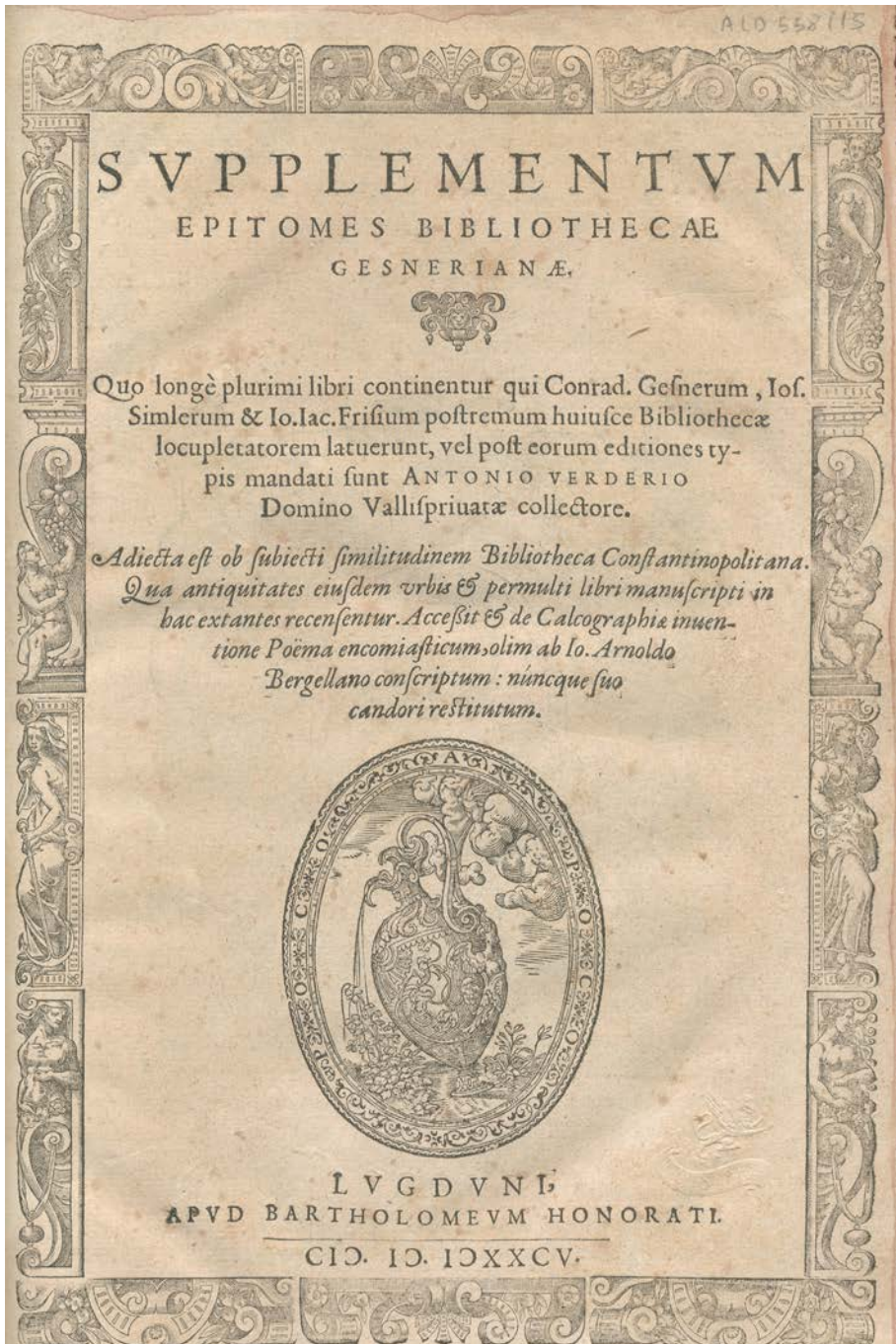


Fig. 16. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, Ald 558(15).



<i>Del Jure</i>		15
<i>Analysi del Jure</i>	L. 6	m 16
<i>Arcian Alexanderini Jure</i>	L. 2	
<i>Acronium Martellus Jure</i>	L. 1	- 10
<i>Acronium de es Jure</i>	L.	+ 10
<i>Aquinas Jure del Secaccio</i>	L.	+ 8
<i>Arauc in s</i>	L.	+ 6
<i>Arcidia del Barallero Jure</i>	L.	+ 6
<i>Archieo Arciano de Cons</i>	L.	+ 10
<i>Archieo de Consuetudina</i>	L.	+ 4
<i>Archieo de Cons de Cons</i>	L.	+ 2
<i>Archieo Ragionant Jure</i>	L.	+ 1
<i>Archieo de Jure de Lariano</i>	L.	+ 12
<i>Archieo de Jure de Verria</i>	L.	+ 10

Fig. 17. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS H 20, f. 15r Giolito.

<i>Del Jure</i>		21
<i>Abel Jure in Jure Jure</i>	L. 3	
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 4
<i>Abel Jure in Jure</i>	L. 2	
<i>de Antiquitas</i>	L. 2	+ 10
<i>de Jure</i>	L. 2	+ 10
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 3	
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 7	+ 10
<i>de Jure Jure</i>	L.	+ 10
<i>in Jure</i>	L.	+ 10
<i>de Jure Jure</i>	L.	+ 10
<i>in Jure</i>	L. 1	
<i>Abel Jure</i>	L. 1	
<i>Jure in Jure</i>	L. 28	
<i>Jure in Jure</i>	L. 2	+ 10
<i>Jure</i>	L. 2	+ 10

Fig. 18. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS H 20, f. 21r Scoto.

<i>Hervagius de Jure Jure</i>		31
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10

Fig. 19. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS H 20, f. 31r Hervagius.

<i>Jure Jure</i>		34
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10
<i>Jure Jure</i>	L. 1	+ 10

Fig. 20. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS H 20, f. 37r Pietro Perna.

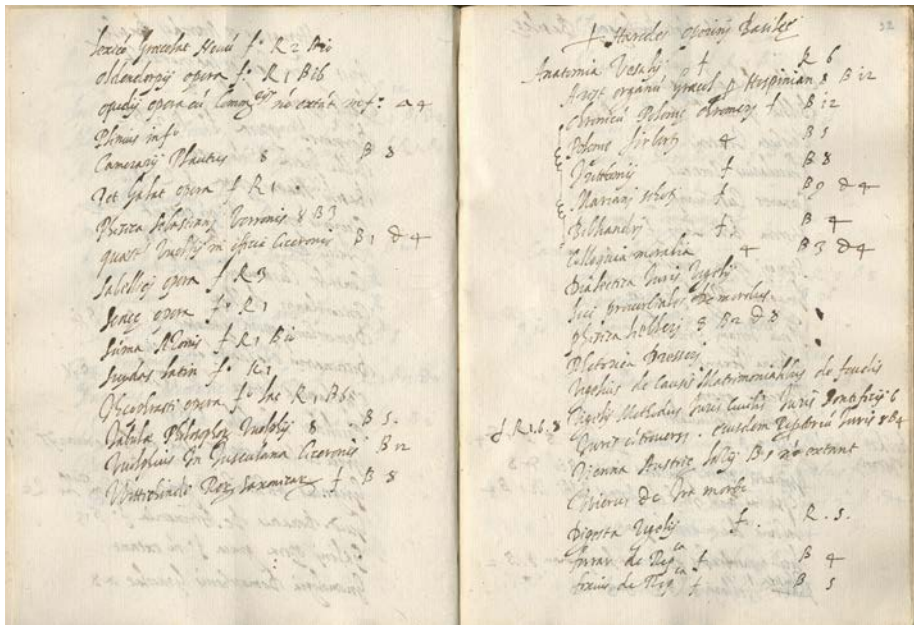


Fig. 21. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS H 20, ff. 31v-32r.

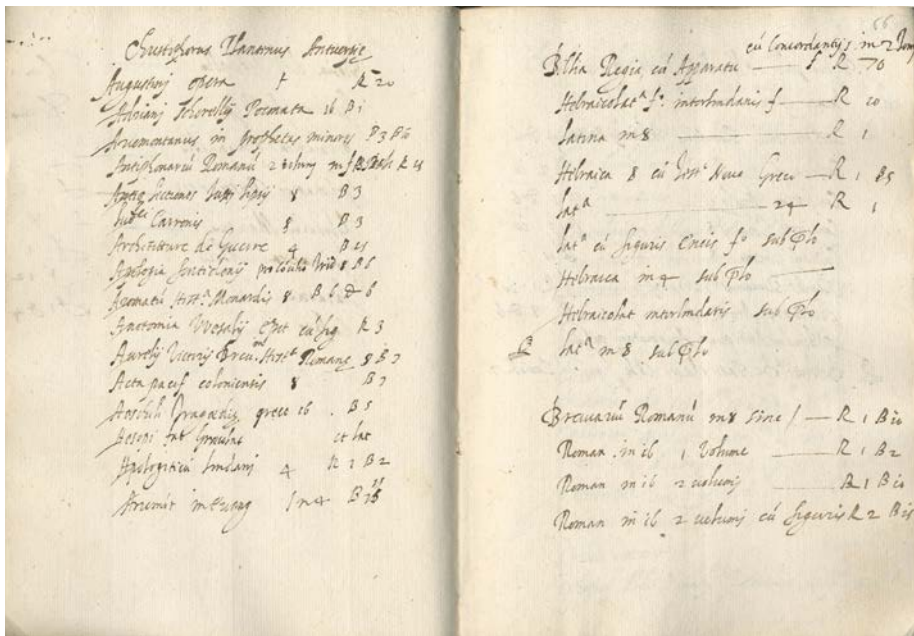


Fig. 22. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS H 20, ff. 65v-66r.

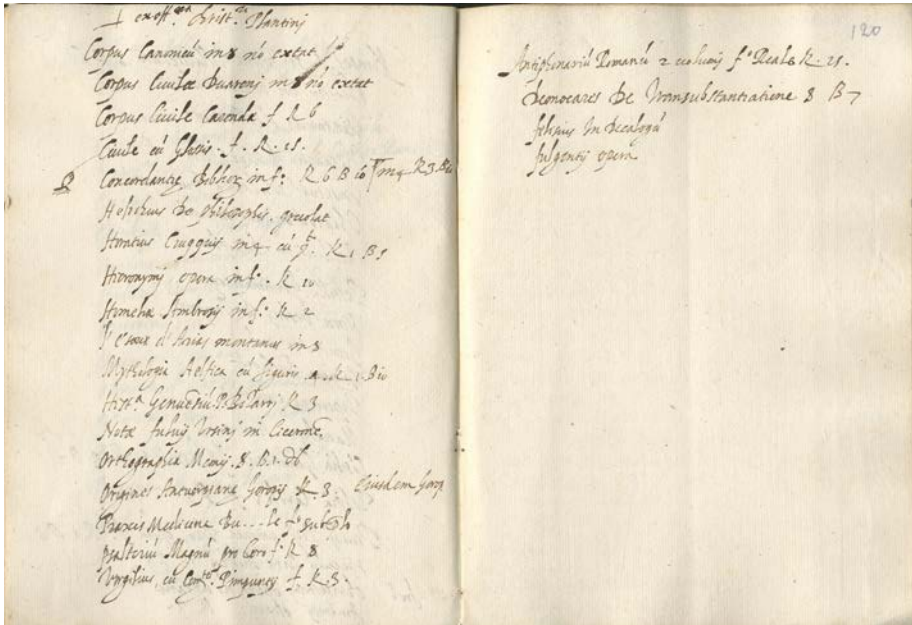


Fig. 23. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS H 20, ff. 119v-120r.

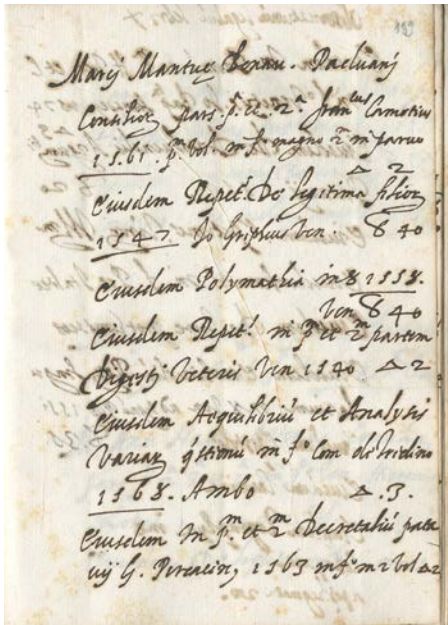


Fig. 24. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS I 22, f. 133r.

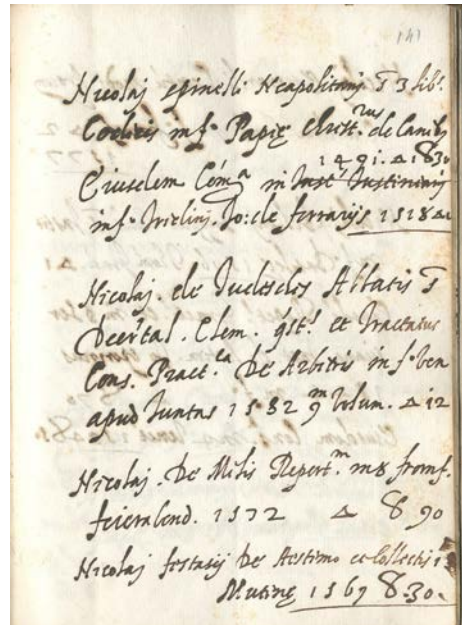


Fig. 25. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS I 22, f. 141r.

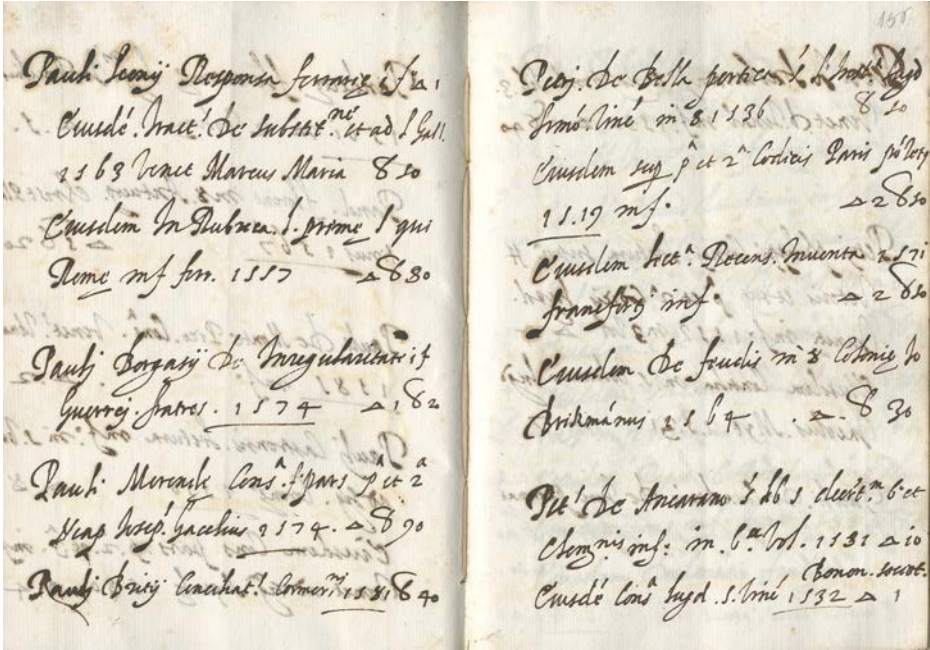


Fig. 26. Perugia, Bibl Augusta, MS I 22, f. 155v-156r.



Fig. 27. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS I 22, f. 158r.



Fig. 28. Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS I 22, f. 158r.

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# Une vente de livres à Gênes en 1583

**Graziano Ruffini\***

En 2014, dans mon travail sur Cristoforo Zabata, libraire, éditeur et écrivain génois du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, je faisais le compte-rendu d'une vente de livres conclue le 20 juin 1583 (Ruffini 2014, 32–35). Dans cette étude, je n'ai pu analyser que sommairement le document qui témoigne de l'activité de libraire de Cristoforo. Cette journée me semble donc être une occasion opportune pour tenter une analyse plus approfondie de cette vente. Pour ce faire, je rappellerai que la vente fut effectuée en faveur d'un autre libraire et éditeur génois, Antonio Orero et qu'il s'agit, encore aujourd'hui, de l'unique attestation d'une vente entre libraires à Gênes au cours du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

Cristoforo Zabata développa sa propre activité d'éditeur et de libraire, opérant dans trois pôles commerciaux: Gênes, évidemment, Pavie et Venise. L'activité polycentrique de Cristoforo est attestée aussi bien par les éditions, promues par lui-même, qui mettent en évidence, comme lieux de production, les trois centres italiens, que par leur paratexte et les documents d'archives conservés à Gênes. Nous savons, en outre, que Zabata se fournissait en livres dans le chef-lieu de la Vénétie, non seulement pour sa propre boutique, mais aussi pour certains commanditaire de la noblesse et, de toute évidence, pour ses collègues libraires exerçant une activité sur la place de Gênes.

Le premier août 1583, devant le notaire Francesco Carexeto, Cristoforo Zabata déclara avoir reçu de son collègue Antonio Orero, la somme de 766 livres, 10 sous et 6 deniers, monnaie de Gênes pour le paiement de livres acquis durant le mois

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précédent, c'est à dire le mois de juin. De plus, cette liste, établie précisément le 20 juin, constitue une partie intrinsèque du document en lui-même.

Il est question, donc, d'une des sources les plus utilisées pour l'étude du commerce du livre: les registres de livres vendus (Nuovo 2013, 347–387). Ces derniers, comme chacun sait, présentent de nombreux problèmes par rapport à leur utilisation, en commençant par la transcription et par l'établissement du texte. Le registre en question présente quelques difficultés d'interprétations dues à une rédaction parfois imprécise et à une graphie peu soignée. D'un point de vue purement quantitatif, l'ensemble du document rend compte de 434 enregistrements auxquels correspondent 1809 volumes ce qui signifie une moyenne de 4 exemplaires par enregistrement. Toutefois, comme nous le verrons, la réalité est plus articulée. Chaque enregistrement comprend trois éléments: l'indication du nombre d'exemplaires vendus, la mention du titre de l'œuvre, la somme indiquant le prix de vente précédé par l'abréviation de la monnaie (la lire).

Après une analyse détaillée du registre,<sup>1</sup> celui-ci apparaît, en fait, subdivisé en cinq blocs de livres. Après le premier bloc, composé de 341 enregistrements, suit une annotation qui avertit le lecteur que le prix de ces livres était exprimé en monnaies de Venise et que leur somme correspondait à 1714 lires et 4 sous. Le notaire, ou l'auteur du registre, se préoccupait de pourvoir au change de monnaie en écus (*scudi*), donc en monnaie de Gênes, et d'y indiquer qu'il s'agissait de 754 lires génoises et 7 sous.

A cette annotation fait suite un second groupe de livres précédé par la note «*Negro e rossi*»: ce sont 18 enregistrements, du n. [342] au n. [359]. Les prix de ces livres sont aussi exprimés en monnaie de Venise et équivalent à la somme de 70 lires et 19 sous, par conséquent, dans ce cas encore, le change est opéré et correspond à la somme de 43 lires génoises, 3 sous et 6 deniers.

Après cette opération financière, une autre liste de livres est compilée, cette fois précédée par la note: «*Libri di Genova e moneta*» ce qui veut dire qu'il s'agissait de livres de production génoise et que leur valeur était exprimée en monnaie locale. Ce sont 36 enregistrements à propos desquels il est opportun d'apporter deux précisions. La première prend en compte le fait qu'en 1583, à Gênes,

<sup>1</sup> Le registre est publié dans l'annexe à cet article.

est actif un seul atelier de typographie, géré par Luigi Portelli pour le compte d'un sénateur de la République, Antonio Roccatagliata, qui est en fait le véritable propriétaire de l'entreprise. La présence d'un seul atelier en ville nous assure que les exemplaires vendus par Zabata à Orero appartenaient aux éditions sorties des presses de Roccatagliata. L'autre fait qui me paraît utile de mentionner, concerne les rapports entre Zabata et l'imprimerie de Roccatagliata, ces rapports furent particulièrement étroits, si étroits que cinq années auparavant, en 1578, Roccatagliata avait confié justement la gestion de la librairie, associée à l'atelier de typographie, à Cristoforo Zabata (Ruffini 2014, 35–37).

La valeur du groupe de livres de fabrication génoise vendu à Orero équivalait à 81 livres et 15 sous. Enfin, suivent encore deux derniers petits groupes: le premier a été défini «*Libri legati e non finiti moneta di Venezia*» à partir du n. [396] jusqu'au n. [409] et le second «*Finiti moneta Venezia* » à partir du n. [410] jusqu'au n. [432], vendu pour une valeur totale de 95 écus et 4 sous, qui furent changé en 60 livres génoises, 4 sous et 6 deniers.

Il semblerait que, l'auteur, arrivé à la fin du registre, se soit rendu compte de quelques oublis. En effet, précédant le résumé comptable des échanges opérés et leur résultat, nous trouvons deux enregistrements relatifs aux deux seuls exemples de cette typologie particulière qui permettait d'évaluer le prix des livres en faisant référence à la rame de papier. La première [433] porte l'indication: «*4 risme de rime <??> a soldi 11 di moneta de Genova la risma*». La seconde porte comme description «*3 risme e 15 quinterni delle ciance delle figlie a 11*». La première annotation, malheureusement, contient un terme dont il ne m'a pas été possible de comprendre correctement le sens et par conséquent nous pouvons seulement estimer le fait qu'il s'agissait d'une œuvre poétique dont nous frappe la grande quantité vendue, bien 4 rames de papier. La seconde indication devrait faire référence à une œuvre éditée à Pavie par les Bartoli justement en 1583 et à la charge de ce même Zabata: *Ragionamento di sei fanciulle genovesi...* qui a comme titre alternatif *overo ciance delle figlie*.

Après avoir analysé la structure du document et en avoir compris la valeur intrinsèque, mais aussi la valeur comptable; se pose à présent la nécessité de vérifier quels sont ces biens faisant l'objet de la négociation juridique et, donc, l'opération bien connue de l'identification des produits qui, dans le cas du livre, correspond à l'identification bibliographique au niveau de l'édition. Qu'est-ce qui se vend et à combien. J'ai conduit la recherche, analysant ce

registre, enregistrement par enregistrement, n'ayant à disposition que certaines informations sur l'auteur et/ ou le titre et le terminus ante quem de juin 1583. Dans cette communication, je ne veux pas tomber dans une simple illustration des aspects, bien connus par vous tous, j'ajouterai seulement qu'encore une fois des lacunes dans nos connaissances de l'édition du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle se révèlent bien présentes. A titre d'exemple, j'expliquerai le cas de 36 enregistrements repris dans le registre, concernant les livres de Gênes, comme les définis l'acte et qui, comme je l'ai rappelé, sont sûrement les produits des éditions sorties des presses génoises gérées pour le compte d'Antonio Roccatagliata, jusqu'au 1579 par Marc'Antonio Bellone et Luigi Portelli, donc uniquement par Portelli. Cette période a été étudié par le distingué abbé Niccolò Giuliani (Giuliani 1869) et aussi par Oriana Cartaregia (Cartaregia 1998, 5–64; Cartaregia e Savelli 1995, 75–78) pour les années comprises entre 1534 et 1579, auxquels vont s'ajouter aujourd'hui les importantes ressources internet comme Edit16 ou Sbn Antico, pour n'en citer que deux.

Sur 36 enregistrements au moins 20 contiennent des références à des exemplaires auxquels il n'a pas été possible d'associer une édition correspondante et cela, surtout parce qu'il s'agit de tirages scolaires (Livres d'arithmétique, livres de grammaire, *regulae*) ou lié à la dévotion d'usage quotidien (les psautiers et les évangiles, les vêpres) tous vendus en grande quantité, comme par exemple: 30 exemplaires de livres d'arithmétique 5 livre de grammaire, etc...; à un prix décidément modique (par ex.: 20 livres d'arithmétique vendus à 4 livres et 10 sous).

Par soucis de clarté uniquement, je commencerai mon exposé par le bloc de livres le plus conséquent, ce dernier contient, comme précédemment énoncé, 341 enregistrements qui équivalent à 1116 exemplaires environ. J'utilise le terme environ car l'un des enregistrements est privé de la quantité d'exemplaires vendus et il y a au moins un cas d'illisibilité du nombre indiqué. Les enregistrements devraient faire référence aux livres dont Zabata a fait l'acquisition sur la place de Venise car cela justifie la vente de ceux-ci en monnaie de Venise.<sup>2</sup> Le peu d'éléments décrits, qui dans le cas de descriptions plus étendues comprennent le nom de l'auteur, un ou deux mots provenant du titre et le format, ne prévoient pas l'indication du lieu de production du livre,

<sup>2</sup> Andrea Zanini, que je veux remercier ici, m'a confirmé que, selon la coutume génoise, le prix est généralement exprimé dans la monnaie du marché où les marchandises sont achetées et convertie en lires génoises à des fins comptables.

à l'exception de 5 cas. Il s'agit de deux éditions florentines, deux milanaises et une de Bressa c'est à dire Brescia. Ces précisions m'induisent à affirmer que sur la place de Venise, Zabata procédait à l'acquisition d'ouvrages vénitiens mais aussi d'ouvrages provenant d'autres localités, disponibles sur cette place. Les acquisitions, naturellement, advenaient sur la base de la demande de sa clientèle et sur la base de ses prévisions de la demande, crée par le marché génois.

L'opération d'identification bibliographique a conduit aux résultats suivants:

Editions vénitiennes: 254 (74%, qui atteignent 90% sur l'échantillon des éditions identifiées [282]).

Editions non vénitiennes: 46 (un peu plus de 7% du total).

Editions non identifiées: 59 (un peu plus de 17% du total)

Le détail des éditions non vénitiennes a mis en évidence une réalité variée, avec 16 localités différentes de production, dont quatre étrangères: Bâle, Lyon, Monaco et Paris; les éditions restantes étant italiennes. Le record de vente de ces dernières revient à Bologne avec 8 éditions différentes, suivie par Florence et Milan, toutes deux ayant 7 éditions et enfin Brescia avec 6 éditions. Ce travail a été long et difficile et a été exécuté selon la méthodologie traditionnelle soutenue par les ressources du réseau internet, toutefois, comme il est naturel dans ce genre d'étude, nous conservons encore certains doutes. Pour vous en donner un simple exemple: est-t-il correct d'identifier un enregistrement comme étant une édition datée de 46 années auparavant parce que nous n'avons pas d'informations concernant les tirages ou les éditions successives à celle-ci? L'enregistrement [38] à laquelle je fais référence présente les données suivantes:

1. Chroniques de Gênes, Giustiniano lires 10/1. *Croniche di Genova, Giustiniano lire 10*

Les informations en notre possession nous disent qu'une œuvre avec ce titre n'existe pas. La citation de Giustiniano est une claire référence au célèbre humaniste Agostino Giustiniani qui, outre le *Psautier* polyglotte bien connu (Gênes, Porro, 1516), composa effectivement une œuvre historique dédiée à la ville de Gênes: *Castigatissimi annali con la loro copiosa tauola della eccelsa & illustrissima republi. di Genoa*. L'œuvre fut imprimée à Gênes en 1537 et, d'après ce que nous savons, elle ne sera plus imprimée. Il est possible que l'ouvrage acquis et vendu soit celui-ci? Dans ce cas spécifique, une réponse,

qui à mon sens peut être acceptable, est qu'il s'agit d'une acquisition relevant du domaine des livres anciens; dans le sens où il est question d'une œuvre d'histoire locale, l'un des arguments toujours apprécié, par exemple, par les représentants des élites génoises, comme il est possible de le vérifier à travers l'analyse des inventaires de leurs collections de livres. Comme livre d'histoire municipale, il pouvait répondre, donc, à une demande particulière de la part de Orero à Zabata pour le compte de quelques riches commanditaires. En effet, je retiens que, s'il s'agissait d'un livre de seconde main, le prix aurait dû être plus bas. Cet exemple me permet de faire allusion, justement, au problème des livres neufs ou d'occasion. Le document ne fournit aucune indication explicite au sujet de ces deux catégories commerciales. J'ai donc vérifié les enregistrements qui ont permis l'identification probable de l'année de publication. Il est question d'un groupe de 272 éditions: de ces dernières, 119 (44%) ont des années de publication comprises entre 1534 et 1578, les autres 153 éditions (56%) montrent des années de publication comprises entre 1579 et 1583. A cause de ce manque d'informations, je ne crois pas que l'on puisse attribuer ces pourcentages aux diverses catégories commerciales des livres, de plus, l'absence de définitions précises ne permet pas l'identification des catégories elles-mêmes: les nouveaux livres, les livres d'occasion, les livres anciens.

Les données contenues dans le document d'archives et celles de l'identification bibliographique consentent une précision d'analyse majeure d'un point de vue typologique. Il est donc absolument évident qu'un enregistrement comme le numéro [40] 4 *Cathecismi lat.* 8° lire 1 et 10 sous, apparaît clairement comme un ouvrage appartenant au domaine religieux/éducatif même si il est impossible de l'attribuer à un centre de production spécifique, à une année d'édition ou de lui assigner un nombre de feuilles.

Malgré des cas d'incertitude, dans l'ensemble il est possible de fournir des données fiables au sujet de la typologie des produits, faisant l'objet de la transaction économique en les classant de cette façon:

Catégories	Enregistrements	Exemplaires
LITTERATURE ET ARTS	131 (41%)	537 (52%)
RELIGION	75 (23%)	220 (21%)
HISTOIRE ET GEOGRAPHIE	41 (13%)	79 (8%)
SCIENCES ET MEDECINE	32 (11%)	130 (12%)

DROITS	20 (6%)	26 (3%)
PHILOSOPHIE	18 (6%)	40 (4%)
Total	317	1.030

Outre à la nette prévalence d'œuvres littéraires, une donnée facilement identifiable dans ce tableau, concerne le nombre moyen d'exemplaires mis en vente. Il est évident que la classification des œuvres littéraires et celles de sciences et de médecine sont les catégories dont la moyenne est la plus élevée, même s'il ya une légère prévalence de la seconde (4,08) par rapport à la première (4,06). Aussi du point de vue du nombre majeur d'exemplaires vendus, ce sont toujours ces trois catégories – littérature, sciences et médecine, et enfin religion – à se partager la classification avec un nombre d'exemplaires vendus supérieur à 10 où cependant la catégorie des œuvres littéraires se taille la part du lion, avec le nombre absolu le plus élevé d'exemplaire vendu – trente – pour une œuvre de Cesare Caporali, homme de lettre ayant eu une occurrence éditoriale heureuse.

Cet item se réfère, entre autres, à une œuvre qu'il n'a pas été possible d'associer à une édition. Actuellement, en fait, il n'y a pas d'éditions connues, antérieures à celle signalée par EDIT16 CNCE 9205: Parme: [Erasmus Viotti], 1584. Le *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, dans la rubrique qui est dédiée par Claudio Mutini au poète ombrien, fait mention d'une *Raccolta di alcune rime piacevoli* (Parme 1582) dont il ne m'a pas été possible de retracer les exemplaires sinon dans deux enregistrements ayant comme datation 1581 et 1582 dans la base de données de la *Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice* qui, comme chacun sait, ne renvoie pas à des exemplaires encore conservés aujourd'hui.

Celles-ci sont, donc, les catégories de produits qui font l'objet de la vente. Venons en maintenant à vérifier quels sont les prix de ces produits et commençons avec les livres les plus couteux. Parmi les 341 enregistrements il y en a au moins 17 dont le prix de vente atteint ou dépasse les 10 livres vénitienne (table 1).

Le prix le plus élevé a été atteint par le numéro [165] qui montre deux exemplaires des *Istorie* de Giovanni Tarcagnota vendus aux prix de 62 livres, c'est à dire 31 livres pour chacun d'entre eux. Il devrait s'agir de l'édition en cinq volumes in quarto produite à Venise pour les héritiers de Francesco & Michiel Tramezini en 1580. La catégorie des livres d'histoire est celle qui présente le

nombre majeur d'exemplaires les plus couteux: au moins sept exemplaires sur dix-sept avec des prix égaux ou qui dépassent 10 livres. Parmi ceux-ci, outre le travail déjà présenté, [38] 1 *Croniche di Genova, Giustiniano* 10 lire, est à souligner: [168] 3 exemplaires de *Le imprese illustri con espositioni e discorsi* de Girolamo Ruscelli à 42 livres, c'est à dire 14 livres par exemplaire, édition in 4° de Francesco de' Franceschi, de Sienne, en 1580, de 388 feuilles avec les illustrations. Encore: [332] 3 *Vite di Plutarco* 4° à 31.10 livres, c'est à dire 10 livres et 10 sous par exemplaire.

Parmi les livres religieux et de dévotion domine [25] un exemplaire de *Bonaventura in sententiarum* à 14 livres, probablement une copie des *Opusculorum theologorum, tomus primus [-secundus]* de l'édition in-folio de Girolamo Scoto de 1572 et les *Prediche* [257] de Luis de Granada in 4° à 10 livres.

L'autre catégorie qui contient au moins un exemplaire avec un prix de vente élevé est celle des sciences et de la médecine, pour laquelle nous mettons en évidence les deux exemplaires [86] de *Dioscoride volgare*, c'est à dire Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *I discorsi [...]* *Nelli sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della materia medicinale*, in folio, vendus au prix de 37 livres et 4 sous, c'est à dire 18 livres et 12 sous par exemplaire.

J'ai donc conduit une analyse plus détaillée des 35 œuvres de cette catégorie (table 2), en prenant en considération les données relatives au prix unitaire, au format, au nombre de feuilles, à la présence d'illustrations, à la langue du texte (italien ou latin) et à l'année supposée de publication.

La première information qui, à mon sens, est la plus significative concerne le rapport entre le nombre d'exemplaires et le prix unitaire. La tendance qui l'en ressort, paraît être que plus un nombre élevé d'exemplaires est acquis, moins le prix du simple exemplaire est élevé. Il existe toutefois une exception, le prix de seulement 2 sous pour payer un exemplaire unique de [324] 1 *Tractatus equorum Bonacossae* 8°.

Le rapport entre le nombre de feuilles et le prix à l'unité semble démontrer que les exemplaires d'éditions composés par un nombre de feuilles inférieur à 100, ne peuvent atteindre le prix d'une livre ou plus, mais, dans ce cas aussi, il y a des exceptions comme, par exemple, [04] 6 exemplaires de *l'Algebra* de Bombelli, volume in 4° de 354 feuilles, daté de 1579, qui sont vendus pour 15 sous chacun.



La comparaison entre les prix des œuvres appartenant à la catégorie de l'histoire et de la géographie (table 3) semble confirmer notre hypothèse, moins d'exemplaires d'un ouvrage sont vendus, plus le coût par exemplaire sera élevé. La majeure partie des enregistrements (16) de cette catégorie, en effet, montre la vente d'un seul exemplaire, un seul enregistrement indique la vente de 6 exemplaires et le reste des enregistrements montre un nombre d'exemplaires vendu variant de 2 à 4. Tous les exemplaires décrits ont des prix égaux ou supérieurs à la lire exception faite de l'édition en format in 12° de la *Vita, gesti, costummi, discorsi, et lettere di Marco Aurelio imperatore*, d'Antonio de Guevara, enregistrement numéro [331] et vendu à 15 sous par exemplaire, tandis que le numéro précédent [330] présente la même œuvre, mais une édition et un format plus grand, in 8°, au prix d'une lire par exemplaire. Cet enregistrement, en outre, est aussi celui qui indique le plus grand nombre d'exemplaires vendus, en l'occurrence 6. Les données qui résultent de cette catégorie, composée surtout d'édition en format in 4°, semblent démontrer, cependant, que le format soit apparemment peu déterminant pour le prix. La preuve de cette affirmation est fournie par les enregistrements de deux exemplaires des *Deche* de Tito Livio en vulgaire. Le premier [87] fait état d'un exemplaire d'une édition en format in folio, comptant 520 feuilles, au prix de 10 liras et le second, au contraire, rend compte de la même œuvre en format in 4°, comptant 890 feuilles, toujours au même prix à l'unité. La catégorie de l'histoire, enfin, même en représentant un quart de la valeur totale de la transaction, ne présente en réalité qu'une modeste quantité d'exemplaires pour chaque édition vendue. En ce qui concerne la date d'impression qui est, comme nous l'avons souligné auparavant, une donnée peu fiable, nous noterons que 17 éditions ont été publiées dans les années précédentes 1579 et seulement 12 d'entre elles ont été imprimées durant les années comprises entre 1579 et 1582, si nous supposons comme livres "neufs" les ouvrages qui ont une date d'édition non antérieure à quatre années de distance de celle de la vente, mais il s'agit naturellement d'une hypothèse.

La catégorie la plus nombreuse celle que j'ai appelé, par commodité, la catégorie des œuvres littéraires, mais dans laquelle sont comprises différentes typologies – comme le théâtre, la poésie ou la linguistique et l'épistolographie – semble aussi confirmer (table 4) que à un nombre supérieur d'exemplaires vendus correspond un coût moindre à l'unité, au moins dans le cas des copies d'ouvrages vendus au minimum en 5 exemplaires. Le choix d'acquérir peu

d'exemplaires d'éditions coûteuses est de toute façon déterminé par le libraire qui doit évaluer la possibilité de commercialiser ces livres coûteux sur le marché citadin et par conséquent la nécessité d'immobiliser un capitale plus élevé. Les exceptions à la règle "un plus grand nombre de copies égal un prix de vente moindre" sont deux œuvres qui appartiennent à une catégorie commerciale porteuse et bien attestée, celle des romans chevaleresques. Le *Drusian dal Leone nel qual si tratta delle battaglie* et le *Libro chiamato Dama Rouenza del Martello* ont été vendus tous deux en 6 exemplaires à 2 livres, 13 sous et 4 deniers chacun. Nous noterons que les romans chevaleresques ont en général des prix à l'unité supérieurs à la lire sauf exception, comme le *Libro chiamato Buovo d'Antona* ou *Falconetto de le battaglie* et peu d'autres.

J'ai ensuite vérifié le comportement des prix d'œuvres vendus en plus grand nombre (table 5) et auxquels nous avons fait référence. Une analyse du rapport entre le nombre d'exemplaires vendus et le coût à l'unité démontre que les éditions ont un prix à l'unité parfois très inférieur à la lire, compris dans un intervalle de prix qui peut aller de 3 à 15 sous. Il y a seulement deux exceptions: une édition du *Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si vsano di fare* de Girolamo Bargagli, édition en 8°, de 144 feuilles, avec un coût d'une lire par exemplaire et une édition du *Legendario delle santissime vergini*, elle-aussi en 8°, composé de 204 feuilles illustrées, avec un coût par exemplaire d'une lire et 10 sous.

Le groupe des "rossi e neri" comprend 18 enregistrements indiquant diverses provenances comme Turin, Venise et Rome, dans certains cas avec l'indication du producteur: les Giunta, Nicolini da Sabbio ou le signe de la Sirène (Giacomo Sansovino). Il s'agit de livres liturgiques: bréviaires, livres des offices, livres de prières, psautiers, livres diurnes avec une certaine propension pour le rituel dominicain. Les 18 enregistrements attestent de 60 exemplaires, un tiers de ceux-ci étant constitué par "[357] 20 livres des offices en 16°". Le prix global de cette partie est de 70 livres vénitiennes et de 19 sous avec un coût moyen qui ne dépasse pas un chiffre de très peu supérieur à 1 lire et 3 sous.

Maintenant, je voudrais rendre compte du groupe d'éditions produites par les presses génoises et qui font objet de la vente. Grâce au travail de Niccolò Giuliani, nous savons que quand Antonio Roccatagliata, Luigi Portelli et Marc'Antonio Bellone, ont fondé une société en 1577, parmi les biens de la société, ont été listés les livres de l'entrepôt de stockage avec l'indication du prix auquel ils doivent être vendus au détail et non relié. Une confrontation entre

la liste de la société et la liste des livres génois vendus à Antonio Orero, nous permet d'effectuer seulement trois comparaisons entre les éditions qui sont reprises dans les deux listes. Avant de vous dévoiler quelles sont ces éditions, je voudrais souligner le fait que la majeure partie des éditions qui font l'objet de la vente sont ultérieures à 1577 et, par conséquent, produites durant un laps de temps proche de la date de la vente.

A part un *Arcadia* de Sannazaro et les *Commedie* de Terenzio qui apparaissent tous deux sur la liste, mais qui dans le registre de la Société Roccatagliata n'ont pas de prix de vente indiqué, nous pouvons vérifier au numéro [366] que 12 exemplaires de la *Scelta d'orazioni* ont été vendus à l. 2.8, avec un coût à l'unité de 4 sous, exactement la même somme indiquée dans le registre de la Société. Pour un *Salluste* in 8°, de 18 feuilles, à 6 sous l'unité et le même prix est indiqué dans l'enregistrement [376] 2 *Sallustes* à 12 sous, qui sont justement au prix de 6 sous à l'unité. Enfin, le prix des *Epistole* de Ciceron semble avoir été réduit, celles-ci étant estimées à 10 sous par exemplaire selon le registre de la Société, elles ont été mises en vente au prix de 8 sous, lors de la vente Zabata-Orero numéro [374]. L'échantillon est trop petit pour en tirer des conclusions, mais il est impossible de ne pas manquer de remarquer qu'en 6 ans le prix des éditions citées sont restés presque inchangés.

J'ai donc conduit une analyse sur le prix moyen des éditions génoises sans prendre en considération les 3 derniers enregistrements relatifs aux *Salteri, abachini et pianti* di San Bernardo vendus en *quinterni*. Les 33 autres éditions ont été divisées en 6 catégories et pour chacune d'entre elles, j'ai pris en considération le nombre d'exemplaires et leur prix à l'unité, obtenant, grâce au rapport entre les deux données, le prix moyen d'un exemplaire pour chacune des catégories. Je souligne que la Philosophie, étant attestée par une édition de seulement deux exemplaires à 5 sous à l'unité, a été par conséquent exclu de l'analyse.

Voici le résultat:

Droit 5 éditions [toutes en format papier]	coût moyen 1.2 lire
Littératures 12 éditions	coût moyen 10 sous
Religion 5 éditions	coût moyen 6 sous

Scolaire 7 éditions	coût moyen 4 sous et 4 deniers [chiffre arrondi]
Histoire 2 éditions	coût moyen 7 sous et 6 deniers [chiffre arrondi]

Je voudrais conclure l'examen de ce document notarial en faisant allusion aux exemplaires reliés et finis qui sont repris dans la liste du dernier groupe de livres. Quelques enregistrements de ce groupe, en effet, font référence aux exemplaires de ces éditions, déjà signalées dans la première partie du document. Cette réparation, donc, nous permet de vérifier si et de combien le coût de la reliure peut avoir un impact sur le prix final d'un simple exemplaire.

Uniquement 5 enregistrements nous assurent dans une mesure plutôt fiable qu'il s'agit de la même édition:

L'enregistrement [417] 1 *Compendio dell'arte esorcistica* à 1 lire, correspond littéralement à l'enregistrement numéro [48], qui recense 4 exemplaires de l'œuvre au coût de 4 livres, c'est à dire une lire par exemplaire.

L'enregistrement [423], 1 *Epistole Ovidio Remigio* à 15 sous, a son correspondant au numéro [103] qui rend compte de 5 exemplaires à 2 livres et 10 sous. Dans ce cas, la reliure a un impact égal à 50%.

L'enregistrement [337] décrit 6 exemplaires de *vita e favole di Esopo 12°* à un coût global de 6 livres (1 lire par exemplaire) et le même coût a été indiqué pour deux autres exemplaires de *vita e favole di Esopo 12°* du numéro [424], c'est à dire 2 livres pour l'ensemble qui équivaut, justement, à 1 lire par exemplaire.

Les *Rime* de Cesare Caporali, déjà plusieurs fois citées et indiquées comme le numéro [284], ont un coût à l'unité de 8 sous, qui sera ensuite augmenté à 12 sous après la reliure, comme en atteste le numéro [426] et avec une augmentation du prix, qui dans ce cas sera égal à 50%.

Enfin, un livre plus coûteux comme le *Virgilio volgare del Caro* qui a un prix de 3 livres et 10 sous non relié [334] maintient son coût inaltéré après la reliure [429].

Nous disposons d'un échantillon vraiment trop limité pour pouvoir en tirer des considérations générales: dans l'état actuel des choses, nous pouvons seulement relever que le coût de la reliure conduit à une augmentation du prix de la vente qui varie entre 0 et 50%.

Les données que le document contient, devront être confrontées avec les autres données analogues génoises et non génoises car pour le moment celles-ci nous offrent un instantané d'une réalité qui n'a pas, au moins, jusqu'à présent, de correspondances locales.

### Livres les plus couteux

item	copies	coût	prix unitaire	année	format	oeuvre
[38]	1	10	10	1537	2°	Giustiniani, Agostino Castigatissimi annali
[290]	1	10	10	1545	4°	Mazzolini, Silvestro Summa summarum
[25]	1	14	14	1572	2°	Bonaventura in sententiarum
[159]	1	12	12	1572	4°	Giovio, Paolo Delle istorie del suo tempo
[87]	1	10	10	1575	2°	Livius, Titus Deche
[84]	2	20	10	1578	2°	Alighieri, Dante Dante con l'espositioni Landino
[232]	1	16	16	1579	8°	Cicero, Marcus Tullius Opera
[313]	2	28	14	1579	n.d.	Claudius Ptolomaeus La geografia
[157]	1	10	10	1580	2°	Sigonio, Carlo Historiarum de regno Italiae
[165]	2	62	31	1580	4°	Tarcagnota, Giovanni Delle historie del mondo
[168]	3	42	14	1580	4°	Ruscelli, Girolamo Le imprese illustri
[86]	2	37.4	18.12	1581	2°	Mattioli, Pietro Andrea I discorsi
[88]	1	10	10	1581	4°	Livius, Titus Deche
[257]	1	10	10	1581	4°	Luis de Granada Prediche
[333]	1	10	10	1581	2°	Ludolph von Saxen Vita Christi
[332]	3	31.10	10.10	1582	4°	Plutarchus Vite
[234]	1	15	15	1582	4°	Luis de Granada Tutte le opere

Table 1

## Livres de sciences et médecine

Item	Copies	Coût	Prix unitaire	Format	Cartes	Illustrations	Language	Année	Oeuvre
[251]	N.d.	7	N.d.	N.d.	N.d.	N.d.	I	1580	Plinius Secundus, <i>Galus Historia naturale</i>
[278]	12	3	0.5	8°	64	Oui	I	1562	Galenus, <i>Claudius Recettario di galeno ottimo e probato</i>
[322]	12	3.12	0.6	8°	80	Oui	I	1570	Tagliente, <i>Girolamo Libro di abacho?</i>
[03]	10	2.10	0.5	8°	N.d.	N.d.	I	N.d.	Alberto Magno volgare
[301]	9	1.16	0.4	12°	42	Non	I	1581	Morato, <i>Fulvio Pellegrino Del significato de' colori</i>
[092]	8	1.4	0.3	8°	32	Non	I	1534	<i>Opera noua intitulata edificio di ricette</i>
[106]	8	2	0.5	8°	48	Non	I	1574	Rosselli, <i>Giovanni Epulario il quale tratta del modo di cucinare</i>
[138]	7	12	1.14	4°	284	Oui	I	1581	Da Vigo, <i>Giovanni La pratica vniuersale in cirugia</i>
[04]	6	4.10	0.15	4°	354	Non	I	1579	Bombelli, <i>Raffaele L'algebra</i>
[136]	6	12	2	4°	322	Non	I	1580	Tommasi, <i>Francesco Reggimento del padre di famiglia</i>
[070]	4	2	0.10	8°	59	Non	I	1581	Catena, <i>Girolamo Discorso... delle scienze</i>
[093]	4	3	0.15	8°	104	Non	I	1560	Lanteri, <i>Giacomo Della economica</i>
[276]	4	4	1	2°	166	Oui	I	1574	<i>Arte dei medici e speciali &lt;Firenze&gt; Il ricettario medicinale</i>
[310]	4	4	1	N.d.	N.d.	N.d.	I	N.d.	<i>Secreti del Porta</i>
[057]	3	2.5	0.15	N.d.	N.d.	N.d.	I	N.d.	<i>Comardeno Da misurare la superficie</i>
[139]	3	9	3	4°	234	Oui	I	1580	Gallo, <i>Agostino Le vini giornate dell'agricoltura</i>
[210]	3	9	3	8°	136	Oui	I	1582	Monardes, <i>Nicolas Delle cose che vengono portate dall'Indie</i>
[254]	3	7.10	2.10	8°	196	Non	I	1570	Romoli, <i>Domenico La singolare dottrina di m. Domenico Romoli</i>

[035]	2	2.8	1.4	8°	136	Oui	I	1575	Teti, Carlo Discorsi delle fortificationi
[052]	2	3	1.10	4°	160	Oui	I	1573	Corte, Claudio Il caualierizzo
[056]	2	4	2	8°	156	Non	I	1582	Cattaneo, Girolamo Dell'arte del misurare
[086]	2	37.4	18.12	2°	236	Non	I	1581	Mattioli, Pietro Andrea I discorsi
[126]	2	1	0.10	8°	72	Non	I	1576	Ficino, Marsilio Contro alla peste
[184]	2	2.8	1.4	8°	118	Oui	I	1561	Anguillara, Luigi Semplici
[205]	2	2	1	8°	180	Non	I	1574	Martinelli, Giovanni Le medicine parteneniti alle infermità delle donne
[266]	2	3	1.10	2°	162	Non	I	1562	Vittori, Benedetto Practicæ magnæ... de morbis curandis
[267]	2	1.10	0.15	4°	48	Oui	I	1561	Piccolomini, Alessandro Della grandezza della terra
[288]	2	3	1.10	8°	3v.	Non	I	1580	Ruscelli, Girolamo De' secreti
[289]	2	3	1.10	8°	312	Non	I	1580	Rossello, Timotheo Della summa de' secreti vniuersali
[292]	2	4	2	8°	376	Non	I	1572	Fioravanti, Leonardo Dello specchio di scientia vniuersale
[294]	2	2.8	1.4	8°	208	Portr.	I	1581	Fioravanti, Leonardo Del compendio de i secreti rationali
[306]	2	1.4	1.2	8°	168	Oui	I	1561	Anguillara, Luigi Semplici
[100]	1	7	7	2°	N.d.	N.d.	L	N.d.	Euclide latino
[219]	1	0.6	0.6	4°	32	Non	L	1561	Camilla, Giovanni De ordine ac methodo in scientia servandis
[324]	1	0.2	0.2	8°	128	Non	L	1574	Bonacossa, Ippolito Tractatus in materia equorum

Table 2

## Livres d'histoire et géographie

item	copies	coût	prix unitaire	format	cartes	illustration	language	année	oeuvre
[130]	6	6	1	8°	176	NON	I	1580	Guevara, Antonio Vita, gesti, costumi... di Marco Aurelio
[166]	4	14	3.10	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Istoria del regno di Napoli
[122]	3	18	6	4	230	OUI	I	1582	D'Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo L'universale fabrica del mondo
[160]	3	3	1	4°	96	NON	I	1570	Ulloa, Alfonso de Le historie di Europa
[161]	3	5.5	1.15	8°	294	1portr.	I	1580	Guicciardini, Francesco Dell'epitome dell'Historia d'Italia
[168]	3	42	14	4°	300	OUI	I	1580	Ruscelli, Girolamo Le imprese illustri
[170]	3	6	2	4°	176	1portr.	I	1572	Ruscelli, Girolamo Indice degl'uomini illustri
[332]	3	31.10	10.10	4°	2v	NON	I	1582	Plutarchus Vite di Plutarco Cheroneo
[011]	2	2.8	1.4	8°	126	NON	I	1575	Contarini, Luigi L'antiquità di Roma
[044]	2	8	4	4°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Cornelio Tacito historie
[063]	2	8	4	4°	327	NON	I	1575	Dionysius Halicarnassensis Delle cose antiche
[066]	2	16	8	4°	636	NON	I	1581	Alberti, Leandro Descrizione di tutta l'Italia
[131]	2	2.8	1.4	4°	96	NON	I	1572	Serdonati, Francesco De' fatti d'arme de' romani
[150]	2	10	5	4°	512	NON	I	1582	Iosephus, Flavius Di Flavio Giuseppe dell'antichità de' Giudei
[156]	2	3	1.10	8°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Istoria del gagesepo?
[158]	2	12	6	4°	298	OUI	I	1580	Cartari, Vincenzo Le imagini de i dei
[164]	2	8	4	4°	116	NON	I	1562	Nicetas Acominatus Della historia di Niceta
[165]	2	62	31	4°	5v	NON	I	1580	Tarcagnota, Giovanni Delle historie del mondo
[167]	2	6	3	4°	218	NON	I	1570	Bembo, Pietro Della historia vinitiana
[169]	2	2	1	8°	376	NON	I	1552	Guazzo, Marco Historie delle cose degne di memoria



[179]	2	9	4.10	8°	224	NON	I	1564	Cieza De Leon, Pedro de Historia ouer Cronica del... Perù
[253]	2	10	5	4°	384	NO	I	1549	Emili, Paolo Historia delle cose di Francia
[313]	2	28	14	4°	n.d.	n.d.	I	1579	Ptolomaeus, Claudius La geografia
[329]	2	8	4	4°	352	NON	I	1581	Ulloa, Alfonso de Vita dell'invittissimo... Carlo V
[331]	2	1.10	0.15	12°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Guevara, Antonio Vita, gesti, costumi... di Marco Aurelio
[014]	1	5.10	5.10	4°	2v 446	NON	I	1562	Barros, Joao de L'Asia
[038]	1	10	10	2°	296	OUI	I	1537	Giustiniani, Agostino Castigassimi annali
[087]	1	10	10	2°	520	NON	I	1575	Livius, Titus Deche
[088]	1	10	10	4°	890	NON	I	1581	Livius, Titus Deche
[140]	1	2.10	2.10	4°	145	OUI	S	1570	Girava, Jerónimo La cosmographia y geographia
[157]	1	10	10	2°	398	NON	L	1580	Sigonio, Carlo Historiarum de Regno Italiae libri quindecim
[159]	1	12	12	4°	5v.	NON	I	1572	Giovio, Paolo Delle istorie del suo tempo
[162]	1	1	1	4°	2v	NON	I	1578	Castanheda, Fer ao Lopes de Historia dell'Indie orientali
[163]	1	5	5	4°	366	NON	I	1562	Guilelmus Tyrensis Historia della guerra sacra di Gierusalemme
[171]	1	7.10	7.10	4°	590	NON	I	1571	Bugati, Gaspare Historia universale
[181]	1	5	5	4°	512	OUI	I	1582	Sansovino, Francesco Historia vniversale dell'origine et imperio
[183]	1	6	6	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Istoria d'angellino?
[252]	1	3	3	4°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Polibio historico
[304]	1	1.4	1.4	2°	n.d.	n.d.	GR	n.d.	Senofonte greco
[305]	1	9	9	4°	774	OUI	I	1581	Foresti, Giacomo Filippo Soppilimento dele croniche vnuersali

Table 3

## Livres de litterature

item	copies	coût	prix unitaire	format	feuilles	language	oeuvre
[05]	4	1.4	0.6	4°	48	I	Libro di Alessandro Magno in rima
[09]	2	9	4.10	4°	370	I	Tasso, Bernardo Amadigi
[13]	2	1.4	0.12	4°	32	I	Conte Da Monte, Antigono tragedia
[15]	2	3	1.10	8°	320	L	Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae
[17]	2	6	3	8°	140	I	Amadis di Gaula
[18]	2	6	3	8°	254	I	Historia di Amadis di Grecia
[19]	6	1.16	0.6	8°	64	I	Ongaro, Antonio Alceo favola pescatoria
[20]	2	0.8	0.4	8°	40	I	Tasso, Torquato Aminta
[21]	11	6.12	0.12	12°	137	I	Sannazzaro, Iacopo Arcadia
[22]	2	0.12	0.6	8°	64	L	Dati, Agostino Elegantiae
[23]	12	2.11	0.43	8°	24	I	Verini, Giovanni Battista Ardor d'amore
[24]	2	3	1.10	8°	228	I	Muzio, Girolamo Battaglie per la difesa
[27]	12	3.12	0.6	4°	48	I	Libro chiamato Buovo d'Antona
[28]	1	2.10	2.10	4°	200	I	Toscanella, Orazio Bellezze del Furioso
[33]	5	6	1.4	16°	296	I	Guazzo, Stefano La civil conversatione
[34]	3	3.12	1.4	8°	264	I	Garimberti, Girolamo Concetti
[37]	5?	20?	4	8°	336	I	Guazzo, Stefano La civil conversatione
[41]	2	6	3	4°	16+tav.	I	Cresci, Giovanni Francesco Essemplare di più sorti di lettere
[42]	2	5	2.10	8°	176+III	I	Historia del valorosissimo cavaliere della Croce
[49]	1	3.10	3.10	4°	296	I	Ruscelli, Girolamo De' commentarii della lingua italiana

[50]	1	5	5	4°	192	I	Lusignano, Stefano Raccolta di cinque discorsi
[51]	1	3	3	4°	156+ill	I	Verdizotti, Giovanni Mario Cento favole morali
[53]	6	0.8	0.1.4	8°	32	I	Epicuro, Marcantonio Cecaria. Tragicommedia
[54]	1	0.6	0.6	8°	32	I	Dovizi, Bernardo Calandra comedia
[58]	4	6	1.10	8°	?	I	Grazzini, Antonfrancesco Comedie
[59]	2	6	3	8°	590+tav	L	Caesar, Gaius Iulius Commentarii ab Aldo Manutio emendati
[64]	3	6	2	8°	2pt	I/L	Venuti, Filippo Dittionario volgare et latino
[67]	6	16	2.13.4	8°	48+ill	I	Drusian dal Leone nel qual si tratta delle battaglie
[68]	6	16	2.13.4	8°	48+ill	I	Libro chiamato Dama Rouenza del Martello nel qual
[72]	12	12	1	8°	144	I	Bargagli, Girolamo Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie
[78]	2	5	2.10	4°	100	I	Troiano, Massimo Discorsi dell'i trionfi, giostre, apparati
[79]	4	4	1	8°	122	I	Palazzi, Giovanni Andrea I discorsi sopra l'imprese recitati
[82]	2	4	2	8°	388	I	Amadis de Gaula L.12 <in italiano> Don Silves de la Selva
[84]	2	20	10	2°?	424+ill?	I	Dante in foglio con commenti
[85]	2	2.8	1.4	12°	?	I	Dante in 12
[90]	6	0.18	0.3	8°	28	I	Marulic, Marko Dialogo
[91]	12	3.12	0.6	8°	84+ill	L	Vives, Juan Luis Dialogistica linguae latinae exercitatio
[96]	4	4.16	1.4	8°	188	I	Manuzio, Aldo <il giovane> Eleganze
[97]	6	1.16	0.6	8°	56	L	Ricci, Dante Elocutiones
[99]	2	1.14	0.17	8°	192	L	Filomuso, Pietro M. Tulli Ciceronis clausulae, epitheta
[101]	2	8	4	2°	?	L	Epistole Tullij cum commento
[102]	2	2	1	4°	?	L	Epistole Ouidij cum commento
[103]	5	2.10	0.10	12°	156	I	Ovidius Naso, Publius Epistole d'Ouidio

[104]	2	14	7	2°	262	I	Fabrini, Giovanni Le lettere familiari latine di M. Tullio
[107]	1	11.10	11.10	8°	224	L	Epistolae principum republicarum ac sapientium
[109]	5	3.15	0.15	8°	144	I	Torreninus, Hermannus Elucidario poetico
[110]	6	3.12	0.12	12°	162	I	Libro dei sette savi. Li compassionevoli auuenimenti
[114]	7	4	0.10*	8°	?	L?	Epistole Ouidii
[119]	9	1.16	0.4	8°	48+III	I	Libro chiamato Falconetto de le battaglie
[120]	20	3	0.3	12°	92+III	I	Fior di virtù
[121]	25	3.15	0.3	8°	48	I	Miniatore, Bartolomeo Formulario ottimo et elegante
[124]	3	1.10	0.10	8°	70	I	Dalla Torre, Poncino Le piaceuoli e ridicolose facetie
[129]	12	6	0.10	8°	96	I	Pasqualigo, Luigi Il fedele. Comedia
[130]	1	2	2	8°	380	I	Boccaccio, Giovanni Il Filocopo
[134]	3	9	3	4°	294	I	Boccaccio, Giovanni La genealogia delli dei
[144]	3	3.12	1.4	?	?	I	Grammatica d'Aldo
[145]	1	1.10	1.10	8°	59	L	Scoppa, Lucio Giovanni Epitome cum aduerbis
[146]	2	3	1.10	4°	174	I	Tasso, Torquato Il Goffredo
[147]	8	2	0.5	8°	32	I	Razzi, Silvano La Gismonda tragedia
[149]	1	1.10	1.10	2°	120	L	Grouchy, Nicolas de De comitis Romanorum libri tres
[152]	6	1.4	0.4	8°	50	I	Legname, Antonio Guidon selvaggio. Libro d'arme
[153]	4	8	2	8°	368	I	Priscianese, Francesco De' primi principij della lingua
[154]	1	0.15	0.15	?	?	?	Gramatica tidicini?
[174]	8	3.4	0.8	8°	72	I	Pasqualigo, Luigi G'intricati pastorale
[175]	7	3.10	0.10	8°	56	I	Secchi, Niccolò G'inganni comedia
[176]	8	3.4	0.8	8°	60	I	Secchi, Niccolò L'interesse comedia

[180]	6	3	0.10	8°	70	I	Guarnieri, Flaminio L'intrico. Comedia
[186]	2	4	2	8°	4v.	I	Pino, Bernardino Della nuoua scelta di lettere
[187]	2	6	3	4°	2v.	I	Caro, Annibale De le lettere familiari
[188]	3	6	2	8°	452	I	Lettere di XIII huomini illustri
[189]	2	3	1.10	8°	304	I	Tolomei, Claudio Delle lettere
[190]	2	7	3.10	8°	4v.	I	Bembo, Pietro Delle lettere
[191]	4	6	1.10	8°	196	I	Tasso, Bernardo Le lettere
[192]	2	18	9	?	?	I	Lettere del Prencipe
[199]	2	3	1.10	8°	288+ill	I	Lisuarte di Grecia
[200]	4	4.16	1.4	12°	90	I	Doni, Anton Francesco La libreria
[201]	7	1.12	0.4*	8°	144	I	Durante, Pietro Libro d'arme et d'amore
[216]	9	0.18	0.2	8°	24+ill	I	Francesco da Camerino Opera nuoua et da ridere
[220]	1	0.10	0.10	4°	44	L	Falconetti, Ventura Laeli siue Monarchi duo
[221]	1	8	8	2°	2v.	L	Nizzoli, Mario Obseruationes in M.T. Ciceronem
[227]	1	0.4	0.4	4°	?	L	Orationum Victorij
[229]	3	9	3	4°	441+ill	I	Boiardo, Matteo Maria Orlando innamorato
[230]	4	4.16	1.4	24°	564	I	Aristo, Ludovico Orlando furioso
[232]	1	16	16	8°	?	L	Opera Tullij Lambini
[236]	3	9	3	4°	272	I	Ovidius Naso, Publius Le metamorfosi
[237]	4	6	0.13.4	8°	232+ill	I	Ovidius Naso, Publius Le metamorfosi
[238]	2	6	3	4°	?	I	Ouidio del Maretti
[239]	3	12	4	4°	2v.	I	Calestani, Girolamo Delle osseruazioni
[240]	2	8	4	?	?	I	Orazioni di diuersi auttori prima e seconda parte

[241]	1	0.6	0.6	8°	68	I	Giraldi, Giovanni Battista Orbecche tragedia
[242]	1	1	1	8°	48	Gr	Isocrates Isokratous pros Demomikon parainesis
[243]	1	1.10	1.10	8°	3v.	Gr	Demosthenes Demosthenous logon tnema
[244]	8	4	0.10	16°	25	I	Guicciardini, Ludovico L'hore di ricreazione
[245]	11	8.5	0.15	8°	120	I	Dolce, Ludovico I quattro libri delle osservazioni
[246]	2	1.10	0.15	8°	?	L?	Oratijj
[247]	3	9	3	4°	338+ill	I	Aristo, Ludovico Orlando furioso
[248]	2	4	2	8°	420	I	Marinelli, Giovanni Gli ornamenti delle donne
[250]	5	2	0.8	12°	120	I	Piccolomini, Alessandro L'Hortensio comedia
[256]	4	6	1.10	8°	188	I	Firenzuola, Agnolo Prose
[261]	4	20	5	4°	222+ill	I	Petrarca, Francesco Il Petrarca con l'espositione Gesualdo
[262]	4	10	2.10	4°	114+ill	I	Petrarca, Francesco Il Petrarca con l'espositione Vellutello
[263]	3	3	1	16°	272	L	Bartelon, Pantaléon De razione quantitas syllabariae liber
[271]	4	3	0.15	4°	62+ill	I	Palatino, Giovanni Battista Compendio del gran volume
[272]	14	7	0.10	?	?	?	Plazoni Milano
[273]	2	3	1.10	8°	324	I	Palmerino de Oliva <in italiano> La historia doue si ragiona
[277]	1	3	3	4°	292	I	Cavalcanti, Bartolomeo La retorica
[281]	6	9	1.10	8°	280	I	Castiglione, Sabba Ricordi ouero ammaestramenti
[282]	4	2.8	0.12	?	?	L?	Rettorica Tullij ad Herennium
[283]	3	1.10	0.10	12°	90	I	Aristo, Ludovico Rime et satire
[284]	30	12	0.8	?	?	I	Caporali, Cesare Rime
[285]	1	0.10	0.10	8°	112	L	Suarez, Cipriano De arte rhetorica libri tres
[286]	7?	3.12	0.10.3?	12°	29	I	Della Casa, Giovanni Rime et prose

[293]	1	0.15	0.15	8°	160	I	Grifoni, Giovanni Andrea Specchio della lingua latina
[296]	6	1.4	0.4	8°	40	I	Rodella, Giuseppe Sermoni diuersi, da nozze, da conubio
[298]	2	3	1.10	8°	278	I	Le prodezze di Splandiano
[299]	6	2.8	0.8	12°	64	I	Grazzini, Antonfrancesco La strega comedia
[307]	1	0.5	0.5	12°	36	I	Trissino, Gian Giorgio La Sofonisba tragedia
[309]	3	6	2	4°	164	I	Statius, Publius Papinius La Thebaide di Statio
[311]	1	1	1	12°	252	I	Terminio, Antonio La seconda parte delle stanze di dituersi
[314]	1	2	2	4°	162+ill	L	Rosselli, Cosimo Thesaurus artificiosae memoriae
[316]	1	3.10	3.10	2°	?	L	Terentij cum commento
[317]	1	1.4	1.4	2°	?	Gr?	Tucidide greco
[320]	1	1.15	1.15	?	?	I	Tullio de officij volgare
[321]	2	1.10	0.15	?	?	L	Tullij de officijs
[323]	1	3.10	3.10	?	?	I	Tristano
[325]	1	9	9	2°	318	I	Vergilius Maro, Publius L'Eneide commentata da Fabrini
[326]	1	6	6	2°	?	I	Virgilio con comentj
[334]	1	3.10	3.10	4°	284	I	Vergilius Maro, Publius L'Eneide del commendator Caro
[337]	6	6	1	12°	216+ill	I	Aesopus Vita di Esopo tradotta dal conte Giulio Landi
[340]	3	2.5	0.15	?	?	L	Viues de lingua latina
[341]	3	2.15	0.18.4	4°	4+54tav	I	Amphiareo, Vespasiano Opera.. Nella quale s'insegna a scrivere

Table 4

## Oeuvres vendues en plus grand nombre

item	copies	coût	prix unitaire	format	cartes	illustration	langage	année	oeuvre
[284]	30	12	0.8	12°	n.d.	n.d.	I	1582	Caporali, Rime
[121]	25	3.15	0.5	8°	48	NON	I	1574	Miniature, Formulario ottimo et elegante
[120]	20	3	0.3	12°	92	OUI	I	1582	Fior di virtù
[272]	14	7	0.10	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Piazzoni
[023]	12	2.11	0.4.3	8°	24	NON	I	1582	Verini, Ardor d'amore
[027]	12	3.12	0.6	4°	48	OUI	I	1579	Buovo d'Antona
[072]	12	12	1	8°	144	NON	I	1581	Bargagli, Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie
[091]	12	3.12	0.6	8°	84	NON	L	1567	Vives, Dialogistica linguae latinae
[129]	12	6	0.10	8°	96	NON	I	1579	Pasqualigo, Fedele comedia
[141]	12	6	0.10	16°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Giovanni Gerson
[193]	12	18	1.10	8°	201	OUI	I	1578	Legendario delle vergini
[278]	12	3	0.5	8°	64	OUI	I	1562	Ricettario di Galeno
[322]	12	3.12	0.6	8°	80	OUI	I	1570	Tesoro d'abaco
[021]	11	6.12	0.12	12°	137	n.d.	I	1581	Sannazzaro, Arcadia
[245]	11	8.5	0.15	8°	120	NON	I	1580	Dolce, I quattro libri delle osseruationi
[003]	10	2.10	0.5	8°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Alberto Magno volgare
[137]	10	2	0.4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Giganti Moranti
[280]	10	3	0.6	12°	n.d.	n.d.	I	n.d.	Rosario della Madonna

Table 5



## 1583 a 20 di giugno

- [01] 2 Aura rosa 4° 1. 8  
 Silvestro Mazzolini <1456?-1523>, *Aurea rosa r.p.f. Siluestri de Prierio Pedemontani sacri Ordinis praedicatorum de obseruantia. Videlicet, clarissima expositio super euangelia totius anni, de tempore, & de sanctis, tam secundum Ordinem praedicatorum, quàm secundum curiam. Continens flores, et rosas expositionum sanctorum doctorum antiquorum*. Quattro emissioni diverse nel 1582: Damiano Zenaro (CNCE 39480), eredi di Melchiorre Sessa (CNCE 30457), Grazioso Percacino (CNCE 34065) e Giovanni Varisco e soci (CNCE 40797). Toutes les émissions ont la même empreinte: .8a- imgu inba tite (3) 1582 (R); le même format en 4° et le même développement en cartes: [4], 400 c. \*4A-3D<sup>8</sup>.
- [02] 1 Aluarus de planctu ecclesia 1. 7  
 Alvaro Pelayo <ca. 1280-ca. 1350>, *De planctu ecclesiae... Venetiis*: ex officina Francisci Sansouini, et sociorum, 1560 (Venetiis: ex officina Francisci Sansouini & sociorum, 1560). [22], 100, 229, [1] c.; fol. \*8 2\*8 3\*6 a-m<sup>8</sup> n<sup>4</sup> A-2E<sup>8</sup> 2F<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 30989
- [03] 10 Alberto magno 8° uolgare 1. 2.10
- [04] 6 Algebra del Bombelli 4° 1. 4.10  
 Raffaele Bombelli <m. 1572>, *L'algebra opera di Rafael Bombelli da Bologna diuisa in tre libri...* In Bologna: per Giouanni Rossi, 1579. [56], 650 [i.e. 648], [4] p.; 4°. π A<sup>4</sup> a-b<sup>8</sup> c-d<sup>4</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>4</sup> O-2C<sup>8</sup> 2D<sup>2</sup> 2E-2S<sup>8</sup> 2T<sup>6</sup> 2V<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 6795
- [05] 4 Alessandro magno 8° 1. 1.4  
*Libro de Alessandro Magno in rima*, In Milano: appresso Valerio Meda, 1581. [48] c.; 4°. CNCE 1013
- [06] 3 Auertimenti civili lattini 1. 3.12
- [07] 1 Armonia del vecchio, e nouo testamento 1. 4  
 Raffaello Castrucci <m. 1574>, *Armonia del vecchio co' l'nuouo testamento...* In Venetia: appresso Bolognino Zaltieri, 1570 (In Venetia: Appresso Bolognino Zaltieri, 1569). [12], 411, [28] p.: ill.; 4°. \*6 A-3I<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 10218
- [08] 1 Artis notariatus 1. 1.15  
*Artis notariatus, siue tabellionatus ... Tomus I [-II]*, Venetiis: apud Cominum de Tridino, 1571. en deux volumes en 8°
- [09] 2 Amadigi del Tasso 1. 9  
 Bernardo Tasso <1493-1569>, *L'Amadigi del s. Bernardo Tasso ... Nuouamente ristampato, et dalla prima impressione da molti errori espurgato*, In Venetia: appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1581 (In Venetia: appresso Fabio, et Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1581). [8], 731, [1] p.; 4°. \*4 A-2Y<sup>8</sup> 2Z<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 40794
- [10] 3 Arcadelt a 4 primo madrigali 1. 2.5  
 Jacques Archadelt <m. 1568>, *Di Archadelt il primo libro de madrigali a 4 voci*, Venezia: Alessandro Gardane, 1581. CNCE 37084
- [11] 2 Antichità di Roma Contarini 1. 2.8  
 Luigi Contarini <sec. XVI 2. metà>, *L'antiquità di Roma, sito, imperadori, famiglie, statue, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie, pontefici & cardinali di essa...* In Venetia: appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1575. [8], 115, [3] c.; 8°. \*8A-P<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 13145
- [12] 4 Aftonio sofista 1. 1.12  
 Aphthonius, *Essercitii di Aftonio sofista tirati in lingua regolata italiana da Oratio*

- Toscanello, aggiuntoui per tutto dal medesimo essempli chiarissimi*, In Venetia : appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1578. 124, [4] p. ; 8°. A-H<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 2151
- [13] 2 Antigono tragedia 4° 1. 1.4  
 Conte Da Monte <ca. 1520-1587>, *Antigono tragedia de' ecc. m. Conte di Monte vicentino*, In Venetia : per Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1565. [4], 59, [1] c. ; 4°. π<sup>4</sup> A-P<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 15919
- [14] 1 Asia del Barros 4° 1. 5.10  
 Joao de Barros <1496-1570>, *L'Asia del s. Giouanni di Barros, consigliere del christianissimo re di Portogallo: de' fatti de' portoghesi nello scoprimento, & conquista de' mari & terre di Oriente...* In Venetia : appresso Vincenzo Valgrisiso, 1562. 2 v. ; 4°. 1: [10], 200 c. ; a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>2</sup> A-2B<sup>8</sup>. 2: [8], 228 c. ; a<sup>8</sup> A-2E<sup>8</sup> 2F<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 4277
- [15] 2 Aulo Gellio 1. 3  
 Aulus Gellius, *Auli Gellii luculentissimi scriptoris Noctes Atticae. Nunc denuo ab infinitis, quibus scatebant mendis, summa ac diligenti cura repurgatae atque pristinae integritati restituta*, Venetiis : apud Io. Gryphium, 1573 (Venetiis : apud Ioan. Gryphium, 1573). [48], 591, [1] p. ; 8°. CNCE 20613
- [16] 3 Aviso de fauoriti 1. 3  
 Antonio de Guevara <1481-1545>, *Auiso de' fauoriti, e dottrina de' cortegiani composta per l'illustre sig. don Antonio Gueuara vescouo di Mondogneto...* In Venetia : appresso Domenico Farri, 1582. 206, [2] c. ; 8°. A-2C<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 22279
- [17] 2 Amadis di Gaula 8° 1. 6  
*Le prodezze di Splandiano, che seguono i quattro libri di Amadis di Gaula suo padre, tradotte dalla spagnola nella nostra lingua...* Venetia : appresso Camillo Franceschini, 1582. [8], 270, [2] c. ; 8°. CNCE 1406
- [18] 2 Amadis di Grecia 8° 1. 6  
*Historia di Amadis di Grecia*, In Venetia : appresso, Gio. Battista Uscio, 1580. [8], 205, 343, [1] c. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup> A-2C<sup>6</sup>; <sup>2</sup>A-2V<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 1424
- [19] 6 Alceo fauola pastorale 1. 1.16  
 Antonio Ongaro <ca. 1560-1599>, *Alceo fauola pescatoria di Antonio Ongaro. Recitata in Nettuno castello de' signori Colonnese: et non più posta in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1582 (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1582). [8], 54, [2] c. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup> A-G<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40469
- [20] 2 Aminta del Tasso 1. - 8  
 Torquato Tasso <1544-1595>, *Aminta fauola boscareccia di m. Torquato Tasso*, In Vinegia : [Aldo Manuzio il giovane], 1581. [8], 70, [2] p. ; 8°. (<sup>4</sup> A-D<sup>8</sup> E<sup>4</sup>). CNCE 47992
- [21] 11 Arcadia del Sannazaro 1. 6.12  
 Iacopo Sannazaro <1458-1530>, *Arcadia di m. Iacopo Sannazaro nuouamente corretta, & ornata d'alcune annotationi da Thomaso Porcacchi. Con la vita dell'autore descritta dal medesimo, et con la dichiarazione di tutte le voci oscure che son nell'opera*, In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581). [22], 252 p. ; 12°. [fiore]<sup>12</sup> A-L<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 34479
- [22] 2 Augustini Dathi 1. - 12  
 Agostino Dati <1420-1478>, *Augustini Dathi Senensis Elegantiae in suam veram formam restituta. Eiusdem que de nouem verbis, necnon & flosculorum libellus. Addito insuper opusculo de conficiendis epistolis, clarissimi oratoris Laurentij Vallensis. Quibus insertae sunt omnes graece dictiones, quae prius deerant, & apprime desiderabantur. Omnia accuratori cura quam vnquam ante hac excussa*, Venetiis : apud haeredes Melchioris Sessae, 1580. 63, [1] c. ; 8°. A-H<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 16050

- [23] 12 Ardor d'amore I. 2.11 / 83.19  
Giovanni Battista Verini, *Ardor d'amore nouamente composto per il morigerato giouane Gio. Battista Verini fiorentino alla sua diua Gleba. Con vna confessione d'amore, & un capitolo di uarie opinioni*, In Venetia : all'insegna dell'Hippogriffo in Frezzaria, 1582.
- [24] c. ; 8°. CNCE 69729
- [24] 2 Battaglie del mutio I. 3  
Girolamo Muzio <1496-1576>, *Battaglie di Hieronimo Mutio giustinopolitano, per difesa dell'italica lingua, con alcune lettere a gl'infrascritti nobili spiriti...* In Vinegia : appresso Pietro Dusinelli, 1582. [12], 216 c. ; 8°. \*12 A-2D<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 35183
- [25] 1 Bonauentura in sententiarum I. 14  
Bonauentura da Bagnorea <santo, 1221-1274>, *Seraphici doctoris s. patris Ioannis Eustachii Bonauenturae Ordinis minorum, episcopi Albanensis, & s.r.e. olim cardinalis Opusculorum theologicorum, tomus primus [-secundus]. Accesserunt nunc eiusdem s.patris aliqui mirae eruditionis, ac sanctitatis libelli, qui iam temporum iniuria pene interciderant. Additae sunt etiam marginales annotationes, quae sententias illustrarent. Subduntur & totius operis, tum libellorum, & capitulorum; tum expositarum scripturae auctoritatum; tum etiam sententiarum omnium alphabetico ordine digestarum copiosissimi indices. Omnia iussu r.p.f. Francisci Zamorae, eiusdem ordinis generalis ministri a mendis innumeris, quibus hucusque scatebant, summa diligentia, atque vigilantia repurgata, et in lucem edita...* Venetiis : apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1572 (Venetiis : aud Hieronymum Scotum, 1571). 2 v. ; fol. CNCE 6887
- [26] 2 Ballarino I. 10  
Fabrizio Caroso <ca. 1531-ca. 1605>, *Il ballarino di m. Fabritio Caroso da Sermoneta, diuiso in due trattati...* In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581). 2 pt. ([8], 16; 184, [4] c.) : 1 ritr. e ill. calcogr., mus. ; 4°. A-F<sup>4</sup>; a-z<sup>4</sup> 2A-2Z<sup>4</sup> †<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 9679
- [27] 12 Buouo d'Antona 4° I. 3.12  
*Libro chiamato Buouo d'Antona, nel quale se contiene tutti gli suoi fatti mirabilmente che lui fece, con la sua morte. Nuouamente reuisto & corretto, & con diligentia aggioutoui anchora alli suoi canti tutte le sue dechiaratione molto più giusto de tutti li altri uecchii*, In Milano : appresso Valerio Meda, 1579 (In Milano : per Valerio Meda). [48] c. : ill. ; 4°. A-F<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 7898
- [28] 1 Bellezze del Furioso I. 2.10  
Orazio Toscanella, *Bellezze del Furioso di m. Lodouico Ariosto; scielte da Oratio Toscanella...* In Venetia : appresso Pietro de i Franceschi, & nepoti, 1574 (In Venetia : appresso Pietro de i Franceschi, & nepoti, 1574). [12], 327 [i.e. 330, 58] p. : ill. \*<sup>6</sup> A-3A<sup>4</sup> 3B<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 29284
- [29] 2 Buonriccio sopra l'anima I. 2  
Angelico Buonriccio <fl. sec. XVI 2. metà>, *Paraphrasi sopra i tre libri dell'anima d'Aristotile, del r.d. Angelico Buonriccio canonico regolare della congregation del Salvatore*, In Venetia : appresso Andrea Arriuabene, 1565. [6], 163 [i.e. 162] c. ; 8°. a<sup>6</sup> A-V<sup>8</sup> X<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 7874
- [30] 1 Boetio in logica folio I. 4  
*Aristotelis Stagiritae peripateticorum principis Organum, seu logica. Seuertino Boetho interprete...* Venetiis : apud haeredes Melchioris Sessae, 1580. 635, [37] p. ; 16°. a-2t<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 2990
- [31] 1 Contrarietates Bartoli I. – 8
- [32] 3 Concetti politici I. 4.10

Francesco Guicciardini <1483-1540>, *Propositioni, ouero considerationi in materia di cose di Stato, sotto titolo di auuertimenti, auuedimenti ciuili, et concetti politici, di m. Francesco Guicciardini, m. Gio. Francesco Lottini, m. Francesco Sansouini...* In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, alla libreria della Fortezza, 1583. [8], 156 c. : 1 ritr. ; 4°. <sup>8</sup> A-T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 22328

[33] 5 Conversazioni del Guazzo in 16 1. 6

Dans le format indiqué ici, actuellement est connue seulement l'édition: In Venetia : presso Gratoso Perchacino, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Gratoso Percacino, 1581). [16], 280 c. ; 16°. †<sup>8</sup>2†<sup>8</sup>A-2M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 34057.

[34] 3 Concetti Garimberti 1. 3.12

Girolamo Garimberti <1506-1575>, *Concetti di Hieronimo Garimberto et altri degni autori, raccolti da lui per scriuere & ragionar familiarmente; con nuoua aggiunta a suoi luoghi*, Venetia : [Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto], 1582. [8], 256 c. ; 8°. A-2K<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 20430

[35] 2 Carlo Tetti da fortificare 4° 1. 2.8

Carlo Teti <1529-1589>, *Discorsi delle fortificationi, del sig. Carlo Tetti...* In Venetia : appresso Bolognino Zaltiero, 1575. [8], 119, [9] p., [4] c. di tav. ripieg. : ill. ; 4°. †<sup>4</sup> A-Q<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 38256

[36] 2 Croniche di s. Francesco 4° 1. 1

Marcos de Lisboa <1511-1591>, *Croniche de gli ordini instituiti dal padre san Francesco che contengono la sua vita, la sua morte, i suoi miracoli, e di tutti i suoi s. discepoli, et compagni. Composte prima dal r.p.f. Marco da Lisbona in lingua portughese: poi ridotte in castigliana dal r.p.f. Diego Nauarro. Et hora nella nostra italiana da Horatio Diola bolognese. L'opera è diuisa in due volumi, & in dieci libri, con noue tauole distinte, et copiose* In Venetia : Antonio de Ferrari, 1582. 2 v. ; 4°. CNCE 40060

[37] 5<sup>3</sup> Conversation civili del Guazzo 1. 20<sup>4</sup>

Stefano Guazzo <1530-1593>, *La ciuil conuersatione del signor Stefano Guazzo, gentilhuomo di Casale di Monferrato, diuisa in quattro libri ... Nuouamente dall'istesso autore corretta [!], et in diuersi luoghi di molte cose, non meno vtili che piaceuoli, ampliata*, In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1583. [20], 316 c. ; 8°. a-b<sup>8</sup>c<sup>4</sup>A-2Q<sup>8</sup>2R<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 22439

[38] 1 Croniche di Genoa, Giustiniano 1. 10

Agostino Giustiniani <1470-1536>, *Castigatissimi annali con la loro copiosa tauola della eccelsa & illustrissima republ. di Genoa, da fideli & approuati scrittori, per el reuerendo monsignore Agostino Giustiniano genoese vescouo di Nebio accuratamente raccolti. Opera certamente molto laudeuole, a studiosi assai comoda, & comunemente a tutti vtilissima. Facendo per la varietà delle opere chiaramente conoscere, quanto si debba da tutti riprouare el male, & constantemente procurare el bene della sua republica*, Genoa, 1537 (Stampati in la detta città [Genova] : per Antonio Bellono taurinense, 1537 a di XVIII de mazzo [!]).[14], CCLXXXII c. : 2 c. geogr. ; fol. 2A<sup>4</sup> 2B<sup>6</sup> 2C<sup>4</sup> a-z<sup>8</sup> A-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>6</sup> N<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 21358

[39] 2 Concilii Tridentini 8° 1. 3

Entre 1582 et 1583 il n'y a actuellement qu'une seule édition in octavo enregistrée: *Concilium Tridentinum ... Cum Indice librorum prohibitorum*, Venetiis : apud Fabium et Augustinum Zoppinos, 1583. 2 pt. : ill. ; 8°. 393, [39] ; [40] p. A-2D<sup>8</sup>; A-B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 13035

<sup>3</sup> Précède 60. biffé.

<sup>4</sup> Précède 60. biffé.

- [40] 4 Cathecismi lat. 8° I. 1.10  
 Forse: *Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos. Pii V pont. max. iussu editus*, Venetiis : apud Fabium, August. Zoppinos, fratres, 1583. [10], 616, [24] p. : ill. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup>A-2R<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 12093
- [41] 2 Cresci per scrivere I. 6  
 Giovanni Francesco Cresci <sec. XVI 2. metà>, *Essempolare di più sorti lettere. di m. Gio. Francesco Cresci*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto : adinstantia di Gio. Antonio de gli Antonij, 1578. [32], LVI p. di tav. ; 4° obl. CNCE 13749
- [42] 2 Cavaliere della + con gionta I. 5/ 109.10  
 Lepolemo <in italiano>, *Historia del valorosissimo Caualliero della Croce, che per sue gran prodezze dopo varie imprese, fu à l'Imperio d'Alemagna sublimato. Tratta dal spagnuolo nell'idioma italiano. Nuouamente ... ristampata*, In Venetia : appresso P. Gironimo Giglio, e compagni, 1559. 172, [4] c. : ill. ; 8°. a-x<sup>8</sup>z<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 25872
- [43] 4 Concilii Tridentini 12 I. 6
- [44] 2 Cornelio Tacito historie 4° I. 8
- [45] 4 Corona di s. Domenico I. 2  
 Scipione Giardini <fl. 1574-1583>, *Corona di S. Domenico con le meditationi della varietà de peccati, della morte, del giuditio, dell'inferno, & del paradiso; da esso glorioso santo ordinate...* In Venetia : appresso Pietro de Franceschi, 1573 (In Venetia : appresso Piero de' Franceschi, 1574). 93, [3] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 20946
- [46] 1 Consolato da marinari I. 2  
*Il consolato del mare; nel quale si comprendono tutti gli statuti & ordini: disposti da gli antichi, per ogni caso di mercantia & di nauigare: così a beneficio di marinai come di mercanti, & patroni di naue, & nauilij. Con l'aggiunta delle ordinationi sopra l'armate di mare, sicurtà, entrate, uscite...* In Venetia : appresso Daniel Zanetti, & compagni, 1576. [16], 230 [i.e. 240] p. ; 4°. a<sup>8</sup>A-P<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 13104
- [47] 1 Catalogus gloria mundi folio I. 7  
 Barthélemy de Chasseneux <1480-1541>, *Catalogus gloriae mundi. d. Bartholomaei Cassanaei...* Venetiis : apud haeredes Vincentij Valgrisiij, 1576 (Venetijs : ex officina Valgrisiana, 1576). [8], 330 c. : ill. ; fol. a<sup>8</sup>A-3I<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 10996
- [48] 4 Compendio dell'arte essorcista 8° I. 4  
 Girolamo Menghi <1529-1609>, *Compendio dell'arte essorcistica, et possibilita delle mirabili, et stupende operationi delli demoni, et dei malefici. Con li rimedij opportuni alle infirmità maleficiali...* In Bologna : nella stamperia di Giouanni Rossi, 1582. [20] , 614, [58] p. ; 8°. ?<sup>10</sup>A-2T<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 29249
- [49] 1 Commentarij della lingua vol. Ruscelli I. 3.10  
 Girolamo Ruscelli <ca. 1500-1566>, *De' commentarii della lingua italiana. Del sig. Girolamo Ruscelli viterbese libri sette...* In Venetia : appresso Damian Zenaro, alla Salamandra, 1581. [16] , 574 , [2] p. ; 4°. \*<sup>8</sup>A-2N<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 39398
- [50] 1 Corona del Lusignano I. 5  
 Stefano Lusignano <1537-1590>, *Raccolta di cinque discorsi, intitolati Corone, per comprender in se cose appartenenti à gran rè, & à prencipi. ... Composte dal r.p. lettore fr. Stefano Lusignano de Cipro, del sacro Ordine di predicatori*, In Padoua : appresso Lorenzo Pasquati, 1577 (In Padoua : appresso Lorenzo Pasquati, 1577). [4], 195, [1], 165 [i.e. 177], [7] c. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup>A-3C<sup>4</sup>, a-2z<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 33044
- [51] 1 Cento favole morali, Verdizzotti I. 3  
 Giovanni Mario Verdizzotti <1525-ca. 1600>, *Cento fauole morali. De i piu illustri*

*antichi, & moderni autori greci, & latini. Scielte, & trattate in varie maniere di versi volgari da m. Gio. Mario Verdizzotti...* In Venetia : appresso Giordano Ziletti, & compagni, 1577. [4], 301 [i.e.299], [9] p. : ill. ; 4°. a<sup>6</sup> A<sup>4</sup> B-S<sup>8</sup> T<sup>6</sup> V<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 67769

[52] 2 Cavalirizzo 4° 1. 3

Claudio Corte <n. 1525>, *Il cauallerizzo di Claudio Corte da Pauia, nel qual si tratta della natura de'caualli, delle razze, del modo di gouernarli, domarli, & frenarli. Et di tutto quello, che à caualli, & à buon cauallerizzo s'appartiene. Di nuouo dall'authore stesso corretto & emendato...* In Venetia : appresso Giordano Ziletti, 1573. - 2, [14], 144 c. : ill ; 4°. a-d<sup>4</sup> A-G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>4</sup> I-S<sup>8</sup> T<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 13566

[53] 6 Cecaria dell'Epicuro 8° 1. - 8

Marcantonio Epicuro <1472-1555>, *Cecaria. Tragicomedia del Epicuro Napolitano intitolata la Cecaria, con uno bellissimo lamento del Geloso con la Luminaria nuouamente con ogni diligentia reuista & corretta*, [Milano : Valerio Meda] (In Milano : appresso Valerio da Meda, 1575). CNCE 18159

[54] 1 Calandra commedia 12 1. - 6

Bernardo Dovizi <1470-1520>, *Calandra comedia di m. Bernardo Diuitio da Bibiena. Di nuouo ricorretta e ristampata*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Rampazetto, 1566 (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Rampazetto, 1566). [32] c. ; 8°. A-D<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 17766

[55] 2 Conforto degli afflitti 1. 1.10

Gaspar de Loarte <m. 1578>, *Conforto degli afflitti. Doue si tratta dei frutti, & rimedij delle tribulationi...* In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1582. 325, [11] p. ; 12°. a-o<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 30455

[56] 2 Cattaneo da misurare 1. 4

Girolamo Cattaneo <m. ca. 1584>, *Dell'arte del misurare libri due, nel primo de' quali s'insegna a misurare, & partir' i campi...* In Brescia : appresso Policreto Turlini, [non prima del 1582]. 2 v. 1: 54 c. ; 8°. A-N<sup>4</sup>. 2: 62 c. ; 8°. A-O<sup>4</sup> P<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 10305

[57] 3 Comardeno da misurare le superficie 1. 2.5

[58] 4 Comedie Grazini, gimitiemi? 8° Fiorenza L. 6

[59] 2 Comentarii di cesare latini 1. 6

Gaius Iulius Caesar, *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii ab Aldo Manutio emendati et scholiis illustrati*, Venetiis : apud Aldum, 1576. [246], 676, [258] p., [2] c. di tav. : ill. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> a-e<sup>8</sup> f<sup>4</sup> †-3†<sup>8</sup> HS-2HS<sup>8</sup> [-2]<sup>8</sup> §-2§<sup>8</sup> A-2S<sup>8</sup> 2T<sup>10</sup> A-I<sup>8</sup> a-d<sup>8</sup> e<sup>4</sup> θ-3θ<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 8190

[60] 2 Considerationi del Rosello, spirituali 8 1. 1.10

Lucio Paolo Rosello <m. 1552>, forse: *Considerationi deuote intorno alla vita e passione di Christo, applicando ogni atto da lui operato a muouere l'anima ad amare Iddio, raccolte da Lucio Paolo Rosello da diuersi santi dottori. Aggiuntoui alcuni pietosi essercitij, che vagliono a trasformare l'huomo in Dio. Con priuilegio*. In Vinegia, 1551 (In Vinegia : per Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1551). 111, [1] c. : ill. ; in 8°.

## 2-Don silua della selua

[61] 1 De lege curiata Sigonij 4° 1. 1

Carlo Sigonio <ca. 1520-1584>, *Caroli Sigonii De lege curiata magistratuum, et imperatorum, ac iure eorum, liber*, Venetiis : ex officina Iordani Ziletti, 1569. [8], 108, [4] p. ; 4°. \*<sup>4</sup> A-O<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 41199

[62] 1 De antiquo iure Sigonij folio 1. 8

Caroli Sigonij *De antiquo iure populi romani libri vndecim, ad illustriss. atque excellentiss. d. Iacobum Boncompagnum...* *Quorum alij renouati, alij prorsus noui eduntur, vt auersa pagella declarat. In eosdem rerum, et verborum index copiosus*, Bononiae : apud Societatem typographiae Bononien., 1574. [28], 440, [6], 443-578, [42] p., [2] c. di tab.

doppie ripieg. ; 2°. a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>8</sup> A-2N<sup>6</sup> 2O<sup>8</sup> 2P-3A<sup>6</sup> 3B<sup>8</sup> 3C-3D<sup>6</sup> 3E<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 32246

*Dialogo delle sante di trezeli?*

[63] 2 Dionisio Alicarnaseo 4° I. 8

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Dionisio Alicarnaseo Delle cose antiche della città di Roma tradotto in toscano per meser Francesco Venturi fiorentino. E' questo, secondo l'ordine da noi posto il settimo anello della nostra collana historica*, In Vinegia : appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1575. [3], 324 c. ; 4°. CNCE 37013

[64] 3 Dittionario lat. e volgare I. 6 10

Filippo Venuti <1531-1587>, *Dittionario volgare et latino nel quale si contiene come i vocaboli italiani si possono dire et esprimere latinamente per M. Filippo Venuti da Cortona con un dittionario delle voce [!] latine similitie à quello del Calepino co' numeri per ritrouar nel volgare la loro significatione aggiunto dal medesimo in questa nuova impressione*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Luigi Valuassori & Gio. Domenico Micheli, 1582 (Venetiis : [eredi di Luigi Valvassori e Giovanni Domenico Micheli], 1582). 2 pt. ; 8°. CNCE 49838

[65] 3 Dialogho della bellezza, Antos I. 3.12 / 92.11

Niccolò Vito di Gozze <1549-1610>, *Dialogo della bellezza detto Antos, secondo la mente di Platone. Composto da m. Nicolò Vito di Gozze, gentilhuomo ragugeo. Nuouamente posto in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581. [4], 39, [1] c. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup> A-K<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 21500

[66] 2 Descrittione d'Italia 4° I. 16

Leandro Alberti <1479-ca. 1552>, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia & isole pertinenti ad essa di fra Leandro Alberti bolognese. Nella quale si contiene il sito di essa, l'origine, & le signorie delle città, & de' castelli; co i nomi antichi, & moderni; i costumi de popoli, & le conditioni de paesi. Et di più gl'huomini famosi, che l'hanno illustrata; i monti, i laghi, i fiumi, le fontane, i bagni, le minere, et tutte l'opere marauigliose in lei dalla natura prodotte. Aggiuntoui di nuouo, a suoi luochi, tutto quello, ch'è successo sino l'anno 1581. Et di più ripurgata da infiniti errori, & accresciuta d'altre additioni in margine, da m. Borgaruccio Borgarucci, come a questo segno + si può vedere. Con le sue tauole copiosissime*, In Venetia : appresso Gio. Battista Porta, 1581. 2 pt. ([32], 501 [i.e. 503, 1]; 96, [4] c.); 4°. \*4, π a-c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>4</sup>, A-3R<sup>8</sup>; a-m<sup>8</sup> n<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 695

[67] 6 Drusian del leone 4° I. 16

*Drusian dal Leone nello qual si tratta delle battaglie doppo la morte de li paladini. Nouamente con le sue dechiarationi stampato, & corretto*, (Stampato in Venetia : per Vicenzo de Viano, 1576). [48] c. : ill.; 8°. A-F<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 50691

[68] 6 Dama Rouenza I. 16

*Libro chiamato dama Rouenza del Martello, nel quale si puo vedere molte sue prodezze, & come fu morta per Rinaldo, etiam tratta delle battaglie de Paladini di Franza. Nouamente ristampato*, In Milano : per Valerio Meda, 1580 (In Milano : appresso Valerio Meda).

[44] c. : ill. ; 4°. CNCE 68386

[69] 1 Discorsi del Veniero 4° in Arist I. 4.10

Francesco Veniero, *Discorsi del clarissimo sig. Francesco Veniero patritio veneto sopra i due libri della generatione, & corrutione d'Aristotele, con diuersi dubbi, questionii, & lor resolutioni, appartenenti alla materia istessa. Diuisi in quattro libri con le sue tauole copiosissime*, In Venetia : presso a Francesco Ziletti, 1579. [24], 446, [2] p. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup> (fiore)<sup>4</sup> 2(fiore)<sup>4</sup> A-3K<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40375

[70] 4 Discorso di Girolamo Catena 8° I. 2

Girolamo Catena, *Discorso di Girolamo Catena sopra la traduttione delle scienze, &*

*d'altre facultà*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581. [16], 95, [6] p. ; 8°. CNCE 10241

[71] 4 Discorso di Domenico Scevolini 4° 1. 2

Domenico Scevolini, *Discorso di Domenico Sceuolini, nel quale con le auctorita cosi de' gentili, come de' catolici si dimostra l'astrologia giudiciaria esser verissima & vtilissima; dannando coloro, che l'vsano malamente, & impongono necessità ne gli atti humani*, In Venetia : appresso Giordano Ziletti al segno della Stella, 1565. 29, [1] c. ; 4°. A-F<sup>4</sup> G<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 41109

[72] 12 Dialogo de' giuochi nelle veglie sane<si> 1. 12

Girolamo Bargagli <1537-1586>, *Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghe sanesi si vsano di fare. Del Materiale Intronato*, In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Gardane, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Gardane, 1581). 288 p. ; 8°. A-S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 4198

[73] 1 De iudeijs, et alijs infidelibus Marquardi 1. 1.4

Marquardo Susanna <m. 1578>, *Tractatus de Iudaeis et alijs infidelibus circa concernentia originem contractuum, bella, foedera, vltimas voluntates, iudicia, & delicta Iudaeorum & aliorum infidelium, & eorum conuersiones ad fidem, per clarissimum ac praestantissimum iuris vtriusque doct. d. Marquardum de Susannis de Vtino summo studio, ac vigilijs elucubratus. Perutilis, et necessarius tam iudicibus quàm causarum patronis, et ad communem studiosorum utilitatem nunc primum in lucem editus, cum summarijs ac repertorijs, ab ipso etiam authore editis, locisque suis diligentissime accommodatis*, Venetijs : [al segno della Fontana], 1568 (Venetijs : apud Cominum de Tridino Montisferrati, 1568). [14], 210 c. : ill. ; 4°. †<sup>4</sup>†<sup>2</sup>†<sup>3</sup>†<sup>6</sup>A-3F<sup>4</sup>3G<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 24751

[74] 4 Desideroso 1. 1.12

*Il desideroso, nel quale si contiene il modo di cercare e ritrovare la perfettione della vita religiosa. Composto per uno osseruandissimo, & diuotissimo religioso et di nuouo con diligenza riformato*, In Venetia : appresso Domenico Farri, 1580. 148,[12] c. ; 16°. CNCE 16890

[75] 2<sup>5</sup> Discorso sopra gli abusi 1. 4

Forse: Ilarione da Genova <m. 1585>, *Tre discorsi sopra d'alcuni abusi, che regnano in questi tempi nella christianita; nelliquali chiaramente si manifesta quanto contradichino alla vera professione christiana. Nel primo si detestano (come al Breue di papa Pio V.) le malitiose cautele che s'essercitano ne' cambi. Nel secondo si dannà il corrotto vso del ballare. Nel terzo si dimostra la vanità delle superbie pompe del vestire, fabricare, & particolarmente del bellettarsi. Tutti e tre disposti in forma di prediche. Et appresso, altri ragionamenti di varij soggetti, vtili alla christiana perfettione. Di d. Hilariane genouese monaco benedettino, della Congregatione cassinese*, In Brescia : appresso Pietro Maria Marchetti, 1581. [16], 222, [2] p. ; 4°. πA<sup>4</sup>, \*<sup>4</sup>A-E<sup>4</sup> F-G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>4</sup> I-R<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 28356.

[76] 3<sup>6</sup> Discorso di Guerra 1. 2.5

[77] 1 Dialogo della sfera del nale? 4° 1. 1.4

[78] 2 Discorso di Massimo Troiano musico 1. 5

Massimo Troiano <m. ca. 1570>, *Discorsi delli trionfi, giostre, apparati, è [!] delle cose piu notabile fatte nelle sontuose nozze, dell'illustrissimo ... duca Guglielmo. Primo genito del generosissimo Alberto Quinto, conte palatino der Reno e duca della Bauiera Alta e Bassa nell'anno 1568, a 22 di febraro. Compartiti in tre libri, con vno dialogo, della antichità del felice ceppo di Bauiera... Di Massimo Troiano da Napoli musico dell'illustrissimo, et*

<sup>5</sup> Corrigé sur un 3.

<sup>6</sup> Corrigé sur un 1.



- eccellentissimo signor duca di Bauiera*, In Monaco : appresso Adamo Montano, 1568 (In Monico citta di Germania, 1568). [8], 191, [i.e.181], [11] p. ; 4°. A-2B<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 48172
- [79] 4 Discorsi sopra l'impresa, Palazzi I. 4  
Giovanni Andrea Palazzi, *I discorsi di m. Gio. Andrea Palazzi sopra l'impresa: recitati nell'Academia d'Vrbino: con la tauola delle cose più notabili, che in loro si contengono*, In Bologna : per Alessandro Benacci, 1575. [20], 206, [18] p. ; 8°. †<sup>10</sup> A-O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 32444
- [80] 1 Dionisij Cartus. in evangelia 4° I. 5.15  
Denis le Chartreux <ca. 1402-1471>, *D. Dionysii Carthusiani In sancta quatuor d. n. Iesu Christi Euangelia praeclarae admodum enarrationes, in hac postrema editione ab innumeris, quibus scatebant, mendis vindicatae industria r.p.f. Angeli Rocch. Aug. eremitaie et s. theol. doctoris. Addito duplici indice. Altero euangeliorum, quae per anni circulum secundum usum Romanum in ecclesia leguntur. Altero vero singularium rerum ac materiarum toto opere memorabilium locupletissimo*, Venetiis : [Al segno del Giureconsulto], 1578 (Venetiis : ex Typographia Bartholomaei Rubini sub signo Saluatoris, 1576). [28], 1018, [6] p. ; 4°. †<sup>8</sup> 2<sup>†6</sup> A-3S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 16778
- [81] 1 Dictionarium pauperum 8° I. 3  
Pietro Ridolfi <m. 1601>, *Dictionarium pauperum, ordine alphabetico de virtutib. et vitijs; continens praeexercitamenta quaedam ad pleniorum doctrinam viam munientia, cum studiosis omnibus tum praecipue sacris concionatoribus. A f. Petro Rodulphio à Tossignano conuentuali franciscano in Gymnasio d. Francisci Bononiae regente locupletata. Triplex quoque copiosissimus index additus est. In quorum primo continentur materiae. In secundo res insigniores. In tercio quibus praedicta accomodari poterunt*, Bononiae : apud Societatem typographiae Bonon., 1580. [12], 739, [97] p. ; 8°. †<sup>6</sup> A-3F<sup>8</sup>3G<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 32272
- [82] 2 Don Silves della Selva I. 4  
Amadis de Gaula. L. 12 <in italiano>, *Don Silues de la Selua*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Michel Tramezino (appresso Giouanni de' Leni), 1581. [8], 380 c. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> A-3A<sup>8</sup> 3B<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 1450
- [83] 3 Dionisio de 4 costumi 12 I. 2.4
- [84] 2 Dante in foglio con commenti I. 20  
Il s'agit probablement de *Dante con l' espositioni di Christoforo Landino, et d' Alessandro Vellutello*, In Venetia : appresso Giouambattista Marchiò Sessa et fratelli, 1578 (In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto : ad instantia di Giouambattista Marchio Sessa et fratelli, 1578). [28], 392 [i.e. 396] c. : ill. ; fol. a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>6</sup> c<sup>4</sup> d<sup>10</sup> A-V<sup>8</sup> X<sup>12</sup> Y-3C<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 1177
- [85] 2 Dante in 12 I. 2.8  
Peut-être encore le *Dante col sito, et forma dell'Inferno*. F. Bena. V. V.). CNCE 1155?
- [86] 2 Dioscoride volgare, foglio I. 37.4  
Mattioli, Pietro Andrea <1501-1577>. *I discorsi di m. Pietro Andrea Matthioli sanese, medico cesareo, et del serenissimo principe Ferdinando archiduca d' Austria & c. Nelli sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della materia medicinale. Dal suo istesso autore ricorretti, et in piu di mille luoghi aumentati. Con le figure ... Con due tauole copiosissime ...* In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1581 (Stampato in Venetia : nella bottega della heredi di Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1581). [180], 971, [13] p. : ill. ; fol. \*<sup>-3</sup>\*<sup>6</sup> a-m<sup>6</sup> A-4M<sup>6</sup> 2a<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 39136
- [87] 1 Deche di Tito Livio vol. foglio I. 10  
Titus Livius, *Deche di Tito Liuiio padouano delle historie romane già tradotte da m.*

*Iacopo Nardi, cittadino fiorentino: et hora, oltra quello, che è nella seguente faccia notato, riuedute, corrette, accresciute de' sommarij a ciascun libro, et de gli anni della città, nelle margini d'esso, et del supplimento della seconda deca da m. Francesco Turchi, treuigiano, In Venetia : appresso i Giunti, 1575 (In Venetia : nella stamperia degli heredi di Tommaso Giunti, 1575). [4], 18, 160 c., 161-192 p., 193-537 [i.e. 539], [1] c. ; fol. - Segn.: \*4 a-c<sup>6</sup> A-V<sup>8</sup> X-2A<sup>4</sup> 2B-3X<sup>8</sup> 3Y<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 34172*

[88] 1 Deche di Tito Livio 4° vol.

1. 10

Titus Livius, *Le deche di T. Liuiio padouano dell'istorie romane, diuise in due parti. Tradotte in lingua toscana da m. Iacopo Nardi, cittadino fiorentino. Le quali contengono l'imprese seguite tra principi, et rep. cominciando dall'anno 2786 della creatione del mondo nel qual tempo Antenore, et Enea uennero in Italia fino all'anno 3800 ... oue sono aggiunti li sommarij a ciascun libro, et molte confrontationi fatte con altri storici del suo tempo per m. Curtio Marinelli. Con le postille, che dichiarano, secondo i nomi moderni, i paesi, le città, i fiumi ... degne d'esser notate, per intelligenza del lettore. Con la tauola, de' re, consoli, tribuni, dittatori, pretori, edilli curuli, censori, auguri, pontefici, intereggi, & delle cose notabili, In Vinegia : [al segno delle Colonne], 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Camillo Franceschini, 1581). [68], 829, [3] c. ; 4°. †<sup>8</sup> a-g<sup>8</sup> H<sup>4</sup>, 2A-3S<sup>8</sup> 3T<sup>10</sup>, 2a-2p<sup>8</sup> 2q<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 32891*

[89] 4 Deprecationi sopra salmi

1. 2

*Noue deprecationi ouero centone, de salmi di Dauid, et da quelli estratte, nel proprio ordine salmistico latino, come sono state dal profeta descritte, & quelle poi a satisfattione del pio lettore tradotte in volgare. Con altre orationi diuote, In Venetia : appresso Iacobo Simbeni, 1576. 118 (1) p. ; 8°. A-G<sup>8</sup>, H<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 31576*

[90] 6 Dialogho di Marco Marulli

1. -. 18/ 158.7<sup>7</sup>

Marko Marulic <1450-1524>, *Dialogo di Marco Marullo. Delle eccellenti uirtu, & marauigliosi fatti di Hercole, di latino in uolgare nuouamente tradotto per Bernardino Chrisolpho, In Vinegia : appresso Battista & Stephano cugnati, al segno di s. Moise, 1549. [28] c. ; 8°. A-G<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 32729*

[91] 12 Exercitatio lingua lat. Milano

1. 3.12

Juan Luis Vives <1492-1540>, *Io. Ludouici Viuis Valentini Dialogistica linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula colloquia doctissimi uiri Petri Mottae Complutensis, in Hispanae iuuentutis gratiam adiecimus. Cum indice Latino Italico uocum difficiliorum, Mediolani : apud Valerium & Hieronymum fratres Metios, 1567 (Mediolani : apud Valerium & Hieronymum fratres Metios, 1567). 75, [9] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-K<sup>8</sup> L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 73111*

[92] 8 Edificio di ricette

1. 1.4

*Opera noua intitulata Edificio di recette, nella quale si contengono tre utilissimi recettari. Nel primo si tratta di molte et diuere vitu [!]. Nel secondo se insegna a componere varie sorti di soaui, et vtili odori. Nel terzo et vltimo si tratta di alcuni remedij (secreti medicinali) necesarij in risanar li corpi humani, come nella tauola qui sequente si puo vedere, ma: (Impresso in Caesaena : per Constantino de Rauere, 1534 a di XII de aprile). [4], 27, [1] c. ; 8°. CNCE 57424*

[93] 4 Economica del Lanteri

1. 3

Giacomo Lanteri <m. 1560>, *Della economica trattato di m. Giacomo Lanteri gentilhuomo bresciano nel quale si dimostrano le qualità, che all'huomo et alla donna separatamente conuengono pel gouerno della casa, In Venetia : appresso Vincenzo*

<sup>7</sup> Corrige la somme fautive de 136.1 qui a été biffée d'un trait de plume.

Valgrisi, 1560 ([Venezia : Vincenzo Valgrisi]). [32], 171, [5] p. ; 8°. \*-2\*<sup>8</sup> A-L<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 45483

[94] 2 Epistole vangeli 4° l. 4

[95] 5 Epistole vangelij in 16 l. - 16

[96] 4 Eleganze d'Aldo l. 4.16

Aldo Manuzio <il giovane>, *Eleganze insieme con la copia della lingua toscana, e latina; scielte da Aldo Manutio. Vtilissime al comporre nell'una, e l'altra lingua. Con tre nuoue tauole. La prima de' capi volgari. La seconda, delle locutioni volgari. La terza, delle locutioni latine. Di nuouo ristampate, et con molta diligenza riuedute, e ricorrette*, In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Griffio, 1582. [16], 320, [40] p. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup> A-Y<sup>8</sup> Z<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 53482

[97] 6 Elocutioni di Dante Riccio l. 1.16

Dante Ricci <m. 1576>, *Elocutiones, quae in Epistolis familiaribus Ciceronis leguntur a Dante Riccio excerptae, nunc vero al Hercule Ciofano Sulmonense, summa cum diligentia recognitae*, Venetijs : apud Franciscum Zilletum, 1581. [56] c. ; 8°. A-G<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40405

[98] 2 Elocutioni del Caffaro 8° l. 2

Girolamo Cafaro, *Elocutiones atque clausulae et singulis M. T. C. episto. famil. selectae, vernaculaque lingua expositae, vna cum clausulis eiusdem ex orationibus pro lege Manilia, pro Archia, atque è septem libris accusationum in C. Verrem. Dialogus de ratione interpretandi. De puro, & emendato sermone. Rhetorices epitome. Auctore Hieronymo Capbaro Salernitano*, Venetijs : apud Andream Muschium, 1581. [4], 180 c. ; 8°. CNCE 8244

[99] 2 Elocutioni Filomuso l. 1.14

Pietro Filomuso, forse: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Clausulae, locutiones, epitheta, adiuncta, antitheta, & coniuncta, ex ipsius epistolis, quae familiares nuncupantur, a Petro Philomuso, Veneto excerpta: vt bonarum litterarum studiosi adolescentes habeant, quo facilius ipsum Ciceronem in scribendis epistulis imitando exprimere possint. Indices copiosissimi omnium rerum*, Venetijs : apud Bologninum Zalterium, 1575 (Venetijs : apud Bologninum Zalterium, 1575). [16], 158, [26], 104, [34], 105-148, [2] p. ; 8°. A-2A<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19044

[100] 1 Euclide lat 1° l. 7

[101] 2 Epistole Tullij cum commento folio l. 8

[102] 2 Epistole Ouidij cum commento 4° l. 2

[103] 5 Epistole d'Ouidio Remigio 12 l. 2.10

Publius Ovidius Naso, *Epistole d'Ouidio di Remigio Fiorentino, diuise in due libri. Con le dichiarazioni in margine delle fauole e dell'histoire. Et con la tauola dell'epistole*, In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581. 311, [1] p. ; 12°. A-N<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 34474

[104] 2 Epistole Tullio Fabrini, foglio l. 14

Giovanni Fabrini <1516-1580>, *Le lettere familiari latine di M. Tullio Cicerone, e d'altri autori. Commentate in lingua volgare toscana da Giouanni Fabrini, da Fighine. Con ordine, che il volgare, è commento del latino, et il latino del volgare ambedue le lingue dichiarandosi l'una co l'altra, di nuouo ristampate, et con molta diligenza corrette da m. Borgaruccio Borgarucci. Et aggiuntoui alcune annotationi ne i margini, che illustrano grandemente il testo. Soncisi ultimamente aggiunte da m. Filippo Venuti da Cortona l'osservationi da esprimere tutte le parole, e concetti volgari latinamente secondo l'uso di Cicerone, opera sopra ogni altra vile, e necessaria a tal cosa*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1582 (In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1582).

[4], 451 [1], 66, [2] p. ; 2°. a<sup>10</sup>B-2D<sup>8</sup>2E<sup>10</sup>a-c<sup>8</sup>d<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 12458

[105] 1 Ethica Aristotelis folio cum commento l. 3

- [106] 8 Epulario da cucina 1. 2  
Giovanni Rosselli, *Epulario il quale tratta del modo del cucinare ogni carne, vccelli, & pesci d'ogni sorte. Et di piu insegna far sapori, torte, pastelli, al modo di tutte le prouincie del mondo. Con la gionta di molte altre cose bellissime*, (Venetia : per V. Viani, 1574). 48c. ; 8°. A-F8. CNCE 39910
- [107] 1 Epistole principum 8° 1.1. 10  
*Epistolae principum, rerumpublicarum ac sapientium virorum. Ex antiquis & recentioribus, tam Graecis, quam Latinis historijs & annalibus collectae. Opus ad rerum cognitionem, & ad prudentiam comparandam apprime vtile, apophthegmatum & grauium responsorum, innumeram & auream copiam continens. Numquam antea editum*, Venetijs : apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1574 (Venetijs : apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1574). Venetijs : apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1574 (Venetijs : apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1574). [28], 418, [2] p. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup>a<sup>6</sup>A-2C<sup>8</sup>2D<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 18174
- [108] 2 Eusebio della preparatio evangelica 1. 3<sup>8</sup>  
Eusebius Caesariensis, *Eusebio Pamphilo Della preparazione Euangelica*, [Venezia : Michele Tramezzino] (In Venetia : per Michele Tramezzino, 1550). [8], 275, [1] c. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup>A-2K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 18383
- [109] 5 Elucidario poetico 1. 3.15  
Hermannus Torrentinus <ca. 1450-ca. 1520>, *Elucidario poetico, nel quale sono contenute le historie, fauole, isole, regioni, città ... Raccolto per Hermano Torrentino, et di latino tradotto in volgare da m. Oratio Toscanella*, In Vinegia : appresso Egidio Regazzola, & Domenico Cauualcalupo compagni, 1579. 286, [2] p. ; 8°. A-S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 38218
- [110] 6 Erasto 12 1. 3.12  
Libro dei sette savi, *Li compassioneuoli auuenimenti di Erasto. Opera dotta, & morale, di greco tradotta in volgare. Di nuouo con somma diligenza corretta [!], et ristampata. Con vna tauola delle cose degne di memoria*, In Venetia : [Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto], 1582. 160, [2] c. ; 12°. CNCE 50264
- [111] 6 Essercitio della uita christiana 12 1. 2.8  
Gaspar de Loarte <m. 1578>, *Essercitio della vita christiana ... composto per il r.p. Gaspar Loarte ... della Compagnia di Iesu ... Di nuouo ristampato*, In Brescia : appresso Iacobo, e Policreto Turlini, 1581. 233, [1] p. ; 12°. A-I<sup>12</sup>K<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 35616
- [112] 2 Examen ordinandorum Io. Holtusio 12 1. 2.8  
*Examen ordinandorum. In quo quicquid ad clericorum institutionem pertinere videtur, summa breuitate digestum est. Auctoribus r.d. Io.Fero, Io. Olthusio, ac Georgio Vuicelio. Iam pridem per f. Nicolaum Aurificum, Senensem, Carmelitam coadunatum, nouissime uero in hac tertia editione per eundem recognitum, & locupletatum, ut nota asterisci patebit. Quae huic examini accesserunt, uersa pagina indicabit. Cum duplici indice*, Venetijs : apud Franciscum Zilettum, 1579. 2 v. : ill. ; 12°. 1: [24], 468, [12] p. †<sup>12</sup>, A-V<sup>12</sup>. 2: 155, [1] p. a-f<sup>12</sup>g<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 41241
- [113] 2 Epistole vangeli foglio 1. 6
- [114] 7 Epistole Ouidii 8° 1. 4
- [115] 1 Epitome decretalium 8° 1. 1?4? / 95.11
- [116] 4 Fiori del Granata 12 1. 4.16  
Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Fiori pretiosi raccolti da tutte le opere spirituali del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata, diuisi in sei parti...*, In Venetia, 1580. [24], 524 p. : ill. ; 12°. CNCE

<sup>8</sup> Suit 8 biffé d'un trait de plume.

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**Federico comandino delle supremi**

[117] 2 Ficino della religion christiana I. 3

Marsilio Ficino <1433-1499>, *Marsilio Ficino Della religione christiana, opera utilissima, e dottissima, e dall'autore istesso tradotta in lingua toscana. Di nuouo ristampato et con diligenza ricorretti*, In Fiorenza : appresso i Giunti, 1568. [12], 272 p. ; 8°. CNCE 18951

[118] 3 Fiamme del Paterno 1. 3

Lodovico Paternò <n. 1533>, *Le nuoue fiamme di m. Lodouico Paterno, con diligentia riuiste & ristampate*, In Lyone : appresso Guglielmo Rouillio, 1568. 541, [19] p. ; 16°. a-z<sup>8</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 47274

[119] 9 Falconetto I. 1.16

Libro chiamato Falconetto de le battaglie che lui fece con gli paladini in Franza, e della sua morte. Nuouamente stampato, (In Milano : per Valerio, &amp; Hieronimo fratelli da Meda, 1572). [48] c. : ill. ; 8°. CNCE 50143

[120] 20 Fior di virtù I. 3

Fior di virtu historiato vtilissimo a ciascun fidel christiano. Di nouo ristampato, &amp; con somma diligentia corretto, [Venezia : Bernardino De Franceschi] (In Venetia : appresso Bernardino de Francesco, 1582). [92] c. : ill. ; 12°. CNCE 19148

[121] 25 Formulario di lettere I. 3.15

Bartolomeo Miniatore, *Formulario ottimo, et elegante. Il quale insegna il modo del scriuere lettere messiue, e responsiue, con tutte le mansion sue a' li gradi delle persone conueneuoli. Et oltre di cio alcune nuoue, & breuissime orationi a diuersi ambasciatori de principi attissime, & necessarie, & di nuouo corrette*, In Venetia : per Piero de' Franceschi, in Frezzaria al segno della Regina, 1574 (In Venetia : per Piero de' Franceschi, in Frezzaria al segno della Regina, 1574). [48] c. ; 8°. A-F<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 72784

[122] 3 Fabrica del mondo Anania 4° I. 18

Giovanni Lorenzo D'Anania <1545-ca. 1609>, *L'vniuersale fabrica del mondo, ouero Cosmografia dell'ecc. Gio. Lorenzo d'Anania, diuisa in quattro trattati: ne' quali distintamente si misura il cielo, e la terra, & si descriuono particolarmente le prouincie, città, castella, monti, mari, laghi, fiumi, & fonti... Di nuouo ornata con le figure delle quattro parti del mondo in rame. Et dal medesimo auttore con infinite aggiuntioni per ogni parte dell'opera, ampliata*, In Venetia: presso il Muschio ad istanza di Aniello San Vito di Napoli, 1582. [56], 402, [2] p., [10] c. di tav. : c. geogr. calcogr. ; 4°. †<sup>8</sup> 2†<sup>4</sup> a-d<sup>4</sup> A-3C<sup>4</sup> 3D<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 15956

[123] 4 Fioretti s. Francesco 8° I. 2

Fioretti di s. Francesco, ne' quali si contiene la uita, &amp; i miracoli, che egli fece per diuerse parti del mondo. Di nuouo con bellissime figure adornati, et poste al principio d'ogni capitolo dell'opera. Nuouamente in miglior lingua ridotti, &amp; con sommadiligentia corretti, &amp; ristampati, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1581. 117, [3] c. : ill. ; 8°. CNCE 19164

[124] 3 Facetie del Ponzino I. 1.10

Poncino Dalla Torre, *Le piaceuoli e ridicolose facetie di m. Poncino Dalla Torre cremonese nelle quali si leggono diuerse burle da lui astutamente fatte, di non poca dilettazone e trastullo a' lettori... Datte [!] in luce ad istanza di m. Thomaso Vacchello, libraro in Cremona*, In Cremona: [Tommaso Vacchello], 1581 (In Cremona appresso Christoforo Draconi: ad istanza di m. Tomaso Vacchello, 1581). [6], 64 c. ; 8°. \*<sup>6</sup> A-H<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 39908

[125] 1 Faretra diuini amoris 8° I. 3

Johann Landsberg <1489-1539>, *D. Ioannis Iusti Lanspergii ... Pharetrae diuini amoris*

- adfectiuae libri duo, variis orationibus ... nunc primum in lucem editi*, (Romae: apud Victorium Haelianum, 1571). [4], 234 [ma 224] c. ; 8°. CNCE 35324
- [126] 2 Ficino contra la peste 1. 1  
Marsilio Ficino <1433-1499>, *Marsilio Ficino fiorentino Contro alla peste. Insieme con Tommaso del Garbo, Mengo da Faenza, & altri autori, e ricette sopra la medesima materia. Aggiuntoui di nuouo una epistola dell'eccellente Giouanni Manardi da Ferrara, et uno consiglio di Niccolò de' Rainaldi da Sulmona, non più stampati. Con due tauole, vna de i capitoli, l'altra delle cose notabili*, In Fiorenza: appresso i Giunti, 1576. [8], 120, [16] p. ; 8°. †<sup>4</sup> A-H<sup>8</sup> I<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 18953
- [127] 2 Formularium instrumentorum Mussi 1. 7  
Pietro Domenico Mussi <1530-1572>, *Formularium instrumentorum... d. Petri Dominici de Mussis... Opus aureum et perutile, complectens verborum quorumcumque artis notariae descriptiones... Hac postera editione a m.d. Leonardo a Lege iurisc. Mantuano... recognitum atque ab erroribus innumerabilibus... ad adultam... intelligentiam restitutum... cui accessit locupletissimum repertorium...* Venetiis : apud Alessandrum Griffium, 1579. [8], 349 [i.e. 348] c. ; 4°. †<sup>8</sup> A-2V<sup>8</sup> 2X<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 34774
- [128] 2 Flortiz? 1. 9
- [129] 12 Fedele comedia 1. 6  
Luigi Pasqualigo <fl. 1587-1607>, *Il fedele. Comedia del clarissimo m. Luigi Pasqualigo. Di nouo ristampata, et ricorretta*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1579 (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1579). 96 c. ; 8°. A-M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40351
- [130] 1 Filocopo<sup>9</sup> Boccaccio 1. 2  
Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocopo di m. Giouanni Boccaccio. Di nuouo riueduto, corretto, & alla sua vera lettione ridotto da m. Francesco Sansouino. Con la tauola di tutte le materie che nell'opera si contengono*, In Venetia : appresso Giouan Antonio Bertano, 1575. 293 [i.e. 380] c. ; 8°. A-3A<sup>8</sup> 3B<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 6365
- [131] 2 Fatti d'arme de' romani 4° 1. 2.8  
Francesco Serdonati <1540-ca. 1603>, *De' fatti d'arme de' romani, libri tre. Ne' quali si tratta di tutte le battaglie, & imprese, fatte da romani, dalla edificacion di Roma, sino alla declination dell'imperio. Raccolti da Tito Liuiio, Plutarco, Dione, Macrobio, Volterrano, et altri grauissimi storici. Et nouamente dati in luce da m. Francesco Serdonati fiorentino. Con la tauola de' sommarij*, In Venetia : appresso Giordan Ziletti, e compagni, 1572 (Stampata in Venetia : per Christoforo Zanetti, 1572). [16], 170, [6] p. ; 4°. \*<sup>4</sup> 2\*<sup>4</sup> A-Y<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 41228
- [132] 1 Formularium romane curiae 4° 1. 1.10  
*Formularium variarum commissionum, articularum, exceptionum, interrogatoriorum, petitionum sententiarum, & appellationum. Cui adiectus est Tractatus de deuolutione causarum, ac ordinis iudiciarij. Item practica signaturae iustitiae, circa commissionem causarum quae in Romana Curia committuntur. Omnia summa cura & diligentia nuperrimè castigata. ....* Venetijs : excudebant Egidius Regazola, & Dominicus Cauallcalupus socij, 1570 (Venetijs : excudebant Egidius Regazola, & Dominicus Cauallcalupus socij, 1570). - [16], 325, [3] p. ; 4°. †<sup>8</sup> A-V<sup>8</sup> X<sup>4</sup>. IT\CCU\BVEE\003247
- [133] 1 Fuckerij ritus iudiciales 8° 1. - 18  
2 Girolamo Cattaneo da misurare
- [134] 3 Genealogia degli dei, Boccaccio 1. 9  
Giovanni Boccaccio <1313-1375>, *La genealogia delli dei de gentili per Giuseppe*

<sup>9</sup> Filocopo ] Filocolo

*Betussi... tradotta*, In Venetia : appresso Gio. Battista et Melchior Sessa, 1560. [6], 286 c. ; 4°. CNCE 6348

[135] 3 Governo de' regni 1. 7.10

Sansovino, Francesco <1521-1583> *Del gouerno et amministrazione di duersi regni et republiche, cosi antiche come moderne di m. Francesco Sansouino, libri 21. Ne' quali si contengono diuersi ordini magistrati, leggi, costumi, historie, et altre cose notabili, che sono utili et necessarie ad ogni huomo ciuile et di stato. Con nuoua aggiunta di piu republiche & regni in diuerse parti del mondo*, In Venetia : per ordine di Iacomo Sansouino, 1578 (In Venetia : appresso Giouanni Antonio Bertano, 1578). – [8], 200 c. : ritr. ; 4°. \* A-2B<sup>8</sup>. IT\CCU\RMLE\006902

[136] 6 Governo del padre di famiglia 1. 12 / 100.3

Francesco Tommasi, *Reggimento del padre di famiglia, di m. Francesco Tommasi da Colle di Val d'Elsa toscano, medico e filosofo, all'illustre sig. Giulio Pallauicino gentilhuomo genouese*, In Fiorenza : nella stamperia di Giorgio Marescotti, 1580 (In Fiorenza : stampato per Giorgio Marescotti, 1580). [80], 561, [1] p. ; 4°. a-k<sup>4</sup> A-3Z<sup>4</sup> 4A<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 28918

[137] 10 Giganti Moranti? 1. 2

[138] 7 Giovanni di Vigo chirurgia 4° 1. 12

Giovanni Da Vigo <ca. 1450-ca. 1525>, *La pratica vniuersale in cirugia di m. Giouanni di Vico genouese...* In Venetia : appresso Fabio, et Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Fabio, et Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1581). [8], 558, [2] p. : ill. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup> A-2M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 16108

[139] 3 Gallo d'agricoltura 4° 1. 9

Agostino Gallo <1499-1570>, *Le vinti giornate dell'agricoltura, et de' piaceri della villa di m. Agostino Gallo. Di nuouo ristampate, & in molti luoghi ampliate. Con le figure de gl'istrumenti pertinenti, & con due tauole: vna della dichiarazione di molti vocaboli: & l'altra delle cose notabili*, In Turino : appresso gl'eredi del Beuilacqua, 1580 (In Turino : appresso gli eredi del Beuilacqua, 1580). [24], 428, [16] p. : ill. ; 4°. \*<sup>8</sup> 2\*<sup>4</sup> A-2C<sup>8</sup> 2D<sup>6</sup> 2E-2F<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 20255

[140] 1 Girava, cosmografia, spagnola 1. 2.10

Jerónimo Girava (m. 1556), *La Cosmographia, y Geographia del S. Hieronimo Girava Tarragones : en la qual se contiene la Descripcion de todo el mundo, y de sus partes, y particularmente de las yndias, y tierra nueua, islas de España y de las otras partes del mundo : con la nauegacion, longitud, latitud, grandeza, y circuito de todas ellas : con Tablas e instrumentos, que dan a entender la distancia de las prouincias, y puertos, y la altura del Polo, ansi de dia, como de noche*, Venetia : por Iordan Zileti, y su compañero, 1570. (8), 271, (11) p. : ill. ; 4° + 1 c. di tav. ripieg. 2\*<sup>4</sup>, A-D<sup>4</sup> E-F<sup>2</sup> G-2N<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 41204

[141] 12 Giovanni Gerson 16 1. 6

[142] 8 Giovanni Gerson 12 1. 4.16

[143] 3 Giocondità dell'animo 1. 2.5

Annibale Firmani <1532-1595>, *Della giocondità dell'animo. Opera non meno vtile, che diletteuole: di nuouo reuista, & corretta: & la terza volta ristampata. Composta per il r.p. donn' Annibale Firmani da Fano della Compagnia del Giesu. Nella quale si ragiona in che modo si possano conoscere & vincere le passioni; & acquistare la libertà dell'animo*, In Venetia : per Lorenzo Pegolo, 1574. [16], 224 p. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup>A-O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19217

[144] 3 Grammatica d'Aldo 1. 3.12

[145] 1 Grammatica Scopa 1. 1.10

Lucio Giovanni Scopa <m. ca. 1543>, *L. Ioannis Scopae Parthenopaei Epitome. Cum*

*aduerbiis, praepositionibus, coniunctionibus interiectionibus vulgaribus...* Venetiis : apud Fabium & Augustinum Zopinos, 1583. 109 [i.e. 117], [1] p. ; 8°. CNCE 40844

[146] 2 Gofredo di Torquato Tasso 4° 1. 3

Torquato Tasso <1544-1595>, *Il Goffredo del s. Torquato Tasso, nouamente corretto, et ristampato. Con gli argomenti, & allegorie a ciascun canto d'incerto auttore. Aggiuntoui molte stanze leuate, con le varie lettioni; et insieme vna copiosissima tauola de' nomi proprij, et materie principali. Con l'aggiunta de' Cinque canti del sig. Camillo Camilli*, In Venetia: presso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1583. Dedica di aprile 1582. 2 pt. ([12], 118, [10]; [4], 29, [1] c.) ; 4°. \*8 2\*4 A-Q<sup>8</sup>; \*4 A-G<sup>4</sup> H<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 28156

[147] 8 Gismonda tragedia 8° 1. 2

Silvano Razzi <1527-1613>, *La Gismonda tragedia di Girolamo Razzi*, In Fiorenza: appresso Bartholomeo Sermartelli, 1569. 63, [1] p. ; 8°. A-D<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 52164

[148] 3 Giardino d'orazioni 12 spirituale 1. 2.5

[149] 1 Gruccij de comitijs romanorum f° 1. 1.10

Nicolas de Grouchy <1509-1572>, *Nicolai Gruchii Rotomagensis, De comitijs Romanorum libri tres. His accessit rerum & uerborum in his memorabilium copiosissimus & accuratissima diligentia conquisitus index*, Lutetiae: ex officina typographica Michaëlis Vascosani, uia Iacobaea ad insigne Fontis, 1555. 120 c. ; 2°. A-R<sup>6</sup>S-T<sup>4</sup>V<sup>6</sup>X<sup>4</sup>. IT\ICCU\BVEE\003860

[150] 2 Gioseffo hebreo opera 4° uolgare 1. 10

Flavius Iosephus, *Di Flauio Giuseppe Dell'antichità de' Giudei. Libri XX. Tradotti nouamente per m. Francesco Baldelli. Doue s'ha piena notizia di quasi tutto il Testamento uecchio; e di tutte l'histoire descritte da Mosè nel Genesi*, In Vinegia : appresso Gio. et Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1582. [36], 987, [1] p. ; 4°. a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>10</sup> A-3P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 27561

[151] 2 Guida e scorta del Granata 12 1. 4

Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Della guida ouero Scorta de' peccatori, libro primo. Del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata, dell'Ordine di s. Domenico ... Nuouamente tradotta dalla lingua spagnuola, nella nostra italiana. Dal r.p.d. Timoteo da Bagno, monaco dell'Ordine di Camaldoli. Con due tauole; l'vna de' capitoli, et l'altra delle cose piu notabili*, In Vinegia : presso Giorgio Angelieri, 1581. [24], 300 c. ; 12°. a-b<sup>12</sup> A-2B<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 36369

[152] 6 Guidon Seluaggio 1. 1.4

Giovanni Battista Dragoncino <1497-ca. 1550>, *Libro nouo doue si contiene le battaglie dello innamoramento de Guidon Saluaggio che fu figliolo de Rinaldo de Mont'Albano*, [Non prima del 1550] (In Milano : per Valerio & Hieronymo fratello da Meda). [36] c. : ill. ; 8°. CNCE 17775

[153] 4 Grammatica Priscianese 8° 1. 8

Priscianese, Francesco <fl. 1540> *Francesco Priscianese fiorentino De' primi principij della lingua latina, ouero il Priscianello. Nuouamente con somma diligenza corretto, & di nuouo ristampato. Aggiuntai anco la tauola delle materie, che in essa opera si contengono*, In Venetia : appresso Gio. Maria Leni, 1582. 2 pt. ; 8°. 1: 36 c. 1-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>4</sup>. 2: [16], 315, [1] c. †<sup>8</sup>2†<sup>8</sup>a-z<sup>8</sup>A-Q<sup>8</sup>R<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 37929

[154] 1 Gramatica tidicini? 1. - 15

[155] 1 Giberti de fideiussoris 1. - 6

[156] 2 Istoria di gagesepo? 8° 1. 3

[157] 1 Istoria del Sigonio folio 1. 10

Carlo Sigonio <ca. 1520-1584>, *Caroli Sigonii Historiarum de Regno Italiae libri quindecim. Qui libri omnibus in partibus ex reconditis scriptorum monumentis adaucti, eos, qui scripti sunt de Imperio Occidentali, excipiunt, ac narrationem ab anno DLXV*



*usque ad DCC perducunt. Index quoque rerum, & verborum copiosissimus additus, qui in priore editione desiderabatur*, Bononiae : apud Societatem Typographiae Bonon., 1580 (Bononiae : apud Societatem Typographiae Bonon., 1580). 666, [130] p. ; 2°. A-3I<sup>6</sup> 3K<sup>4</sup> †<sup>6</sup> a-i<sup>6</sup> k<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 32273

[158] 2 *Imagini degli dei* 4° 1. 12

Vincenzo Cartari <n. 1531?>, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi nelle quali si contengono gl'idoli, riti, ceremonie, & altre cose appartenenti alla religione de gli antichi, raccolte dal sig. Vincenzo Cartari, con la loro esposizione, et con bellissime et accomodate figure nuouamente stampate. Et con molta diligenza riuiste e ricorrette*, In Venetia : presso Francesco Ziletti, 1580. [36], 566 [i.e. 558], [2] p. : ill. ; 4°. a-c<sup>4</sup>d<sup>6</sup>A-4A<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 9759

[159] 1 *Istoria del Giouio* 4° 1. 12 / 106.13

Paolo Giovio <1483-1552>. *Delle istorie del suo tempo di mons. Paolo Giouio da Como, vescouo di Nocera, tradotte da m. Lodouico Domenichi. Prima [-seconda] parte. Con vna selua di varia istoria di Carlo Passi nella quale si ha piena notitia delle cose più rare ... Et vn supplimento del signor Girolamo Ruscelli ... Et vn' indice de' nomi antichi, & moderni, delle città, castella ... de' quali l'autore ha fatto mentione...* In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1572. 5 v. ; 4°. CNCE 21240

[160] 3 *Istoria di Europa dell'Ulloa* 4° 1. 3

Alfonso de Ulloa <m. 1570>, *Le historie di Europa del sig. Alfonso Vllloa, nuouamente mandate in luce. Nelle quali principalmente si contiene la guerra vltimamente fatta in Vngheria tra Massimiliano imperatore de' christiani, & sultan Solimano re de' turchi. Et vi s'ha cognitione di molti altri auenimenti occorsi in diuerse parti del mondo fino all'anno MDLXVIII. Con la tauola delle cose più notabili, che nell'opera si contengono*, In Venetia : appresso Bolognino Zaltieri, 1570. [16], 176 p. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup>b<sup>4</sup>A-Y<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 38245

[161] 3<sup>10</sup> *Istoria Guicciardini, epitome* 8° 1. 5.5

Francesco Guicciardini <1483-1540>, *Dell'epitome dell'Historia d'Italia di m. Francesco Guicciardini libri XX. Con diuerse annotationi in più luoghi di essa Historia. Et con i ritratti d'alquanti principi cauati dall'opera sua*, [Venezia : eredi di Francesco Rampazetto] In Venetia : per ordine di Iacomo Sansouino, 1580. [8], 244, [48] c. : 1 ritr. ; 8° a<sup>8</sup> A-2G<sup>8</sup> 2H<sup>4</sup> 1-4/8 <sup>2</sup>a-b<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 22325

[162] 1 *Istoria dell'Indie orientali*

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda <m. 1599>, *Historia dell'Indie orientali scoperte, et conquistate da' Portoghesi [su] commissione dell'Inuittissimo Re Don Manuello, di gloriosa memoria. Nella quale, oltre alle strane vsanze, maniere, riti e costumi di quelle genti si uiene anco in notizia di molte guerre fatte in quei paesi et di molte prouincie, isole, città, castelli, fiumi, monti, laghi, mari, minere di metalli, perle, gioie, animali, droghe d'ispecierie, et di molte altre cose degne di merauiglia. Distinta in libri VII. Composti dal sig. Fernando Lopes di Castagneda nuouamente di lingua portoghese in italiana tradotti dal signor' Alfonso Vllloa. Parte prima [-secunda]*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1578. 2 v. ; 4°. IT\CCU\CNCE\009913

[163] 1 *Istoria sacra del uescouo di Tiro* 4 1. 5

Guilelmus Tyrensis, *Historia della guerra sacra di Gierusalemme, della terra di promissione, e quasi di tutta la soria [!] ricuperata da' christiani: raccolta in XXIII libri, da Guglielmo arcivescovo di Tiro, et gran cancelieri [!] del regno di Gierusalemme: la quale continua ottantaquattro anni per ordine, fin'al regnodi Baldoino IIII. Tradotta in lingua italiana da m. Giosepe Horologi. Con la tauola di tutte le cose più importanti*,

<sup>10</sup> Corrigé sur un 1.

& più necessarie, In Venetia : appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1562 (In Venetia : appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1562). [28], 702, [2] p. ; 4°. \*4 2\*4 3\*6 A-2Z<sup>4</sup> 2A-2Z<sup>4</sup> 2a-2t<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 22407

[164] 2 Istoria di Niceta 4° 1. 8

Nicetas Acominatus, *Della historia di Niceta Coniate delle cose dell'imperio di Costantinopoli libri VII. Ne' quali si contengono i fatti de gl'imperatori Greci, cominciando da Alessio Commeno doue lascia il Zonara, fin all'anno MCCCCLVII nel qual fu presa quellacittà da Mahomet secondo. Con le postille a suoi luoghi dinotanti le cose di maggiore importanza. Et con le molte altre cose vtili & necessarie a lettori*, In Venetia : [Francesco Sansovino] (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Sansouino, 1562). [4], 111, [1] c. ; 4°. \*4 A-2E<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 31070

[165] 2 Istorie del Tarcagnota 1. 62

Giovanni Tarcagnota <1508-1566>, *Delle historie del mondo di m. Gio. Tarchagnota, lequali contengono quanto dal principio del mondo fino a tempi nostri è successo. Cauate da piu degni, e più graui auttori, che habbiano o nella lingua greca, o nella latina scritto. Con la giunta del quinto volume, nuouamente posto in luce. Parte prima [-terza]*, In Venetia: per gli heredi di Francesco, & Michiel Tramezini (In Venetia : per gli heredi di Francesco, & Michiel Tramezini, 1580). 5 v. ; 4°. CNCE 35072

[166] 4 Istoria del regno di Napoli 1. 14<sup>11</sup>

[167] 2 Istoria del Bembo vol. 1. 6  
Pietro Bembo <1470-1547>, *Della historia vinitiana di m. Pietro Bembo card. volgarmente scritta libri XII. Aggiuntaui di nuouo la tauola della cose più notabili, co' nomi di tutti i principi, patriarchi, & cardinali vinitiani fin'al serenissimo Luigi Mocenico. Per m. Alemanio Fino*, In Venetia : per Giordano Ziletti, e compagni, 1570. [38], 179, [1] carte ; 4°. A-G<sup>4</sup> 2\*<sup>10</sup> A-Y<sup>8</sup> Z<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 5077

[168] 3 Imprese Ruscelli 1. 42

Girolamo Ruscelli <ca. 1500-1566>, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni et discorsi del s.or Ieronimo Ruscelli. al serenissimo et sempre felicissimo re catolico, Filippo d'Austria. Con la giunta di altre imprese tutto riordinato et corretto*, In Venetia : presso a Francesco de' Franceschi, senese, 1580 (In Venetia : appresso Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1572). [4], 1-191, [11], 193-288 c. : ill. ; 4°. +<sup>4</sup> A-3B<sup>4</sup>, 3C-3D<sup>4</sup>, 3E<sup>2</sup>, 3C-4C<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 48465

[169] 2 Istoria delle cose di Fiandra 1. 2

Marco Guazzo <ca. 1480-1556>, *Historie di m. Marco Guazzo de le cose degne di memoria, cosi in mare come in terra nel mondo successe del MDXXIII sino a l'anno MDLII. Nuouamente reuiste, et con somma diligenza corrette aggiunte, e ristampate*, In Venetia : appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarij e fratelli, 1552 (In Venetia : appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et fratelli, 1552). [16], 734, [2] p. ; 8°. \*8 A-2Z<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 22056

[170] 3. Indice degli huomini illustri, Ruscelli 1. 6

Girolamo Ruscelli <ca. 1500-1566>, *Indice degl'vomini illustri, del signor Ieronimo Ruscelli. Opera vtilissima à chiunque vorrà hauer notitia, e valersi di tutti i nomi, & condizioni de gli uomini, & donne, & dei, celebrati così da poeti, come da gl'istorici, e da filosofi*, In Venetia : appresso Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1572. [4], 172 c. : 1 ritr. calcogr. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup> A-2V<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 24804

[171] 1. Istoria Gaspare Bugati 4° 1. 7.10

Gaspare Bugati, *Historia vniuersale di m. Gasparo Bugati milanese: nella quale con ogni candidezza di uerità si racconta breuemente, & con bell'ordine tutto quel ch'è successo*

<sup>11</sup> La lecture du deuxième chiffre est incertaine.

*dal principio del mondo fino all'anno MDLXIX. Con tauole vtilissime, et necessarie...* In Venetia : appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrari, 1571. [88], 1090, [2] p. ; 4°. a-l<sup>4</sup> A-3X<sup>8</sup> 3Y<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 7804

[172] 1. Isidori Clari orationum 4° I. 4

Isidoro Clario <1495-1555>, *Isidori Clarii episcopi Fulginatis, Orationum quas extraordinarias appellauit, volumen primum [-secundum]. In quibus vtriusque sacri instrumenti, insigniores quique loci, erudita facundia scite, ac luculenter illustrantur omnibus qui christiana philosophia delectantur, sed concionatoribus praesertim opus summopere [!] necessarium. Nuper in lucem editum*, Venetiis : apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1567 (Venetiis : apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1567). 2 v. ([6], 345, [1]; [8], 133 [i.e. 243, 1] carte) ; 4°. \*6 A-4Q<sup>4</sup> 4R<sup>6</sup>; †<sup>8</sup> a-3p<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 12639

[173] 1. Iacobi de Valentia in psalmos I. 7

Jaime Pérez de Valencia <1408-1490>, *D. Iacobi Parem de Valentia Christopolitani episcopi. Doctissimae et plane diuinae explanationes in centum & quinquaginta Psalmos Dauidicos. In Cantica officialia, seu ferialia, & euangelica, qua in ecclesiasticis officijs decantatur. In Canticum sanctorum Ambrosij, & Augustini. Item tractatus sane quam argutus quaestionum quinque cum earum subtilissimis resolutionibus contra Iudaeos Christianae fidei aduersarios. Vna cum excellentissima explanatione in Cantica canticorum. Adiecta nuperrime in Symbolum diui Atanasij episcopi aurea expositione. Omnia nunc demum ad vetustorum exemplarium fidem accuratissime recognita & emendata. Addito duplici indice, altero Psalmorum et Canticorum, altero singularium & verborum toto opere memobrailium [!] locupletissimo*, Venetiis : apud Fabium, et Augustinum Zopinos, frat., 1581 (Venetiis, 1581). [32], 1491, [1] p. ; 4°. \*8 2\*<sup>8</sup>A-3R<sup>8</sup> 3S<sup>6</sup> a-2f<sup>8</sup> 2g<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40791

[174]8. Intricati comedia I. 3.4

Luigi Pasqualigo <fl. 1587-1607>, *Gl'intricati pastorale del clariss. sig. Aluise Pasqualigo. Non più posta in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581. 71, [1] c. ; 8°. A-I<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40401

[175] 7. Inganni comedia I. 3.10

Niccolò Secchi <1500-1560>, *Gl'inganni comedia del signor N. S. Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547 dinanzi alla maestà del re Filippo. Nuouamente ristampata, & con somma diligenza corretta*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, e fratelli, 1582. 56 c. ; 8°. A-G<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 28547

[176] 8. Interesse comedia I. 3.4

Niccolò Secchi <1500-1560>, *L'interesse comedia del signor Nicolò Secchi. Nuouamente posta in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581. [8], 52 c. ; 8°. : \*8 B-G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40410

[177] 4. Institutione delle donne christiane 12 I. 2

Agostino Valier <1531-1606>, *Institutione d'ogni stato lodeuole delle donne christiane. Di monsignore Agostino Valerio vescouo di Verona*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto, 1577. [6], 39, [3] c. ; 12°. A-D<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 48211

[178] 3. Institutione morale del Piccolomini I. 10.10

Alessandro Piccolomini <1508-1578>, *Della Institution morale di m. Alessandro Piccolomini libri XII. Ne' quali egli, leuando le cose souerchie, & aggiugnendo molte importanti, ha emendato, & à miglior forma, & ordine ridotto tutto quello, che già scrisse in sua giouanezza della Institution dell'huomo nobile*, In Venetia : presso Francesco Ziletti, 1582. [40], 559, [1] p. ; 4°. †<sup>4</sup> a-d<sup>4</sup> A-2M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40476

[179] 2. Istoria del Perù 8° I. 9

Pedro de Cieza De Leon <1518-1560>, *Historia, ouer Cronica del gran regno del Perù, con la descrizione di tutte le prouincie, e costumi, e riti, & con le nuoue città edificate, &*

*altre strane e marauigliose notitie. parte prima scritta da Pietro di Cieca di Lione in lingua spagnuola, & tradotta nella italiana per Agostino di Craualiz*, In Venetia : per Giouanni Bonadio, 1564. [8], 216c. ; 8°. \*8 A-2D<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 12534

[180] 6. Intrico comedia 8° 1. 3

Flaminio Guarnieri <1541-1615>, *L'intrico. Comedia, di Flaminio Guarnieri da Osimo*, In Rimini : appresso Gio. Simbeni, 1582 ([Rimini : Giovanni Simbeni]). 70 c. ; 8°. CNCE 22033

[181] 1. Istoria de' Turchi 4° 1. 5

Francesco Sansovino <1521-1583>, *Historia vniuersale dell'origine, et imperio de' Turchi. Raccolta, et in diuersi luoghi di nuouo ampliata, da m. Francesco Sansouino; et riformata in molte sue parti per ordine della Santa Inquisitione. Nella quale si contengono le leggi, gli officii, i costumi, et la militia di quella natione; con tutte le cose fatte da loro per terra, et per mare. Con le vite particolari de' principi othomani; cominciando dal primo fondator di quell'imperio, fino al presente Amorath*. 1582. *Con le figure in disegno de' glihabiti, & dell'armature de' soldati d'esso gran Turco. Et con la tauola di tutte le cose più notabili, et degne*, In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1582. [8], 504 c. : ill. ; 4°. \*8 A-3R<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 30552

[182] 1. Institutione prencipe christiano 1. 1.4

Antonio de Guevara <1481-1545>, *La institutione del prencipe christiano. Di M. Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano. Di nuouo corretta, & ristampata. Con due tauole, l'vna de' capitoli, & l'altra delle cose più degne di memoria*, In Mantoua : per Francesco Osanna, 1578. [32], 397, [3] p. ; 8°. \*82\*8 A-2B<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 22274

[183] 1. Istoria d'angellino? L. 6 /226.7<sup>12</sup>

[184] 2 Luigi Anguillara de' semplici vol 1. 2.8

Luigi Anguillara <1512-1570>, *Semplici dell'eccellente m. Luigi Anguillara, liquali in piu pareri à diuersi nobili huomini scritti appaiono, et nuouamente da m. Giouanni Marinello mandati in luce*, In Vinegia : appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561. 304, [32] p. : ill. ; 8°. A-X<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 1923

[185] 1 Lettere spiritali Besozzo 4° 1. 4.10

Giovanni Pietro Besozzi <1503-1584>, *Lettere spirituali, sopra alcune feste, et sacri tempi dell'anno del p.d. Gio. Pietro Besozzo chierico regolare di san Paolo decollato*, In Milano : appresso Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1578. [6], 425 [i.e. 421], [1] c. ; 4°. \*6 A-2P<sup>8</sup> 2Q<sup>4</sup> 2R-3F<sup>8</sup> 3G<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 5634

[186] 2 Lettere di diuersi, scelta 1. 4

Peut-être: Bernardino Pino <ca. 1530-1601>, *Della nuoua scielta di lettere di diuersi nobilissimi huomini, et excell.mi ingegni, scritte in diuerse materie, fatta da tutti i libri fin' hora stampati, libro primo [-quarto]. Con un discorso della commodità dello scriuere, di m. Bernardino Pino*, In Venetia : [Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto], 1582. 4 v. ; 8°. CNCE 37649

[187] 2 Lettere del Caro 4° 1. 6

Annibale Caro <1507-1566>, *De le lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro volume primo [-secondo]*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, e fratelli, 1581. 2 v. ; 4°. 1: [8], 176 p. \*4 A-L<sup>8</sup>. 2: 8], 272 p. †4 A-R<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 9653

[188] 3 Lettere di 13 illustri 1. 6

*Lettere di XIII huomini illustri, alle quali oltra tutte l'altre fin qui stampate, di nuouo ne sono state aggiunte molte da Tomaso Porcacchi*, In Venetia : [al segno delle Colonne] :

<sup>12</sup> Corrige un 166.7 précédent biffé d'un trait de plume.

- appresso Camillo de' Franceschini, 1582. [8], 448 c. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> A-3K<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 41546  
 [189] 2 Lettere del Tolomei l. 3  
 Claudio Tolomei <1492-1555>, *Delle lettere di m. Claudio Tolomei libri sette con nuoue aggiunte ristampate et con somma diligenza ricorrette*, In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Agostino fratelli, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1581). [8], 295, [1] c. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> A-2O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40796  
 [190] 2 Lettere del Bembo l. 7  
 Pietro Bembo <1470-1547>, *Delle lettere di m. Pietro Bembo a sommi pontefici a cardinali et ad altri signori et persone ecclesiastiche scritte. Primo [-quarto] volume*, In Vinegia: [Gualtiero Scoto], 1575. 4 v. ; 8°. CNCE 5084  
 [191] 4 Lettere del Tasso l. 6  
 Bernardo Tasso <1493-1569>, *Le lettere di m. Bernardo Tasso. Vtili non solamente alle persone priuate, ma anco a secretarij de prencipi, per le materie che vi si trattano, & per la maniera dello scriuere. Le quali per giudicio de gli intendenti sono le più belle, & correnti dell'altri. Di nuouo ristampate, riuedute et corrette con molta diligenza*, In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1582. [8], 284 c. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> A-2M<sup>8</sup> 2N<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40806  
 [192] 2 Lettere del Prencipe l. 18  
~~Legendario delle vergini 4<sup>o</sup>~~  
 [193] 12 Legendario delle vergini 8 l. 18  
*Legendario delle santissime vergini; le quali volsero morire per il nostro Signore Giesu Christo, & per mantenere la sua santa fede, & virginita. Hora nuouamente ristampato, corretto, & di vaghe figure ornato*, In Venetia : appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1578. 407, [1] p. : ill ; 8°. A-2B<sup>8</sup> 2C<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 49831  
 [194] 4 Legendario delle vergini 12 l. 4  
 [195] 2 Libro da scrima? l. 2  
 [196] 4 Logica Cesarijs 8° l. 1.16  
 [197] 3. Logica Pauli Veneti 8° l. - 16  
 Paolo Veneto <ca. 1386-1428?>, *Logica Pauli Veneti, quam vir ille sui temporis facile primus pari breuitate, ac perspicuitate conscripsit. Addidimus annotationes ad marginem, tabulas, figuras eaque omnia diligentissimè emendauimus*, Venetiis : apud Alexandrum Gryphium, 1580. 109, [3] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 34776  
 [198] 2 Logica Iavelli l. 3  
 Giovanni Crisostomo Javelli <ca. 1470-1538?>, *Logicae Chrysostomi Iauelli Ordinis Praedicatorum, compendium. Opere ac doctrina, iuxta librorum logicae Aristotelis ordinem mirabili breuitate confectum ... Quae omnia multo, quam antea, sunt à nobis accuratius emendata*, Venetiis : apud Fabium & Augustinum Zopinos fratres, 1582 (Venetiis : apud Fabium & Augustinum Zopinos fratres, 1582). 286, [2] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-2N<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40799  
 [199] 2 Lisuarti di Grecia l. 3  
*Lisuarte di Grecia*, In Venetia : [Camillo Pinzi?], 1581. [4], 275 c. ; 8°. p<sup>4</sup> A-2L<sup>8</sup> +. CNCE 1419  
 [200] 4 Libreria del Doni 12 l. 4.16  
 Anton Francesco Doni <1513-1574>, *La libreria del Doni fiorentino; nella quale sono scritti tutti gli autori volgari, con cento discorsi sopra quelli; tutte le tradottioni fatte dall'altre lingue, nella nostra, & vna tauola generale, come si costuma fra librari. Opera vtile a ciascuno che si diletta della lingua volgare, et che desidera fornire vno studio di libri, composti in essa lingua; di nuouo ristampata, & aggiuntiui tutti i libri volgari posti in luce da trenta anni in qua, & leuatoe fuori tutti gli autori, & libri prohibiti*, In Vinegia :

[al segno della Speranza] : presso Altobello Salicato, 1580. [12], 90 c. ; 12°. †<sup>12</sup> A-G<sup>12</sup> H<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 17717

[201] 7 Leandra 8°

l. 1.12

Pietro Durante <ca. 1450-ca. 1510>, *Libro d'arme et d'amore chiamato Leandra; nella quale troverai come Leandra si gittò giuso d'una torre per amore di Rinaldo, & poi narra tuttili gran fatti delli baroni di Francia, & primamente d'Orlando, e di Rinaldo. Novamente ristampata*, (Stampato in Venetia : per il Guadagnino in Frezzaria, all'insegna de Hyppogriffo, 1579). 143, [1] c. ; 8°. A-S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 63452

4 Leggi di Genova 4°

l. 1.4

[202] 2 Logica Toleti 4

l. 4

Probablement: Francisco Toledo <1532-1596>, *Francisci Toleti Societatis Iesu Commentaria, vna cum quaestionibus. In vniuersam Aristotelis logicam. Addito insuper indice locupletissimo quaestionum*, Venetiis : apud Iuntas, 1580 (Venetiis : apud Iuntas, 1580). [4], 246 c. ; 4°. a<sup>4</sup> A-S<sup>8</sup> T<sup>4</sup> V-2G<sup>8</sup> 2H<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 48102

2 Lisuart di Grecia / 114.6

[203] 1 Mantua in prima e 2<sup>a</sup> ff. noui f°

l. 2.10

Marco Mantova Benavides <1489-1582>, *Aequilibrii scolastici Mantuae Patauini, i. con. liber, in primam et secundam decretalium partem, (alii enim in partes Digestorum et Cod. iam pridem impressi sunt) nunc primum in studiosorum iuuenum gratiam editus*, Patauii : apud Paulum Mietum [!], 1581. 36 c. ; 2°. A-I<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 30592

[204] 1 Milleloquium iuris

l. – 10

Marco Mantova Benavides <1489-1582>, *Milleloquii iuris M. Mantuae Benavidii Patauini, iu. con. com. Palatini ... centuria prima, addito etiam in calce eiusdem commentariolo ad l. minime ff. de religio*, Patauij : apud Gratiolum Perchacinum, 1561. – [8], 146, [2] p. : 1 ritr. ; 4°. A-T<sup>4</sup> V<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 33732

[205] 2 Medicina delle donne

l. 4

Giovanni Marinelli <sec. 16.>, *Le medicine appartenenti alle infermità delle donne. Scritte per M. Giouanni Marinello, nuouamente da lui ampliate, & ricorrete: diuise in tre libri*, In Venetia : appresso Giouanni Valgriso al segno della Vittoria, 1574. [8], 329, [23] c. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup> A-2X<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 35777

[206] 3 Memoriale del Granata in 12

l. 3

Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Del memoriale della vita christiana, del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata, dell'Ordine de' predicatori parte prima [-seconda]...* In Vinegia : presso Giorgio Angelieri, 1581. 2 v. : ill. ; 12°. CNCE 28933

[207] 1 Manuale del Granata 12

l. – 10

Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Manuale di orationi, et spirituali essercitii. Composto dal r.p.f. Luigi di Granata, prouinciale di s. Domenico... Tradotto dalla spagnuola nella lingua italiana*, In Vinegia : presso Egidio Regazzola, 1573. 208, [6] p. , 12°. CNCE 38165

[208] 2 Marini freccia de seculis? f°

l. 18

[209] 2 Michaelis Timothui diuinum officium

l. 2.8

Michele Timoteo <sec. 16.>, *Michaelis Timothei Gateensis, v.i.d. In diuinum officium, trecentum quaestiones. In decem tractatus partitae; vt in sequenti pagina videtur*, Venetiis : apud Franciscum Zilettum, 1581. [16], 144 c. ; 8°. a-b<sup>8</sup> A-S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 48093

[210] 3 Monardes, delle cose medi<che> di India

l. 9

Nicolas Monardes <ca. 1493-ca. 1578>, *Delle cose, che vengono portate dall'Indie Occidentali pertinenti all'vso della medicina. Raccolte, & trattate dal dottor Nicolò Monardes, ... parte prima [-seconda]. Nouamente recata dalla spagnuola nella nostra lingua italiana. Doue ancho tratta de' veneni, & della lor cura. Aggiuntui doi indici*, In Venetia :

tre emissioni con data 1582. [16], 249 [i.e. 243, 13] p. : ill. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup>A-Q<sup>8</sup>. IT\ICCU\BVEE\006104, IT\ICCU\TO0E\076713 e IT\ICCU\SIPE\012054

[211] 2 Meditazioni s. Bonaventura 8° I. – 12

*Meditationes vitae Christi* <in italiano> *Le deuote, & pie meditationi di s. Bonauentura cardinale. Sopra il misterio dell'humana redentione. Nuouamente con somma diligentia ristampata, & ricoretta, & di varie figure adornata*, In Venetia : appresso Domenico Cauallalupo, 1581. 187, [5] p. : ill. ; 12°. A-M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 65209

[212] 1 Meditazioni dello Scalvo I. – 15

Bartolomeo Scalvo <m. 1583>, *Meditationi del Rosario della gloriosa Maria Vergine nuouamente ristampate con figure a ciascuna meditatione acomodate*, (In Venetia : appresso Domenico, et Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1583). [12], 401 [i.e. 399, 69] p. : ill. ; 8. A-2G<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 37500

[213] 4 Manipulus curatorum 16 vol. I. 3

Guido de Monte Rocherii <fl. 1333>, *Manipulus curatorum, sommamente necessario ad ogni sacerdote. Al quale s' è aggiunto lo Specchio di chiesa del reuerendissimo cardinale Vgone primo, doue sono compresi tutti i misterij della messa*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Domenico Cauallalupo, 1581). 56 c. : ill. ; 16°. A-II<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 48904

[214] 6 Meditazioni s. Agostino 16 I. 3

*Le deuote meditationi di s. Agostino. Con li soliloqui & il manuale. Nella volgar lingua tradotto*, In Venetia : presso Gio. Antonio Bertano, 1576. [10], 376 [i.e. 368] p. : ill. ; 12°. A-2A<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 59644

#### **Meditazioni del rosario 12**

[215] 1 Marquard de coelibatu sacerdotum I. – 15

Marquardo Susanna <m. 1578>, *Tractatus de coelibatu sacerdotum non abrogando, Marquardi de Susanis iurisconsulti Vtinensis. In quo plura et de virginibus per solemne votum Deo dicatis, & viduarum conditione, & de concubinis & earum filijs. Ad communem fidelium et studiosorum vtilitatem in lucem editus. Cum summariis & repertorio*, Venetiis : [al segno della Fontana], 1565 (Venetiis : apud Cominum de Tridino Montisferrati, 1565). [16], 81, [1] c. : ill. ; 4°. \*4-4<sup>4</sup>A-V<sup>4</sup>X<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 24790

[216] 9 Maestro Grillo, medico I. – 18

Pierfrancesco da Camerino, *Opera nuoua piaceuole et da ridere; d'vno villano lauoratore, nominato Grillo, il quale volse diuentare medico; nouamente composta in ottaua rima. Aggiuntoui di nuouo alquante stanze*, (Stampata in Firenze : apresso Batista Pagolini, 1582). [24]c. : ill. ; 8°. A-C<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 74427

[217] 6 Meditazioni Loarte 12 I. 2.8

Gaspar de Loarte <m. 1578>, *Meditationi della Passione di Nostro Sig: Del reuer. p. dottor Loarte della Compagnia di Iesu. Di nuouo reuiste, et ristampate con agiunta d'altre meditationi*, [15..]. 93, [3] p. : 18 ill. ; 8°. CNCE 70987

[218] 2 Modus examinandi 12 I. 1.4

Il s'agit probablement de *Modus examinandi sacrorum ordinum candidatos, m. Ioannis Holtusij Kempensis novissime excusus* di Joannes Holthusius, <m. 1617>. L'édition plus proche selon Edit16, est Brixiae : apud Franciscum et P. Mariam fratres de Marchettis (Brixiae : apud Vincentium Sabium, sumptibus Francisci & Petri Mariae fratrum de Marchettis, 1577). [12], 168 c. : ill., vignette xil. ; 12°. [crocedimalta]<sup>12</sup> A-O<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 22940

[219] 1 Methodus Io. Camilla 4° I. – 6

Giovanni Camilla, *De ordine ac methodo in scientia seruandis liber vnus nunc primum in*

*lucem editus a Ioanne Camillo*, Venetiis : apud Paulum Manutium, 1561. 29, [3] c. ; 4°. A-H<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 8694

[220] 1 *Monarchi duo* 4° 1. – 10

Ventura Falconetti, *Laelii, siue Monarchi duo*, Ventura Coeco Academico Trauagliato auctore, Bononiae : excudebat Ioannes Rubeus auspice Mercurio, 1563 (Bononiae : per Ioannem Rubeum typographum Venetum Bononiensique ciuitate donatum). 87, [1] p. ; 4°. A-L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 18510

[221] 1 *Nizolius in M. T C observat.* 1. 8

Mario Nizzoli <1498-1566>, *Marii Nizolii Brixellensis In M. T. Ciceronem obseruationes vtilissimae: omnia illius verba, vniuersamque dictionem alphabeti ordine complectentes, totiusque Latinae linguae vsum methodo tam commoda demonstrantes, vt eae solae omnium grammaticorum, omniumque hoc in genere commentariorum vice esse possint ... Eiusdem Marii Nizolii libellus, in quo vulgaria quaedam uerba, & parum Latina, ad purissimam Ciceronis consuetudinem emendantur, ab eodem & accuratius limatus, & locis non paucis auctus...* Venetiis : apud Ioannem Mariam Bonellum, 1561. [4], 429, [7] c. ; fol. CNCE 26218

[222] 2 *Novelli fiori spirituali* 1. 2.8

Giovanni Francesco Domenicucci, *Nouelli fiori per i peccatori, raccolti dal reuerendo p.f. Gio. Fran. Dominicucci da Montorio. Libro primo, diuiso in cinque parte principali. Con la tauola delle cose piu notabili, che nell'opera si contiene*, In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581). [8], 195 [i.e.203], [1] c. ; 8°. [croce]<sup>8</sup>, A-2B<sup>8</sup>, 2C<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 17596

[223] 1 *Novissimi del Gesualdo* 4° 1. 6

Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo <n. 1496>, *Ragionamenti sopra i nouissimi prima parte. Della corporea morte: et del'uniuersal giudicio. Opra di Giouanni Andrea Gesualdo*, In Napoli : appresso Giuseppe Cacchij, 1577 (Neapoli : apud Giosephum Cacchium, 1577). 2pt. ([20], 183 [i.e.193], [1] ; 359, [5]) c. ; 4°. a<sup>6</sup>b<sup>4</sup>c<sup>8</sup>d<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>8</sup>B<sup>4</sup>C-Z<sup>8</sup> Aa<sup>8</sup>Bb<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 20734

[224] 1 *Nicolai Despheratis, de beneficiorum* 1. – 4

[225] 1 *Novellae constitutionis* 8° 1 – 12

Corpus iuris civilis. *Volumen parvum, Nouellae constitutiones diui Caesaris Iustiniani, quae authentica vulgo appellant. Tres codicis libri posteriores. Feudorum libri duo. Constitutiones Friderici II imp. Extrauagantes duae Henrici VII imp. Libellus de pace Constantiae. Omnia diligentissime recognita, et emendata. Editio postrema*, Venetiis : [Francesco De Franceschi, Gaspare Bindoni il vecchio, eredi di Niccolò Bevilacqua, Damiano Zenaro], 1574. [20], 359, [1], 226, [2], 145, [3] p. ; 4°. \*<sup>10</sup> a-y<sup>8</sup> z<sup>4</sup> 2a-2o<sup>8</sup> 2p<sup>2</sup>, [2]2a-2h<sup>8</sup> [2]2i<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 13457

[226] 1 *Omiliario del Pittorio foglio* 1. 3.10

Lodovico Pittorio <1454-1525>, *Homiliario quadragesimale di m. Lodouico Pittorio da Ferrara, fondato di parola in parola sopra tutte l'Epistole et Euangeli, che corrono ogni giorno per tutto l'anno, secondo l'ordine della Chiesa romana. Con le diuisioni delle Epistole & Euangeli, che per innanzi mancauano. Nuouamente ristampato, da molti errori corretto, et di bellissime figure adornato*, In Venetia : appresso Altobello Salicato, 1578. 2 v. : ill. ; 2°. 1: [8], 171, [1] p. - Segn.: †<sup>4</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup> L<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 30532

[227] 1 *Orationum Victorij* 4° 1. – 4 / 76.14

Pietro Vettori, <1499-1585>, auteur de *Orationes* mais on n'a pas de notices relatives à des éditions d'ensemble.

[228] 2 *Omellie di Gioianni del Bene* 1. 4

Giovanni Del Bene, *Sermoni, ouero homelie deuote del reuerendo m. Giouanni Del Bene, veronese, sopra gli euangelii di tutto l'anno. Secondo l'ordine della s. madre Chiesa, vtili*



*ad ogni fedel christiano. Nouamente corretto, & ristampato*, In Venetia : appresso Fiorin Franceschini, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Piero Pagani, et Fiorin Franceschini fratelli).

[8], 440 c. ; 8°. †<sup>s</sup>A-3I<sup>s</sup>. CNCE 16390

[229] 3 Orlando innamorato Boiardo 4° l. 9

Matteo Maria Boiardo <ca 1441-1494>, *Orlando innamorato del s. Matteo Maria Boiardo, conte di Scandiano. Insieme co i tre libri di Nicolo de gli Agostini. Nuouamente stampato e riorretto con noui argomenti, allegorie, & figure ad ogni canto*, In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Agostin Zoppini fratelli, 1580 (In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Agostin Zoppini fratelli, 1580). [4], 438 c. : ill. ; 4°. A<sup>4</sup>, A-<sup>Z8</sup> Aa-Zz<sup>8</sup> Aaa-Hhh<sup>8</sup> Iii<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 6627

[230] 4 Orlando furioso 24 l. 4.16

Ludovico Ariosto <1474-1533>, *Orlando furioso di m. Ludouico Ariosto. Tutto riorretto, & di nuoue figura adornato. Aggiuntoui per ciascun canto alcune bellissime allegorie. Et di nuouo postoui i cinque canti del medesimo auttore*, In Venetia : appresso Paulo Zanfretti, 1582. 562, [2] c. : ill. ; 24°. CNCE 2802

[231] 4 Orlando furioso 8° l. 4.10

Ludovico Ariosto <1474-1533>, *Orlando furioso di m. Lodouico Ariosto. Con gli argomenti in ottaua rima di m. Lodouico Dolce, et con le allegorie a ciascun canto, di Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Aretino. Con la tauola di tutte le cose, che nell'opera si contengono*, In Venetia : appresso Horatio de Gobbi, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Horatio de' Gobbi, 1581). [316] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-2Q<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 65106

[232] 1 Opera Tullij 8° Lambini l.16

Peut-être l'édition des *Opera* de Cicéron par Denis Lambin, <1516-1572>, Venetiis : [al segno della Concordia], 1579 (Venetiis, 1579). [64], 942 [i.e.904] p. ; 8°. CNCE 12451

[233] 1 Opere del Granata in 4° 12 l. 1?

Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Tutte le opere del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata, dell'Ordine de' predicatori. Nuouamente da lui stesso emendate, accresciute, & quasi formate di nuouo. Tradotte dalla lingua spagnuola, nella nostra italiana. Et migliorate di molte correctioni in questa seconda impressione*, In Vinegia : presso Giorgio Angelieri, 1581. 6 v. ; 12°. IT\ICCU\CNCE\028938

[234] 1. Opere del Granata in 4° l. 15

Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Tutte le opere del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata dell'Ordine de' predicatori, ultimamente da lui stesso emendate, accresciute, & quasi formate di nuouo. Tradotte dalla lingua spagnuola, nella nostra italiana. Con l'aggiunta di molte annotationi, & d'vna prattica del viuer christiano*. Impressione terza. In Vinegia : presso Giorgio Angelieri, 1582. 5 v. : ill. ; 4°. CNCE 28954

[235] 3 Opere di don Serafino da Fermo 8° l. 4

Serafino Aceti de' Porti <1496-1540>, *Opere del r.p.d. Serafino da Fermo, canonico regolare, & predicatore rarissimo. Nelle quali alcune sono state aggiunte che nelle altre impressioni non erano*, In Venetia : per Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1569. 427 c. ; 8°. CNCE 190

[236] 3 Ouidio dell'Anguillara 4° l. 9

Publius Ovidius Naso, *Le Metamorfofi di Ouidio, ridotte da Giouanni Andrea dell'Anguillara, in ottaua rima, impressione settima. ... Di nuouo dal proprio auttore riuedute, et corrette, con l'annotationi di m. Giosepe Horologgi, con postille, et con gli argomenti nel principio di ciascun libro di m. Francesco Turchi*, In Venetia : appresso Camillo Franceschini, 1581. [4], 268 c. ; 4°. a4 A-2K<sup>8</sup> 2L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 41564

[237] 4 Ouidio dell'Anguillara 8° l. 6

Publius Ovidius Naso, *Le Metamorfofi di Ouidio, ridotte da Giouanni Andrea*

dell'Anguillara in ottava rima: e di nuouo da esso riuedute, & corrette. Con l'annotationi di m. Gioseppe Horologgi, et con gli argomenti di m. Francesco Turchi, In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1580). 230 [i.e. 232] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-Z<sup>8</sup> Aa-Ff<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 34476

[238] 2 Ouidio del Maretti 4° 1. 6

[239] 3 Osservazioni del Calestani 1. 12

Girolamo Calestani <1510-1582?>, *Delle osseruazioni di Girolamo Calestani parte prima [-seconda]*, In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1580. 2 v. ; 4°. 1: [48], 194 [i.e. 190], [2] p. A<sup>8</sup> b-c<sup>8</sup>, <sup>2</sup>A<sup>8</sup> B-M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 8491

[240] 2 Orazioni di diversi autori prima e 2<sup>a</sup> parte 1. 8

### 5-Ortensio Comedia 12

[241] 1 Orbecche tragedia 8° 1. - 6

Giovanni Battista Giraldi <1504-1573>, *Orbecche tragedia di M. Gio. Battista Giraldi Cinthio da Ferrara. Di nuouo corretta secondo l'originale dell'Auttore, et ristampata*, In Venetia : appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnacini, 1583 (In Venetia : appresso Paulo Zanfretti, 1583). 135, [1] p. ; 8°. CNCE 21285:

[242] 1 Orationi d'Isocrate grece 1. 1

*Isocratous Logoi apantes, kai Epistolai. Arpokrations kai Souida peri tinon par'Isokratei lexeon. Isocratis orationes partim doctorum virorum opera, partim meliorum exemplarium collatione, nunc demum multo quam antea emendatiores excusae. Adiecimus quoque Hieronymi Vuolsij Oetingensis non omnium modo orationum argumenta, sed & marginum annotationes*, Basileae : per Thomam Guarinum, 1579 (Basileae : per Thomam Guarinum, 1579). 64], 681 [i.e. 671], [1] p. ; 8°. [alfa]-[delta]<sup>8</sup> a-z<sup>8</sup> A-T<sup>8</sup>. IT\ICCU\URBE\005067

[243] 1 Orationi di Demostene grece 1. 1.10

Demosthenes, *Demosthenous Logon tmema proton [-triton]. Demosthenis Orationum pars prima [-tertia]. In qua deliberatiuae sexdecim eius orationes, una cum exordiis deliberatiuis, & duae demonstratiuae continentur*, Venetiis : corrigente Paulo Manutio Aldi filio, 1554 (Venetiis : in aedibus Pauli Manutii Aldi filii, 1554). 3 v. ; 8°. CNCE 16746

[244] 8 Ore di ricreazione 1. 4

Lodovico Guicciardini <1521-1589>, *L'hore di ricreazione di m. Lodouico Guicciardini patricio fiorentino. Nouamente stampate & con somma diligenza corrette*, In Venetia : appresso Iacomo Ghedini in Frezzaria al segno della Fede, 1579. 350, [50] p. ; 16°. CNCE 71784

[245] 11 Osservazioni del Dolce 1. 8.5

Lodovico Dolce <1508-1568>, *I quattro libri delle osseruazioni di m. Lodouico Dolce; di nuouo ristampate, et con somma diligenza corrette. Con le postille, & due tauole: una de' capitoli, & l'altra delle voci; & come si deono usare nello scriuere*, In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1580. 238, [2] p. ; 8°. A-P<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 17417

[246] 2 Oratij 8° 1. 1.10

[247] 3 Orlando furioso 4° guera 1. 9

Référence à l'édition (In Venetia : appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra fratelli, 1582) [338] c. : ill. ; in 4°. a<sup>8</sup> A-2R<sup>8</sup> 2S<sup>10</sup>. CNCE 2801?

[248] 2 Ornamenti delle donne 1. 4

Giovanni Marinelli, *Gli ornamenti delle donne, scritti per m. Giouanni Marinello. Et diuisi in quattro libri, con due tauole, vna de' capitoli, e l'altra d'alcune cose particolari. Opera utile, et necessaria ad ogni gentile persona*, In Venetia : appresso Giouanni

- Valgrisio, al segno della Vittoria, 1574 (In Venetia : appresso Giouanni Valgrisio, al segno della Vittoria, 1574). [8], 376, [36] c. ; 8°. a<sup>8</sup> A-3E<sup>8</sup> 3F<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 35778
- [249] 1 Ottomari de gradibus cognitionis 1. – 10
- [250] 5 Comedie Ortensio 12 1. 2
- Alessandro Piccolomini <1508-1578>, *L'Hortensio, comedia de gl'Accademici Intronati. Rappresentata in Siena alla presenza del sereniss. gran duca di Toscana il dì XXVI di gennaio MDLX. Quando visitò la prima uolta quella città*, In Siena : per Luca Bonetti, 1576. 236, [4] p. ; 12°. A-K<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 26417
- [251] Plinio historia naturale 1. 7 / 129.17
- Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturale di G. Plinio Secondo, tradotta per m. Lodouico Domenichi. Con le postille in margine, nelle quali, o vengono segnate le cose notabili, o citati altri auttori, che della stessa materia habbiano scritto, o dichiarati i luoghi difficili, o posti i nomi di geografia moderni. Et con le tauole copiosissime di tutto quel che nell'opera si contiene*, In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Griffio, 1580 (In Venetia : appresso Fabio, & Augustin Zoppini, fratelli, 1580), 57 [i.e. 55], [1], 1188 p. ; 4°. CNCE 34778
- [252] 1 Polibio historico 4° 1. 3
- [253] 2 Paolo Emilio delle cose di Francia 1. 10
- Paolo Emili <1460-1529>, *Historia delle cose di Francia raccolta fedelmente da Paolo Emilio da Verona, e recata hora a punpunto [!] dalla latina in questa nostra lingua volgare*, edizione nota: [Venezia : Michele Tramezzino il vecchio] (In Venetia : per Michele Tramezzino, 1549). [28], 354, [2] c. ; 4°. CNCE 18075
- [254] 3 Panoto 8° 1. 7.10
- Domenico Romoli, *La singolare dottrina di m. Domenico Romoli soprannominato Panoto, dell'ufficio dello scalco, de i condimenti di tutte le uiuande, le stagioni che si conuengono a tutti gli animali, et uccelli, et pesci, banchetti di ogni tempo, et mangiare da apparecchiarsi di dì, in dì, per tutto l'anno a prencipi... Nel fine un breue trattato del reggimento della sanità...* [Venezia : Michele Tramezzino] (Venezia : per Michele Tramezzino, 1570). [16], 376 c. ; 8°. a-b<sup>8</sup> A-3A<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 35432
- [255] 1 Petri Victorij in retorica f° 1. 7
- Palatino per scriuere
- [256] 4 Prose del Firenzuola, Fiorenza 1. 6
- Agnolo Firenzuola <1493-1543>, *Prose di m. Agnolo Firenzuola fiorentino*, In Fiorenza : appresso i Giunti, 1562 (In Fiorenza : appresso gli heredi di Bernardo Giunti, 1562). [8], 369 [i.e. 367, 1] p. : ill. ; 8°. A-B<sup>6</sup> C-2A<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19212
- [257] 1 Prediche del Granata 4° 1. 10
- Luis de Granada <1504-1588>, *Prediche del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata dell'Ordine de' predicatori. Diuise in tre parti: la prima delle quali è sopra le domeniche dell'Auuento, et altre domeniche sino alla Quaresima, et sopra la festiuità di Natale, Circoncisione, et Epifania, la seconda è sopra le domeniche, quarte e seste ferie di Quaresima, sino alla domenica di Resurrettione, la terza e dalla Resurrettione sino alla festa del Corpo di Christo. Nuouamente di latino in lingua volgare tradotte dal r.m. Gio. Maria Tarsia fiorentino. Con due tauole copiosissime: l'vna de' sommarii di esse prediche, et l'altra delle cose più notabili*, In Vinegia : appresso Antonio Ferrari, 1581. 3 v. ; 4°. CNCE 40057
- [258] 1 Prediche del Cornelio 4°<sup>13</sup> taurino 1. 9
- Forse: Cornelio Musso <1511-1574>, *Prediche del reuerendissimo monsignor f. Cornelio Musso, vescouo di Bitonto. Fatte in diuersi tempi, et in diuersi luoghi. Nuouamente*

<sup>13</sup> 4° corrigé sur f°.

*ristampate, et poste per ordine. Con l'aggiunta di quattro nuoue, non più vedute in luce. Ridotte tutte in dui libri soli; & con somma diligentia reuiste & corrette, per beneficio de gli studiosi. Con due tauole, l'vna delle prediche, l'altra delle cose piu notabili, In Vinegia : appresso i Gioliti, 1582 (In Vinegia : appresso i Gioliti). 2 v. ([48], 854, [2]; [40], 974 p.): ill. ; 4°. a-c<sup>8</sup>A-3G<sup>8</sup> 3H<sup>4</sup>; a-b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>4</sup> A-3P<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 27566*

[259] 2 Prediche Savonarola 8° 1. 3

Actuellement, il n'y a pas d'édition italienne connue des Sermons de Savonarola après 1545.

[260] 2 Prediche del Stemma 8° 1. 7

[261] 4 Petrarca con commento Gesualdo 1. 20

Francesco Petrarca, *Il Petrarca con l'espositione di m. Gio. Andrea Gesualdo. Nuouamente ristampato, e con somma diligenza corretto, et ornato di figure. Con doi tauole, vna de' sonetti e canzoni, et l'altra di tutte le cose degne di memoria, che in essa espositione si contengono*, In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Griffio, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Griffio, 1582). [28], 413 [i.e.415], [1] p. : ill. ; 4°. \*82\*83\*12 A-3F<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 47372

[262] 4 Petrarca Velluttello 4° 1. 10

*Il Petrarca con l'espositione di m. Alessandro Vellutello: di nuouo ristampato con le figure a i Trionfi, con le apostille, e con piu cose utili aggiunte*, In Venetia : appresso Nicolo Beuilacqua, 1563 (In Venetia : appresso Nicolo Beuilacqua, 1563). [12], 213, [3] c. : ill. ; 4°. \*8 2\*4 A-2D<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 33478

[263] 3 Pantaleonis, de quantitate sillab. 16 1. 3

Pantaleón Bartelon, *Pantaleontis Bartelonaei Rauerini De ratione quantitatis syllabariae liber : de varijs carminum generibus, comicorum autem praecipue lucubratio. De accentibus, seu tonis tractatus. De figuris poemati frequentibus epitome. Roberti Vuidij Tornodoraei de Graecis dialectis libellus. Ars versificatoria, ex libro decimo epitome despaut. auth. Pelliss. Accessit denique Thomae Corraeae De prosodia & versus componendis ratione, Libellus*, Venetiis : apud Altobellum Salicatum, 1580. 2 pt. (118 [i.e. 218], [6]; 45, [3] c.) ; 16°. A-2E<sup>8</sup>; 2A-2F<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 4286

[264] 12 Pasti ? per lo mondi? in 24 1. 3

[265] 1 Politica del Paruta foglio 1. 4.10

Paolo Paruta <1540-1598>, *Della perfettione della vita politica di m. Paolo Paruta nobile vinitiano, libri tre: ne' quali si ragiona delle virtù morali, & di tutto ciò, che s'appartiene alla felicità ciuile. Nuouamente con diligenza ristampati...* In Venetia : appresso Domenico Nicolini, 1582. [24], 315, [1] p. ; fol. a-c<sup>4</sup> A-2Q<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 31741

[266] 2 Pratica di Benedetto Vittorio 1. 3

Benedetto Vittori <1481-1561>, *Practicae magnae Benedicti Victorii Fauentini, medici, ac philosophi praestantissimi de morbis curandis ad Tyrones tomi duo, quorum alter agit de morbis curandis capitis et membrorum ei attinentium, alter vero de morbis curandis membrorum spirationi obseruientium... Nunc primum omni adhibita diligentia excusum, ac in lucem editum. Cum indicibus capitum in fine tomorum positus*, Venetiis : apud Vincentium Valgrisium, 1562. [4], 316, [4] p. ; fol. a<sup>2</sup> A-2C<sup>6</sup> 2D. CNCE 38159

[267] 2 Piccolomini della grandezza dell'acqua 1. 1.10

Alessandro Piccolomini <1508-1578>, *Della grandezza della terra et dell'acqua. Trattato di m. Alessandro Piccolomini, nuouamente mandato in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Giordano Ziletti, all'insegna della Stella, 1561. [4], 43, [1] carte : ill. ; 4° \*4 A-L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40954

[268] 2 Postilla maioris 8° 1. 7

Platiz

Parentadi comedia

Pinzucchera comedia

[269] 1 Pratica dell'orazion mentale l. – 15

Mattia Bellintani <1535-1611>, *Prattica dell'oration mentale. Di f. Mathia Bellintani da Salò, dell'ordine de' frati di s. Francesco Capuccini. Opera molto utile per quelle diuote persone, che desiderano occuparsi nell'oratione con frutto e gusto*, In Venetia, 1580 (In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto, 1580). [4], 221 [i.e. 223], [1] c. ; 12° [croce]<sup>6</sup>, A-S<sup>12</sup> T<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 4918

[270] 1 Purificazione della coscienza l. – 6

Agustín de Esbarroya <m. 1554>, *Libro chiamato Purificatore della coscienza, nel quale si contengono due trattati, l'uno della contritione, l'altro di alcune regole, per conoscere, quando qual si uoglia pensiere, parola, & opera sia, o non sia peccato mortale. Composto dal padre maestro frate Agostino di Sbarroia dell'ordine di san Domenico. Tradotto poi di lingua spagnuola in italiana da Giulio Costantini proposto di Ricanati*, In Venetia : [al segno della Fontana], 1581. [6], 113 [i.e.114] c. ; 12°. \*<sup>6</sup> A-I<sup>12</sup> K<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 18283

[271] 4 Palatino da scrivere l. 3 / 118.15

Giovanni Battista Palatino, *Compendio del gran volume de l'arte del bene et leggiadramente scriuere tutte le sorti di lettere et caratteri. Con le regole, misure, & essempli, di m. Giouanbattista Palatino cittadino romano. Da lui medesimo cauato & ristretto, con ogni possibile breuita nel presente trattato. Con un nuouo breue & util discorso delle cifre...* In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchio Sessa, 1578 (In Venetia : per gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto, 1578). [62] c. : ill., 1 ritr. ; 4°. A-G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 30282

[272] 14 Plazoni Milano l. 7

[273] 2 Palmerino d'Oliua l. 3

Palmerin de Oliva <in italiano>, *La historia, doue si ragiona de i valorosi, et gran gesti, et amori, dell' inuitto caualiero Palmerino d'Oliua, tradotta dal spagnuolo nell'idioma italiano. Nuouamente da molti errori corretta, & ristampata*, In Venetia : per Enea de Alaris, 1575. 324 c. ; 8°. CNCE 62875

[274] 2 Platiz? con gionta l. 9

[275] 1 Rinaldi Corsi de privata reconciliationis l. – 7

Rinaldo Corso <1525-1582>, *Rainaldi Corsi De priuata reconciliatione liber*, Romae : apud Antonium Bladum, 1563. 26 c. ; 4°. A-E<sup>4</sup> F<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 13561

[276] 4 Ricettario da speciali 12 l. 4

Arte dei medici e speziali <Firenze>, *Il ricettario medicinale necessario a tutti i medici, & speziali, nel quale con bellissimo ordine si insegna tutto quello, che si puo desiderare intorno alla cognizione del prouedere, eleggere, conseruare, preparare, & comporre qual si voglia sorte di medicamento; secondo l'uso de' migliori e piu eccellenti medici, di nuouo per ordine de' serenissimi gran duca, et principe di Toscana ricorretto, et ampliato da' Dodici Riformatori periti di tal'Arte, et eletti da loro altezze serenissime...* In Fiorenza : nella stamperia dei Giunti, 1574 (In Fiorenza : nella stamperia dei Giunti, 1574). [28], 108, 108a-d, 109-278, [30] p. : ill. ; 2°. a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>8</sup> A-H<sup>6</sup> I<sup>8</sup> K-Z<sup>6</sup> 2A<sup>2</sup> 2B-2C<sup>6</sup> 2D<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 3197

[277] 1 Rettorica Cavalcanti l. 3

Bartolomeo Cavalcanti <1503-1562>, *La retorica di m. Bartolomeo Caualcanti, gentilhuomo fiorentino. Diuisa in VII libri. Doue si contiene tutto quello che appartiene all'arte oratoria. Con le postile di m. Pio Portinaio giureconsulto, che dimostrano, sommariamente tutto quello, che vi si tratta. Et con la tauola de i capi principali contenuti nella presente opera. Nuouamente ristampata, & corretta*, In Venetia : appresso Camillo

- Franceschini, 1578. [8], 571, [5] p. ; 4°. †<sup>4</sup> A-2N<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 10440  
 [278] 12 Ricettario di Galeno 8° 1. 3  
 Claudius Galenus, *Recettario di Galeno ottimo e probato a tutte le infermità ... tradotto in volgare per Ioanne Saraceno*, In Milano : per Vincenzo de Girardoni, ad instantia de Mattheo da Besozo, [non prima del 1562]. 64 c. : ill. ; 8°. CNCE 27898  
 [279] 4 Rosario della madonna 8° 1. 3  
 [280] 10 Rosario della madonna 12 1. 3  
 [281] 6 Ricordi di mons Saba 1. 9  
 Sabba Castiglione <1480-1554>, *Ricordi ouero ammaestramenti di monsig. Sabba Castiglione, cavalier gerosolimitano. Ne i quali con prudenti, e christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano à un vero gentilhuomo*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franc. padouano, 1582 (In Venetia, 1582). 276, [4] c. ; 8°. A-2M<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 10181  
 [282] 4 Rettorica Tullij ad Herennium 1. 2.8  
 La Retorica di M. Tullio Cicerone a Gaio Herennio, ridotta in alberi, con tanto ordine, & con essempli così chiari, & ben collocati, che ciascuno potrà da se con mirabile facilità apprenderla. Da m. Oratio Toscanella, della famiglia di maestro Luca Fiorentino, posta in luce. Di nuouo ristampata, & aggiuntoui tre tauole, una de i nomi proprij, l'altra de i capi generali, la terza de i capi particolari, con altri miglioramenti, In Vinegia : appresso Lodouico Auanzi, 1566 (In Vinegia : per Giouanni Griffio, ad instantia di M. Lodouico de gli Auanzi, 1566). [14] , 173 , [1] c. ; 4°. \*<sup>4</sup> 2\*<sup>2</sup> a-b<sup>4</sup> A-C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E-X<sup>4</sup> Y<sup>2</sup> Z-2X<sup>4</sup> 2Y<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 29957  
 [283] 3 Rime e satire dell'Ariosto 12 1. 1.10  
 Ludouico Ariosto <1474-1533>, *Rime et satire di m. Lodouico Ariosto. Da lui scritte nella sua giouentù. Con l'annotationi intorno a' concetti; et con breui dichiarazioni d'alcune historie, che in esse si contengono. Di m. Francesco Turchi treuigiano*, In Venetia : appresso Oratio de' Gobbi, 1581. 2 pt. (118, [2]; 60 p.) ; 12°. A-E<sup>12</sup>; A-B<sup>12</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 2800  
 [284] 30 Rime del Caporali 12 1. 12  
 Cesare Caporali <1531-1601>, *Rime piacevoli...* Attualmente non sono note edizioni precedenti a quella segnalata da EDIT16 CNCE 9205: In Parma : [Erasmo Viotti], 1584. Le DBI cite una *Raccolta di alcune rime piacevoli* (Parma 1582).  
**Reggimento del padre di famiglia**  
 [285] 1 Rettorica Soario 8° 1. -10  
 Cipriano Suárez <1524-1593>, *De arte rhetorica libri tres. Ex Aristotele, Cicerone & Quintiliano praecipue deprompti. Auctore Cypriano Soario, sacerdote Societatis Iesu*, Veronae : apud Sebastianum a Donnis, 1582. [6], 90, [8] c. ; 8°. A-O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 25389  
 [286] 7? Rime e prose Gio. Della Casa 12 1. 3.12  
 Giovanni Della Casa <1503-1556>, *Rime, et prose di m. Giouanni Della Casa. Riscontrate con li migliori originali, et ricorrette con grandissima diligenza*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, et fratelli, 1582. [2], 56 p. ; 12°. π B-C<sup>12</sup> D<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 16487  
 [287] 3 Ragionamento familiare 4° Bressa 1. 3.12  
 Ilarione da Genova <m. 1585>, *Discorso, o familiare ragionamento, di tre triplicati ogetti, intorno alla natiuita del Signore. Da essere auuertiti da chi desidera far profitto nella vita spirituale*, In Brescia : appresso Pietro Maria Marchetti, 1581 (In Brescia : appresso Pietro Maria Marchetto, 1582). 6, 144, [2] p. ; 4°. A-B<sup>4</sup> C-K<sup>8</sup> L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 28353  
 [288] 2 Secretti di don Alessio 1. 3  
 Girolamo Ruscelli <ca. 1500-1566>, *De' secretti del reuerendo don Alessio Piemontese parte prima [-terza]. Di nuouo riueduta, corretta, & ampliata in piu luoghi. Con la tauola*

*per trouar le ricette con ogni commodita*, In Venetia : [Giacomo Leoncini] : appresso Alessandro Gardane, 1580. 3 v. ; 8°. CNCE 75106

[289] 2 Secreti di don Timoteo l. 3

Timotheo Rossello, *Della summa de' secreti vniuersali in ogni materia, parte prima, di don Timotheo Rossello : si per huomini, & donne d'alto ingegno, come ancora per medici, & ogni sorte d'artefici industriosi, & ad ogni persona virtuosa accomodate*, In Venetia : [Grazioso Percacino], 1580 (In Venetia, 1580). 2 v. ; 8°. 1: [8], 152 c. †<sup>8</sup>, A-T<sup>8</sup>. 2: 152 c. A-T<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 47634

[290] 1 Somma silvestrina 4° l. 10 / 85.19

Il devrait s'agir de la *Summa summarum que Siluestrina dicitur* de Silvestro Mazzolini, <1456?-1523>. L'édition la plus proche de la date de l'inventaire est: [Lyon: Jacques Giunta: Jean Flajollet], 1545 2 v. (CCCXVI, [2] ; [3], CCCLV, [1] c.) ; 4°. IT\ICCU\UMCE\022243

[291] 1 Staphilei de literis gratie 8° l. 1.4

Giovanni Staffileo <1472-1528>, *Tractatus de literis gratiae quam necessarius iis qui animarum curam gerunt. Authoribus excellentissimi viris iureconsultis, Do. Ioanne Staphilæo. Ioanne Nicolao Gimono. Ludouico Gomes. Omni cum diligentia castigati. Cum indice locupletissimo*, Lugduni : apud Carolum Pesnot, 1573. [64], 428 [i.e. 528] p. ; 8°. a-d<sup>8</sup>, <sup>2</sup>a-z<sup>8</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup>. IT\ICCU\TO0E\034380

[292] 2 Specchio di scienza Fioravanti l. 4

Leonardo Fioravanti <1517?-1588?>, *Dello specchio di scientia vniuersale, dell'eccell. dottore, et caualier m. Leonardo Fiorauanti bolognese, libri tre. Nel primo de' quali si tratta di tutte l'arti liberali, & mecanice, & si mostrano tutti i secreti più importanti, che sono in esse. Nel secondo si tratta di diuerse scientie & di molte belle contemplationi de filosofi antichi. Nel terzo si contengono alcune inuentioni notabili, vtilissime, & necessarie da sapersi. Nuouamente ristampato, et con molte cose aggiunte*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1572. [16], 348 c. ; 8° a-b<sup>8</sup> A-2V<sup>8</sup> 2X<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 41824

[293] 1 Specchio lingua latina l. - 15

Giovanni Andrea Grifoni, *Specchio della lingua latina. Di Gio. Andrea Grifoni da Pesaro, professore delle letterere humane in Ferrara. Vtile e necessario a ciascuno che desidera con ogni prestezza essere vero latino & non barbaro. Con la tauola nel fine*, In Vinegia : appresso Egidio Regazzola, & Domenico Cauicalupo compagni, 1579. 152, [8] c. ; 8°. A-V<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 21804

[294] 2 Secreti del Fioravanti l. 2.8

Leonardo Fioravanti, *Del compendio de i secreti rationali. Dell'eccell. dottore, et caualiero m. Leonardo Fiorauanti bolognese. Libri cinque. Nel primo de' quali si tratta de' secreti più importanti nella professione medicinale. Nel secondo si insegnano molti secreti appartenenti alla cirugia, & si mostra il modo d'esercitarla. Nel terzo si contengono i secreti più veri, & più approuati nell'arte dell'alchimia. Nel quarto si scriuono molti belletti, che usano le donne per apparir belle. Nel quinto si comprendono i secreti più notabili in diuerse arti & exercitii. Con la tauola di tutti i capitoli*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1581 (In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1581). [20], 187, [1] c. : 1 ritr. ; 8°. \*<sup>8</sup> 2<sup>(8)</sup> 3<sup>(4)</sup> A-Z<sup>8</sup> 2A<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 19110

[295] 2 Seneca de benefizij 8° l. 2.8

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De benefizii, tradotto in volgar fiorentino da m. Benedetto Varchi. Di nuouo ristampato con la vita dell'autore*, In Fiorenza : nella stamperia dei Giunti, 1574. [32], 304 p. ; 8°. a-b<sup>8</sup> A-T<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 28440

[296] 6 Sermoni da nozze l. 1.4

Giuseppe Rodella <sec. XVI>, *Sermoni diuersi, da nozze, da conuiuio, da comunione*,

*et anco da morti, accommodati non solamente all'età, ma alli gradi, & qualità delle persone. Da p. Ioseph Rodella bresciano nuouamente composti, et à beneficio commune dati in luce. Con la tauola de' sermoni, che si contengono nella presente opera, Vinegia :* appresso Iacomo Vidali, 1576. 40 c. ; 8°. CNCE 49456

[297] 3 Somma della filosofia, Dolce 1.<sup>14</sup>

Lodovico Dolce <1508-1568>, *Somma della filosofia d'Aristotele, e prima della dialettica. Raccolta da m. Lodouico Dolce*, In Venetia : appresso Gio. Battista, & Marchiò Sessa, & fratelli, [1565?] (In Venetia : appresso Gio. Battista, Marchiò Sessa, et fratelli). 2 pt. ([4], 132 ; 104, [4] c.) : ill. ; 8°. \*<sup>4</sup> a-q<sup>8</sup> r<sup>4</sup> A-N<sup>8</sup> O<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 17386

[298] 2 Splandiano 1. 3

*Le prodezze di Splandiano, che seguono i quattro libri di Amadis di Gaula suo padre, tradotte dalla spagnola nella nostra lingua...* Venetia : appresso Camillo Franceschini, 1582. [8], 270 c. ; 8°. CNCE 1406

**Spiritata<sup>15</sup> comedia**

[299] 6. Strega comedia 1. 2.8

Antonfrancesco Grazzini <1503-1584>, *La strega. Comedia d'Antonfrancesco Grazzini, academico fiorentino, detto il Lasca. Nuouamente data in luce e non recitata mai*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, e fratelli, 1582. 59 [i.e. 63], [1] carte ; 12°. π A<sup>12</sup> A<sup>4</sup> B-E<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 21685

**Sibilla comedia<sup>16</sup>**

[300] 2 Significati della messa 1. 2.8

Lattanzio Ranfoli <m. 1588>, *Misteriosi significati delle parole, gesti, cerimonie, & altre cose appartenenti al santissimo sacrificio della messa. Con la sommaria dichiarazione del Simbolo, delle prefationi, del canone & dell'oratione dominicale. Raccolta da molti celebri dottori per il R.P.F. Lattantio Ranfoli orceano, lettore dell'ordine de' Praedicatori & Commissario del Sant'Officio in Venetia*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1582. 107 [i.e.207], [13] c. ; 12°. CNCE 40477

[301] 9 Significato de' colori 8° 1. 1.16

Fulvio Pellegrino Morato <m. 1549>, *Del significato de' colori e de' mazzoli*, Mantova : per Franc. Osanna, 1581. 84 [i.e. 82] p. ; 12°. A-C<sup>12</sup> D<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 55476

[302] 1 Scrutinium sacerdotale 12 1. 1.4

Fabio Incarnato, *Scrutinium sacerdotale, siue modus examinandi, tam in visitatione episcopali, quam in susceptione ordinum. A reu. d. Fabio Incarnato Neapolitano s theol. professore accumulatum ex pluribus Sacrae Scripturae voluminib. Ecclesiasticis hominib. ad sacros ordines promoueri volentibus, necnon omnibus curam animarum gerentib. Nunc recens ab ipso authore pluribus additionib. adornatum, et praesertim sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini annotationibus*, Venetiis : apud Valerium Bonellum, 1582. [24], 250 c. ; 12°. CNCE 52559

[303] 2 Somma Antonina 12 1. 1

<sup>14</sup> Montant non indiqué.

<sup>15</sup> Antonfrancesco Grazzini <1503-1584>, *La spiritata comedia d'Antonfrancesco Grazzini, academico fiorentino, detto il Lasca. Recitata in Bologna, e in Firenze al pasto del magnifico signore, il s. Bernardetto de Medici, il carnouale dell'anno 1560*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti e fratelli, 1582. CNCE 21684.

<sup>16</sup> Antonfrancesco Grazzini <1503-1584>, *La Sibilla. Comedia di Antonfrancesco Grazzini, Academico fiorentino, detto il Lasca, Stampata la prima volta, e non recitata mai*, In Vinegia : appresso Bernardo Giunti e fratelli, 1582. CNCE 21683.



- Antonino <santo>, *Somma Antonina, composta volgarmente da S. Antonino arcivescouo di Fiorenza, nella quale s'instruiscono i confessori, e i sacerdoti curati, con tutte quelle persone, che desiderano viuere christianamente. Di nuouo con molto studio, & diligenza corretta, & illustrata di argomenti, di tauole, & di figure de' parentadi, spirituale, legale, & cardinale, secondo la determinatione del Sacrosanto Concilio di Trento, & d'altre cose necessarie alla sua perfectione. Dal r.p. Francesco da Treuigi carmelitano*, In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1582. [24], 300 p. ; 12°. +<sup>12</sup> A-M<sup>12</sup> N<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 2088  
[304] 1 Senofonte greco f° 1. 1.4
- [305] 1 Supplimento delle croniche 4° 1. 9  
Giacomo Filippo Foresti <1434-ca. 1520>, *Sopplimento delle croniche vniuersali del mondo; di f. Giacopo Filippo da Bergamo; tradotto nuouamente da m. Francesco Sansouino; nel quale si contengono tutte le cose auuenute nel mondo, dalla creatione d'Adamo, fino a quest'anno presente 1581. Con i nomi de i re antichi di tutti i regni, de pontefici, de gli imperadori, & de prencipi, & letterati, che furono di tempo in tempo. Con due tauole; l'vna del primo, et l'altra del secondo volume, aggiunto dal detto Sansouino*, In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1581. 2 pt. ([20], 594; 157, [3] c.) : ill. ; 4.° †-2†<sup>8</sup> 3†<sup>4</sup> A-4D<sup>8</sup> 4E<sup>10</sup>; A-V<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19475  
[306] 2 Semplici dell'Anguillara 1. 1.4  
Luigi Anguillara <1512-1570>, *Semplici dell'eccellente m. Luigi Anguillara, liquali in piu pareri à diuersi nobili huomini scritti appaiono, et nuouamente da m. Giouanni Marinello mandati in luce*, In Vinegia : appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561. 304, [32] p. : ill. ; 8°. A-X<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 1923
- [307] 1 Sofonisba 8° 1. - 5  
Gian Giorgio Trissino <1478-1550>, *La Sofonisba, tragedia di m. Gio. Giorgio Trissino. Di nuouo con somma diligenza corretta, et ristampata*, In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1582. In Vinegia : presso Altobello Salicato, 1582. 36 c. ; 12°. A-C<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 53220
- [308] 2 Sentenze del breuiario 1. 3  
[309] 3 Statio volgare 1. 6  
Publius Papinius Stadius, *La Thebaide di Statio; ridotta dal sig. Erasmo di Valuasone in ottaua rima...* In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1580. [4], 159, [1] c. ; 4°. CNCE 72130
- [310] 4 Secretti del Porta? 1. 4  
[311] 1 Stanze di diversi 2<sup>a</sup> parte 1. 1  
Antonio Terminio <ca. 1525-ca. 1580>, *La seconda parte delle stanze di diuersi autori nuouamente mandata in luce*, In Vinegia : appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572. 501, [3] p. ; 12°. A-X<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 26888
- [312] 2 Specchio de' fideli 8° 1. 6  
Antonio Pagani <1526-1589>, *Specchio di fideli, nel qual si rappresentano tutte quelle cose, che ad ogni conditione d'huomini sono necessarie di saper, per la salute, & perfectione loro. Opera vtilissima da' detti de' santi antichi dottori contemplatiui raccolta, & al commune beneficio delle anime donata. Di f. Antonio Pagani, Minore, Osser.* In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1579 (In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1579). [80], 694, [2] p. : ill. ; 8°. a-e<sup>8</sup> A-2V<sup>8</sup> 2X<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 40313
- [313] 2 Tolomeo volgare 4° 1. 28  
Claudius Ptolemaeus, *La geografia di Claudio Tolomeo. Già tradotta di Greco in Italiano da m. Giero. Ruscelli e hora in questa nuova editione da m. Gio. Malombra ricorretta e purgata di infiniti errori*, In Venetia : appresso Giordano Zilletti, 1579. 1 v. [sic]. CNCE 41339

- [314] 1 Thesaurus artificiose memoriae 1. 2 / 84.8  
 Cosimo Rosselli <m. 1578>, *Thesaurus artificiosae memoriae. Concionatoribus, philophis, medicis, iuristis, oratoribus, procuratoribus, caeterisque, bonarum litterarum amatoribus: negotiatoribus insuper, alijsque similibus tenacem, ac firmam rerum memoriam cupientibus, perutilis. Ac omnes sui amatores, et possessores valde locupletans insimulque decorans, cum rerum celestium atque terrestrium tenax, ac tutum scrinium esse possit. Authore r.p.f. Cosma Rossellio Florentino sacri Ord. praedic. Cum indicibus locupletissimis, tum capitum, tum rerum omnium insigniorum*, Venetiis : apud Antonium Paduanium, bibliopolam Florentinum, 1579. [16], 145, [1] c., [2] c. di tav., [1] c. di tav. ripieg. : ill. ; 4°. a-d<sup>4</sup> A-2M<sup>4</sup> 2N<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 27839
- [315] 1 Theologia Raimondi? 1. 2.10
- [316] 1 Terentij cum comento folio 1. 3.10
- [317] 1 Tucidide greco folio 1. 1.4
- [318] 1 Theoremata Zimarae f° 1. 1.4  
 Marcantonio Zimara <1460-1523>, *Marci Ant. Zimarae ... Theoremata, seu Memorabilium propositionum limitationes cum additionibus ab ipso auctore post primam impressionem facti, ... Nunc multis mendis purgata, accuratiusque quàm antea, recognita. Index omnium Theorematum, ac propositionum notabilium secundum alphabeti ordinem*, Venetiis : apud Vincentium Valgrisium, 1564 (Venetiis : apud Vincentium Valgrisium, 1564). [12], 194, [2] p., 2°. \*6A-P<sup>6</sup>Q<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 38230
- [319] 1 Tabula Zimarae f° 1. 1.4  
 Marcantonio Zimara <1460-1523>, *M. Antonii Zimarae Sancti Petrinatis, philosophi clarissimi, Tabula, & dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis, & Auerrois, nunc recens recognitae, & ab innumeris erroribus expurgatae*, Venetiis : [Francesco Sansovino], 1565 (Venetiis : apud Ioan. Gryphium, 1565). 165, [1] c., fol. A2D<sup>6</sup> 2E<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 35181
- [320] 1 Tullio de officij volgare 1. 1.15  
 Une édition du texte seul en langue italienne du *De officiis* de Cicéron n'est pas connue.
- [321] 2. Tullij de officijs 1. 1.10
- [322] 12 Tesoro d'abaco 8° 1. 3.12  
 Forse: Girolamo Tagliente, *Libro di Abacho il quale insegna a fare ogni ragione mercantile & pertegare le terre. Con l'arte della geometria, & altre nobilissime ragioni straordinarie. Con la tauola come rispondeno i pesi, & Monede, di molte citta e paesi, con la inclita citta di Venetia. Il quale libro si chiama Tesoro Vniuersale*, (Stampato in Venetia : per Francesco di Leno, 1570). [80] c. : ill. ; 8°. A-K<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 47959
- [323] 1 Tristano 1. 3.10
- [324] 1 Tractatus equorum Bonacossae 8° 1. - 2  
 Ippolito Bonacossa <1514-1591>, *Tractatus in materia equorum mag. et excellentiss. d. Hippolyti Bonacossae... Nouissimè ab ipso recognitus, ac CLXXX quaestionibus auctus. Summa, ac diligenti cura impressus*, Venetiis : apud Damianum Zenarum, 1574 (Venetiis : excudebat Aegidius Regazola, 1574). [56], 199, [1] p. ; 8°. †<sup>8</sup>-3†<sup>8</sup>4†<sup>4</sup>A-M<sup>8</sup>N<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 6818
- [325] 1 Virgilio con comento Fabrini 1. 9  
 Publius Vergilius Maro, *L'Eneide di Virgilio mantuano commentata in lingua volgare toscana da Giouanni Fabrini da Fighine & Filippo Venuti da Cortona, con ordine, che l'espositione volgare è dichiaration della latina, & la latina dichiara la volgare, & è utile tanto a chi in questo poeta vuole imparar la lingua latina quanto a chi cerca d'apprendere la toscana*, In Venetia : appresso Gio. Battista Sessa, & fratelli, 1581 ([In Venetia] : nella stamperia de' Rampazetti, ad instantia di Giouanbattista Sessa, et fratelli, 1581). 318 c. ;

fol. A-2Q<sup>8</sup> 2R<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 29594

[326] 1 Virgilio con comentì foglio l. 6

[327] 4 Vite de' santi padri 4<sup>o</sup> l. 8

*Le vite de' santi padri insieme col Prato spirituale, nuouamente del tutto riformate, corrette & emendate, così come intorno alla lingua, come intorno alle cose, et espurgate da infiniti errori, di che eran piene; accioche da questa gioueuole et pia lettione i christiani gelosi della salute dell'anime loro possano apprendere molti salutariferi essempli, di astinetia, di patientia, et di tutto quel che gioua à guadagnarsi il paradiso. Con le figure, le quali rappresentano come in viuo ritratto tutta la historia: & con la tauola de' capitoli di tutta l'opera,* In Venetia : appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra fratelli, 1580. [24], 440 p. : ill. ; 4<sup>o</sup>. CNCE 22480

[328] 6 Vita di s. Francesco 8<sup>o</sup> l. 7.4

Bonaventura da Bagnorea <santo>, *Vita et costumi del glorioso et serafico s. Francesco,* In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, e fratelli, 1582. [4], 185 [i.e. 187], [1] c. ; 8<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>8</sup> 2A<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 6904

[329] 2 Vita di Carlo V Ulloa l. 8 / 58.15

Alfonso de Ulloa <m. 1570>, *Vita dell'inuittissimo e sacratissimo imperator Carlo V Descritta dal signor Alfonso Vlloa. Con l'aggiunta di molte cose vtili all' historia, che nelle altre impressioni mancauano. Nella quale si comprendono le cose piu notabili, occorse al suo tempo: incominciando dall'anno MD insino al MDLX. Di nuouo ristampata, & con molta diligenza ricorretta. Con vna copiosissima tauola delle cose principali, che nella opera si contengono,* In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco Rampazetto : ad instantia di Lorenzo Pichi, 1581. 344, [8] c. ; 4<sup>o</sup>. A-2X<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 37629

[330] 6 Vita di Marco Aurelio 8<sup>o</sup> l. 6

Antonio de Guevara <1481-1545>, *Vita, gesti, costumi, discorsi, et lettere di Marco Aurelio imperatore. Sapientissimo filosofo, et oratore eloquentissimo. Con la giunta di molte cose, che nello spagnuolo non erano, & delle cose spagnuole, che mancano nella tradutione italiana,* In Venetia : appresso Giacomo Ghidini, in Frezzaria al segno della Fede, 1580. [8], 167, [1] c. ; 8<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>8</sup> A-X<sup>8</sup> CNCE 25755

[331] 2 Vita di Marco Aurelio 12 l. 1.10

[332] 3 Vite di Plutarco 4<sup>o</sup> l. 31.10

Plutarchus, *Vite di Plutarco Cheroneo de gli huomini illustri greci et romani. Nuouamente tradotte per m. Lodouico Domenichi & altri. Et diligentemente confrontate co' testi greci per m. Lionardo Ghini per abbellimento e vaghezza delle quali oltr'a' sommarij del Domenichi in questa nostra vltima impressione vi habbiamo inserti gli argomenti et le annotationi del Sansouino ... con la vita dell'autore descritta da Thomaso Porcacchi ... Parte prima [-seconda],* In Venetia : appresso Felice Valgrisis, 1582. 2 v. ; 4<sup>o</sup>. CNCE 35755

[333] 1 Vita Christi folio l. 10

Ludolph von Sachsen <1300?-1378>, *Vita Christi domini saluatoris nostri a r.p. Ludolpho Saxone Cartusiano ante CCL annos ex sacris euangelijs, veterumque patrum sententijs contexta, atque ita disposita, nihil vt eorum, quae tum ad historiae, tum ad homiliarum totius anni rationem spectant, deesse quidquam possit. Opus ut vere pium, ac eruditum, ita singulis christianæ pietatis alumnis plurimum & solatij, & vtilitatis allaturum. A Io. Dadraeo, Parisiensis scholæ doctore theologo, multis notationibus illustratum, postrema hac Venetaeditione innumeris mendis purgatum, pulcherrimisq; figuris exornatum, Indices accessere necessarij,* Venetiis : apud Guerræos fratres, & Franciscum Zilletum, 1581. [20], 767, [81] p. : ill. ; fol. a<sup>4</sup> b<sup>6</sup> A-3G<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 49834

[334] 1 Virgilio volgare del Caro l. 3.10

Publius Vergilius Maro, *L'Eneide di Virgilio, del commendatore Annibal Caro*, In Venetia : appresso Bernardo Giunti, & fratelli, 1581. [8], 556, [4] p. ; 4°. π<sup>4</sup> A-2L<sup>8</sup> 2M<sup>6</sup> †<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 28541

[335] 2 Veglie dell'Arnigo 4° 1. 9

Bartolomeo Arnigio <1523-1577>, *Le diece veglie di Bartolomeo Arnigio de gli ammendati costumi dell'humana vita nelle quali non sol si tratta su quelle virtù ch'è viuer nella luce de gli huomini et di Dio bisognieuoli sono, ma etiandio si flagellano acerrimamente que vitij che più de gli altri trasuiano dal camino della uera gloria et guastano la gratia ciuile*, In Brescia : appresso Francesco et Pietro Maria de' Marchetti, 1577 (In Brescia : appresso Francesco et Pietro Maria de' Marchetti fratelli, 1576). [12], 700, [12] p. ; 4°. †<sup>6</sup> A-4U<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 3082

[336] 9<sup>17</sup> Vita di s. Catarina in versi 1. 10.16

Marco Filippi <ca. 1520-ca. 1579>, *Vita di santa Caterina vergine e martire; composta in ottaua rima da Marco Filippi, detto il Funesto. Aggiuntoui di nuouo gli argomenti, et le figure appropriate ad ogni canto. Con vna raccolta di sonetti, e canzoni spirituali, & di alcune stanze della Maddalena à Christo del medesimo autore*, In Venetia : appresso Domenico, et Gio. Battista Guerra, fratelli : ad instantia di Lorenzo Pegolo, 1580. [8], 175 [i.e. 176], [32] c. : ill. , 1 ritr. ; 8°. †<sup>8</sup>A-Z<sup>8</sup>2a-2c<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19024

[337] 6 Vita, e favole di Esopo 12 1. 6

Aesopus, *Vita di Esopo tradotta dal conte Giulio Landi. Alla quale di nuouo sono aggiunte le favole del medesimo con molte altre*, In Venetia : appresso Francesco Ziletti (appresso Pietro Deuchino), 1580. 414, [18] p. : ill. ; in 12°. A-S<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 401

[338] 2 Venetia 1. 9

Francesco Sansovino <1521-1583>, *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII libri da m. Francesco Sansouino. Nella quale si contengono tutte le guerre passate, con l'attioni illustri di molti senatori. Le vite de i principi, et gli scrittori veneti del tempo loro. Le chiese, fabbriche, edifici, et palazzi publichi, et priuati. Le leggi, gli ordini, et gli vsi antichi et moderni, con altre cose appresso notabili, et degne di memoria*, In Venetia : appresso Iacomo Sansouino, 1581 (Stampata in Venetia : appresso Domenico Farri, 1581). [4], 286 [i.e. 278], 38, [34] carte ; 4°. π A<sup>4</sup> A<sup>6</sup> B-3Z<sup>4</sup> 2a-2h<sup>4</sup> 2i<sup>6</sup> a-g<sup>4</sup> h<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 31176

[339] 2 Vita s. Catarina di Siena 1. 2.8

Raimondo da Capua <ca. 1330-1399>, *Vita miracolosa della serafica s. Caterina da Siena; composta in latino dal beato p. frate Raimondo da Capua, già maestro generale dell'ordine de' Predicatori, suo confessore. Et tradotta in lingua volgare dal r. p. f. Ambrosio Catarino da Siena, del medesimo ordine. Con l'aggiunta d'alcune cose pertinenti al presente stato della Chiesa; notabili et utili ad ogni fedel christiano. Aggiuntoui di nuouo la tauola de' capitoli*, In Venetia : presso Fabio & Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1580 (In Venetia : presso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli, 1580) 160 [i.e. 193], [7] c. ; 8°. A-2B<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 40754

[340] 3 Vives de lingua latina 2<sup>a</sup> con gionta 1. 2.5

[341] 3 Vespasiano per scrivere 1. 2.15

Vespasiano Amphiareo <1501-1563>, *Opera di frate Vespasiano Amphiareo da Ferrara, dell'Ordine minore conuentuale. Nella quale s'insegna a scriuere varie sorti di lettere, et massime una lettera bastarda da lui nouamente con sua industria ritrouata, laquale serue al cancellaresco et mercantesco. Poi insegna a far l'inchiostro negrissimo con tanta facilità, che ciascuno per semplice che sia, lo saprà far da se. Anchora a macinar l'oro, & scriuere*

<sup>17</sup> Le nombre est répété.

*con esso come si farà con l'inchiostro : parimente a scriuere con l'azzurro, & col cenaprio : opera utilissima, e molto necessaria all'uso humano. Aggiuntoui di nuouo due bellissimi alphabeti di maiuscole, che nell'altre impressioni non si sono piu stampati, In Venetia : appresso Alessandro Gardano, 1580. [4] c., 51 tav., [1] c. ; 4° obl. pA4 A-F8 G4. IT\ICCU\CNCE\001653*

Tutte le soprazzenotate? partite de moneta de Venetia sommano L 1714.4 in quale al 7.10 per scuto entrano L. 228.11.3 quali a L. 4.2.6 moneta di Genova sono L. 942.17 divutone ro per 100 che sono L. 188.10 restano L. 754.7

### Negro e rossi

[342] 2 Breviarij 8° lettera picciola, Nicolini 1. 6.10

[343] 1 Breviario monastico, 8° noui? 1. 2.10

[344] 2 Diurni romani 8°, noui? 1. 3

[345] 1 Calendario per 100 anni 8° 1. 1.10

Giovanni Redaldi, *Kalendarium per annos centum. Ad vsum vniuersae religionis fratrum Minorum & Monialium S. Francisci Regularis obseruantiae. Iuxta ritum breuiarij Romani reformati. Labore & ingenio V.P. fratris' Ioan. Redaldi Veneti prouinciae sancti Antonij. Et nouiter ab eodem authore cum calendario Gregoriano accommodatum*, Venetiis : apud Iuntas, 1582 (Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1573). [240] c. : ill. ; 8°. \*82\*4A-2D<sup>8</sup>F<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 47569

[346] 4 Diurni in 16° romani, Roma 1. 5

[347] 2 Missali in 4° Calice 1. 6.4

[348] 2 Missale Iesus folio 1. 9.6

[349] 1 Breviario s. Domenico 4°, noui? 1. 6.4

Probablement un *Breviarium iuxta ritum predicatorum*.

[350] 2 Processionarij s. Dom. 1. 3.10

*Processionarium Ordinis praedicatorum. In quo praeter alia emendata sanctorum commemorationes, quae ad altaria ipsis dicata sunt additae quas ex tabula in principio libelli posita, cognosces*, Venetiis : apud Iuntas, 1572 (Venetiis : apud Iuntas, 1572). [2], 182 c. : ill. ; 8°. π<sup>2</sup> A-Y<sup>8</sup>Z<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 17517

[351] 4 Diurni<sup>18</sup> detto in 32 1. 4

[352] 3 Salmista s. Domenico 8° 1. 2.5

*Psalmistia ad usum fratrum predicatorum cum suo hymnario iuxta acta capituli generalis Salmanticensis, nuper reformatum*, (Venetijs : apud haeredes Lucae Antonij Iunctae, 1558). 227, [1] c. : ill. ; 12°. CNCE 17498

[353] 3 Officij capella 12 1. 2.5

[354] 2 Salmista romani in 12 Giunti 1. 2

[355] 2 Salmista romani in 12 Turino 1. 1.10

[356] 5 Officij luna 12 1. 3.15

[357] 20 Officij in 16 lettera grossa 1. 6

[358] 2 Officij in 16 serena col friso 1. 1.10

[359] 2 Officij in 8° grandi, Giunti 1. 4 / 70.19

<sup>18</sup> Ecrit sur *Salmista* biffé d'une ligne.

alle dette L 70.19 moneta di Venetia si aggiungono 10 per100 sono L 78 le quale a L 7.10 per scudo entrano L 19.9.4 a L 4.2.6 moneta di Genoua L 43.3.6

### Libri di Genoa et moneta

- [360] 4 Arcadia in 12 1. – 16  
 [361] 7 Statuti criminali 1. 8.8  
 [362] 3 Statuti di Corsica 1. 3  
 Corsica, *Statuti ciuili et criminali dell'isola di Corsica*, In Genoua : appresso Antonio Bellone, 1571. [4], 57, 66, [21] p. : ill. ; fol. CNCE 13990  
 [363] 6 Leggi di s. Giorgio 1. 7.4  
 Banco di San Giorgio <Genoua>, *Leggi delle compere di S. Giorgio dell'ecc.ma rep.ca di Genoua, riformate l'anno MDLXVIII*, In Genoua : appresso Antonio Bellone, 1568. [12], 165, [7] p. ; 2°. π2 (π1+\*4) A-N<sup>6</sup> O<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 4068  
 [364] 1 Decisioni della Rota 1. 3.10  
 Genoua <Repubblica>. Rota, *Decisiones Rotae Genouae de mercatura et pertinentibus ad eam. Cum indice locupletissimo*, Genouae : [Antonio Roccatagliata], 1582 (Genouae, 1581). [2], 270, 54 c. ; fol. π<sup>2</sup> A-2K<sup>8</sup> 2L<sup>6</sup> <sup>2</sup>A-F<sup>8</sup> <sup>2</sup>G<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 20651  
~~10 Plazoni 1. 2~~  
 [365] 24 Grammatica Despauterio 1. 7.4  
 Jean Péliſson, *Contextus uniuersae grammatices despauterianae primae partis syntaxeos, artis versificatoriae, & figurarum, cum suorum commentariorum epitome, quam fieri potuit breuissime concinnata, per Io. An. Pellissonem Condriensem. Nunc etiam vulgari Italico sermone multis in locis explicata, & aucta*, Genouae : apud Marcum Antonium Bellonum, 1578. 127, [1] c. ; 8°. CNCE 50995  
 [366] 12 Scelta d'orazioni 1. 2.8  
 [367] 2 Scelta di rime 2a parte 1. – 14  
*Scelta di rime di diuersi eccellenti poeti. Di nuouo raccolte, e date in luce. Parte seconda*, In Genoua : [Antonio Roccatagliata], 1579. [Il raccoglitore è Cristoforo Zabata, come si ricava dalla dedica.]. 391, [5] p. ; 12°. A-Q<sup>12</sup> R<sup>4</sup> χ<sup>2</sup>. CNCE 47766  
 [368] 8 Elogi del Foglietta volgari 1. 4  
 Uberto Foglietta <1518-1581>, *Gli eloggi di m. Oberto Foglietta. Degli huomini chiari della Liguria; tradotti da Lorenzo Conti*, In Genoua : [Marcantonio Bellone], 1579. 133, [3] c. ; 8°. A-R<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 19325  
 [369] 4 Historia d'Eliodoro 1. 1.12  
 Heliodorus Emesenus, *La diletteuole historia di Heliodoro. Nella quale oltre diuersi compassionevoli auuenimenti di due amanti si contengono vari accidenti d'amore*, In Genoua : [Antonio Roccatagliata], 1582. [24], 398 [i.e. 399, 1] p. ; 8°. [par.]<sup>12</sup> A-2B<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 22493  
 [370] 2 Dubbi del Paschetti 1. – 10  
 Bartolomeo Paschetti <fl. 1578-1616>, *Dubbi morali et naturali diuisi in due libri con le solutioni a ciascun dubbio accomodate. Ne quali si rende la ragione di molte cose, che ciascuno è sommamente vago d'intendere e di sapere. Raccolte da diuersi antichi e moderni scrittori. Per Bartolomeo Paschetti*, In Genoua : [Antonio Roccatagliata], 1581. CNCE 50710

- [371] 8 Vespro grande<sup>19</sup> l. 2  
 [372] 4 Pianti<sup>20</sup> s. Bernardo l. 1.4  
*Planctus diui Bernardi super meditatione ignominiosae passionis Christi*, L'édition plus proche: Genuae : apud Antonium Bellonum, 1558. [12] c. : ill. ; 4°. CNCE 32113  
 [373] 1 Virgiliij l. – 8  
 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Della Eneide di Vergilio il quarto libro tradotto in ottava rima per m. Gio. Battista Filippi genouese alla signora Pellegrina Gentile, et altre rime aggiunte del medesimo Della Eneide di Vergilio il quarto libro tradotto in ottava rima per m. Gio. Battista Filippi genouese alla signora Pellegrina Gentile, et altre rime aggiunte del medesimo*, In Genoua : appresso Antonio Bellone, 1562. 172, [4] p. ; 4°. \*<sup>4</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 32120  
 [374] 2 Epistole Tullij l. – 16  
 [375] 5 Terentij l. 1.10  
 Publius Terentius Afer, *Pub. Terentii Afri Comoediae sex, multò maiore, quàm hactenus vnquam, vigilantia repurgatae*, Genuae: apud Marcum Antonium Bellonum, 1578 (Genuae : apud Marcum Antonium Bellonum, 1578). 180 c. ; 8°. CNCE 32180  
 [376] 2 Sallustij l. – 12  
 Gaius Sallustius Crispus, *C. Crispi Sallustii De L. Sergii Catilinae coniuratione, & bello Iugurtino historiae, cum reliquis orationibus, quas index sequentis paginae docebit. His accesserunt doctae simul ac perbreues adnotationes. Præterea floscolorum Sallustianorum ac rerum notatu dignarum index*, Genuae : Marcum Antonium Bellonum, 1578. 139, [5] c. ; 8°. A-S<sup>8</sup>. CNCE 32177  
 [377] 2 Horatij l. – 12 / 46.8  
 [378] 20 Donati 8° l. 4.10  
 [379] 10 Regule Guarini 4° l. 2.5  
 [380] 10 Donati 4° l. 2.5  
 [381] 6 Esopi 4° l. 1.7  
*Esopus constructus moralizatus & historiatus ad vtilitatem discipulorum*, Genuae : per Antonium de Bellonis, 1557. [44] c. : ill. ; 4°. CNCE 381  
 [382] 8 Vita scolastica l. 1.16  
 [383] 5 Abacchini l. 1.10  
 [384] 9 Salterij 8° l. 2.6  
 [385] 9 Vangeli di s. Giovanni l. 2.14  
 [386] 3 Regule Pilade 8° l. – 13.6  
 [387] 8 Regule Guarini 8° l. 1.16  
 [388] 16 Ovidij 4° l. 2.8  
 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Ouidio De' rimedj d'amore*, In Genoua, 1583. 4°. CNCE 62544  
 [389] 32<sup>21</sup> Historiami? l. 8  
 [390] 2 Enchiridio Theologia 4° l. – 8  
 [391] 3 Additioni alli statuti di Corsica l. – 6  
 EDIT16 CNCE 13990 signale que dans les *Statuti ciuili et criminali dell'isola di Corsica* (In Genoua : appresso Antonio Bellone, 1571): le cahier G<sup>8</sup> renferme: Additione fatta alli

<sup>19</sup> Une note qui spécifie p(ri)mi 5<sup>o</sup> précède l'indication de la quantité de copies.

<sup>20</sup> Avant l'indication de la quantité de copies est placé l'abréviation q<sup>3</sup> quinterni.

<sup>21</sup> Du premier enregistrement de cette carte et jusqu'à ici, à l'exclusion de l'enregistrement précédent, l'indication du nombre de spécimens est précédée de l'abréviation q<sup>3</sup> "quinterni".

statuti di Corsica, datata 1573.

- [392] 1 Montisflorij pugna nauali 1. – 4  
 Marco Antonio Montefiore <m. 1578>, *Marci Antonii Montiflorii De pugna nauali Cursularia commentarium*, Genuae: apud Antonium Bellonum, 1572. 39 [i.e. 37], [1] c. ; 4. A-H<sup>4</sup>, I<sup>6</sup>. CNCE 32132
- [393] 6 quinterni salterij in carton 1. 1.10
- [394] 3 quinterni e mezzo abacchini 1. 1.1
- [395] 1 quinterno e mezzo pianti s. Bernardo 1. – 13 / 35.7

Sommano moneta di Genova L 81.15

Libri legati, e non finiti moneta Venezia

- [396] 1 Epistole vangeli 4° Turino 1. 6
- [397] 1 Dante 4° Daniello 1. 4.10  
 Dante Alighieri, *Dante con l' esposizione di m. Bernardino Daniello da Lucca, sopra la sua comedia dell' Inferno, del Purgatorio, & del Paradiso; nuouamente stampato, & posto in luce*, In Venetia : appresso Pietro da Fino, 1568 ([Venezia : Pietro da Fino]). [12], 727, [1] p. : ill. ; 4°. \*6 A-4Y<sup>4</sup>. CNCE 1172
- [398] 1 Orlando furioso in 4° 1. 2.10
- [399] 1 Vite di Plutarco 4° 1. 10.10  
 Exemplaire de CNCE 67867 déjà enregistré?
- [400] 2 Conforto d' afflitti 12 1. 1.4  
 Gaspar de Loarte <m. 1578>, *Conforto de gli afflitti. Dove si tratta de i frutti, & rimedij delle tribolationi. Utile cosi per secolari, come per religiosi: massime à confessori, donde potranno cavare conforti, & medicine d' applicare à i penitenti. Composto nuouamente per il r.p. Gaspar Loarte, dottor theologo, della compagnia di Giesu*, In Venetia, 1580 (In Venetia : appresso Giacomo Ghidini, et Francesco Franceschini compagni, 1580). 243 [i.e. 343], [17] p. ; 12°. A-P<sup>12</sup>. CNCE 25756
- [401] 6 Rime scelta 2<sup>a</sup> Genoa 1. 4.4  
 La même oeuvre au nombre [367].
- [402] 4 Scelta d' orazioni 1. 1.12
- [403] 8 Officij romani in 16 1. 4.16
- [404] 2 Tullij de officijs 1. 1.10
- [405] 2 Vergilij 8° Genoa 1. 1.12
- [406] 4 Terentij 8° Genoa 1. 2.8
- [407] 2 Horatij Genoa 1. 1.4
- [408] 4 Sallustij 1. 2.8
- [409] 1 Giardino spirituale 12 1. – 15 / 45.3

Finiti moneta Venezia

- [410] 3 Horatij 8° g<sup>a</sup> 1. 1.16
- [411] 2 Virgilij 8° g<sup>a</sup> 1. 1.12
- [412] 2 Sallustij 8° g<sup>a</sup> 1. 1.4
- [413] 2 Terentij 8° g<sup>a</sup> 1. 1.4
- [414] 1 Epistole Tullij 8° genova 1. – 16
- [415] 1 Plazone 1. – 8



[416] 1 Elucidario poetico	l. – 16 / 7.16
Hermannus Torrentinus <ca. 1450-ca. 1520>, <i>Elucidario poetico, nel quale sono contenute le historie, fauole, isole, regioni, città ... Raccolto per Hermano Torrentino, et di latino tradotto in volgare da m. Oratio Toscanella</i> , In Vinegia : appresso Egidio Regazzola, & Domenico Cauualcalupo compagni, 1579. 286, [2] p. ; 8°. A-S <sup>8</sup> . CNCE 38218	
[417] 1 Compendio dell'arte essorcista	l. 1
Oeuvre citée aussi au nombre [48].	
[418] 6 Officij lunghetti Parma	l. 3.12
[419] 4 Officij lunghetti Sirena	l. 3.4
[420] 4 Officij luna	l. 4.16
[421] 2 Del capello	l. 2.8
[422] 1 Dionisio de' 4 costumi 12	l. – 15
[423] 1 Epistole Ouidio Remigio	l. – 15
Oeuvre citée aussi au nombre [103].	
[424] 2 Vita e fauole di Esopo 12	l. 2
Come al n. [337].	
[425] 1 Scielta di rime prima g <sup>a</sup>	l. – 14
Oeuvre citée aussi au nombre [367] et [401].	
[426] 1 Rime Caporali	l. – 12
La même oeuvre au nombre [284].	
[427] 1 Furioso in 24	l. 1.4
[428] 1 Politica Scaino	l. 4.15
Antonio Scaino <1524-1612>, <i>La politica di Aristotile ridotta in modo di parafrasi dal reuerendo m. Antonio Scaino da Salo. Con alcune annotationi e dubbi. E sei discorsi sopra diuerse materie ciuili</i> , In Roma : nelle case del Popolo Romano, 1578. 2 pt. ([22], 232; 67, [1] c.); 4°. † <sup>4</sup> 2† <sup>4</sup> A-3O <sup>4</sup> 3P <sup>6</sup> ; a-r <sup>4</sup> . CNCE 33948	
[429] 1 Virgilio del Caro	l. 3.10
La même oeuvre au nombre [334].	
[430] 1 Epistole ad Atticum	l. 2
[431] 5 Despauterij	l. 3
La même oeuvre au nombre [365].	
[432] 12 Donati regole	l. 8 / 42.5

Alle dette L 95.4 di Venetia si accresce 15 per 100. sommano L 109.9 in quale a L. 7.10 per scuto entrano 7.14.12 a L. 4.2.6 moneta di Genova sono L. 60.4.6

[433] 4 Risme de rime ginoruti? a s. 11 di moneta di Genova la risma	l. 44
[434] 3 Risme e 15 quinterni di ciancie delle figlie a 11	l. 41.5
<i>Ragionamento di sei nobili fanciulle genouesi. Le quali con assai bella maniera di dire, discorrono di molte cose allo stato loro appartenenti, opera non meno vtile, che diletteuole, di nouo data in luce</i> , In Pauia : appresso Girolamo Bartoli, 1583. 109, [3] p. ; 8°. A-G <sup>8</sup> . CNCE 31086	

[Au verso de l'avant-dernière feuille:]

Sono de Venesia dedure 20 per cento L 1506 per 16 sono a L 4 per ogni  
27 a Genova L. 803.10

Presi de Genova L. 205.17.6  
1009.7.6

Se ne deduce per le L. 205 a 40 per cento L. 82.3 si per le 2803.10 al 20 per  
cento L. 160 per 14. In somma L. 271.17  
L. 767.10.6

Cristofforo Zabata  
Antonio Orero

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# Printed catalogues of booksellers as a source for the history of the book trade

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## Introduction

The distribution of books by means of printed catalogues has aroused scholars' attention for a long time. After the foundational works of Konrad Burger and Ernst Voulliéme (Burger 1907; Voulliéme 1919) the first general treatise on the subject was published in Britain, where the pioneering study by G. Pollard and A. Ehrman put booksellers' printed catalogues in the larger context of catalogues of all types (Pollard-Ehrman 1965; Mandelbrote 1995). Today, we can say that this specific material is being examined by a variety of book historians focusing on different areas and periods.<sup>1</sup> As the overall picture grows increasingly detailed, the time has come to propose an all-encompassing interpretation of the uses of these catalogues in the book trade and the purposes they were created to fulfil, and to test their scope and representativeness in the general investigation on sixteenth-century book prices.

## Part 1. From Advertisement to Catalogue: the development of the book trade 15th–16th centuries

In order to understand well the role of advertising in the marketing of printed books in the sixteenth century, it is clear that we should look at what came

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<sup>1</sup> Just to mention a few recent studies: Richter 1964, 1965, 1977; Serrai 1993; Wittman 1985; Coppens 1992, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2014b; Eisermann-Honemann 2000; Myers 2009; Walsby-Constantinidou 2013.

before, what forms it took and the methods employed in the second half of the fifteenth century.

With the advent of the printed book producers commonly found themselves left with hundreds of copies. They had to get a return on new investments and to attract new investors to form a company. The investors wanted their share. A book was a commodity like jewels, gloves, handkerchiefs, rosaries, pepper, or any other luxury product; it was not a commodity like meat, beans, wheat, wine, and other products that everyone needs to buy just in order to live (Coppens 2014a).

Thus, the producer of a book had to find a way to reach the market. He had to identify a potential readership who would be interested in the product he wanted to sell – who were interested in acquiring books by purchase – and who had the means to buy it and then attract, even seduce them. For this reason, some booksellers distributed advertisements.

What is striking first of all in the texts of fifteenth-century advertisements is the way the producers took care to distance their products from manuscript or handwritten books. They had to conquer a market with a new product, which looked like – and was indeed designed to look like – what was already known, a manuscript, but was in fact new, for the producer in the first place, and then for the consumer, who needed to be convinced. The new art of printing made books more legible and ensured the text was more closely checked and was thus more reliable.<sup>2</sup> This reflects what readers were clearly looking for, or, at least, could be attracted by. It is this aspect which ‘was new, and was better’ (Coppens 2014b).

The Roman poet Martial (d. c. 104) gives a lively description of a bookshop in Rome: next to the Forum is a bookshop, where both doors are plastered with advertisements. These display the titles of the books in stock.<sup>3</sup>

Printed advertising started between the end of the 1460s and early 1470s in the German Empire, in Mainz, Strasbourg and Augsburg. It also becomes clear that most of the surviving advertisements date from the 1470s. Their use declines in the 1480s, to die out almost completely in the 1490s.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with «Attamen non artis calamo, sed excellentis artis ingenio litterarum trusionis impressionis» (*Advertisement for the 41-lines Bible* [Strassburg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1468/70], GW 4208; ISTC ib00533000).

<sup>3</sup> Martial, 1.117 («Contra Caesaris est forum taberna scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis, omnis ut cito perlegas poetas»). See Clarysse & Vandorpe 2008.

The advertisements could just be lists or could advertise a newly published book with a lengthy description of the content. They mainly displayed the same structure, often using identical formulas, which strongly suggests the existence at an earlier period of similar, handwritten advertisements for manuscripts or other commodities.

The line of argument taken in the earliest marketing blurbs pointed to the quality of the characters, as well as the clear readability and quality of the text. They usually stressed that the printed edition was based on the best exemplars, that mistakes in the manuscripts were corrected, 'since scribes had made mistakes', and that the edition in question was in any case 'better than a competitor's edition'. There is a colophon that even stressed that in the case of a typo, this was not the compositor's fault, but rather that of the scribe who had copied the manuscript used as the exemplar. Illustrations and painted initial letters which served to mark the structure of the text, were also features which could attract attention and were worth promoting.

The content had to be useful, because a book had to be useful, and its usefulness was demonstrated in printed advertisements with a kind of table of contents, not a mere list, but a structured continuous text. Another important aspect of the usefulness of a book was the presence of an index. The use of the index in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books can be seen by the additions or corrections made to them by readers in their own hands.

A convenient price and the personal competence of the bookseller could also attract a potential customer. At the end of advertisements, there was commonly the formula informing the purchaser of the place where the books could be bought, left blank to be filled in by hand, as they could be found on sale in different places.

These were the things which were important for potential customers in the fifteenth century; these features had to be advertised in order to persuade someone to buy a book; this was the essence of the marketing strategy. These advertisements were pinned up on doors, of churches for instance, or distributed in other ways, depending on where the bookseller (or rather, his agent) was selling his merchandise. This makes it clear that the fifteenth-century book trade was directed at individual purchasers, in other words it is a *retail* trade.

Aldus is the outstanding figure who marks the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, starting his business at the end of the 1490s and continuing

until his death in 1515, when it was carried on by his heirs. His first catalogue, of 1498, is already new, in comparison with those of his predecessors.<sup>4</sup> It is an advertisement, printed on one side, like the advertisements before him, but is a real catalogue, without a real soliciting text, but rather a simple announcement of what a potential reader could find. In contrast with the descriptions of his predecessors Aldus's are well done, and there are prices, the very first in the history of the trade in printed books.

It is possible that he came to regret this inclusion, as he omitted prices in his second catalogue, published in 1503 – though the only surviving copy has prices added by Aldus in his own hand –, and again, quite certainly this time, in his third catalogue the last to be issued during his lifetime, in 1513.<sup>5</sup> In one of the two surviving copies of the latter there are also prices added in manuscript (Graheli 2017; Harris 2017). The heirs reprinted the catalogue in 1527 and issued their next catalogue in 1563.<sup>6</sup> Omitting prices probably had to do with the book trade outside Venice, when the expenses for transport and tolls had to be taken into consideration, or it could be due to the fact that booksellers could receive a discount. In any case Aldus's catalogues, addressed to booksellers rather than to private customers, signal the start of a new system.

Investors in the production of a book in the fifteenth century were remunerated with copies of the book, which means that they had to sell the books to get a return on their investment. This means too that there was a parallel circuit for the book trade, one in which the sale price is unknown.

Roughly speaking, booksellers gave up using advertisements for about fifty years. There must have been a reason for this. The economy was growing, from before the fifteenth century onwards. It is an error to think that the fifteenth century represented a low point in stagnant economic and cultural

<sup>4</sup> ISTC im00226700; GW M20725. See Omont 1892. The Paris copy has been digitized at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595102h/f173.item>.

<sup>5</sup> See Omont 1892. Only one copy of the 1503 catalogue has survived at the BN in Paris, digitized at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595102h/f183.item> and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595102h/f184.item>. One copy of the 1513 catalogue (Edit 16 CNCE 61629, with a digital reproduction) is preserved in the Biblioteca Civica Joppi, Udine. See also the Paris copy, digitized and available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595102h/f157.item> (and ff, till f161).

<sup>6</sup> On the 1527 catalogue, see Fletcher 2011, 145–156 (with reproductions; Fletcher dates it to March 1527). At least three copies of the 1563 catalogue are preserved in Italy (Edit 16 CNCE 51311).

circumstances, but there was no break between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, it was an almost seamless continuation (Hunt and Murray 1999, 249).<sup>7</sup> The printed book emerged within this economic and cultural situation, as a novel product, and had to find its own way, profiting from the progress of the time. It is not surprising that the new method of advertising, an actual catalogue in the form of a booklet, started in Basel. With Johann Amerbach and Johann Froben, the city had become what was probably the most progressive centre of the contemporary book trade (Sebastiani 2014). It was the heirs of Froben who issued this first catalogue in 1537, together with Johannes Hervagius, the son-in-law of Johann Froben (Richter 1974, 192; today no copy known).

It is in any case noticeable that from the very beginning a printer/publisher was always 'also' a bookseller, or, rather, was primarily a bookseller. It is the books from the printer/publisher's own production which are listed in the catalogue and offered for sale. There were no printers' catalogues, nor pure publishers' catalogues as such; they were always, in the first place, booksellers' catalogues. There were booksellers who were only booksellers, but it is very clear that there were no printer-publishers who were not also booksellers.

The advertisements of the fifteenth century were for retail trade. What becomes clear from the catalogues issued in Basel in the sixteenth century is that the book trade had completely changed, from being a retail enterprise to becoming a wholesale business. This change took place over time, between the end of the fifteenth century and some decades into the sixteenth. The change was certainly connected with the growth of the market. There were far more books, combined with the number of booksellers with shops in towns; the market became, and indeed had to become, a real network.

One should not take booksellers like Aldus and Froben as representative examples of publisher-booksellers. On the contrary, they were exceptions. They were scholars in their own right, working with other scholars. Many booksellers, if not most, did not have the means to hire a scholar to supervise their production. A bookseller was and had to be in the first place a merchant, thinking only of the investment he had to make, for otherwise he faced failure.

<sup>7</sup> Johan Huizinga (1872–1942) played and still plays a very misleading role with his *The Decline of the Middle Ages*, published in 1919, immediately after the First World War. Huizinga gives a highly misleading picture of the so-called 'waning of the Middle Ages', seeing it as a break with the past and denying all continuity with what followed. This theory is still supported today.

It is striking that, from the very beginning of the use of catalogues instead of advertisements in the sixteenth century, none of the selling points, stressed in the marketing blurbs of the previous century were mentioned any more. It seems clear that potential customers no longer needed to be persuaded of the quality of the printed book; now, there were booksellers with real shops where a customer could go to see what he wanted to buy, or just to be informed what was on the market. In a certain sense, the title page sometimes took over the role of the advertising blurb.

At present some 280–290 sixteenth-century catalogues are known, including some 50 advertisements from the fifteenth century, with most of the advertisements coming from the German Empire. For the sixteenth century, the catalogues coming from the German region are again in the majority with around 50. For France, Italy and Switzerland the number is about the same, between 35 and 40. For the Low Countries 15 catalogues are recorded, mainly issued by the *Officina Plantiniana*. In Spain, as far as is known, only one catalogue appeared, issued moreover by an Italian bookseller in Madrid.<sup>8</sup>

The question why some booksellers used advertisements and catalogues to market their books remains unanswered. Those who did were in any case in a minority. With the de Colines dynasty, father and son Chaudière, and Robert Estienne for instance – who were, by the way, a proper family dynasty, the business passing from one in-law to another – it is interesting to see that this way of marketing is used by succeeding booksellers. In contrast, Guillaume Morel junior did not issue any catalogue, while his father Guillaume senior, who died in 1581, had eight catalogues printed from 1550 till 1562.

Despite the fact that the catalogues in the form of a booklet, and certainly the broadsides of the fifteenth century, are often seen as ephemera, they were used after their basic function as a publicity for recent editions. Even the broadsides survived their function as ephemeral announcements of the publication of a list of books or just one edition. Particularly the latter were sometimes pasted on the upper paste down, even in some cases decorated and rubricated. Some could be used as a kind of contents, or ‘just’ a summary.

<sup>8</sup> See in this same volume the article by Pedro Rueda.



In the sixteenth century, catalogues were used by a bookseller to inform other booksellers about his list, and they were kept as such by retailers, and by customers, for whom they were bibliographical sources. One testimony to the way they were used are the additions in manuscript of newly issued books that one can sometimes find in surviving copies.

A good example of the use of these so-called ephemeral publications is the catalogue issued in 1592 by the heirs of Gabriele Giolito. Of the three copies known there are two in which the date has been changed in manuscript to 1596, and in the third in 1598 (Coppens 2005). Another very interesting example is the catalogue issued in Paris by Mathieu David in 1554. In the only known copy his name is deleted, and another name was added, namely that of Louis Grandin, a little-known bookseller, with the new address added and dated 1557 (Lutz 1937, 116–117).

Not only for the book trade itself were catalogues an important source, but also for scholars and other people building up a private library. The very first to use this material and to point to the importance of it, was of course Conrad Gessner, who transcribed some of them in various ways, or made lists of his own in his *Pandectae* of 1548 (Lutz 1937; Sabba 2012; Blair 2017; Nelles 2017). One noted example, among others, of someone building up a library was Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), a French scholar and diplomat. In his collection there is a *Sammelband* with three catalogues and another with six (Eschler 1994). They were bibliographical tools intended for the use of the private owner.

The phenomenon of the marketing of books, from the fifteenth-century advertisements to the first catalogues of the sixteenth century, shows that it took a considerable amount of time, while the commerce in manuscripts was still going on, for a new field to develop in the book trade, from being a ‘casual’ trade into the professional business which the sector has remained, almost unchanged, until the present day.

## **Part 2. Printed booksellers’ catalogues and book prices**

We have examined the problem of the commercial book trade seen from the producers’ and traders’ point of view. Now, the reading public deserves our attention. How much money did early modern readers have to spend in the possession of books? and which readers could really afford to purchase them?

To answer these questions properly, we need to reconstruct a real history of the book from an economic point of view, based on available sources, first of all contemporary evidence of book prices (Ammannati and Nuovo 2017; Nuovo 2017). This can be done correctly only taking into account the general history of prices and its methodological issues (Braudel and Spooner 1967; Malanima 2017; Tucci 2014).

Commercial sources such as 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. Moreover, comparing book prices with prices of other goods (another key-interpretation which is all too common) though fascinating, can be misleading for a variety of reasons. Other occasional evidence are the annotations of the prices paid by individual purchasers in surviving copies of the books they bought (Wagner and Carrera 1991; Danesi 2008; Danesi 2014). Although extremely precise, these single episodes of purchasing with their individual prices remain at an anecdotal level. Every real transaction was a one-off negotiation and every paid price was the result of an individual deal influenced by non-economic – mainly social – factors. It cannot be taken for granted that the same object, even relatively mass-produced and purchased in the same period, would have had the same value, and therefore the same price, for different individuals. Purchase prices are not only unsystematic in the way they were calculated and applied, but they are also the results of dynamics which cannot easily be generalized.

We need to overcome as far as possible an impressionistic approach and try to reconstruct a general view of European book prices over a prolonged period, as systematically as possible. This will enable us to tackle some of the still unanswered questions on access to and ownership of printed books.<sup>9</sup>

Certainly, the diffusion of books in public and private spaces (domestic spaces, first of all) and the growing size of libraries must be connected to the decrease in book prices (Nuovo 2010). Two different elements seem to be the basis of

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, Plantin-Moretus' firm excluded, information about costs of printing, i.e. costs of paper and other raw materials, wages and technical improvements that could affect book prices is not available in a way that can allow a systematic investigation.

price reductions in this period: competition between publishers (only in part mitigated by the system of privileges as a system of guarantees by means of temporary monopolies), and market expansion, driven not only by individual purchasers but also by religious and educational institutions on both sides of the divide during what has been called the age of confessions (Maclean 2012).

The evolution of book prices is an issue that has only recently started to be investigated systematically thanks to the ERC-funded project EMOBookTrade. In order to focus on this subject, the research group is taking into account primarily commercial sources containing sets of prices, as extensive as possible, established by producers, booksellers and trade professionals in general, such as printed catalogues.

Printed catalogues seem to be the most objective and rewarding source for beginning an investigation on book prices. Only about 30% of the surviving sixteenth-century printed catalogues include prices. They were produced mainly in Italy and France therefore the sample is fairly small. Nevertheless, in an overall investigation of book prices, no other source ensures that the prices included refer only to new and unbound editions. Prices in printed booksellers' catalogues, when not otherwise specified, are not copy specific, i.e. they never include the cost of bindings. This is also the case for the stock still available in warehouses, which can include books printed several years previously. Volumes from bookshops on the contrary, which are in a few cases included in these sale catalogues, were indeed possibly sold bound and the related prices are therefore less reliable for our analysis.<sup>10</sup>

If the most obvious obstacle for studying prices is related to the fact that, unlike much more recent times, books were not distributed with a price printed on them, the closest example of set price are those prices which were unquestionably decided by the producer (or the wholesale trader, in any case at the beginning of the trade chain). Starting from this 'fixed' price, of course, a variety of negotiations, reductions, and discounts could and would take place in the real process of purchasing and selling.

Therefore, we can consider prices in printed catalogues in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a sort of 'ideal' figure, which fixes a quoted value for a book as a public point

<sup>10</sup> See for instance the atypical addition to the 1592 Giolito sale catalogue included in the copy held at the Winterthur Stadtbibliothek, as described in Coppens 2005, 464–466.

of reference'. The problem of the market operators and reading public these catalogues were intended for is rather complex. As has just been stated, these prices were principally fixed and made public for the purposes of wholesale commerce. Large-scale operators in the trade, regular book fairs attendees, owners of large bookshops and established publishers: these catalogues were produced for all of these categories. It is in a certain sense misleading that the very few surviving copies of this kind of literature have come down to us almost invariably through the private libraries of scholars and book collectors of the same period. They were not the main public the catalogues were meant for, but their interest in the book trade (and in ways of acquiring books in the best possible conditions) was so deep as to make them users and collectors of this kind of material as well.

Working with printed book sale catalogues presents more challenges than is generally acknowledged. First of all, although printed (and therefore easily legible), the series of titles pose a variety of problems. Quite apart from editions which do not survive in any known copies, there can be several discrepancies between what was originally considered an edition, as a unit for the market, and what is regarded as an edition now, as a physical volume in a library or as an entry in bibliographical databases.

Secondly, the lists of prices in these catalogues show as a rule various inconsistencies, irregularities or simple mistakes. Understanding the reasons for these phenomena and making sense of them is an aspect of the work which the EMOBookTrade research team has started to tackle with insight and flair. Every catalogue expresses its prices in one currency, and we therefore might conclude that it circulated only in the area where that currency was used. Nevertheless, in respect to Italy, the *lira veneziana* was by far the dominant currency in the wholesale book trade, so it seems to have been used in a larger area than the Venetian State, across the whole of northern Italy (as shown for instance by the Genoese book sale analyzed in this same volume by Graziano Ruffini). On the other hand, we know from various sources that booksellers and bookshop owners (like all other merchants at the time) were used to working in different monies of account, not to mention the very wide variety of coins they were ready to accept. These are the issues, among many others, which have been identified in the first year of research, and which will offer abundant material for the investigations over the next few years.

In this volume the first results of this project are presented. In our new database, prices of books published in printed catalogues issued by some of the most prolific publishers of the period, like Giolito and Wechel, have been entered and analysed, a work in progress which in just over one year of research has already reached a total of more than five thousand book prices.<sup>11</sup>

A crucial element in our approach is that we are routinely breaking down book prices into prices per sheet. There is ample evidence that not only publishers but also scholars of the time were in the habit of referring to books not as volumes but as sets of printed sheets: cost of production, size, shipping costs and of course the work time put in printing shops, everything was evaluated and calculated as quantities of printing sheets (Danesi 2012). Working on prices per sheet allows us to carry out a much quicker comparison and evaluation of prices, though we are well aware that prices cannot be deduced from sheet counts only: they cannot simply be taken as (and are not) a summation of prices per sheet. Many other elements influenced the setting of a price, and every single available source is a historical witness to a specific commercial transaction, which has always to be put in context. Nevertheless, the final result of such an approach will allow us to define not only the average price of a book (be it in folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo and so forth), but much more precisely the average price of a printed sheet.

In fact, when analyzed at the price-per-sheet level these two prices can sometimes turn out to exist in a counter-intuitive relationship. In the second half of the sixteenth century, while the total price of a copy of an edition in folio was more expensive than a copy in any smaller format, and normally in exact ratio from the largest to the smallest, prices per sheet can tell another story. At the Plantin-Moretus firm, at the price-per-sheet level the most expensive editions are in fact the largest and the smallest ones (24mo and 32mo), while the cheapest price-per-sheet editions are in octavo.<sup>12</sup> The same phenomenon has been ascertained through the analysis of the Estienne catalogues, especially with his editions in 16mo format.<sup>13</sup> One of the reasons for this phenomenon must be linked to

<sup>11</sup> The database of book prices will be launched online in a couple of years.

<sup>12</sup> I am referring here to analysis carried out by Goran Proot on the mss M 39, 164, 296 e 321 in the Archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp: see the podcast <http://emobooktrade.uniud.it/content/kick-conference-udine-30-november-2016-podcast-6>.

<sup>13</sup> See in this same volume the article by Goran Proot.

production: in the first case, the cost of large quantities of good quality paper determined the price, in the second, the work time needed to compose the text and the complicated imposition of very small formats influenced the increase in the price. While a customer was prepared to spend a remarkable sum of money to buy a large folio volume, he was probably not aware of spending a comparable amount of money in proportion for purchasing what was in fact a text concentrated in less paper. What buyers had the impression they were doing was choosing a cheap, convenient book, with the special functionality of being easily portable.

But this is not a rule in the pricing strategies of early modern publishers. At Giolito's, not only is price-per-sheet set in a fairly uniform way, notwithstanding formats, but quarto volumes are slightly more expensive than the other two formats used most often at the firm, octavos and duodecimo. The policy of the Giolito firm especially towards the end of their activity seems to have been that of producing a (comparatively) mass product, which was basic and within the reach of all budgets, conceived for a market which included a wide range of social strata, for which they published an abundant and successful devotional literature.

Nevertheless, one has always to take into consideration the multiple factors which influenced price setting: time and circumstance, as well as prospective sales, all play a role. While Plantin and Moretus in the documentation analyzed were setting prices of newly published books, the Giolito heirs in their printed catalogues at the end of the 1580s and in 1592 clearly wanted to get rid of the still unsold editions which had been printed sometimes decades before. To achieve this goal, standardising prices was the best strategy.

Therefore, the pricing policy of a publisher is a reliable indicator for the segment of the market he plans to cater for and the strategy he can adopt in order to reach this goal.

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# Book prices and monetary issues in Renaissance Europe

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The implications connected with the production of the printed book in the *ancien régime*, the aspects related to the calculation of its production costs and pricing are still relatively under-explored by economic historians.<sup>1</sup> This gap in knowledge is attributable to several factors: partly a result of an objective lack of documentation, but also arising from the need for the scholars engaged in such investigations to possess specific skills in the field of book and print history. The book as object, in fact, holds a number of features which differentiate it from many of the artifacts produced and traded during the Renaissance period, as it combines elements of craftsmanship and serial production that make it difficult to place in general-type analysis (Ammannati and Nuovo 2017).

A study involving these aspects also requires the use of a complex set of sources, where they exist, which allow us to reconstruct the different steps of the production process and to identify the logic behind publishers' business choices, such as the type of books to produce, how their prices were set and the commercial channels through which they were circulated (Voet 1969).

The trade and the circulation of books across Italy and Europe in the early modern age has recently been receiving more attention, albeit mainly from book historians and less from strictly economic ones.

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<sup>1</sup> Significant exceptions, though mostly provided by book historians, include Edler De Roover (1953); Voet (1969); Cherubini et al. (1983); the essays included in Cavaciocchi (1992); Panciera (1995); Conway (1999).

From this point of view, much has been done mainly through studies dedicated to individual publishing companies and the places where they operated and which try to reconstruct the commercial networks that these subjects created, the characteristics of their customers, the typology of the books they produced and sold, the dynamics and the way in which the market was shaping in the transition between the Renaissance and the modern age (Hirsch 1974; Richardson 1999; Maclean 2009; Nuovo 2013). These researches have emphasized the aspects related to the evolution and transformations experienced by the world of Italian and European culture, as well as the role of printing in the dissemination of the ideas and the development of the great intellectual movements of that time. The relative scarcity of historical-economic analysis, on the other hand, has led to fragmented and disorganized investigations which are not able to fully encompass the topic of book production and trade as part of a wider discussion of the changes in the structure of consumption (including cultural consumption) and price dynamics in both the shorter and longer term. This latter aspect has recently been the subject of increasing interest since it has been identified as a crucial element in understanding the strategies and management choices of booksellers (publishers, merchants, etc.) and the extent of the diffusion of printed books within an evolving market.

Explicit references to prices have never been lacking in book history studies devoted to a single printer, to a specific market, or to private collections that often accumulated huge amounts of printed texts coming from the major European cities. Such references, however, have often been limited, treated and presented episodically and not related to the levels and trends in the prices of other consumer goods or the cost of living in a given place and time, except occasionally and in a very restricted way.

The very nature of the book object itself demands special attention when deciding to perform aggregate data analysis. In contrast to widespread commodities such as wheat, salt, other food products or raw materials, books were objects whose intrinsic characteristics (format, material, quality of print, but also the content itself, targeted at specific market) make the reduction to a single standard category very complex. These are not fungible goods, but at the same time they are by definition series-produced, thus differing from the concept of a unique object like a work of art or of high craftsmanship, with which they however share some peculiarities.

Certainly, it is possible to exclude many of the specific characteristics of a group of printed works in making them into an ideal unit on which to carry out statistical processing, but the operation requires extreme caution because it is at risk of losing precisely the essential information on which the analysis of the phenomenon depends.

Another difficulty is the distribution of books within a transnational market. It is one thing to compare the different trends of the evolution over time of the sale prices of printed books produced and distributed in individual markets (and monetary spaces) because they match a local demand, but quite another to take into account transnational demand and the intra-European circuits in which books circulated.

From this point of view, the implications are not only related to the monetary aspects of price comparability, but also affect the demand and supply mechanisms conditioned by the competition present over a wider territorial area.

In addition, the costs of long-distance book trade should not be underestimated, such as the transport costs that ultimately affected the final selling price (Dittmar 2015, 7). All these aspects, and many others, have to be taken into account in a study on the prices of printed books in Europe and over the longer term.

Undoubtedly, the subject is difficult to handle. In Angela Nuovo's words: "The price of books is to a large extent the result of the relationship of the various agents in the world of books. To understand this, the historian needs to focus on the processes publishers or wholesalers and then retail booksellers used in pricing books, then to make some assumptions about the prices that purchasers paid, based on an examination of the surviving records of some of the great book collectors. Finally, it is crucial to detect how, how far and why the various authorities, religious and governmental, intervened in the establishment of book prices" (Nuovo 2017, 107).

Although they are quite uncommon, there exist in fact a considerable number of sources from which historians should be able to extract even extensive series of book prices from the Renaissance and early modern periods, especially in Italy.

On the one hand, book trade lists allow us to evaluate stocks and their resale price as estimated by the booksellers who were called in to give a valuation. On the other hand, bookshop inventories, although they are among the documents

which have been less studied by book historians, are the first and sometimes unique source for data relating to which books were really circulating at a certain time and in certain places, how many of them just published or old or second-hand, and what their prices were. Moreover, from the first decades of printing, publishers and booksellers produced lists of books as a way of advertising their holdings. But only a fraction of these catalogues include prices of volumes, for reasons which have still to be fully understood.

Particularly interesting for these purposes are also the collections of private individuals who, in the most fortunate cases, contain references to the purchase prices of books or, where entire collections have passed from one owner to another, estimates of their value at the time of sale (Danesi 2014; Wagner and Carrera 1991).

The creation of a large database of book prices undoubtedly constitutes an invaluable resource but it is a daunting task; moreover, it is only the first level of difficulty that researchers have to face. At this stage, it is not important to consider how prices were formed during the various steps of the production process (sedimentation of production costs, costs related to the sale) or the nature of the assigned value (estimated in the case of used books, or stock inventory, or the result of special conditions offered to specific customers, etc.). It is first and foremost necessary to reflect on the interpretation we give to the figures found in the heterogeneous documentation that we are about to analyze. The many reference currencies in which these prices are expressed, depending on the monetary area of action of the economic operators involved, are likely to confuse and mislead if their exact meaning is not understood (Judges 1967, 526). This becomes even more urgent when, for example, our primary sources are the private notations of a collector who recorded how much he had paid for a book, or when two different currencies – geographically and chronologically – bear the same name. This is also crucial in comparing different places and markets. Was the price expressed in money of account or in coined money? In domestic or foreign currency? Is it possible to relate two prices expressed in different currencies?

It could therefore be useful to look in more detail at some monetary aspects in order to clear up any doubts or misreadings by building a reliable picture of the various types of currency used in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then we will discuss the possibility of comparing prices expressed in different currencies as they emerged on different markets.

## The birth and development of a European monetary system

It is necessary to go back a few centuries to identify the passages that led to the coexistence in early modern Europe of a multitude of currencies having legal tender within a specific monetary area. At the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne developed a monetary reform which was imposed on all the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. This reform foresaw a silver monometalism by setting up a single legal-tender currency, the *denarius* (penny), obtained by dividing a silver pound (about 410 grams, 950/1000 fine) into 240 units. In decimal terms, every coin weighed theoretically 1.76 grams. A monetary system relying on only one coin, with no multiples or fractions, was very primitive, but it was suitable for the low level of transaction in early medieval times. When calculations and prices of hundreds or thousands of *denari* were required, non-coined multiples were used: the *soldo* (shilling) worth 12 *denari*, the *lira* (pound) worth 20 *soldi* or 240 *denari* corresponding to the original silver pound. A weight unit had become a monetary unit. The *lira*, which would go on to enjoy great success over the following thousand years throughout the Christian West, was thus born as a non-existent coin, a 'ghost coin', in Carlo Cipolla's words (Cipolla 1975).

After a long period of relative stability in money-weight and silver content, in a few centuries the political and administrative particularity of the various European territories, as well as the tumultuous economic development after the year 1000, led to the proliferation of new mints striking coins with different characteristics. As for the silver content of the *denaro*, it saw a progressive reduction: the *lira* and the *soldo* followed the same path, fragmenting the monetary landscape of Europe, and of Italy in particular.

With the erosion in the value of the *denaro* (240 *denari* came to represent everywhere a weight less than a pound) the *lira*-coin ceased to be equal to the *lira*-weight and "the ghost had begun its life, independent from the real being from which it had taken its name" (Cipolla 1967, 42). It also began to multiply in variety depending on the minting area (*lira* of 240 Florentine *denari*, *lira* of 240 *denari* of Lucca, *lira* of 240 Venetian *denari*, and so forth).

One of the obvious consequences of Western Europe's economic growth was the increase in the amount of business transactions, for which the *denaro*, which was now debased everywhere, seemed less and less suitable. At the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century different coins with a unitary value

higher than the *denaro* began to be struck: thus, for example, in 1172 Genoa began minting a silver coin with the value of 4 Genoese *denari*. Florence and Rome soon followed the Genoese example. Slightly later, Venice began to strike a piece worth 24 *denari*. In 1252 Florence coined the golden florin equivalent to 240 *denari*, thus giving life to the *lira*. In Genoa, at the same time, a piece of gold equivalent to about 120 local *denari*, i.e. half a *lira*, was created.

Contemporaries began to emphasize the distinction between these “big” (*grossi*) coins and the old “little ones” (*piccoli*): the latter, represented by the ever smaller and debased *denaro*, were destined for circulation in local markets as a means of payment in retail sales, wage settlement, and small credit transactions. The “big” (silver or gold) coins were used in transnational, commercial and financial operations instead.

The problem was that throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, the monetary authorities were unable to maintain stable exchange rates between the “small” and “big” coins, leaving the former at the mercy of the inflationary forces which, by contrast, only superficially affected the latter. Instead of harmonizing themselves into an organic monetary system, they formed two distinct ones, with specific areas of social and economic circulation. Within a few years, for example, the golden ducat of Venice which was worth 576 denars in Venice in 1284 rose to 1488 in 1500; in 1252 the golden florin of 240 Florentine *denari* was valued at 1680 *denari* in 1500 (Cipolla 1975, 53; Cipolla 1967, 43). Given these conditions of instability, the “big” coin could not function as a multiple of the “small” one.

The solution generally adopted by the businessmen in keeping their accounts was to “keep alive the old ghosts, *lira* and *soldo*” (Cipolla 1967, 45). For accounting purposes, it is necessary to have a differentiated unit system, but it is also essential to have a fixed and stable relationship between the units. The impossibility of ensuring a fixed relationship between the various metal coins obliged people to continue to use ghost units, inherently stable by definition, to measure their value.

The large metal coins (gold florins or ducats) in several Italian monetary areas (Milan, Venice, Genoa, Florence) remained in stable relationship with the small ones for a good part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, so they also began to be used as a unit of account, as multiples of the *denaro*.



But when between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this stability began to waver and the gold coin resumed its upward trajectory, it too turned into a pure currency of account. For example, in Venice, the golden ducat remained fixed at the rate of 124 *soldi* for more than forty years in the second half of the fifteenth century, but when in 1517 its value started to rise again, people considered the ducat of 124 *soldi* as an abstract unit of account which had nothing to do with the coined golden ducat, which was progressively increasing in value. Likewise, in the state of Milan at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the florin of account had a value of 384 *denari*, while the minted one, for example in 1445, was worth 768 Milanese *denari* (Cipolla 1967, 48).

The terms “*lira*” and “*soldo*” had therefore a universally identical meaning (240 and 12 *denari*, with a different value depending on the monetary area, but with an internally fixed ratio), while the “big” units of account were worth many *denari* depending on the place. The currency of account, or ghost money, was therefore necessary to make calculations and to keep accounts because it represented a measure of value, not a means of payment. This is the main difference from the present monetary systems in which the base unit performs both functions. During the *ancien régime*, the currency of account was used to guarantee stability for a monetary system in which the “small” coins underwent a progressive debasement and the relationship between gold and silver was continuously changing (Goldthwaite and Mandich 1994, 41).

The key feature of all the monetary areas of Europe was, ultimately, the dissociation between hard cash (means of payment) and the unit of account (the specific instrument for measuring prices within a given area of sovereignty). Coins circulated through spaces and across boundaries, while territorial units of accounts were not directly convertible into one another. Only indirect comparisons were possible, in particular when in a certain monetary area an official quotation in terms of the local unit of account was attributed to a foreign coin (Boyer-Xambeau, Deleplace, and Gillar 1991, 184).

The different territorial units of account could be put in relation to each other in different ways: first and foremost, the governments of the various states set up the legal quotation of national or foreign metallic coins which were allowed to circulate within the administered territory. A connection between the unit of account and several coins was thus established; it had to consider their weight and fineness, as well as the relationship between the unit and a certain metal

weight, ie a tariff that was made public (although obviously not stable over time).

Thus, there was a multiplicity of monetary relations as a consequence of the different regime in force in each State: there were as many comparisons between these national monetary ratios as there were States and pairs of coins (Boyer-Xambeau, Deleplace, and Gillar 1991, 99).

The effective application of the laws establishing the official exchange rates was represented by the action of the moneychangers, a private activity often subject to authorization and supervision by the authorities. Their function was to receive all the types of coin existing on a marketplace and exchange them with other coins by controlling their weight and the fineness. Besides performing the 'vertical' exchange, that is, between pieces belonging to the same area of sovereignty (as a result of measures taken by the government to remove certain categories of coins, for example), the moneychangers were also engaged in the 'horizontal' exchange between foreign coins circulating into the State. The operations had to be carried out on the basis of the official quotation established by the authority, but most of the time – for a variety of reasons, from the mistrust or propensity shown towards certain coins, or their abundance or rarity – a different, 'voluntary quotation' could arise.

Parallel to this 'public' management of the territorial accounting unit, there was a 'private' management carried out by independent actors – merchant-bankers – who decided exchange rates through specific instruments, the main one being the so-called bill of exchange. Through this operation, a certain amount of currency was transferred from one individual to another in exchange for a letter containing the order to pay a certain sum in another currency and in another place; the actual payment could have been carried out in different ways, cash, bank transfer, or credit compensation. There is no need to dwell here on its characteristics, its evolution from the late Middle to the Modern Age, its use as a means of payment in transnational trade or as an instrument designed to exchange *per arte* in view of making a profit.<sup>2</sup> What is relevant here is that the object of the bill of exchange was a foreign currency of account defined in relation to the territorial unit of account, at a rate agreed between the parties involved.

<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient to refer to De Roover (1953); Boyer-Xambeau, Deleplace, and Gillar (1991); Matringe (2016).

In each financial center there existed a single currency denominated “present”, i.e. defined in the local territorial unit of account, while the other currency was “absent”, i.e. not measurable by that unit except through the exchange performed by letter. Through this conversion, a private sum of wealth expressed in “absent” currency (i.e. foreign) acquired value in “present” (i.e. local) currency.

While free and private, the relationships created were not due to chance, but rather to the control by the merchant-bankers of a structured exchange network gravitating round a central fair.<sup>3</sup> Exchange rates were set up there, by creating a real ‘transnational private currency’. The existence of this currency was the only process capable of giving homogeneity to the multiple monetary relations created by the arbitrary power of the authorities of individual European countries.

The mechanism of the central fair played a dual role: on the one hand, it gathered information related to many European public coinages, allowing the operators to calculate reference rates consistent with each other on the basis of a specific ‘official’ currency of exchange of the fair, to which all had to refer (the *scudo di marco*); on the other hand, it elaborated information based on the common and qualified opinion of the merchant-bankers who supervised the fair by allowing them to comply with the conditions under which the individual contracts were concluded (Vigne 1903; Gascon 1971; Matringe 2016; Pezzolo and Tattara 2008; Marsilio 2008).

It is important to underline that the existence of a network of exchange by bills did not give birth to an ‘organic exchange system’: what was emerging was only a bilateral relationship between the central fair and each financial place, and it was not possible to automatically deduce by transitivity the relative price of two foreign currencies. The fair depended on a centralized procedure, but it cannot be considered a ‘general market’ in the modern sense; the irreversibility and lack of transitivity were due to a phenomenon of a monetary order. This is the decision by the States to establish the seigniorage – the difference between the legal tender of a coin in its issuing country and the value of the precious metal contained in it.<sup>4</sup> Seigniorage allowed the merchant-bankers to operate the

<sup>3</sup> During the period under consideration, the fair was held in Lyon and then, from the late sixteenth century, moved to Besançon and later to Piacenza – why and how we cannot examine here.

<sup>4</sup> This was due to the levy made by the authority associated with the privilege of minting. From the amount of coin struck, the mint would have taken a cut to cover its own working expenses and another cut by way of seigniorage or tax.

exchange *per arte* and earn a systematic profit,<sup>5</sup> but it did not the creation of a direct relationship between two foreign currencies exchanged at the central fair in *scudi di marco* (Boyer-Xambeau, Deleplace, and Gillar 1991, 260).

Minted coinage was therefore an official monetary instrument that needed two transactions to establish a relationship between units of account: a public official act establishing its legal value, and the manual exchange for private use. On the other hand, the bill of exchange coordinated the relations between units of account according to arrangements of a private nature.

However, an interconnection between these two types of ‘public’ currency (the legal tender of the coins) and ‘private’ currency (determined by the exchange rates) existed: a lack of coherence between them would have resulted in a chronic instability of the exchange rates (Boyer-Xambeau, Deleplace, and Gillar 1991, 346). In fact, private monetization could not be arbitrary, as the exchange rates practiced had to be linked and bound to the public one.

## **Problems of comparison and possible solutions**

After this long digression, it is time to go back to the initial question, whether it is possible and if so how it is possible to compare the prices of books that appeared in different monetary areas. The first problem, as discussed in the previous chapter, and to which the last part of the paper will try to provide an answer, is the need to find a correlation between the monetary units in which prices are expressed in the sources.

Based on what has been said in the first part of the paper on the slipperiness of the topic, each result should be considered only as a first approximation to a more complex analysis taking into account several factors.

The immediate temptation would be to use the relationships between currencies of different areas which emerge from the two types of monetization, public and private, as discussed above. For example, we could identify a reference currency to which all the prices we are interested in could be traced back.

<sup>5</sup> It was equal to the sum of the seigniorage rate of the two countries on the intrinsic value of the national currencies, provided that the exchanges by letter corresponded to the official exchange rate.

The monetary instrument that we have called ‘public’, that is, put into practice by the rulers who established the quotation in units of account of all the coinage in the territory, both internal and external, does not seem to be ideal. The tariffs that were periodically made public concerned the minted coins, so a series of conversions would be needed to correlate the value of the foreign coin with the unit of account of the country of origin and the value of the foreign coin in units of accounts of the reference currency. This operation could not ignore the distortion caused by the seigniorage and by the arbitrary decisions of the States in determining the official rates: they could consider or not the precious metal content of the individual minted coins as a result of specific, though rudimentary, monetary policies aimed at defending the national currency.

Another critical point that shouldn’t be underestimated is the existence of the ‘voluntary exchange’ materially performed by moneychangers: its very presence questioned the credibility of the legal exchange rate decreed by the authorities.

Also the ‘private’ monetization is certainly not free from criticism. The exchange rates set during the periodic fairs influenced the arrangements between merchant-bankers and their customers, but were still ‘contaminated’ by the seigniorage. This ensured the enrichment of the operators, as previously mentioned, but did not make transitive the relationships between the individual financial places and the central fair and the respective units of account. In addition, situations of extraordinary or abnormal abundance (*larghezza*) or lack (*strettezza*) of liquidity on a financial market could lead to more or less serious deviations between the rates materially indicated in the contracts and the reference ones. Nevertheless, it would be overly cautious not to take advantage of the wealth of information on exchange rates which emerged during the central fairs and is available for numerous years over the course of the sixteenth century (Lapeyre 1955; Da Silva 1969; Vázquez De Prada 1960; Denzel 2010).

Resorting to the economic historical literature dealing with prices could offer some solutions to these problems, as long as we remember to exercise caution in carrying out such delicate operations which are susceptible of methodological as well as interpretative errors (Parenti 1981; Cipolla 1950; Romano 1967; Braudel and Spooner 1967).

Price series, both of individual products and in the form of general indexes, traditionally refer to values of account obtained within a single monetary space.

This does not protect the creation of such series from mistakes, since, as we saw at the beginning, the account currency was subject to centuries or decades of changes in values as a result of the change in weight or alloy of the coined currency to which it was anchored.

Paolo Malanima has identified two types of influence that the currency could exert on prices. First of all, the fluctuation in the market value of the precious metal to which the unit of account was linked, which affected the price trend in such a way that it could not be isolated from the other variables, such as the demand and the supply of goods. In the second place, the changes, established by governments, in the alloys of coinage, or the value of the coined money in terms of money of account: from a certain point in time the same coin with the same fineness could assume a higher value in terms of money of account. Consequently, the unit of account ended up corresponding to a lower amount of precious metal (Malanima 2002, 406).

A possible remedy for this second problem is the conversion of the values of the series of prices from units of account to precious metal content (silver) in order to ‘sterilize’ them from the processes of ‘mutation’ of the currency which occurred over the years. This operation is made possible by the large amount of historical data related to the theoretical silver content of the units of account of the most important Italian and European currencies (Malanima 2002, 409; Mueller 1997, 624; De Rosa 1955).<sup>6</sup>

For our purposes, the adoption of these parameters is not only useful to guarantee the reliability of book prices in terms of local account units over time, by avoiding any purely monetary influence, but it also allows us to compare prices formulated in different territorial units according to their relative silver content. This conversion process has been criticized by some economic historians over the years: an awkward element, which has already come to the fore, is the monetary policies that sovereigns could implement in their States. Prices could not show an immediate reaction to these policies, being conditioned by several factors such as the general economic situation, the reaction of the market, and so on (Cipolla 1950; Judges 1967; Malanima 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Tables that aggregate large amounts of data, also regarding the theoretic metallic content of local units of account, can be found on the website of the Global Price and Income History Group, <http://gpih.ucdavis.edu>.

However, within the project EMOBookTrade, the decision has been taken to make use of multiple approaches, despite our awareness that none of them is perfect; however, their combined use probably represents the lesser evil and does not affect the analysis that, at this stage, we intend to do.

A reference currency to which all the prices of the printed books contained in the sources could be brought back, the Venetian *lira*, was then chosen. Exchange rates (of a 'private' nature) between the Venetian *lira* and the other currencies have also been traced in the relevant literature (even through the mediation of the fairs' official currency, the *scudo di marco*, despite the limits of such procedure) (Lapeyre 1955; Da Silva 1969; Vázquez De Prada 1960; Denzel 2010). At the same time the silver content over the years of the Venetian *lira* and the other units of account has been identified. Finally, these two values have been correlated to confirm and verify the equivalence of the two ratios, that is, the exchange ratio between the units of account and their theoretical weight in silver. As expected, in all cases examined, the two ratios do not differ substantially in terms of absolute value, sharing the same pattern over time.

By doing so, prices can be made compatible at a given moment in time even when expressed in different currencies. However, it must be emphasized that this kind of analysis can only provide indicative results, and its representativeness and utility in conducting a comparative price study is somewhat limited.

## Conclusions

What has been shown here resolves, albeit with some pending issues, just one of the many aspects related to the study of book prices in Renaissance Europe. Understanding their monetary nature, and having in mind the dynamics between different currencies for a comparison between them is important, but it is only the first hurdle, and not perhaps the most fearsome.

A further step, remaining within the monetary sphere but focusing on a single monetary area at a time, is following the vicissitudes of a price series over time in an attempt to 'purify' it from contingent situations arising from different phenomena other than normal market competition. It will then be necessary to explore more deeply the issue of the uniformity of different types of books in order to create an 'abstract object' so as to attribute the prices recorded by

the sources found in most parts of Italy and Europe. These steps are mandatory for the comparison not only of the level but above all the dynamics of the price series emerging within two or more specific book markets or trade areas, linking them to the cost of living and the consumption level of all the other goods.

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# **Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues (Paris 1541-1552): a statistical analysis**

**Goran Proot\***

## **1. Introduction**

The aim of this contribution is to attempt to reveal trends and factors influencing prices of books as they were being advertised in nine booksellers' catalogues by the Parisian printer and publisher Robert Estienne between 1541 and 1552. In the first phase of this study, the goal has been to try to better understand the main elements which determine price levels of books in this area and period. Therefore this survey is concerned with overall tendencies and factors rather than with individual cases, and favors a statistical approach rather than a case-by-case analysis. In a second phase, individual cases can be addressed using the findings of the present survey as a global backdrop.

First the corpus is briefly described. This is followed by a description of the methodology and choices made when carrying out this survey in order to obtain reliable datasets for individual catalogues. The third section presents certain statistical data for each catalogue. The fourth section describes the evolution of prices across the nine catalogues and is followed by general conclusions.

## **2. Corpus**

This survey focuses on prices as they were advertised by Robert Estienne in printed booksellers' catalogues between 1541 and 1552. Perhaps a brief

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historical note, setting these in context, is relevant here: according to a *Census* of booksellers' catalogues and advertisements of printed books from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in preparation by Christian Coppens, there are – besides these Estienne catalogues – only sixteen other Parisian booksellers' catalogues for the sixteenth century known thus far (Coppens [2018]).<sup>1</sup> The earliest Paris booksellers' catalogue with prices was published around 1540 by Simon de Colines, from whom in total three different catalogues are known until about 1546. Three catalogues with prices published by Christian Wechel appeared in or about 1543. Three years later, Regnault and his son Claude Chaudière published their first booksellers' catalogue with prices, a second one following two years later. Mathieu David and Jean Loys both published one booksellers' catalogue with prices (in the period 1554-1547 and 1554 respectively). From Guillaume Morel six catalogues with prices are known, listing, in total, more than 1,300 prices in the period 1550-1562. In quantity, this corpus is only second to the one discussed in this contribution.

A brief reminder about Robert Estienne (I) himself (also known as *Robertus Stephanus*) might also be useful: he was the second son of Henri Estienne, who was active as a printer, bookseller and publisher in Paris from 1502 until his death in 1520 (Renouard 1837, vol. 2, 3). Robert's mother, Guyonne Viart, was widowed twice (Martin, Chartier & Vivet 1982, 231). After her first marriage to Jean Hygman (*fl.* 1484 – †c. 1500) (Barbier 2008, entry 24, 75), and her subsequent one to Henri Estienne, she got married late in 1521 or early 1522 for a third time to the printer and engraver Simon de Colines (†1546) (Renouard 1837, vol. 2, p. 5; Renouard 1894, 442–443; Amert 2012, 13). Like his father, Robert was active in the Parisian book trade as a lexicographer, printer, bookseller and publisher, working at first with Simon de Colines, and later alone, until 1550 or 1551. In this period, he was forced into exile after condemnation of his editorial work on the Bible by the theologians of the Sorbonne, and moved to Geneva where he continued printing (Renouard 1837, vol. 2, 30–31). In 1543, *in tempore non suspectu*, however, Robert Estienne was appointed '*imprimeur du roi*' [= 'printer to the king'] and thus recognised as one of the key figures in the French book world; this honour lasted until 1550, when the title was passed on to his brother, Charles Estienne (Barbier 2008, entry 42,

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the author of the *Census* for his generosity both for sharing drafts of his text and for the many discussions on this subject we have had over the last five years.

96), who had taken over the family business. A booksellers' catalogue from 1552 confirms the continued availability of Robert's books in Paris, which were probably to be had in the rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran in Paris, where Charles was now running the printing shop (Barbier 2008, entry 49, 117). Robert Estienne died in Geneva in 1559.

Included in this survey are all booksellers' catalogues published by Robert Estienne between 1541 and 1552, with prices. Only three of them can be dated with certainty: those of 1541, 1546, and 1552. Publication dates of the other six catalogues are derived from the dates of the editions mentioned. Two catalogues can be dated as 'not before 1542'; four more catalogues are dated about (*circa*) 1544, about 1546, about 1547 and about 1549. Details of the dates are provided in Coppens's *Census* (Coppens [2018]).

It is not known for whom Estienne's catalogues were intended and, indeed, this may even have varied from catalogue to catalogue. I did not come across any information pointing in the direction of either the retail or the wholesale market. Manuscript marks, such as crosses in the margins and underlinings, or contemporary notes present in the copies consulted could have served both equally well. Neither is there anywhere an explicit indication of the currency used, though it is clear that the catalogues were conceived in Paris, and thus refer to 'livres tournois', the common currency at the time (Braudel & Spooner 1967, 380). The *livre tournois* (*livre*, abbreviated as l.; sometimes the catalogues mention 'francs') was divided into 20 *sous* (*sols*, s.), each of which was made up of 12 *deniers* (d.), meaning that one *livre tournois* was worth 240 deniers. There is no doubt about the fact that the books advertised were sold 'en blanc', i.e., without binding, which was common practice when advertising 'new', or more precisely, 'first-hand' books.

Copies of all nine catalogues were consulted, book-in-hand, leading, at a late stage of the survey, to the unexpected discovery of a second edition of the [not before] 1542 edition. Up to this point, in secondary literature as listed in Coppens's *Census*, only eight editions had been distinguished. When I discovered that the Leiden copy and the Oxford copy of this catalogue actually use different type settings, and, consequently, are different editions, I decided to include the STCV 'fingerprint' (Van Impe, van Rossem & Proot 2005, 124–132) in the descriptions given below, as well as the dimensions of book blocks of the

copies consulted thereafter.<sup>2</sup> This is why some of this information is lacking for copies consulted before that. This does not in fact pose a problem, because I was able visually to verify type settings of other copies by study of images of them.

A ‘diplomatic’ description of the title or the incipit according to the STCV rules is followed by edition information (imprint, or inferred place of publication, printer and date), bibliographical format, a collation formula and a foliation or pagination statement (Van Impe, van Rossem & Proot 2005, 107–123).<sup>3</sup> In a number of cases, this is followed by the STCV fingerprint. All copies consulted book-in-hand are listed, and, of these, the copy from which the diplomatic descriptions of all the entries are processed is marked with an asterisk. For most copies I measured the dimensions of the book block in millimeters. In the case of the 1546 catalogue, two states of leaf A5 verso are distinguished on copy level. The descriptions conclude with a reference to the entry in Coppens’s *Census*, which refers in turn to other secondary sources, editions and surveys.

The description of the [About 1544] catalogue is only partial: as recorded by Coppens in his *Census*, both the Paris and the Lyons copies lack the final bifolium (Coppens [2018]), which should only be present in a copy in Copenhagen. Images of the Copenhagen copy (Kongelige Bibliotek–Royal Library, 184, 381, 8°) were not available at the time of writing and so were not included in this survey. Apparently, those two leaves list 31 more titles. It is anticipated that the omission of this data, however, will not affect the overall results of this survey.

## 2.1 1541 catalogue

*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, partim nati, partim restituti & excusi*. [Printer’s device]. [Paris, Robert Estienne, 1541]. 8vo, a<sup>8</sup>, 8 unnumbered leaves. STCV fingerprint: 000008 - # b1 a2 on : # b2 a3 m\$

Copies consulted:

– Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Bblgr.IV, 120 Beibd. 1 (incomplete: lacks A4.5; 150 x 101 mm)

<sup>2</sup> See also the STCV Manual online: <http://manual.stcv.be/page/Fingerprint>.

<sup>3</sup> See also the STCV Manual online: <http://manual.stcv.be>.

- Leiden, University Library, 1365 H3 (3) (incomplete: only a1–3).
- \*Leuven, University Library, Tabularium, Rés. 3A 21013/1 (173 x 101 mm).
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 8° 44967-9 (157 x 97 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 228.

## 2.2 [Not before 1542] catalogue, first edition

There are (at least) two editions of this catalogue. What is probably the first edition is present in the Leiden University Library copy; the second edition is present in at least two copies: the London British Library and the Oxford Bodleian copies. (The status of the copy in Vienna, in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), 56.676-A, has not yet been ascertained). The typesetting of the title page is justified in the second edition, while it is not in the first edition. In some cases, prices mentioned for the same entry differ between the two editions (see nos. 6, 17, 20, 22 in Table 2, cf. *infra*). The first edition lists 254 entries compared with 247 in the second edition. In addition, titles sometimes appear in a different order, resulting in different page layouts. The second edition sometimes has abbreviations in different places from those in the first one and rectifies a number of obvious composing mistakes. The combination of these elements points in the direction of the conception of two different editions, of which the Leiden edition is obviously earlier than the other one.

*Libri in officina Rob. Stephani partim nati, partim restituti & excusi.* [Paris, Robert Estienne, not before 1542]. 8vo, A<sup>8</sup>, 8 unnumbered leaves.

Copy consulted:

- \*Leiden, University Library, 1365 H3 (2).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 229.

### 2.3 [Not before 1542] catalogue, second edition

*Libri in officina Rob. Stephani partim nati, partim restituti & excusi.* [Paris, Robert Estienne, not before 1542]. 8vo, A<sup>8</sup>, 8 unnumbered leaves. STCV fingerprint: 000008 - # \*b1 A2 nta : # b2 A4 m\$do

Copies consulted:

- London, British Library, 820.d.11 (160 x 95 mm).
- \*Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxb. 100.1 (159 x 101 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 229 [bis].

### 2.4 [About 1544] catalogue

*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, partim nati, partim restituti et excusi: partim etiam vaenales ab aliis impressi.* [Printer's device]. [Paris, Robert Estienne, about 1544]. 8vo, A<sup>8</sup> B<sup>4</sup>, 12 unnumbered leaves. STCV fingerprint: 000008 - # b1 A2 a\$es : # b2 B3 m\$

Copies consulted:

- \*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.968 (157 x 92 mm) (wants two additional leaves, \*<sup>2</sup>, apparently only present in the Kongelige Bibliotek–Royal Library copy, 184,-381, 8°, which could not be consulted for this survey). This copy is followed by a bifolium in quarto, or a (half) sheet printed on one side in two columns of an unknown booksellers' catalogue with prices.

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 230.

### 2.5 1546 catalogue

*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi regij, partim nati, partim restituti & excusi.* [Printer's device] M.D.XLVI. IIII Id. Maii. 8vo, A<sup>8</sup> B<sup>4</sup>, 12 unnumbered leaves. STCV fingerprint: 154608 - # b1 A2 r : # b2 B3 ini

Copies consulted:

- Bern, Münsterbibliothek, Bong. V. 1013.1.



- \*Leuven, University Library, Tabularium, Rés. 3A 21017/I.
- Leuven, University Library, Tabularium, Rés. 3A 21017/IV.
- London, British Library, 820.d.14 (1) (178 x 109 mm). Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '6 d.'
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxb. 100.2 (156 x 95 mm). Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '8 d.'
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8 A 15 (7) (143 x 91 mm). Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '6 d.'
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.969. (159 x 99 mm). Complete, but fol. A1 is followed by fol. A1 from the [About 1547] catalogue, and fol. A7 is followed by A2 of the same [About 1547] catalogue. Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '8 d.'
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.970. (165 x 102 mm). Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '6 d.'
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.972 (160 x 102 mm). This copy has on the title page the old shelf mark 'Q 733'. It is the first part in a Sammelband holding Rés.Q.972, Rés.Q.973 and Rés.Q.974. Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '8 d.'
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. p.Q.442[.1] (148 x 93 mm). Different states: This copy has on fol. A5 verso, last line: '6 d.' Incomplete: lacks B<sup>4</sup>. Sammelband, fol. A8 is followed by the [About 1549] catalogue.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 8° 34344-3 (160 x 106 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 232.

## 2.6 [About 1546] catalogue

*Libri vaenales in bibliopolio Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, tum ab Henrico Stephano patre, tum à Simone Colinæo eius vitrico excusi.* [Paris: Robert Estienne, about 1546], 8vo, A–B<sup>8</sup>, 16 unnumbered leaves. stcv fingerprint: 000008 - # b1 A2 ica\$ : # b2 B4 omm

Copies consulted:

- Leiden, University Library, 1365 H 3 (1).
- \*Leuven, University Library, Tabularium, Rés. 3A 21017/III.
- London, British Library, 820.d.13 (178 x 110 mm). Silked copy.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8 A 15 (8) (143 x 88 mm).
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.973 (160 x 101 mm). This is the second part in a Sammelband holding Rés.Q.972, Rés.Q.973 and Rés.Q.974.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.975 (166 x 102 mm).
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 8° 34344-5 (159 x 105 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 231.

## 2.7 [About 1547] catalogue

*Haec ex officina Rob. Stephani prodierunt, ex quo suum ædidit indicem.* [Paris: Robert Estienne, about 1547], 8vo, A<sup>2</sup>, 4 p. STCV fingerprint: 000008 - # \*b1=b2 A1 iq

Copies consulted:

- \*Leuven, University Library, Tabularium, 3A21017/II.
- London, British Library, 820.d.14 (2) (152 x 91 mm).
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.969.[bis] (160 x 100 mm). Complete. Fol. A1 is bound after fol. A1 from the 1546 catalogue, and the conjunct fol. A2 is bound after fol. A7 of the 1546 catalogue.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 8° 34344-4 (161 x 104 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 233

## 2.8 [About 1549] catalogue

[Incipit fol. B1 recto:] *Haec ex officina Rob. Stephani prodierunt, ex quo suum ædidit indicem.* [Paris: Robert Estienne, about 1549]. 8vo, B<sup>4</sup>, 4 unnumbered

leaves. stcv fingerprint: 000008 - # b1 B1 ã\$ : # b2 B3 ndie

Copies consulted:

- \*Bern, Münsterbibliothek, Bong. V. 1013.1[bis].
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. p.Q.442[.2] (147 x 92 mm).

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 235.

## 2.9 1552 catalogue

*Index librorum in hac officina impressorum.* [Printer's device] Lvtetiae. M.D.LII. [printed by Charles Estienne for Robert Estienne?] 8vo, A–B<sup>8</sup>, (B8 blank); 15 unnumbered leaves and 1 blank leaf. stcv fingerprint: 155208 - # b1 A2 ma : # b2 B4 , \$eo

Copies consulted:

- \*Bern, Münsterbibliothek, Bong. V. 613.8.
- Leiden, University Library, 1365 H 3 (5).
- London, British Library, 820.d.16 (182 x 112 mm). Silked copy. Incomplete: lacks fol. B8 (blank).
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxb. 100.5 (167 x 105 mm). Incomplete: lacks fol. B8 (blank).
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.971 (162 x 105 mm). Complete.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.976 (164 x 101 mm). Complete.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.Q.977 (167 x 101 mm). Complete.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés.X.26578 (5) (168 x 110 mm). Complete: fols. B7 and B8 are conjunct, the outer edge is still uncut.

Lit.: Coppens [2018], No 236.

### 3. Methodology

Except for a limited number of titles present in one copy only of the [About 1544] catalogue, all titles have been transcribed diplomatically along with the prices as cited in the catalogues. In total 1,801 entries were entered onto a database, of which it was possible to identify 1,387 (77.02%), either in online databases or catalogues or by consulting actual copies in libraries (145 cases). For the identification of titles, I used the USTC, because there is, at present, no complete, up-to-date bibliography describing Robert Estienne's editions which includes accurate transcriptions of titles, authors, imprints colophons and full collation formulae (bibliographic formats, collation statements, page and/or leaf counts), let alone 'fingerprints' which permit one to distinguish different type-settings.<sup>4</sup> Robert Estienne reprinted many editions throughout his career. In cases where more than one edition was found, catalogue entries were matched with the most recent edition, unless specific details indicated otherwise. In a number of cases, it was impossible to link a catalogue entry with entries in USTC, because the information was too vague or doubtful.

Use was also made of Renouard's nineteenth-century bibliography on the Estiennes, but this work does not include collations, which are necessary in order to calculate the number of printing sheets required to produce one copy of a title (Renouard 1837). However, this bibliography does include prices of books, found in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues, but without reference to sources, and, as a result, also without any dates for those prices.<sup>5</sup> In cases where different prices turn up in different booksellers' catalogues, this information in Renouard's bibliography can be misleading. The only way to

<sup>4</sup> In 2014, a new bibliographic database was published online with descriptions of Paris imprints published between 1501 and 1540: BP16, *Bibliographie des éditions parisiennes du 16e siècle*. In December 2017, editions from the period 1541–1550 were added, and post-1550 will be added later. All descriptions are based on 'autopsy' (i.e., consultation book-in-hand) of copies present in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I would like to thank curator Louise Amazan of the Bibliothèque nationale de France for bringing this information to my attention. Unfortunately, it came too late to help with the identification of editions for this survey.

<sup>5</sup> 'Le premier Robert Estienne a publié plusieurs Catalogues de ses livres, avec leurs prix. J'ai introduit une partie de ces prix dans mes listes; ce sera assez pour donner à connoître quelle étoit alors la valeur des éditions soignées faites à Paris.' [= 'The first Robert Estienne published several catalogues of his books, with their prices. I have included some of these prices in my lists; that will be enough to give an idea of the value of the carefully edited editions printed in Paris'.] Cf. Renouard, *Ant. Aug.* 1837, vol. 1, p. 7.

get to the bottom of this is through comparison of all Estienne's booksellers' catalogues with prices for each title.

Another source used for this survey is Schreiber's study on the Estiennes (Schreiber 1982). It is thorough and very useful for the titles included, as it provides full, state-of-the-art bibliographic descriptions, including information about languages, type faces and illustrations; however, it contains only a selection of Robert Estienne's total output.

There is not yet a definitive French online, retrospective bibliography for all pre-1801 handpress books. There is a collective catalogue for France (CFFR), but the quality of the entries therein varies greatly; for accurate bibliographic descriptions of copies created book-in-hand in French holdings, one can use the Sudoc catalogue (<http://en.abes.fr/Sudoc/Sudoc-Catalogue>), but this has several drawbacks. It often contains multiple entries for the same bibliographical unit, entered by different people in different institutions; it is also by no means complete; the authority control, grouping entries of, e.g., one printer/publisher, is weak.

Since 2011, this bibliographical gap has been largely filled very cleverly by the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), an online tool which aims to include all known, pre-1601 editions produced on the Continent as well as in Great Britain. The USTC deliberately presents itself as an 'STC', a short title catalogue: however, it is not in fact a catalogue, because, for example, it goes beyond the usual scope of catalogues, as it also includes 'lost' editions, i.e., editions without any known existing copies. Neither is it a classic bibliography, because it does not systematically include all the usual bibliographic features (bibliographic formats, collations, foliation or pagination statements). And, in the cases when it does do this, it is not clear from which kind of source the information has been derived: actual copies, bibliographies, catalogues, or archival sources, or a combination of those. Unlike most catalogues or bibliographies, the USTC does not make explicit the transcription rules used for titles, authors, and imprints. As a result, this tool, useful as it most certainly is, does not merit the 'STC status' suggested by its name, because it is not clear where the information presented comes from and how it has been processed. In addition, it remains unclear what the status of individual records is (i.e., whether in process, finished, checked), and when information is being updated. As a result, the USTC contains many mistakes, such as duplicate records, and information which is simply wrong or

misleading.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, in the absence of similar tools, with the same scope and coverage, it still is a very valuable point of entry. One needs to bear in mind its flaws and double check information in case of doubt. This is sometimes possible by using the links given to digitized copies. In other cases, one has to verify holdings of cited institutions. Fortunately, of all the sections within the *USTC*, those dealing with French books before 1601 are perhaps the most reliable of all, because they were composed at the very beginning of the project when the collaborators still processed information almost entirely book-in-hand.

Scholars using the *USTC* should be aware of its weaknesses and check information whenever doubts arise. Whenever difficulties were encountered, I tried to corroborate information by checking library catalogues and bibliographies, and inspecting digitised copies (mainly those provided by Google Books, the Hathi Trust or the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) or by consultation with colleagues and curators working in library special collections in Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Typical situations leading to the exclusion of datapoints include the following: the data in *USTC* are too vague on title level, and/or do not include bibliographical formats, reliable foliation or pagination statements. In a number of cases, *USTC* contains duplicates or produces titles without surviving copies without justification. In some cases information is present but manifestly wrong or confused. Unfortunately, for whatever reasons, it seems that those responsible for the *USTC* do not always respond when such errors or lacunae are reported to them. For the analysis presented below, I have left out all the datapoints for which information raised doubts or difficulties, reducing the total dataset to 1,087 or 60.36% of the initial corpus. As this may lead to the loss of information on the level of individual records, it is not expected that this will alter the statistical outcomes of this survey.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *USTC* 203296 gives the format 8vo instead of 4to (compare the copy at Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 10125.1); *USTC* 184446 gives 112 fols. instead of 112, [7], [1 blank] fols. (compare Ph. Renouard 1894, p. 68); *USTC* 182109 links to a different edition on Google Books (<https://books.google.be/books?id=NA5VAAAAQAAJ&hl=de&pg=PA1#v=onepage&q&f=false>) than the one described; *USTC* 185538 mentions only a number ('109') for the extent, but does not explain whether this number refers to pages or to foliation; many other examples can be found.

## 4. Results

This section provides the following information for each catalogue:

- the total number of entries listed in the catalogue;
- the number of entries which could be identified;
- the number of entries holding all elements needed for the analysis (i.e., bibliographical format, a reliable pagination or foliation statement, and/or a reliable collation formula). Entries leaving room for doubt are excluded.

On the basis of this subset of complete and reliable data, the following information is calculated:

- the average price per sheet (expressed in *deniers tournois*) for the entire subset, followed by the standard deviation between brackets. The standard deviation allows for a better assessment of the fluctuations for the average price per sheet within the subset;
- the average price per sheet according to the age of the editions in the subset. In order to create subsets large enough for statistical comparison, entries were grouped according to decades;
- the average price per sheet according to bibliographical format;
- the average price per sheet for Hebrew books and for Greek books as opposed to the price per sheet of non-Hebrew and non-Greek books;
- the average price per sheet for books which are explicitly labelled as '*libri venales*' (i.e., editions on sale produced by others) as opposed to books not labelled as such (Robert Estienne's 'own' books).

### 4.1 1541 catalogue

Entries: 222, of which are identified: 166 (USTC: 165, copy in hand: 23)

Entries selected for analysis: 121

Price per sheet: 2.21 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm 1.09$ )

Age: 0 to 40 years old<sup>7</sup>

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 69): 2.49 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.11$ )
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 27): 1.74 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.51$ )
- Price per sheet Age 21–30 years old (n = 21): 1.86 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.08$ )
- Price per sheet Age 31–40 years old (n = 3): 2.88 (st. dev.  $\pm 2.71$ )

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 22): 1.88 (st.dev. 0.67)
- Quarto (n = 47): 2.35 (st.dev. 1.22)
- Octavo (n = 50): 2.15 (st.dev. 0.98)
- 16mo (n = 2): 4.52 (st.dev. 2.15)

Hebrew books (n = 17): 3.75 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.90$ )

Greek books (n = 1): 3.33

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 103): 1.95 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.90$ )

‘Own’ editions (n = 75): 2.41 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.00$ )

*Libri venales* (n = 46): 1.89 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.17$ )

## 4.2 [Not before 1542] catalogue, 1st edition

Entries: 254, of which are identified: 157 (USTC: 157; copy in hand: 6)

Entries selected for analysis: 108

<sup>7</sup> In one case, the year of publication is unclear.



Price per sheet: 1.89 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm 0.78$ )

Age: 0 to 50 years old

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 41): 1.97 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.52$ )
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 29): 1.82 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.35$ )
- Price per sheet Age 21–30 years old (n = 35): 1.76 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.98$ )
- Price per sheet Age 31–40 years old (n = 2): 3.71 (st. dev.  $\pm 3.23$ )
- Price per sheet Age 41–50 years old (n = 1): 1.85

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 19): 1.62 (st.dev. 0.44)
- Quarto (n = 37): 1.64 (st.dev. 0.56)
- Octavo (n = 49): 2.05 (st.dev. 0.69)
- 16mo (n = 2): 4.50 (st.dev. 2.12)
- 24mo (n = 1): 4.00

'Own' editions (n = 57): 1.98 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.45$ )

*Libri venales* (n = 51): 1.80 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.03$ )

### 4.3 [Not before 1542] catalogue, 2nd edition

Entries: 247, of which are identified: 150 (USTC: 150; copy in hand: 6)

Entries selected for analysis: 101

Price per sheet: 1.94 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm 0.88$ )

Age: 0 to 40 years old

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 43): 2.11 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.80)
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 24): 1.81 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.34)
- Price per sheet Age 21–30 years old (n = 31): 1.71 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.97)
- Price per sheet Age 31–40 years old (n = 3): 2.88 (st. dev.  $\pm$  2.71)

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 17): 1.58 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.38)
- Quarto (n = 35): 1.60 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.46)
- Octavo (n = 46): 2.17 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.92)
- 16mo (n = 2): 4.5 (st.dev.  $\pm$  2.12)

‘Own’ editions (n = 55): 2.01 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.54)

*Libri venales* (n = 46): 1.85 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.17)

#### 4.4 [About 1544] catalogue

Entries: 230, of which are identified: 197 (USTC: 197, copy in hand: 0)

Entries selected for analysis: 166

Price per sheet: 2.52 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm$  3.70)

Age: 0 to 40 years old

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 96): 2.59 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.01)
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 31): 1.99 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.84)
- Price per sheet Age 21–30 years old (n = 26): 1.50 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.53)
- Price per sheet Age 31–40 years old (n = 13): 1.93 (st. dev.  $\pm$  1.33)

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 32): 1.92 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.98)
- Quarto (n = 63): 2.39 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.23)
- Octavo (n = 68): 2.18 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.65)
- 16mo (n = 1): 6.04
- 24mo (n = 2): 3.97 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.37)

Hebrew books (n = 22): 4.04 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.23)

Greek books (n = 1): 3.00

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 143): 2.28 (st.dev.  $\pm$  3.93)

#### 4.5 1546 catalogue

Entries: 229, of which are identified: 186 (USRC: 181, copy in hand: 31)

Entries selected for analysis: 126

Price per sheet: 2.53 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm$  1.06)

Age: 0 to 20 years old

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 102): 2.73 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.11)
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 24): 1.83 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.35)

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 11): 2.56 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.39)
- Quarto (n = 39): 3.03 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.11)
- Octavo (n = 65): 2.08 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.41)

- 12mo (n = 1): 2.05
- 16mo (n = 6): 5.87 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.14)
- 24mo (n = 3): 3.50 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.90)

Hebrew books (n = 22): 4.01 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.18)

Greek books (n = 4): 4.00 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.80)

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 100): 2.20 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.83)

#### 4.6 [About 1546] catalogue

Entries: 300, of which are identified: 243 (USTC: 243, copy in hand: 2)

Entries selected for analysis: 216

Price per sheet: 2.36 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm$  1.40)

Age: 0 to 39 years old

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 105): 2.61 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.69)
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 76): 2.36 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.96)
- Price per sheet Age 21–30 years old (n = 25): 1.46 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.51)
- Price per sheet Age 31–39 years old (n = 10): 1.89 (st. dev.  $\pm$  1.51)

Bibliographical format:

- Broadsheet (n = 1): 1.00
- Folio (n = 48): 2.65 (st.dev.  $\pm$  2.48)
- Quarto (n = 46): 1.96 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.82)
- Octavo (n = 105): 2.26 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.73)
- 16mo (n = 15): 3.36 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.16)

Hebrew books (n = 0)

Greek books (n = 4): 3.57 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.54)

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 212): 2.33 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.40)

Colines editions (n = 187): 2.45 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.41)

#### 4.7 [About 1547] catalogue

Entries: 27, of which are identified: 20 (USTC: 20; copy in hand: 0)

Entries selected for analysis: 19

Price per sheet: 2.54 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm$  1.02)

Age: 0 to 10 years old

– Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 19): 2.54 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.02)

Bibliographical format:

– Folio (n = 2): 2.72 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.53)

– Quarto (n = 1): 1.64

– Octavo (n = 13): 2.25 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.31)

– 16mo (n = 3): 3.90 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.82)

Hebrew books (n = 2): 4.33 (st.dev.  $\pm$  2.36)

Greek books (n = 4): 2.52 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.07)

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 13): 2.25 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.32)

## 2.8 [About 1549] catalogue

Entries: 44, of which are identified: 35 (USTC: 35, copy in hand: 0)

Entries selected for analysis: 31

Price per sheet: 2.80 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm 0.97$ )

Age: 0 to 10 years old

– Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 31): 2.80 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.97$ )

Bibliographical format:

– Folio (n = 6): 2.90 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.87$ )

– Quarto (n = 6): 2.90 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.80$ )

– Octavo (n = 14): 2.24 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.31$ )

– 16mo (n = 5): 4.10 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.32$ )

Hebrew books (n = 4): 3.74 (st.dev.  $\pm 1.53$ )

Greek books (n = 9): 3.11 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.98$ )

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 18): 2.43 (st.dev.  $\pm 0.62$ )

## 4.9 1552 catalogue

Entries: 248, of which are identified: 233 (USTC: 211, copy in hand: 77)

Entries selected for analysis: 199

Price per sheet: 2.87 *deniers tournois* (standard deviation:  $\pm 1.35$ )

Age: 0 to 26 years old<sup>8</sup>

- Price per sheet Age 0–10 years old (n = 123): 2.70 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.06)
- Price per sheet Age 11–20 years old (n = 53): 2.83 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.128)
- Price per sheet Age 21–26 years old (n = 13): 1.94 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.38)

Bibliographical format:

- Folio (n = 17): 2.66 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.00)
- Quarto (n = 61): 3.18 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.02)
- Octavo (n = 97): 2.12 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.33)
- 16mo (n = 21): 5.62 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.54)
- 24mo (n = 3): 3.49 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.89)

Hebrew books (n = 50): 4.67 (st.dev.  $\pm$  1.25)

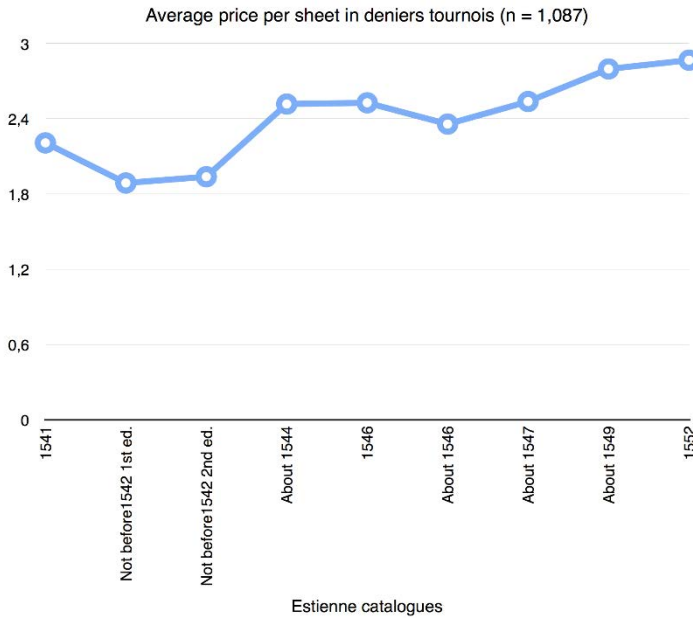
Greek books (n = 18): 3.27 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.90)

Non-Hebrew and non-Greek books (n = 132): 2.13 (st.dev.  $\pm$  0.50)

#### 4.10 Findings

The following five graphs group the main results of these statistical analyses allowing an assessment of the impact of different factors on prices as advertised by Robert Estienne in the period 1541-1552. For the graph showing the average price per sheet according to the age of editions (graph 2), subsets of data under 20 are excluded, but the information can be found in the overview on catalogue level (see above).

<sup>8</sup> In ten cases the year of publication is uncertain.

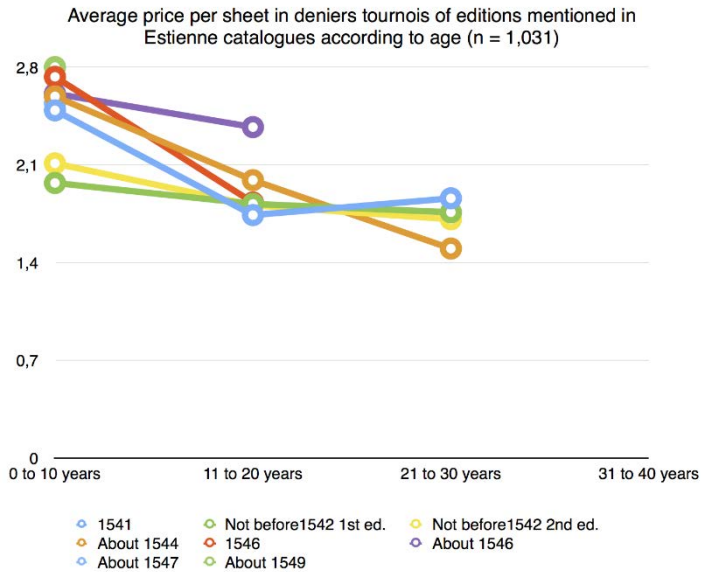


Graph 1. The evolution of the average price per sheet in the period 1541-1552.

The first graph indicates the impact of time on the average price per sheet for books advertised by Robert Estienne. Taking the average price per sheet of the 1541 catalogue as an index, prices increase slowly but steadily over the following eleven years and, by 1552, have risen by 30% (from 2.21 *deniers tournois* to 2.87 *deniers*). Three catalogues do not follow the overall trend: both [Not before 1542] catalogues as well as the [About 1546] catalogue. Items in the former two catalogues are about 12 to 14% cheaper than those mentioned in the 1541 catalogue. This can be explained when considering another factor influencing price levels, displayed in the following two graphs (Graphs 2 and 3).

The difference between the [About 1546] catalogue and those listed just before and after is not very dramatic: only about 7%. The 1546 catalogue contains a fairly large number of Hebrew books (22) in addition to four Greek books – two categories of books with high prices per sheet (see below, Graph 5). The [About 1546] catalogue does not list any Hebrew books, which probably explains the lower average price per sheet across all items.



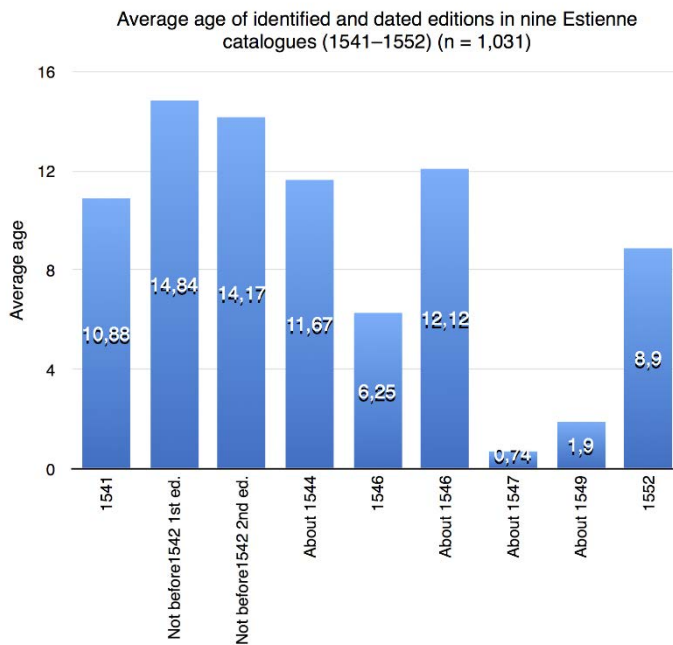


Graph 2. The average price per sheet according to the age of advertised editions

Graph 2 clearly indicates that old(er) editions are cheaper than new(er) editions in *deniers tournois* per sheet. In 1541, books in the subset of editions 11 to 20 years old are about 30% cheaper than books 0 to 10 years old. The differences between those two groups are even more important in the 1546 catalogue (about 33%), but smaller in the two editions of the [Not before 1542] catalogues, the [About 1544] and the [About 1546] catalogues. In those catalogues, average prices per sheet differ between books 0 to 10 years old and books 11 to 20 years old between 8 and 23%.

The difference with books more than 20 years old is less clearcut. Although they are always cheaper than books 0 to 10 years old, the differences vary widely. The third group (21–30 years old) is only slightly cheaper in two editions of the [Not before 1542] catalogue (-3% and -4% compared to the second group of books 11 to 20 years old). In the [About 1544] catalogue, the difference is very important: books in the third age group cost 42% less compared to those in the first age group. In contrast, in the 1541 catalogue books more than 21 years

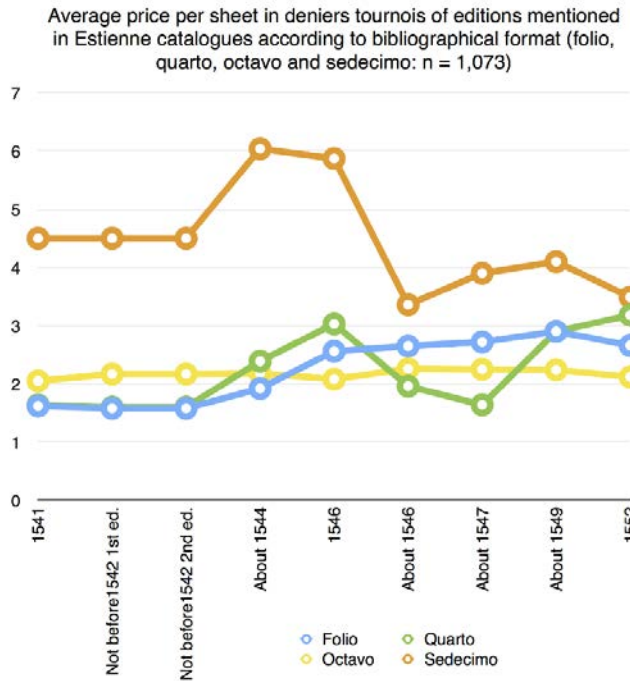
old become slightly more expensive (+4%) than those between 11 and 20 years old. This does not seem to be logical but can probably be attributed to a limited number of outliers as well as to the limited size of this group (n = 21).



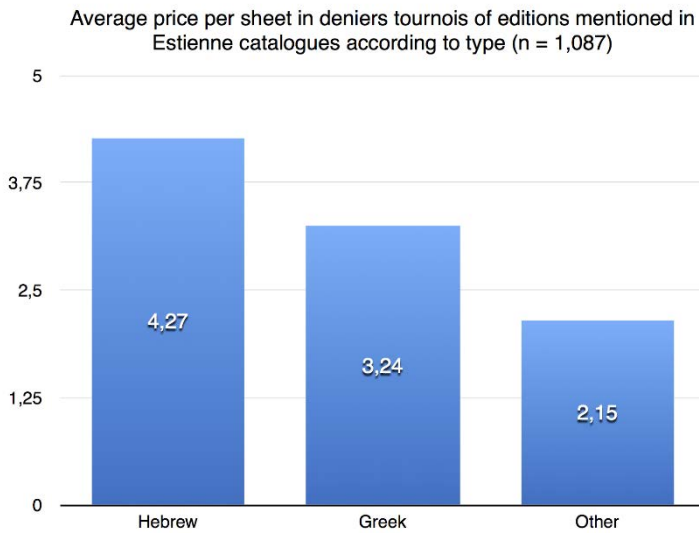
Graph 3. The average age of editions advertised in the different catalogues

The third graph helps to explain the two dips in the first one. It gives the overall average age of all editions listed per catalogue. Books in the two [Not before 1542] catalogues and in the [About 1546] catalogue are, in comparison to the catalogues published just before and after, considerably older. As explained above, older books are substantially cheaper, which helps to explain why graph 1 shows dips in 1542 and 1546. As mentioned before, the absence of items in Hebrew probably has a great impact on average prices per sheet in the latter catalogue (compare Graph 5).

A third factor influencing price levels is the bibliographic format of editions on sale. All formats show important fluctuations which may have to do with



Graph 4. The average price per sheet according to bibliographical format



Graph 5. The average price per sheet according to language/type (as referred to in the catalogues)

varying dates of publications (new versus old books), varying languages (see above) or other factors not surveyed here (e.g., editions printed in black and red, illustrated editions). In any case, one trend stands out: the small sedecimo format is considerably more expensive than larger bibliographical formats. This *enchiridii forma*, as 16mo is sometimes referred to in the catalogues, is marketed as a handy pocket book, the production of which is more difficult for compositors as they have to handle very small type.

The final chart in this section singles out editions in Hebrew and Greek, for which special type is used, and which requires compositors and proofreaders able to read these languages. Compared to books not featuring these exotic types in the catalogue descriptions, Greek books are 51% more expensive and books in Hebrew on average 99% more expensive.

## 5. Price evolution across catalogues

The 1,087 catalogue entries selected for analysis in this survey correspond to 598 different entries in *USTC*, of which 505 were useful for further study. As a result, a number of catalogue entries refer to identical editions, allowing an assessment of price differences across catalogues.

Surprisingly, there is only a small proportion of all cases where two, or in one case, three, different prices for one edition are advertised. Table 1 gives an overview of the distribution of catalogue entries and editions as recorded by *USTC*.

Table 1. Distribution of editions and catalogue entries

Editions mentioned in 1 catalogue:	244 (= 51.68% on a total of 505 editions)
Editions mentioned in 2 catalogues:	91; same price: 83, different price: 6
Editions mentioned in 3 catalogues:	74; same price: 70, different price: 4
Editions mentioned in 4 catalogues:	38; same price: 32, different price: 6
Editions mentioned in 5 catalogues:	37; same price: 27, different price: 10
Editions mentioned in 6 catalogues:	21; same price: 13, different price: 8

Table 2 lists all 34 cases in which more than one price was advertised.

Table 2. Different prices advertised in Estienne catalogues

Nr.	Entry (cited according to the earliest entry)	Price 1	Price 2
<b><i>Different prices recorded in 2 catalogues</i></b>			
1	Peri Archon (id est de principiis) scientiarum: quæ in Dialectices inquiri solent, breuiter & artificiose complectens (About 1544, fol. B4r; USTC 144163)	About 1544: 6 d.	About 1546: 12 d. (+ 100%)
2	Theodoriti Cyre[n]sis Episcopi de Curatione Græcaru[m] affectionu[m] libri duodecim, Zenobio Acciaiuolo interprete (About 1544, fol. A4v; USTC 145021)	About 1544: 84 d.	About 1546: 96 d. (+ 14%)
3	Galenii de differentijs febrium libri duo, Laure[n]tio Florentino interprete (About 1544, fol. A7r; USTC 146862)	About 1544: 24 d.	About 1546: 30 d. (+ 25%)
4	Expositio in quinquagesimum psalmum, cuius principum, Miserere mei Deus, &c. (About 1544, fol. A3r; USTC 184322)	About 1544: 12 d.	About 1546: 8 d. (- 33%)
5	Ioannis Fernelij Ambianatis Monosphærium, partibus quatuor. Prima, generalis horarij & structuram, & usum, [...] (About 1544, fol. B1v; USTC 184658)	About 1544: 60 d.	About 1546: 8 d. (- 87%)
6	Seminarium, siue plantarium (Not before 1542, 1st ed. fol. A5v, USTC 79706)	Not before 1542 1st ed.: 15 d.	Not before 1542 2nd ed.: 16 d. (+ 7%)
<b><i>Different prices recorded in 3 catalogues</i></b>			
7	De vita & moribus sacerdotum (Not before 1542, 1st ed. fol. A7v, USTC 145230)	Not before 1542 1st ed.: 36 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 24 d. (- 33%)
8	Liber Paralipomenon (About 1544, fol. A2r; USTC 153739)	About 1544: 84 d.	1546 & 1552: 90 d. (+ 7%)
9	Modus examinandæ co[n]structionis, authore Pellisone, recognitus & auctus, paruo & magno volumine (1541, fol. a5v; USTC 88461)	1541 & Not before 1542 2nd ed.: 4 d.	Not before 1542 1st ed.: 6 d. (+ 50%)
10	La maniere de tourner en langue Fra[n]coise les verbes actifz, passifz, gero[n]difs, supins, & participes [...] (1541, fol. a5v; USTC 41237)	1541: 6 d.	About 1544 & 1546: 4 d. (- 33%)

<i>Different prices recorded in 4 catalogues</i>			
11	De oratore libellus minutis characteribus (Not before 1542, 2nd ed. fol. A3r, USTC 147183)	Not before 1542 2nd ed., 1546 & 1552: 20 d.	About 1544: 240 d. (+ 1100%) ['20 s.' probably for 20 d.]
12	M.T. Ciceronis opera, ex Petri Victorii codicibus maxima ex parte descripta, viri docti [...] (1541, fol. a3r; USTC 147668)	1541, About 1544 & 1546: 1200 d.	1552: 240 d. (- 80%)
13	Lazari Bayfij annotationes in L.ij. de Captiuus, & postliminio reuersis. In quibus tractatur de Re nauali [...] (About 1544, fol. A5v; USTC 150155)	About 1544 & 1546: 108 d.	About 1549 & 1552: 120 d. (+ 11%)
14	Apologetica desceptatio Petri Brissoti, de venæ sectione (N.b. 1542 1st ed., fol. A6v; USTC 180973)	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 36 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 30 d. (- 17%)
15	De re hortensi (1541, fol. a4v; USTC 80808)	1541 & About 1544: 18 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 15 d. (- 17%)
16	De re vestiaria & de vasculis (1541, fol. a4v; USTC 88432)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 18 d.	About 1544: 10 d. (- 44%)
<i>Different prices recorded in 5 catalogues</i>			
17	De legibus libellus Phil. Melancht. (1541, fol. a6v; USTC 138226)	1541, Not before 1542 2nd ed., 1546 & About 1546: 8 d.	Not before 1542 1st ed.: 6 d. (- 25%)
18	Quintilianus (N.b. 1542 1st ed., fol. A5v; USTC 140673)	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 180 d.	About 1544, 1546 & 1552: 144 d. (- 20%)
19	Astrologiæ defensio Alberti Pighii (1541, fol. a7r; USTC 145490)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 24 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 36 d. (+ 50%)
20	Oratio pro Milone (1541, fol. a3v; USTC 146655)	1541, Not before 1542 2nd ed., About 1544 & 1546: 6 d.	Not before 1542 1st ed.: 8 d. (+ 33%)
21	Officioru[m] libri III. Cato maior, uel De Senectute: Lælius, uel de Amicitia. Paradoxa Stoicorum VI [...] (About 1544, fol. A6r; USTC 149044)	About 1544 & 1546: 30 d.	About 1547, About 1549 & 1552: 36 d. (+ 20%)

22	Eiusdem [= Despauterii] rudimenta (1541, fol. a5v; USTC 181701)	1541, Not before 1542 2nd ed. & 1552: 8 d.	Not before 1542 1st ed. & 1546: 6 d. (- 25%)
23	De puritate conceptionis Mariæ, & de Assumptione eiusdem (1541, fol. a7v; USTC 181818)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 30 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 24 d. (- 20%)
24	Decimationes Plautinæ Buschii (1541, fol. a7r; USTC 184121)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 8 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 12 d. (+ 50%)
25	Galenii commentarium de dissectione venarum arteriarumque (1541, fol. a7v; USTC 184561)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 12 d.	About 1544 & About 1546: 8 d. (- 33%)
26	Alanus in Cantica canticorum (1541, fol. a7r; USTC 186844)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed. & About 1546: 54 d.	About 1544: 42 d. (- 22%)
<b><i>Different prices recorded in 6 catalogues</i></b>			
27	De figuris verboru[m] & sente[n]tiaru[m] liber, Rutilii Lupi & alioru[m] veteru[m] authorum (1541, fol. a6r; USTC 140154)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 12 d.	About 1544, 1546 & 1552: 10 d. (- 17%)
28	Epistolæ Plinii Iunioris cu[m] Panægyrico & libello de viris illustribus (1541, fol. a4v; USTC 146040)	1541, Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 72 d.	About 1544, 1546 & 1552: 78 d. (+ 8%)
29	Boetius de differentiis Topicis (1541, fol. a4r; USTC 147221)	1541, About 1544, 1546 & 1552: 10 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 12 d. (+ 20%)
30	Digestoru[m] seu Pandectaru[m] libri L. in quinque tomos secti, & veterum exemplariu[m] collatione restituti. Primus (1541, fol. a6v; USTC 145842)	1541, About 1546, 1546 & 1552: 96 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 90 d. (- 6%)
31	Digestoru[m] seu Pandectaru[m] libri L. in quinque tomos secti, & veterum exemplariu[m] collatione restituti. Quartus (1541, fol. a6v; USTC 184759)	1541, About 1546, 1546 & 1552: 72 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 60 d. (- 17%)
32	Digestoru[m] seu Pandectaru[m] libri L. in quinque tomos secti, & veterum exemplariu[m] collatione restituti. Quintus (1541, fol. a6v; USTC 184760)	1541, About 1546, 1546 & 1552: 102 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 90 d. (- 12%)

33	Oratio pro Archia poeta, Pro M. Fo[n]teio (1541, fol. a3v; USTC 186175)	1541, About 1546, 1546 & 1552: 8 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 6 d. (- 25%)
34	Eiusde[m] [= Jean Pellison] rudime[n]ta recognita ab ipso (1541, fol. a5v; USTC 186076)	1541: 18 d.	Not before 1542 1st & 2nd ed.: 24 d. (+ 33%)  About 1544, 1546 & 1552: 20 d. (- 11%)

Approximately half of the titles in the nine Estienne catalogues which have been identified and for which enough information about prices and printing sheets is present appear only once in this dataset. The other half of those titles appear twice or more, allowing an assessment of the evolution of price levels between 1541 and 1552. In 46 cases out of a total of 261, prices are given for both extreme years of the dataset; in the other cases, intervals are less than eleven years.

In 86.21% of the cases where two or more prices for a given title are known, price levels remain stable. In 34 cases only (13.02%), there is a difference in price between one catalogue and others. Details are listed in Table 2. The first column holds a diplomatic transcription of the earliest entry, which is followed by a reference to the source and USTC number. The second column cites sources in chronological order and the price cited therein. The third column mentions different prices and refers to the catalogues in which they are present, again in chronological order. The difference between initial prices and later prices is expressed in per cent, here for readability rounded up to the nearest unit. One title only is found with three different prices (no. 34); in all other cases there are only two different prices.

In a few cases differences in price are so extreme that it can be presumed that a mistake of some sort is involved (no. 11). In other cases, prices increase by 100% or decrease by a third compared to the earlier prices (see, for example, nos. 4 and 1 respectively). Sometimes differences are minimal, both in nominal and relative terms (e.g., no. 6). In most cases (28 out of 34) the relative difference between the earlier and the later price fluctuates between -44% to +50%; larger differences are likely to be mistakes, confusions or outliers. In 19 cases, prices drop, compared with 15 cases, in which higher prices are advertised.



There does not emerge a clearcut pattern in price differences. The number of editions for which price differences are present is low. A case-by-case analysis could probably shed more light on factors affecting changes in prices, but that is beyond the scope of this contribution.

## 6. Conclusion

This statistical analysis of nine booksellers' catalogues of Robert Estienne published in Paris between 1541 and 1552 reveals a number of important trends and tendencies. First of all, it is obvious that printers and publishers considered the price of books primarily in terms of price per sheet. As price levels in general went up, the price per sheet increased as well, and this can be detected in fairly brief periods of time, as in case, spanning eleven years only – the oldest catalogue being published in 1541, the newest in 1552.

Second, the price of books fluctuates according to the age of the edition on sale. In general, books more than a decade old were cheaper than those printed more recently. I would like to suggest that books maintained, in general, the same nominal price during their entire waiting time in the warehouse and that booksellers did not adapt those prices to rising living costs, wages or inflation. This is not to say that there were no exceptions, but this is in my view the pattern which emerges from this survey as well as from other surveys carried out on archival documents of the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp for the period 1580-1655 (Proot 2016; Proot 2017).

Two further factors have an important impact on the price per sheet: the bibliographical format on the one hand, and books in 'exotic' or learned types such as Hebrew and Greek on the other. Editions printed in the small *sedecimo* format can cost twice and even three times as much as editions in more usual formats (*folio*, *quarto* or *octavo*). Here I suggest there are two important reasons: one which has to do with the difficulties of handling the small type usually used for those editions and its cost, and one which is probably linked with marketing. Higher prices per sheet probably compensated for higher composition costs; in addition, purchasers were charged higher prices (calculated per sheet) than usual, probably as a recompensation for the small format and its portability.

That higher prices were asked for books in Hebrew and Greek does not come as a surprise. Not only was the type for those editions more exclusive and difficult to handle, but also, its readership was somewhat exclusive: the people wanting to buy those books belonged to the upper (intellectual) levels of society. If they needed those books, the price was comparatively unimportant.

Future analyses of other Paris booksellers' catalogues from the same period could no doubt prove or disprove these findings; more detailed, case-by-case analyses, should also consider subject matter and specific characteristics of editions, such as the use of a second printing colour and illustrations.

To conclude: it is hoped that similar datasets for books from other regions will help us better understand mechanisms of the book trade between centers of book production and consumption.

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# Ordinary and extraordinary prices in the Giolito *Libri spirituali* sales list

Giliola Barbero\*

Until very recently, only three catalogues displaying prices of the Giolito publishing house were known to exist. One was the *Indice copioso di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti in Venetia fino all'anno M.D.XCII*, already described by Salvatore Bongi (Bongi 1895, II, 456–457), and the others were two undated lists both entitled *Libri di stampa de' Giolito*, kept in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan. All three were studied and edited by Christian Coppens (Coppens 2005, 453–566).<sup>1</sup>

However, in the past few years research on the Giolito family has made two big steps forward. The first is thanks to Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, who unearthed a fourth list, the *Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti*, in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia (see her article in this volume); the second – a first fruit – is the discovery of two lists closely related to each other in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Cagliari by Giovanna Granata. Granata has just published a very detailed introduction to them and she will be providing (in the second part of her article not yet published) the edition of the complete text of these two lists: one without and one with prices (Granata 2017). A further list, bound together with a copy of the *Indice copioso* and containing a large amount of Giolito editions, is also known to exist, but it has no prices (Granata 2017, 274; Puntel 2013-2014; Coppens 2008, 119).

While the edition by Giovanna Granata has not yet been published, this paper focuses on the *Libri spirituali* list, which is published here in the Appendix. At

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<sup>1</sup> From here on, I will refer to them as *Indice copioso*, first Ambrosiana list and second Ambrosiana list. On a second copy of the first Ambrosiana list see the article by A. Panzanelli Fratoni in this volume.

present, this list has been transcribed and processed in the EMOBookTrade project database, together with the *Indice copioso* and the two Ambrosiana lists, 552 items overall. In this context, studying the *Libri spirituali* list allows for a broad reassessment of data in order to propose a general hypothesis regarding the way prices featured in the four known catalogues were specified and circulated.

Among the mentioned catalogues, only the *Indice copioso* carries the explicit date of 1592, which is the year immediately following the death of Giovanni II Giolito, who was the son of Gabriele, the most prominent member of the business. After Giovanni II's death in 1591, the business was passed on to his sons and his brother Giovanni Paolo and carried on operating under them until 1606, using the colophon "Appresso i Gioliti" or "Apud Iolitos". During this time, the *Indice copioso* continued to be used, as is shown by the fact that in the three known copies, the date 1592 is updated: in the copy found in Bern and in that kept in Winterthur, the date is amended to 1596, while the copy found in Venice is post-dated to 1598. With the knowledge we currently have, there are no reasons to attribute these and other manuscript corrections and variants to the Giolitos. They could have been introduced by the publishers themselves (at least in the copy that has never left the Republic of Venice), of course, but also by other booksellers, for example one of the Giolitos' correspondents outside Venice (Nuovo 2013, 81–82). In light of this, the *Indice copioso* was most likely circulated when Giovanni Paolo and Giovanni II's sons took over the running of the publishing house, which also coincided with a period of productive decline for the Giolito press, and continued to be of importance during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Neither the two lists kept at the Ambrosiana Library nor the *Libri spirituali* list are explicitly dated. As far as the two Ambrosiana lists are concerned, Christian Coppens was able to date them to the year 1587 based on the latest edition listed therein (Coppens 2005, 464, 543). Among the editions of the *Libri spirituali*, the latest edition identified with fair certainty – the *Vita di san Placido* by Felice Passero – was fortunately (for posterity) printed only once by the Giolito press and carries the date 1589 (Appendix No 79). As I am going to demonstrate, it is the date of this book which represents the *terminus post quem*, because it is described as "stampato di nuovo", which means "newly printed" in the language of that period.

On the basis of these dated and datable sources, in tracing the history of the Giolito press, it is not possible to determine whether forms of marketing such as the publication and circulation of sales catalogues were in use before the years 1587-1589, for example during Gabriele's period of tenure.

We can instead argue that the most important catalogue, the *Indice copioso*, was published when the firm was about to close and was liquidating its stock (Bongi 1895, II, 457; Coppens 2005, 465). In 1592, the Giolito press put in place a marketing operation aimed at increasing profits whilst avoiding any major investment, and this hypothesis finds some further ground in the existence of multiple *rinfrascature* of previous editions, as in the case of Cornelio Musso's works and others that will be examined later. Aside from being a valuable clue to the history of the Giolito family, the *Indice copioso* is a fundamental resource for the history of book prices, especially because said prices were seriously taken into account well beyond the sixteenth century by another fellow bookseller, Bernardo Giunti, who included them in his personal stock book (Ammannati and Nuovo 2017). Giovanna Granata claims that at least one other catalogue with prices was published with the same aim (Granata 2017, 286–288).

On the other hand, the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* are thematic advertising lists: they were published by Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito when they were conducting their business in order to reach new buyers. Two of them are printed only on one side of the folio and all the three are less accurate in describing editions but extremely punchy in expressing titles, what suggests that they were probably displayed in shops and fairs. Moreover they are selective and seem to be devised to reach out to specific segments of the reading public (Coppens 2005, 465). The two Ambrosiana lists are directed more towards readers interested in ancient history and culture translated into the vernacular, whereas the *Libri spirituali* was aimed at an audience eager to reinforce their devotional readings, a large market in the second half of the sixteenth century (Quondam 1977; Fragnito 2005, 304; Coppens 2005).

Although we do not intend to deal with the analysis of who actually bought the books priced in the *Libri spirituali* (this analysis would constitute another research), some published inventories of early modern libraries show that Giolito devotional and religious books found a favorable market in religious institutions. Some of them, for example, features in a 1581 inventory of the

Augustinian convent of Santa Marta in Milan (Zardin 1992); others in the 1600 inventory of the monastery of the Benedictine nuns of Santa Marta in Genoa (Masetti Zannini 1985, 464, 466, 468–469, 471–475), and many other similar cases could be studied.<sup>2</sup>

For the purpose of the EMoBookTrade project, Giolito sales lists were approached using methodologies germane to the field of digital humanities. Firstly, lists were transcribed and entered into an *ad hoc* database. Secondly, empirical elements were processed and translated into univocal computable data that the database could read. In so doing, an electronic edition of the sources was created with the further intention of making it public to scholars. The database has been devised to serve multiple purposes. Firstly, to make comparative computations easier, all the prices expressed in Venetian lire, which was a money of account, are automatically translated by an algorithm into the submultiples denari. All the prices are also converted in grams of silver.<sup>3</sup> On another level, the database includes a brief bibliographic description of the editions listed derived primarily from the Italian national database EDIT16. This information is combined with information on the extent of each edition. A further automated function of the database breaks the number of leaves down into a precise calculation of printing sheets used for each edition entered. Furthermore, the database translates the total price of an edition into price per sheet, allowing for a narrower comparison between different titles and editions included in the lists (Barbero and Tessarolo 2018).

These features of automated data analysis have made it possible to point out some important facts about the existing relationship between prices and editions within the Giolito business.

<sup>2</sup> The online database RICCI at present (december 2017) includes a great amount of copies of the Giolito editions listed in the *Libri spirituali*; see also Zardin 1999, 356–363; Borraccini 2006, 420, 434, 438; Bruni 2006, 493–494; Compare 2006, 609, 611. On the other hand, only two religious (not devotional) Giolito editions described in the *Libri spirituali* feature in the *Index librorum Bibliothecae Pinellae* (Milan, Ambrosiana Library MS B 311 suss., dated 1609), the inventory of the humanist Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library, transcribed by Anna Raugeri in the EMoBookTrade database (december 2017); the two editions are Girolamo Garimberti, *La prima parte, delle vite ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi et di tutti i cardinali passati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1567 (EDIT16 CNCE 20425) and Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della Religione della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586 (EDIT16 CNCE 27632).

<sup>3</sup> For the conversion of the values of the series of prices from units of account to precious metal content (silver) see the article by Francesco Ammannati in this same volume.



Using data analysis to study the specific prices of the Giolito publishing house does not allow us to outline long term trends nor to process large statistics, but it helps to observe the results of strategies used by these Venetian publishers in selling their products. Patterns and exceptions both emerged, and these will be analysed in detail, since a lot can be learned from a combined observation of both.

First of all, a large proportion of the editions that appear in all four of Giolito catalogues (the two Ambrosiana lists, the *Libri spirituali* and the *Indice copioso*) display the same prices. This is especially the case if one only takes into account the three minor lists, i.e. the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali*. Secondly, the price per printing sheet of the mentioned recurring editions does not seem to be constantly linked to material and contents factors such as format, subject and language of the edition. Moreover, generally speaking, only a few prices are significantly below or above the average price.

If this was the norm, what are the exceptions and how can they be justified? What significance is there between some of the prices of the *Indice copioso* and the corresponding prices in the two Ambrosiana lists and in the *Libri spirituali*? Why were few editions sold at a considerably higher price than the average price per sheet? On what grounds and following what sort of combined necessities were those prices that are higher than the average set? To answer these questions, we must take a closer look at sales catalogues and their prices.

## Delving into the sales catalogues chronology

The *Indice copioso* is a printed catalogue made up of a single quire of ten folios. It lists 220 editions divided into: “Libri Latini” (Latin works, 24 in total) and “Libri volgari in italiano” (works in vernacular Italian, 196 in total). For each edition, information on author, title, format, date of publication and price is accurately given and the price is displayed in lire and soldi.<sup>4</sup>

We already know about three copies of this catalogue: one, the most famous, already known to Salvatore Bongi, is kept in Venice at the Marciana National

<sup>4</sup> For analysis on the subject matters of the listed works, their chronological distribution, format, and printing sheets used, see Coppens 2005.

Library (Bongi 1895, II, 456–457).<sup>5</sup> This copy also carries the printed date modified by hand to 1598 and does not display any provenance note, but it is bound together with a sales catalogue published by Aldo Manuzio Jr. dated 1595. A second known copy is kept in Bern at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek and originally belonged to Jacques Bongars (1554–1612),<sup>6</sup> while the third known copy is kept in Winterthur at the local Stadtbibliothek.<sup>7</sup> In the two copies kept in Switzerland, the original date 1592 has been modified by hand to 1596.

Regarding the first list entitled *Libri di stampa de' Gioliti*, only one copy is kept in Milan at the Ambrosiana Library.<sup>8</sup> It is printed in two columns and occupies the *recto* and *verso* of the first part of a bifolio. One hundred and sixty-four editions are listed in alphabetical order by author or title placed under corresponding Roman capital letters, whereas items are in italics. The same bifolio that hosts this first list also contains a second one likewise entitled *Libri di stampa de' Gioliti*. In this second list, the typographic features are unchanged except for the fact that the items were printed exclusively on the *recto*. The fifty-eight editions listed are organized in alphabetical order.<sup>9</sup>

The bifolio that contains the two lists was originally bound together with four other catalogues dated between 1591 and 1627: Girolamo Scotto 1591, Michelangelo Sermartelli 1592, Giovanni Battista Bozzola 1613 and Pietro Paolo Tozzi 1627 (Coppens 2005, 548–549). A closer look at the ancient binding shows that afterwards the small volume was enriched by the addition of three more eighteenth century catalogues, but there is proof that the Giolito lists reached the Ambrosiana during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Giolito's bifolio is in fact cited in one of the library's oldest inventories, dated between 1647 and 1648.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Venice, Marciana National Library, shelf mark 193.D.443 (D.193.D.443 in the Marciana online catalogue).

<sup>6</sup> Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, shelf mark Bong. V.1015(6).

<sup>7</sup> Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, shelf mark Sch. 354 Nr. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Milan, Ambrosiana Library, shelf mark S.M.I.VII.3/5.

<sup>9</sup> Also for analysis on the subject matters of the works listed in the two Ambrosiana lists, their chronological distribution, format, and printing sheets used, see Coppens 2005.

<sup>10</sup> *Inventario topografico della parte inferiore della Sala Federiciana*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, MS Z 41 inf., p. 63 “[D] 439 Libri di stampa de Giolitti”. On the contrary, no mention of the bifolio is made in the *Catalogo alfabetico delle opere a stampa scritte in lingua latina (A-Z)*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, MS Z 25–31 inf., dated to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

One single surviving copy of the list entitled *Libri spirituali* is known today, and it is kept at the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia as part of a miscellaneous volume of catalogues that belonged to the humanist and book collector Prospero Podiani.<sup>11</sup> This 81-item list printed on the *recto* of a sheet has typographic and qualitative similarities to the two Ambrosiana lists, including its alphabetical arrangement.

The most recent edition included in the second Ambrosiana list can be confidently identified: it is *Institutioni grammaticali volgari, et latine* by Orazio Toscanella, published by Giovanni Giolito II and by his brother Giovanni Paolo in 1587 (EDIT16, CNCE 76879). This edition is described in the catalogue fairly accurately, unusually (in the Ambrosiana lists) including the year of publication: “Grammatica Toscanella. 8°, ristampata del ‘87. L. 1 ss. 10” (Coppens 2005, 543). This entry allows for an approximate dating of both the lists printed on the same bifolio.

As far as the *Libri spirituali* are concerned, the most recent identifiable item is the *Vita di san Placido* by Felice Passero, published by Giovanni II Giolito and his brother in 1589 (CNCE 27810). It is described in the list as “Vita di san Placido dell’Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo L. - ss. 16” (Appendix No 79).

Regarding these data, Giovanna Granata in her recent article identifies further evidence that points to a much later chronology of the Ambrosiana lists. The evidence consists in the following item, present in the second Ambrosiana list and – this can be added to Granata’s analysis – in the *Libri spirituali* with the same wording: “Prediche del Cornelio. 8°, compite con la vita. L. 9 ss. 10”. In his critique of the 1592 *Indice copioso*, Christian Coppens hinted at a possible proximity of the citation to an edition of Cornelio Musso’s *Preaches* of 1589; yet he refrained from making a firmer identification of this item until new evidence arises (Coppens 2005, 546). Giovanna Granata observed that only by matching the citation with the collected preaches published in 1599 would one be able to reasonably justify the fairly high price of 9 lire and 10 soldi indicated by the item (Granata 2017, 274). But what this item may refer to is open to interpretation.

<sup>11</sup> Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, shelf mark ALD 558/14.

A closer look at the actual extent of Cornelio Musso's *Preaches* 1599 edition may help (CNCE 47047). The first volume of the edition displays a title page engraved in copper (Bongi 1895, II, 464), which is a remarkable exception in the Giolito printing production. The first volume, right after the front page, displays a dedicatory letter signed by Giovanni Paolo Giolito to Francesco Maria di Montefeltro (i.e. Francesco Maria II Della Rovere) dated 20 December 1596. The fourth volume instead contains an address by Giovanni Paolo to readers, in which Cornelio Musso's biography by Giovanni Battista Leoni is introduced, although this work is not printed in the fourth volume, but in the fifth one. Furthermore, each volume has a summary of its own along with an index of relevant subjects (*cose notabili*). There are ten preaches per volume in the first four volumes, and four in the fifth one (together with Leoni's *Vita*). All volumes have the same set of illustrations, yet these are placed within different frames.<sup>12</sup>

These five volumes bear the date 1599 on the title pages. However, contrary to what Salvatore Bongi wrote (Bongi 1895, II, 464–465), they were actually not all printed in 1599. Comparing samples from the first four volumes dated 1599 with the Giolito four-volume edition dated 1580, which includes the same forty preaches (CNCE 27414), we can see that the two series of volumes share several quires that have the same typographic composition.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, by comparing the fifth volume dated 1599 with the Giolito edition dated 1589 which includes Leoni's *Vita* and four preaches (CNCE 54999), the two volumes

<sup>12</sup> The fingerprints and the extent of the five volumes are as follows:

- volume 1: ale, o,a- ioce &lro (3) 1599 (R); [40] 516 [4] p.; a-b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>4</sup> A-2I<sup>8</sup> 2K<sup>4</sup>
- volume 2: 03a- i-36 o-ra &eli (3) 1599 (R); [40], 789, [3] p.; a-b<sup>8</sup>, c<sup>4</sup>, A-3C<sup>8</sup> 3D<sup>4</sup>
- volume 3: 79o. an95 a,oi adho (3) 1599 (R); [32], 567, [1]; a-b<sup>8</sup>, A-2M<sup>8</sup>, 2N<sup>4</sup>
- volume 4: tot- ua84 m-ir trap (3) 1599 (R); [28], 551, [1]; a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>8</sup> A-2L<sup>8</sup> 2M<sup>4</sup>
- volume 5: cete e-li alo- cipu (3) 1599 (R); [29], 6-160; a<sup>4</sup> b<sup>8</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup>.

My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence with the shelf mark 6 B IX 29; Girardi 2012 considers only editions in quarto of Cornelio Musso's *Preaches*.

<sup>13</sup> The fingerprints and the extent of the four 1580 volumes are as follows:

- volume 1: o-in ceo- ioce &lro (3) 1580 (R); [40] 516 [4] p.; a-b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>4</sup> A-2I<sup>8</sup> 2K<sup>4</sup>
- volume 2: raa- I.IX o-ra &eli; [48], 789, [3] p.; a-c<sup>8</sup>, A-3C<sup>8</sup> 3D<sup>4</sup>
- volume 3: a,Io esel a,oi adho (3) 1580 (R); [40], 567, [1]; a-b<sup>8</sup>, c<sup>4</sup>, A-2M<sup>8</sup>, 2N<sup>4</sup>
- volume 4: laet teo- m-ir trap (3) 1580 (R); [32], 551, [1]; a-b<sup>8</sup> A-2L<sup>8</sup> 2M<sup>4</sup>

My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca del Carrobiolo in Monza with the shelf mark FM II 340; just to give some examples, the 1580 edition and the 1599 one in the first volume share b<sup>8</sup> and c<sup>4</sup>; in the second volume 3D<sup>4</sup>.

also share several identically composed quires.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, another comparison of samples between two copies of the 1599 edition revealed several variants.<sup>15</sup>

This comparison shows that at least two pre-existing editions were reused in the edition dated 1599 in ways that differ on a copy-by-copy basis, and it cannot even be excluded that some of the quires put on the market by Giolito with the date 1599 come from other editions yet to be scrutinized. Of course, a detailed analysis of the assembling of the several octavo editions of Cornelio Musso's preaches would require a page-by-page comparison, which goes beyond the scope of this study. The aim of this sampled analysis is to pinpoint the diverse assemblage and the reuse of the quires Giolito had in stock within the only apparently newly published editions.

This analysis highlights the fact that between 1580 and 1599 the Giolito warehouse held a number of quires of the 1580 and 1589 editions and, most likely, of others not yet analysed. In order to sell the remaining copies, the largely refreshed edition of 1599 was created and this was made by assembling copies that differ from one another in accordance with the availability of old quires.

What is interesting to point out now is that the existence of the very complex 1599 *rinfrescatura* does not rule out the possibility that, before 1599, the quires belonging to different editions – e.g. to the 1580 and 1589 editions – had not been already sold as a *compita* (composite) edition.

Indeed, what does 'compita' mean? It can be shown that a *compita* edition, which is (or claims to be) what we call *opera omnia*, can either be an edition made up of one or more volumes, or a grouping of different editions, put together to attract purchasers. The term *compito* features in different parts of Giolito sales catalogues with these two meanings, such as in the case of the items "detto [i.e. Lettere del Parabosco] in 12°, compite" and "Monte Calvario compito in 4°" found in the first Ambrosiana list. The first item refers to a

<sup>14</sup> The fingerprint and the extent of the 1589 edition are: s-do sif- alo- cipu (3) 1589 (R); [37], 6-160 p.; a-b<sup>8</sup> A-K<sup>8</sup>. My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence with the shelf mark 6 E XII 24; the 1589 edition and the 1599 one share b<sup>8</sup> and A-K<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> I compared the Marucelliana copy (shelf mark 6 B IX 29) with the copy kept at the National Library in Florence (shelf mark Guicc. 10.3.14): they differ, for example, in volume 1 pp. 401, 513; in volume 2 p. 399; in volume 3 p. 1. On Giolito reprints and/or *rinfrescatura* see Quondam 1977 and Coppens 2005; see also Harris 2015.

four-volume edition of Parabosco's *Letters* printed in 1566 (CNCE 71934); the second item corresponds to two different editions, both dated 1559, containing different parts of Antonio de Guevara's *Monte Calvario*, each one having been translated from Spanish into Italian vernacular by different translators (CNCE 75613 and CNCE 22218).

In the second Ambrosiana list the term *compito* is used in two subsequent items: "Granata, opere compite. In 4°. L. 14 ss. -" and "Idem. In 12°. L. 10 ss. -". These two items feature also in the *Libri spirituali* (Appendix Nos 19-20). Such high prices would be unprecedented if they were for a single piece of work by Luis de Granada. Therefore, for these last two cases, we must assume that the term 'opere compite' was used to refer to a grouping of different editions offered on the market as a single batch. In fact, Granada's *opera omnia* – even if they were part of a series entitled *Ghirlanda spirituale* – were never published by the Giolito press as a whole in a single edition.

Similarly, the term 'edizione compita' also features in the catalogue of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library (Naples, 1609), in the item "Quattro Poetiche del Patritio compite in 4°" which Anna Raugei has matched with the following two editions: *Della poetica di Francesco Patrici la deca istoriale* (CNCE 30130) and *Della poetica di Francesco Patrici, la deca disputata* (CNCE 30129), both published in Venice by Vittorio Baldini in 1586.<sup>16</sup>

For these reasons, the term *compite* can be considered as a sort of marketing tag used to advertise consistent and bibliographically complete editions, in some cases organized in a series, which on the market had the advantage of representing an author's entire works.

To summarise, in the case of Cornelio Musso's preaches, the price of 9 lire and 10 soldi may have been assigned to his *opera omnia* even before the refreshed edition of 1599 was published, and for this reason the chronology of the two Ambrosiana lists proposed by Giovanna Granata (that should also be applied to the *Libri spirituali*) is not fully acceptable in itself.

<sup>16</sup> In the stock book of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti (Venice, 1600-) the item "Menoco compiti con 5° centuria, carte 240." either refers to a single edition or to multiple ones, yet the data available do not allow for a conclusive matching.

Moreover, what is most helpful in determining the chronology of the *Libri spirituali* is the adverbial term ‘di nuovo’ used in the item describing the already mentioned *Vita di san Placido*. What does “Vita di san Placido dell’Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo” mean (Appendix No 79)?

At that time the expression ‘di nuovo’ - introduced by the compiler of the *Libri spirituali*, not printed on the title page of the edition – could have two meanings suitable for that context: ‘again’ or ‘newly’ (*Vocabolario della Crusca* 1612; Battaglia 1981, 682). Indeed, only one edition of Felice Passero’s poem is known to exist and it was published in 1589 following the discovery of Saint Placido’s bones in Messina in 1588 (Bongi 1895, II, 437). Moreover, as further proof, on 28 January 1589 Giolito obtained a ten-year privilege from the Venetian Senate to print this work (Coppens 2005, 445–446). For these reasons, here *di nuovo* must be interpreted as ‘recent’ or ‘newly’, and not as ‘again’, because *Vita di san Placido* is neither a reprint nor a second edition. This means that the *Libri spirituali* was composed *paulo post* 1589.

Consequently, if it is possible to date the *Libri spirituali* to this year or a bit after, a similar chronology can also be attributed to the two Ambrosiana lists, because these three lists share the same typographic characteristics: the same layout, the same size, the same alphabetical order of titles and the same printing types. In short, they are tools of two marketing operations that are close in time, as the analysis of prices also demonstrates (as will be shown).

Last but not least, in dating the *Libri spirituali* and consequently also the two Ambrosiana lists to before the *Indice copioso* and not to 1599, the lack of any editions dated between 1589 and 1598 appears very significant.

## Price changes between 1587-1589 and 1592

Based on these remarks, the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* list can be considered datable to the years 1587-1589, before the publication of the 1592 *Indice copioso*. This chronology confirms the previous one put forward by Christian Coppens. Accepting this hypothesis, the three oldest lists would definitely be attributed to Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito, while the

*Indice copioso* was most certainly printed by Giovanni II's heirs, his sons and – again – his brother Giovanni Paolo. This distinguished attribution would explain the different pricing policy that can be observed through comparing the prices established in the three lists (Ambrosiana lists and *Libri spirituali*), on the one hand, and the prices set in the *Indice copioso* and in the new list discovered in Cagliari, on the other hand. Indeed, Giovanna Granata says that the Cagliari list always reproduces the prices of the *Indice copioso*, the exception being only one price (Granata 2017, 283).<sup>17</sup>

On the contrary, comparing the Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* with the *Indice copioso* shows some differences and brings us to the conclusion that 1) the same editions are identically priced in the Ambrosiana lists and in the *Libri spirituali*; but 2) 106 prices that are displayed in at least one of the three oldest lists and in the *Indice copioso* have the same price in the *Indice copioso*; while 3) 71 prices that are displayed in at least one of the three oldest lists and in the *Indice copioso* have a higher price in the *Indice copioso*; and 4) in only four cases the price indicated in the *Indice copioso* is lower than the correspondent one found in the first Ambrosiana list.

In more detail:

	Shared by the <i>Indice copioso</i>	= <i>Indice copioso</i>	< <i>Indice copioso</i>	> <i>Indice copioso</i>
1st Ambrosiana list	116	59	53	4
2nd Ambrosiana list	21	15	6	0
<i>Libri spirituali</i>	44	32	12	0

On the other hand, the average price per printing sheet of the editions listed in the *Indice copioso* is also higher (13.81582 denari) than the average price per printing sheet of the editions found in the first Ambrosiana list (11.48519 denari), in the second one (11.86377 denari) and in the *Libri spirituali* (12.01154 denari).

<sup>17</sup> The *Oratione di Galeno, nella quale si essortano i giovani alla cognitione delle buone arti* (CNCE 20185) is priced at 10 soldi (51.5021 denari per printing sheet!) in the *Indice copioso* and 4 soldi in the Cagliari list (20.6009 denari per printing sheet): in both cases the price is above the known average.



The four entries in which prices are higher in the first Ambrosiana list than in the *Indice copioso* are the following (i.e. whose prices decreased over time):

- 1) [CNCE 1287] Donato Antonio Altomare, *Trium quaesitorum nondum in Galeni doctrina dilucidatorum compendium*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Iolium de Ferrariis, 1550.
- 2) [CNCE 19087] Andrea Domenico Fiocco, *Il Fenestella d'i sacerdotii, e d'i magistrati romani*, In Vinetia, appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1544.
- 3) [CNCE 26080] Onosander, *Dell'ottimo capitano generale et del suo ufficio*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548.
- 4) [CNCE 14270] Tullio Crispolti, *La quinta parte de' discorsi spirituali ne quali si tratta di tutti i misterij della passione di Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568.

The first one is a Latin edition of a minor work by the Neapolitan physician Donato Antonio Altomare, printed by Gabriele Giolito 'cum privilegio' in 1550: it is the only Altomare's treatise published by the Giolitos. In the first Ambrosiana list it was offered at the price of 15 denari per printing sheet while in the *Indice copioso* it was put on sale for 12 denari with a 20% discount. One of the reasons why this price decreased could be that between 1586-1589 and 1592 this work was reprinted together with other works by the same author (Bongi 1890, I, 280; Coppens 2005, 162). In Naples in 1558 it was printed by Raimondo Amato together with the treatise *De sedimento in urinis* (CNCE 1290) and – more decisive for the market competition – in Venice in 1561 it was published by Marco De Maria among the *Nonnulla opuscula nunc primum in unum collecta* (CNCE 1293).

The second edition which fell in price is a vernacular translation of *Il Fenestella*, a fifteenth century Latin erudite work: this translation received a ten-year privilege in 1544 (Bongi 1890, I, 75–76; Coppens 2005, 396), but the Latin original text continued to be published (CNCE 19091, 19092, 19093). The price decreased from 17.45 denari per printing sheet to 13.09 denari with a 25% discount.

The third depreciated edition is a vernacular translation of Onosander's military work (Bongi 1890, I, 118, 206; Coppens 2005, 397) which has never been published in Italy during the 16th century except by the Giolitos. The

price was reduced by the 20%, from the quite high price of 18.46 denari per printing sheet to 14.77 denari (0.2641).

The last edition is one of the Crispolti's devotional works printed by Gabriele Giolito between 1566 and 1572 (Coppens 2005, 425; Fragnito 2005, 267), which was priced 15.36 denari per printing sheet in the first Ambrosiana list, while in the *Indice copioso* it was put on sale for 11.52 denari with a 25% discount.

Considering these data, on the basis of the designed chronology, it can be argued that the prices of the editions published by the Giolito firm increased when the company passed from Giovanni II to his heirs, who however decided to devalue a minimal portion of the stock. In other words, Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo published a series of thematic catalogues, including the *Libri spirituali*, to sell part of the books they had in stock together with some newly printed editions, and later on, after his death, Giovanni II's heirs chose a different marketing policy: they raised most of the previous prices by 17% (by 15% if we consider only the *Libri spirituali*) and devalued by 20 or 25% only 4 of the the editions considered in the first Ambrosiana list.

Considering the price increase, it must be underlined that the prices expressed in Venetian lire and the correspondent value in grams of silver changed to the same extent between 1587/1589 and 1592, which shows that in those years the Venetian lira remained substantially stable. Furthermore, the increase in production costs cannot have significantly affected prices, because in the *Indice copioso* Giovanni II's heirs put on sale books mostly produced before 1587/89 (Coppens 2005, 473–474). As a consequence, it is likely that the increase in prices is evidence of the trust of Giovanni II's heirs, who must have perceived a strong and positive market demand for their books, still in the last decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Average prices, lower prices, higher prices**

Now that we have looked at the *Libri spirituali* alongside other Giolito sources, it is possible to analyze the prices established in comparison with those found in the two Ambrosiana lists.

Although the average prices per printing sheet suggest that the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* are part of two very similar business operations, if

not the same, the minimum and maximum prices in these three lists are fairly different.

	Minimum	Maximum	Average
1st Ambrosiana list	3.87	37.11	11.48
2nd Ambrosiana list	6.85	21.81	11.86
<i>Libri spirituali</i>	7.85	19.2 or 28.8	12.91

In the first Ambrosiana list, in 8 cases out of 164 it is not possible to calculate the price per printing sheet. But taking account of that limitation, in this list the average price of a book is 11.48 denari per printing sheet. The lowest price per printing sheet on this list is a two-volume edition in octavo of Dario Attendolo's *Il duello ... con la giunta d'un discorso da ridurre ogni querela alla pace*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1563 (CNCE 3346): 3.87 denari; while the highest price per printing sheet, if the previous identification is correct,<sup>18</sup> is assigned to the edition of the epitome by Iohannes Xiphilinus of the *Storia romana* by Dio Cassius translated into the vernacular by Francesco Baldelli and printed by Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito in 1584 (CNCE 27612): 37.11 denari. The immediately preceding prices per printing sheet refers to Bernardino Rocca's *Imprese, stratagemmi, et errori militari*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1566 (CNCE 26486): 23.11 denari; and Leonardo Bruni's *Guerra dei Goti* translated into the vernacular, in octavo, dated 1552 (CNCE 61116): 21.82 denari.

In the second Ambrosiana list the lowest price per printing sheet is the *Dialogo dell'infinità dell'amore* by Tullia d'Aragona, in duodecimo, dated 1552 (CNCE 2289): 6.86 denari. The highest price per printing sheet might be Lodovico Dolce's *Petrarch* in duodecimo, dated 1560: 21.82 denari. The immediately preceding prices per printing sheet refer to a devotional and literary work, Bonaventura Gonzaga's *Ragionamenti sopra i sette peccati mortali et sopra i sette salmi penitentiali del re David ridotti in sette canzoni*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1566 (CNCE 21433); 17.56 denari; and to Remigio Nannini's *Epistole et Euangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa* printed in 1582 (CNCE 27569): 17.33 denari.

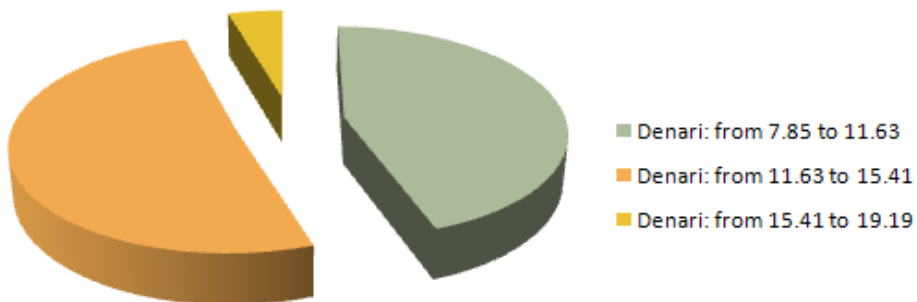
<sup>18</sup> The calculation of this price per printing sheet changes (10.94 instead of 37.11 denari), if the total price (Lire 7 soldi 10) does not refer only to the *Epitome* by Iohannes Xiphilinus (Coppens 2005, 532, 503) but also to the Latin edition of Dio Cassius' *Historia Romana* published by the Giolitos in the same years (CNCE 17212, 17213, 17214).

The three most expensive editions listed in the first Ambrosiana list are about ancient history and military strategy; the three most expensive editions listed in the second Ambrosiana list are literary and devotional works, which were not necessary but could be recommended for moral and religious education; while the two cheapest ones (*Il duello* by Dario Attendolo and the *Dialogue* by Tullia d'Aragona) are both secular books.

In the list of the *Libri spirituali*, for 11 items out of 81 it was not possible to calculate the price per printing sheet (6 of these 11 items do not show the total price in the source). The lowest price per printing sheet indicated in this list refers to the *Vita della beata Gertrude* in two quarto volumes, published in 1588 (Appendix No 74): 7.85 denari. A high price per printing sheet (28.8 denari) could refer to the *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone, paese del mondo nouo, dell'anno 1579 insino al 1581* but identification is not certain. Instead, the preceding prices per printing sheet refer to Luis de León's commentary on the Cantico dei Cantici published in Salamanca in 1580 by Lucas de Junta (Appendix No 43): 19.2 denari, and to Remigio Nannini's *Epistole et Euangelii* (Appendix No 15): 17.33 denari, which features also among the highest prices in the second Ambrosiana list.

### Price ranges in the *Libri spirituali*

Focusing now on the *Libri spirituali* and considering three price ranges of equal extent, one easily observes that 'high' prices on the *Libri spirituali* are very few:



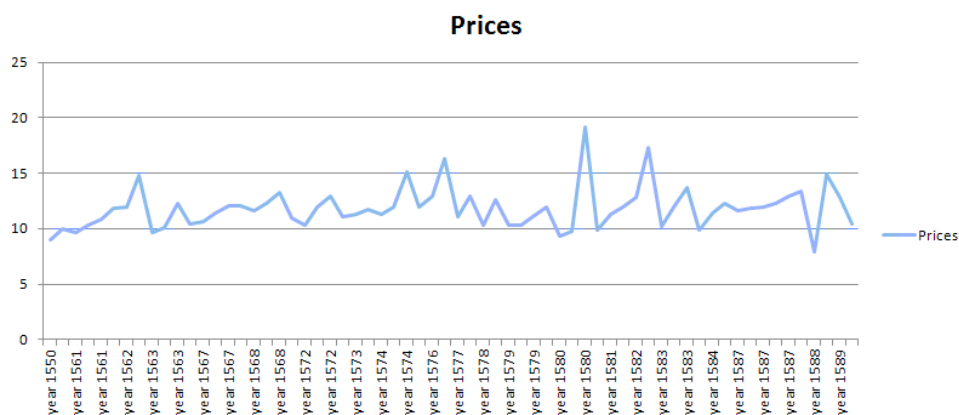
The extension of each price range is calculated by dividing the difference between the maximum price and the minimum price ( $19.19 - 7.85 = 11.34$ ) in three parts ( $11.34 / 3 = 3.78$ ). As a consequence, the first price range goes from 7.85 to 11.63 ( $= 7.85 + 3.78$ ) denari per printing sheet; the second price range goes from 11.63 to 15.41 ( $= 11.63 + 3.78$ ) denari and the first price range goes from 15.41 to 19.19 ( $= 15.41 + 3.78$ ) denari.

Thirty one editions belong to the series of prices from 7.85 to 11.63 denari; thirty five editions belong to the series of prices from 11.63 to 15.41 denari and only four editions belong to the series of extraordinary prices from 15.41 to 19.19 denari per printing sheet.

High prices are advertised only for three editions (four if we consider *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone* the right identification) out of seventy.

## Relationship between price and date in the *Libri spirituali*

The prices given in the list of the *Libri spirituali* do not depend on the publication date of the editions. Which is to say, in the last years of Giovanni II's activity, the prices of the books were not determined by taking account of how obsolete the editions were. For example, the highest price is that of the 1580 edition of Luis de León's work already cited (19.2 denari; Appendix No 43), whereas other editions dating to the same year are priced at less than half (9.36 and 9.79 denari; Appendix No 29 and No 37).



## Relationship between price and language in the *Libri spirituali*

	Min. Price	Max. Price	Average Price
Vernacular editions	7.85	17.33	11.64
Latin Editions	9	19.2	12.89

The price per printing sheet of vernacular editions runs from a minimum of 7.85 denari (Appendix No 74: *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda*) to a maximum of 17.33 denari (Appendix No 15: *Epistole et Euangelii*, already considered). The price per printing sheet of Latin editions runs from a minimum of 9 (Appendix No 39: Gaudenzio Merula's *Memorabilium liber*) to a maximum of 19.2 denari (Appendix No 43: Luis de León). The average price per printing sheet of Italian editions is 11.64, always slightly less than the average price for Latin editions which is 12.89.

But if we eliminate solely the highest price among the Italian editions and the highest price among Latin editions, the average price per printing sheet of the former becomes 11.54, which is very close to the average price of the Latin editions, that is 11.84.

	Min. Price	Max. Price (-1)	Average Price
Vernacular editions	7.85	16.36	11.54
Latin	9	15.07	11.84

Which means that the difference between the average price per printing sheet of the Italian vernacular editions and the average price per printing sheet of the Latin editions – already in itself not high – depends upon the two highest prices: by removing these two cases outside the norm, there is almost no difference between the average price of vernacular editions and the average price of Latin editions.

## Relationship between price and format in the *Libri spirituali*

	Min. price	Max. Price	Average price
Duodecimo	9.36	14.9	11.57
Octavo	9	14.76	11.48
Quarto	7.85	19.2	12.28
Folio (only 1)		9.89	
<i>Quarto (excluding the three most expensive edittons)</i>	7.85	15.07	11.48

The price per printing sheet of the 32 duodecimo volumes (listed among the *Libri spirituali*) goes from a minimum of 9.36 (Appendix No 29; Luis de Granada's *Specchio della vita humana*) to a maximum of 14.9 denari (Appendix No 63; Louis de Blois' *Breve regola d'un novitio spirituale*). The price per printing sheet of the 13 octavo volumes goes from a minimum of 9 (Appendix No 39; Merula's *Memorabilium liber*) to a maximum of 14.76 denari (Appendix No 57; Cornelio Musso's *Prediche fatte in Vienna*). The price per printing sheet of quarto volumes goes from a minimum of 7.85 (Appendix No 74; *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda*) to a maximum of 19.2 denari (Appendix No 43; Luis de León). The only folio volume is placed slightly below the average with a price per printing sheet of 9.89 denari (Appendix No 40; Hector Pinto).

The average price per printing sheet of quarto formats (12.28 denari) is slightly higher than the average price per printing sheet of duodecimo (11.57 denari) and octavo formats (11.48 denari). Also in this case however, by removing the three highest prices of the quarto volumes, the average price per printing sheet of volumes in quarto format turns out to be practically equal to the average price per printing sheet of duodecimo and octavo volumes, i.e. 11.48 denari.

### The highest prices in the *Libri spirituali*

Here are the highest prices per printing sheet, those which lie in the third range identified above, from 15.41 to 19.19 denari, also including the immediately successive one. They are all quarto volumes:

Items in the <i>Libri spirituali</i> list	Language	Format	Price per sheet
Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. -	Latin	quarto	19.2
Epistole, Evangelii, 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10	Italian	quarto	17.33
Idem [Granata, Guida]. 4°. L. 1 ss. 10	Italian	quarto	16.36
Callixtus in Evangelia. 4°. L. 6 ss. -	Latin	quarto	15.08

“Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. –” (Appendix No 43) refers to an *editio princeps* produced by Lucas de Junta in Salamanca in 1580, while the author was still alive. It is not illustrated but has an index of the subjects dealt with. Luis de León (1527-1591) was a poet and an important theologian at the University of Salamanca. He was condemned by the Inquisition also because of his translation into Spanish and commentary of the *Cantico dei cantici*; he was imprisoned in Spain in 1572 and in 1576 he was acquitted of all charges. In the *Libri spirituali* there is another edition from Salamanca, *In Ezechielem prophetam commentaria*, by Hector Pinto, published by Ildefonso de Terranova y Neyla ‘expensis Lucas de Junta’ in 1581 (Appendix No 40). It is a quarto volume, also in this case a biblical commentary, like the previous one without illustrations and with indexes. Yet here the price is below average (9.89 denari). The only difference seems to be that this one is not a *princeps* and not a work at the center of theological disquisitions, like Luis de León’s one.

«Epistole, Evangelii, 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10» (Appendix No 15) is the price immediately lower than that of the volume published in Salamanca and it refers to a vernacular edition, *Epistole et Euangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa*, translated by Remigio Nannini. In 1567 Giolito’s first edition of this liturgical collection had obtained a twenty-year privilege (Bongi 1895, II, 253–254; Nuovo and Coppens 2005, 427–428). In EDIT16 no less than eight Giolito editions are described – dated from 1567 to 1598 – which might be identified with this item, and all these editions share a very similar number of pages, a long liturgical calendar in which every date is linked to corresponding evangelical passages read in the mass, a long series of illustrations, see for example the 1584 edition: 12 small illustrations spread throughout the calendar and 203 illustrations over 683 pages, which is to say an illustration about every 3½ pages. Many of these illustrations are repeated.



To make only a few comparisons, the *Enarrationes in Evangelia* by Callisto da Piacenza, quarto in Latin published in 1574 includes 45 illustrations, meaning one about every 15 pages. In the *Indice copioso*, in the Ambrosiana catalogue and in the list of *Libri spirituali* the price is 15.08 denari per printing sheet (this edition stands at fourth place among the most expensive books in the *Libri spirituali* list). The *Vita della gloriosa vergine Maria madre di Dio* by Bartolomeo Meduna, quarto, published in 1574, contains 52 illustrations – about one every 3 pages – and in the *Indice copioso* and in the *Libri spirituali* costs 12 denari per printing sheet. The inclusion of illustrations is certainly one of the factors that determined a higher price. But this notwithstanding, the price variation does not seem proportional to the number of illustrations included and therefore their cost but rather – I surmise – to purchasers' willingness to be charged more for illustrated books.

In fact in the case of the *Epistole et Euangelii* translated by Remigio Nannini the high number of editions and issues from Giolito, together with the high number of non-Giolito editions produced in Venice after 1599, bear witness that this work met with a very favourable reception from the public, such as to ensure the maintenance of a high price even through the last decades of the Cinquecento. The publication of this liturgical collection was a great success, even though it was often at the center of discussions on the orthodoxy of the vernacular translations of the Bible (Zardin 1999, 361–354; Fragnito 2005, 91–92 and *ad indicem*). Anyway, to those who did not know Latin, this text supplied the possibility of understanding the evangelical passages of the mass.

The identification of the edition cited in the item “Idem [Granata, Guida]. 4°. L. 1 ss. 10” (Appendix No 23) is uncertain and also the price per sheet of 16.36 denari cannot be assessed.

Finally, “Callixtus in Evangelia. 4°. L. 6 ss. –” (Appendix No 12) refers to Callisto da Piacenza's *Enarrationes Evangeliorum*, printed in 1574 by Gabriele Giolito, a work which was published several times in Italy and in France; in Lyon also in 1573 and 1574 by Pierre Landry (Bongi 1895, II, 338–340).

In conclusion, we may note that Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito at the end of their activity as publishers essentially observed two rules in pricing their *Libri spirituali*. First and foremost (1) they very regularly applied prices close to the average of 12.91 denari per printing sheet; and then (2) they raised

to the highest acceptable limits the prices of those editions which encountered either no competition (the case of *principes* editions) or specific cultural interest of a devotional nature (the case of the *Epistole et evangeli* translated into the vernacular by Remigio Nannini).

It is therefore legitimate to observe that ordinary prices in the *Libri spirituali* list depend on stable criteria, first of all on production costs, while extraordinary prices derive from a strategic analysis of the market, which could lead to a different choice for each edition.

Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo's publishing activity was so successful that in 1592 the Giolito publishing house could still increase prices for a market where the demand for its books continued to grow mostly due to ecclesiastical institutions.

Anyway, what sustained the fortunes of the Giolito family right to the end was certainly a deep knowledge of the market demand over and above all cultural or aesthetic criteria.

ALD 558 (14)

## LIBRI SPIRITUALI DI STAMPA DE' GIOLITI.

<b>B</b> iblia latina con figure in quarto Giolito.	L.	fs			
<b>C</b> roniche di San Francesco 2. par. 4.	L.	4	fs		
Confession del Granata in 12.	L.	fs	6		
Combattimento Spirituale in 12. stampato di nuoua.	L.	fs	4		
Crispoldo della Communion in 12.	L.	fs	8		
Idem sopra la Passion in 12.	L.	fs	16		
Confession Panormitano in 12.	L.	fs	4		
Fra Michele in 8.	L.	fs	8		
Per le donne.	L.	fs	2		
Conuerfion del peccatore in 12.	L.	fs	6		
Calixtus in Euangelia in 4.	L.	6	fs		
<b>D</b> ispregio del moudo in 12.	L.	fs	15		
Sopra la Passio dell' Atrifisco in 12.	L.	fs	4		
<b>E</b> ssercitij del Tauerio sopra la Passione in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Essercitij del buon Christiano in 4.	L.	3	fs		
<b>F</b> lor di Consolazione in 8.	L.	fs	12		
<b>G</b> ranata opere compite in 4.	L.	14	fs		
Idem in 12.	L.	10	fs		
Guida in 12. ristampata del 87.	L.	fs	16		
Idem in 24.	L.	fs	4		
Idem in 4.	L.	1	fs		
Memorial parte prima in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Idem in 4.	L.	1	fs		
Idem seconda parte in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Trattato dell'Oratione in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Idem in 4.	L.	2	fs		
Specchio della vita humana in 12.	L.	fs	16		
Idem in 4.	L.	1	fs		
Pie, e deuote Orationi in 12.	L.	fs	2		
Trattato di Confess. & commu. in 12.	L.	fs	6		
Meditationi sopra la vita in 12. ristampate.	L.	1	fs		
Aggiuntioni al Memorial in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Scelta di pretiosi fiori in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Scorta in 4. con aggiunta.	L.	2	fs		
Gioffeo volg. in 4. dell' antichità, e Guerra Giudaica.	L.	8	fs		
Di Gierusalem in 8.	L.	fs	12		
Gaudensij Merula memorabilium. 8.	L.	fs	6		
<b>H</b> effor Pinetus in Ezechielem fol. Salamanca.	L.	8	fs		
Historia del Mondo nouo, cioè Perù in 4.	L.	2	fs		
<b>L</b> ettere del Giappone, e della Cina in 8.	L.	1	fs		
Ludouici Legionensis super Canticam 4. Salamanca.	L.	4	fs		
<b>M</b> onarchia di CHRISTO in ottauo.	L.	1	fs		10
Modo d'orar di Fra Siluestro in 12.	L.	fs	15		
Di contemplan il sangue in 12.	L.	fs	4		
Di ben confessarsi.	L.	fs	1		
Meditationi sopra la passione di N. Sig. con le figure del Testamento vecchio del P. Bruno Gesuita in 12.	L.	fs			
Idem sopra la vita di N. Sig. con le figure del Testamento vecchio del P. Bruno sopradetto in 12.	L.	fs			
Methodo di Confessione in 12.	L.	1	fs		
Modo d'ascoltar la Messa in 8. del Gbirardacci.	L.	fs	6		
Meditationi di diuersi Santi Dottori in 12.	L.	2	fs		10
<b>N</b>					
<b>N</b> arratione sopra il Quibabitat in ottauo.	L.	1	fs		
Nouo nascimento del Christiano in 8.	L.	fs	6		
<b>P</b>					
<b>P</b> rediche del Cornelio in 8. compite con la vita.	L.	9	fs		10
Idem in 4. con la vita.	L.	12	fs		
Fatte a Vienna.	L.	fs	4		
Idem 4. ultime con la vita in 8.	L.	fs	12		
Poeti antichi emendati Roma in 16.	L.	2	fs		8
Pianò della Pescara in 12. spirituale.	L.	fs	3		
Persecutioni della Chiesa in 4.	L.	3	fs		
<b>R</b>					
<b>R</b> etorica Cipriani in 12.	L.	fs	10		
Regola spirituale del Blosio in 12.	L.	fs	6		
<b>S</b>					
<b>S</b> ermoni di Santo Agostino in 4.	L.	3	fs		
Selua d'Orationi in 12. con aggiunta ristampata del 87.	L.	1	fs		10
Scudo di Fede in 4.	L.	2	fs		
Scudo e spada in 8.	L.	fs	12		
Spada di Fede in 4.	L.	1	fs		10
Specchio di Croce in 11.	L.	fs	12		
Stadio del Cursor Christiano in 12.	L.	fs	6		
<b>T</b>					
<b>T</b> ratato dell'obedienza in 8.	L.	fs	16		
Theodoreto della prouidenza in 8.	L.	fs	12		
<b>V</b>					
<b>V</b> ita della Madonna in 4.	L.	1	fs		
Vita della Beata Gertruda con aggiunta de gli Essercitij in 4.	L.	3	fs		10
Della B. Merilde, & Elisabetta in 4.	L.	fs			
Vita del P. Ignatio volgare in 4.	L.	fs			
Idem in 8. volg.	L.	2	fs		8
P. Ignatij latina in 8.	L.	1	fs		
Vita di San Placido dell'Ordine di S. Benedetto in 4. in ottaua rima stampata di nuouo.	L.	fs	16		
Di Gioffeo in 4. in rima.	L.	fs	10		
De' Pontefici, e Cardinali in 4.	L.	3	fs		10

Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, ALD 558/14.

## Appendix 1

### Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti

In the transcription of the *Libri spirituali* sales list and in bibliographic descriptions, the original spelling has been retained, but the consonant *u* has been changed into a *v* and the ligature & has been transcribed as *et*. Abbreviations have been expanded and original capital letters and punctuation have been changed into their modern equivalents.

Each item is listed in bold and when an identification is reliable followed by a brief bibliographic description of the edition together with its price; otherwise, a discussion follows. Each bibliographic description is introduced by the CNCE identifier used in the Italian national catalogue EDIT16 and is followed by the number of printing sheets of the edition, the total price, and the price per sheet in Venetian denari (one Venetian lira worth 10 soldi and one soldo worth 12 denari).

With few exceptions, when several Giolito editions of the same work are known to exist, according to the criteria established by the EMOBookTrade project the most recent one has been chosen. Moreover, where there are several issues of the same edition in existence, the first one has been given preference because realistically the price should have been established concurrently at the start of every single publishing initiative.

#### 1. **Biblia latina con figure in quarto Giolito. L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 5803] *Sacra Biblia, acri studio, ac diligentia emendata, rerum, atque verborum permultis et perquamdignis indicibus aucta*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1588, 2 volumes: 696 p., 199, 201 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 137

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

#### 2. **Catena sopra Job. In 4°. L. 4 ss. -**

[CNCE 10257] Paolo Comitoli, *Catena in beatissimum Iob absolutissima, e quattuor et viginti Graeciae doctorum explanationibus contexta*, Venetiis, apud

Iolitos, 1587: [24], 544, [24], 296 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 74

Total price: 960 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

### **3. Croniche di san Francesco, 2<sup>a</sup> parte. 4°. L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 27808] Marcos de Lisboa, *Delle croniche de' frati minori parte seconda, diuisa in dieci libri; nella quale si contiene quello, che occorre nella religione del padre s. Francesco*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [60], 628 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 86

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

### **4. Confession del Granata. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada - Juan de Miranda, *Trattato della confessione et comunione dove breuissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare e comunicare ogni fedel cristiano*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.857 denari

### **5. Combattimento spirituale, in 12°, stampato di nuovo. L. - ss. 4**

*Unidentified edition*

Several editions of Lorenzo Scupoli's *Combattimento spirituale* have been published by the Giolitos from 1589 to 1599. As two of them are dated 1589 and have different fingerprint and extent, it is not possible to identify the one described in this item: CNCE 12857: 128, [4] p., A-E<sup>12</sup> F<sup>6</sup>; CNCE 12858: 93, [3] p., A-D<sup>12</sup>.

### **6. Crispoldo, Della communion. In 12° L. - ss. 8**

[CNCE 14271] Tullio Crispolti, *La terza parte dell'opere, che tratta della santissima communion, & della frequentia d'essa, con le risposte a tutte l'obiettoni contrarie*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [24], 165, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 8

Total price: 96 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

### **7. Idem, Sopra la passion. In 12° L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 13792] Tullio Crispolti, *Avvertimenti spirituali di m. Tullio Crispoldo da Rieti sopra la passione del nostro signore Gesù Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1570: [24], 393, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 17.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 10.9714 denari

### **8. Confession Panormitano. In 12° L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 65833] Girolamo da Palermo, *Confessionario raccolto da i dottori cattolici*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 81, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 3.5

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 13.7143 denari

### **9. Fra Michele. In 8° L. - ss. 8**

[CNCE 9450] Michele Carcano, *Due confessionali, l'uno per i confessori et l'altro per i penitenti*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582: 179, [1] p., 12°

At present, no Giolito editions of Carcano's works in octavo are known. The

*Indice copioso* describes “due Confessionarii, l’uno per i confessori, l’altro per li penitenti. 12°. 1583” at the same price of 8 soldi, meaning that we may suppose that the format in this item (or in the modern catalogue?) is not correct. This identification is not certain.

Printing sheets: 7.5

Total price: 96 denari

Price per sheet: 12.8 denari

### **10. Per le donne. L. - ss. 2**

[CNCE 9449] Michele Carcano, *Confessionale molto utile et breve, per le donne, così secolari, come religiose*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de’ Ferrari, 1579: 48 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 2

Total price: 24 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

### **11. Conversion del peccatore. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 54979] Evangelista Marcellino, *Della conversione del peccatore libri due*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1577: [36], 118, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 6.5

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 11.0769 denari

### **12. Callixtus in Evangelia. In 4°. L. 6 ss. -**

[CNCE 8509] Callisto da Piacenza, *Piisimae simul ac eruditissimae in Euangelia a septuagesima usque ad octavam Paschae enarrationes*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Ioliturum de Ferrariis, 1574: [120], 643, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 95.5

Total price: 1,440 denari

Price per sheet: 15.0785 denari

### **13. Dispregio del mondo. In 12° L. - ss. 15**

[CNCE 26901] Tommaso Porcacchi - Luis de Granada - Thomas a Kempis, *Il dispregio delle vanità del mondo, et l'essercitio di divotione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1573: [36], 354, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 16,33

Total price: 180 denari

Price per sheet: 11.0227 denari

### **14. Sopra la passione dell'Aurifico. In 12° L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 6961] Niccolò Bonfigli, *Discorso ... nel quale si mostra con ragioni et autorità, sì delle scritture sacre, sì anco di molti dottori santi greci et latini, quanto sia conveniente anzi necessario piangere, meditando l'acerbissima passione del salvator nostro Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: 107, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4.5

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 10.6667 denari

### **15. Epistole, Evangelii, in 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27569] Remigio Nannini, *Epistole et Evangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa, ... tradotti in lingua toscana dal r.p. Remigio fiorentino*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582: [36], 683, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 90



Total price: 1,560 denari

Price per sheet: 17.3333 denari

### **16. Essercitii del Taulerio sopra la Passione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. –**

[CNCE 74526] Johannes Tauler, *Essercitii divotissimi sopra la passione di n.s. Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1573: [32], 476, [4] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 21.33

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.2518 denari

### **17. Essercitii del buon christiano. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 26652] Alfonso Ruspaggiari, *Essercitio et ammaestramento del buon christiano: dove si tratta de gli articoli della fede, de dieci precetti della legge, dell'oratione, della confessione, et della communion*, In Vinetia, appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1568: [20], 165, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 23.5

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 12.2553 denari

### **18. Fior di consolatione. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 19174] Tomas de Valencia, *Fiori di consolatione ad ogni fedel christiano necessarii ... Con i rimedi ad ogni infirmità spirituale composti delle sententie della Sacra Scrittura*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1561: [24], 215, [1] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 15

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

### 19. Granata, opere compite. In 4°. L. 14 ss. -

[CNCE 27412] Luis de Granada, *Tutte l'opere ... il primo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giouanni, e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1580: [16] 173 [3] p., 4°

[CNCE 63213] Luis de Granada, *Prima [-seconda] parte del Memoriale della vita christiana ... il secondo [-terzo] fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [16], 388 p., 4°

[CNCE 27353] Luis de Granada, *Devotissime meditationi per i giorni della settimana tanto per la mattina come per la sera ... il quarto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [20], 214, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27355] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione et devotione ... il quinto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [12], 282, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27354] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione et il manuale di diverse orationi ... il sesto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1579: [16], 210, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27356] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove breuissimamente si insegna come s'ha da confessare et comunicare ogni fedel christiano ... il settimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [12], 67, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27593] Luis de Granada, *Scorta del peccatore, ove si tratta copiosamente della beltà et de' beni inestimabili della virtù et com'ella s'ottenghi ... l'ottavo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale del Granata*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [28], 455, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 26939] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto devote sopra alcuni passi et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore et particolarmente della sua santa natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione ... il nono fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale, del Granata*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [20] (*sic*) 267 [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27399] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana*

... *il decimo fiore, della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giouanni, e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579, [32], 258 [i.e. 256] p., 4°

The identification proposed here is of course only a hypothesis developed to explain historical evidence. A Giolito edition including all Granada's works is not known. The editions in quarto printed by Giolito with the title "Tutte l'opere del r. p. fra Luigi di Granata" do not include all of Luis de Granada's works, only one and it is the first work of a series (e.g. EDIT16 CNCE 27402 and CNCE 27412). In fact, as highlighted by Bongi and others, and carefully studied by Coppens (Bongi 1890-1895; Llaenza 1926-1928; Zardin 1992, 160-162; Coppens 2005, 488-489), Giolito created more than one series called *Ghirlanda spirituale* comprising Granada's works: a single author series. If we count the printing sheets of the editions belonging to that series, can they fully justify the price of 14 lire?

The problem lies in deciding *which* series to consider, since this series is complicated by differently dated issues of the same edition and by several editions with the same series number. Fortunately, if we look at the books that have survived, we can observe that some copies of Giolito 1579 and 1580 *Tutte l'opere del r. p. fra Luigi di Granata* are bound together with eight other Giolito editions. For example, three volumes preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan have the same ancient parchment binding (16<sup>th</sup> cent. *ex.*, *post* – 17<sup>th</sup> cent. *in.*), which present the three titles "Granata Opere Fiori 1-2-3", "Granata Opere Fiori 4-5-6-7" and "Granata Opere Fiori 8-9-10" on the back, and, on the title page, the provenance note "Congregationis Oblatorum Sancti Sepulchri", handwritten at the end of the sixteenth century – beginning of the seventeenth century. These three volumes include the nine editions described above, whose number of pages can justify the price of 14 lire.<sup>19</sup> These nine works by Granada bound in three volumes in the same sequence were also found in the Marciana National Library in Venice; while the *Ghirlanda* held in the National Central Library in Florence is composed only by two volumes.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Milan, Ambrosiana Library, shelf marks S. N. VI. 1-3; the first volume (S. N. VI. 1) contains CNCE 27412 and CNCE 63213; the second volume (S. N. VI. 2) contains CNCE 27353, CNCE 27355, CNCE 27354 and CNCE 27356; and the third volume (S. N. VI. 3) contains CNCE 27593, CNCE 26939 and CNCE 27399. The following volumes with shelf marks S. N. VI. 4-9 have the same ancient binding and include other Granada's works: CNCE 29009, CNCE 49647 and CNCE 40050.

<sup>20</sup> Venice, Marciana National Library, shelf marks 16 C 115.1-3, 16 C 116.1-4 and 16 C 117.1-3; Florence, National Central Library, shelf marks MAGL.15.5.12/1 a-e and MAGL.15.5.12/2 a-e.

Printing sheets: 349.25

Total price: 3,360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6206 denari

## 20. **Idem. In 12°. L. 10 ss. -**

[CNCE 63235] Luis de Granada, *Tutte l'opere ... il primo fiore della nostra ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [36], 359, [1] p., 12°

[CNCE 76530] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del memoriale della vita christiana ... il secondo fiore della nostra ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1578: [24], 628, [20] p., 12°

[CNCE 49335] Luis de Granada, *Seconda parte del Memoriale della vita christiana, nella quale si contengono tre trattati cioe, dell'oratione vocale, dell'oratione mentale et dell'amor d'Iddio ... il terzo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1581: [36], 729, [3] p., 12°

[CNCE 54992] Luis de Granada, *Devotissime meditationi per i giorni della settimana, tanto per la mattina quanto per la sera ... il quarto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 491, [1] p., 12°

[CNCE 27595] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione et della meditatione, nel quale si tratta de principali misteri della fede nostra, con altre cose di molto profitto al christiano ... il quinto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda Spirituale di nuovo ricorretto et ristampato*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [32], 465, [3] p., 12°

[CNCE 26905] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione et il manuale di diverse orationi ... il sesto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1574: [24], 440, [4] p., 12°

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove breuissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare, e comunicare ogni fedel christiano ... il settimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

[CNCE 54996] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto divote sopra alcuni passi et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore, della sua santa natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione ... il nono fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [48], 522, [6] p., 12°

[CNCE 54984] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana ... il decimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de Ferrari, 1579: [72], 540 p., 12°

As for the previous item, also the identification proposed here is a hypothesis, and not only one but a series of editions in duodecimo must be identified. I propose here that the editions advertised for 10 lire can be identified with the latest duodecimo editions printed before 1589, which include the formula “[number] fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale” in the title.

Printing sheets: 194.17

Total price: 2,400 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3603 denari

## **21. Guida, in 12°, ristampata del '87. L. - ss. 16**

Luis de Granada, *Guida de' peccatori*, [Venice 1587]: [36], 359, [1] p., 12°

No editions of the *Guida de' peccatori del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata* in 12° dated 1587 are known, but possibly this item refers to an issue or a reprint of the 1586 edition in 12° of this work (CNCE 76511).

Printing sheets: 16.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 11.6364 denari

## **22. Idem. In 24°. L. - ss. 4**

*Unidentified edition*

EDIT16 does not consider any edition printed in 24° by the Giolitos.

Printing sheets: not available

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: not available

### **23. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 76513] Luis de Granada, *Guida de' peccatori del r. p. f. Luigi di Granata nella quale s'insegna tutto quello che debbe fare il christiano dal principio della sua conversione fin'al fine della sua perfettione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1576: 173, [3] p., 4°

The identification proposed here is an uncertain hypothesis, because there are several editions of the *Guida*, not only under the title *Guida de' peccatori*, but also under the title *Tutte l'opere del R.P.F. Luigi di Granata dell'Ordine di S. Domenico...* as the first flower of the *Ghirlanda spirituale* (Coppens 2005, 488-489).

Printing sheets: 22

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 16.3636 denari

### **24. Memorial parte prima. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 76530] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del memoriale della vita christiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Gio. e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1578: [24], 628, [20] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 28

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

### **25. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 63213] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del Memoriale della vita cristiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [20], 279, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 37.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

## **26. Idem, seconda parte. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 49335] Luis de Granada, *Seconda parte del Memoriale della vita christiana, nella quale si contengono tre trattati cioè dell'oratione vocale, dell'oratione mentale et dell'amor d'Iddio*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1581: [36], 729, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 32

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 11.25 denari

## **27. Trattato dell'oratione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. –**

[CNCE 27595] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell' oratione et della meditatione: nel quale si tratta de principali misteri della fede nostra*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [36], 465, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 21

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.4286 denari

## **28. Idem. In 4°. L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 26934] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione, et devotione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1577: [12], 282, [2] c., 4°

Printing sheets: 37

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

### **29. Specchio della vita umana. In 12°. L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 54985] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni & Gio. Paolo Gioliti di Ferrari, 1580: 24, 467, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 20.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 9.3659 denari

### **30. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 26942] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione, et il manuale di diverse orationi*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1578: [16], 210, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 28.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 12.6316 denari

### **31. Pie e devote orationi. In 12°. L. - ss. 2**

*Unidentified edition*

The unidentified edition probably consisted of 60 pages, like all the editions in 12° of these speeches.

Printing sheets: 2.5

Total price: 24 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

### **32. Trattato di confessione et comunione. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove brevissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare, e comunicare ogni fedel*



*christiano*, In Vinegia, appresso Gio. e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

### **33. Meditationi sopra la vita, in 12°, ristampate. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 54996] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto devote, sopra alcuni passi, et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore, della sua s. natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [48], 522, [6] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 24

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

### **34. Aggiuntioni al Memorial. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 54984] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de Ferrari, 1579: [72], 540 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 25.67

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 11.2193 denari

### **35. Scelta di pretiosi fiori. In 12°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 54978] Luis de Granada, *Scelta de' preciosi fiori d'orationi raccolte da diversi santi dottori*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1576: [24], 417, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 18.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

### **36. Scorta, in 4°, con aggiunta. L. 2 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27593] Luis de Granada, *Scorta del peccatore, ove si tratta copiosamente della beltà et de' beni inestimabili della virtù et com'ella s'ottenghi ... Aggiuntavi una lettera di Eucherio, vescovo di Leone di Francia, tradotta da Gio. Giolito*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [28], 455, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 60.5

Total price: 600 denari

Price per sheet: 9.9174 denari

### **37. Gioseffo, volgare in 4°, Dell'antichità e Guerra giudaica. L. 8 ss. -\$**

[CNCE 27409] Flavius Iosephus, *Dell'antichità de' Giudei libri XX*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni et Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1580: [36], 987, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27548] Flavius Iosephus, *Della guerra de' Giudei libri VII*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni et Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1581: [16], 525, [3] p., 4°

Total printing sheets: 196

Total price: 1,920 denari

Price per sheet: 9.7959 denari

### **38. Di Gierusalem. In 8°. L - ss. 12**

*Unidentified edition*

Total printing sheets: not available

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: not available

**39. Gaudentii Merulae Memorabilium. 8° L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 26992] Gaudenzio Merula, *Memorabilium liber perquam utilis et eruditus*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Iolitam et fratres de Ferrariis, 1550: 64 c., 8°

Printing sheets: 8

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 9 denari

**40. Hector Pinctus in Ezechielem, fol., Salamanca. L. 8 ss. -**

Hector Pinto, *In Ezechielem prophetam commentaria*, Salamanca, Ildefonso de Terranova y Neyla expensis Lucas de Junta, 1581: [16], 654, [76] [2], 26, [2], fol.

Printing sheets: 194

Total price: 1,920 denari

Price per sheet: 9.8969 denari

**41. Historia del mondo novo cioè Perù. In 4° L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 26448] Agustín de Zárate, *Le historie dello scoprimento et conquista del Perù, nelle quali si ha piena et particolar relatione delle cose successe in quelle bande, dal principio fino alla pacificatione delle provincie, si in quel che tocca allo scoprimento, come al successo delle guerre civili occorse fra gli spagnuoli et capitani, che lo conquistarono*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1563: [16], 294, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 39

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3077 denari

**42. Lettere del Giappone e della Cina. In 8° L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 20784] *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone, paese del mondo novo*,

*dell'anno 1579 insino al 1581. Con la morte d'alcuni padri della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1585, 188, [12] p., 8°

This is the only Giolito edition on Japan that features the word *lettere* at the beginning of the title. However, the title does not mention China. Other editions are collections of *avvisi* that arrived in Europe along with Jesuits' letters: CNCE 3641 *Avvisi della Cina et Giappone del fine dell'anno 1587, con l'arrivo de' signori giapponesi nell'India cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù, ricevute il mese d'ottobre 1588*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 64 p., 8°; and CNCE 27630 Luis Froes, *Nuovi avvisi del Giappone con alcuni altri della Cina del LXXXIII, et LXXXIV, cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù ricevute il mese di dicembre prossimo passato MDLXXXV*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586.

We can just propose that the edition described in this item can be identified with the *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone*, even if the price per printing sheet is very high, but this identification is uncertain.

Printing sheets: 12.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 28.8 denari (?)

#### **43. Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. –**

Luis de León, *In cantica canticorum Solomonis explanatio*, Salamanca, Lucas de Junta, 1580: [16], 370, [14] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 50

Total price: 960 denari

Price per sheet: 19.2 denari

#### **44. Monarchia di Christo. In ottavo. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 54922] Giovanni Antonio Pantera, *Monarchia del nostro signor Gesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito Ferrari, 1563: [24], 543, [1] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 35.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 10.1408 denari

#### **45. Modo d'orar di fra Silvestro. In 12°. L. - ss. 15**

[CNCE 47823] Silvestro da Rossano, *Modo come la persona spirituale che ora si habbia a disporre nella oratione verso Iddio per li suoi Santi*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1574: [12], 369, [3] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 16

Total price: 180 denari

Price per sheet: 11.25 denari

#### **46. [Modo] Di contemplar il sangue. In 12°. L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 67082] Silvestro da Rossano, *Modo di contemplare et dire la devotione del preciosissimo sangue del nostro signor Giesu Christo, sparso pietosamente per noi*, In Venegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1575, 95, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

#### **47. [Modo] Di ben confessarsi. L. - ss. 1**

*Unidentified edition*

A similar item was found in the *Indice copioso* and it was not identified (Coppens 2005, 517).

#### **48. Meditationi sopra la passione di nostro Signore con le figure del Testamento vecchio del padre Bruno Giesuita. In 12°. L. - ss. –**

*Unidentified edition, without price*

Several Giolito editions in duodecimo of Vincenzo Bruni's *Meditationi sopra la*

*passione di nostro Signore* exist: CNCE 7719 and CNCE 7720, both dated 1586; CNCE 7724, dated 1588; CNCE 7728, dated 1590; CNCE 7729, dated 1591, all in one volume; CNCE 7733, dated 1595, in two parts; and CNCE 7736, dated 1598, in four parts. There are no reasons to identify the edition described in this item with one of the known ones.

**49. Idem sopra la vita di nostro Signore con le figure del Testamento vecchio del padre Bruno sopradetto. In 12°. L. - ss. -**

*Unidentified edition, without price*

Several Giolito editions in 12° of Vincenzo Bruni's *Meditationi dopra la vita di nostro Signore* exist: CNCE 7722 and CNCE 7725, dated 1588 and 1589, in one volume; CNCE 7733, dated 1595 in two volumes; and CNCE 7736, dated 1598 in four volumes. There are no reasons to identify the edition described in this item with one of the known ones.

**50. Methodo di confessione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 26785] Claude de Viexmont, *Metodo di confessione, cioè arte over ragione et una certa brieve via di confessarsi, nella quale pienamente si contengono i peccati et i loro rimedi. Con una pia et dotta dichiarazione de' dodeci articoli della fede et al fine un picciolo et bel trattato dell'arte del ben morire*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [48], 394, [2] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 18.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

**51. Modo d'ascoltar la messa, in 8°, del Ghirardacci. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 27572] Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Institutione christiana et catolica, del modo d'ascoltar la messa, generale sacrificio della christianita, per via d'interrogationi*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 95, [1] p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 6

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

## **52. Meditationi di diversi santi dottori. In 12°. L. 2 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27579] Nicolò Bonfigli, *Meditationi di diversi dottori di santa Chiesa ... il primo [-terzo] grado della scala spirituale*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583, 3 volumes: [72], 368, [4] p.; [24], 417, [3] p.; [24], 503, [1] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 59

Total price: 600 denari

Price per sheet: 10.1695 denari

## **53. Narratione sopra il Qui habitat. In ottavo. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 26324] Giacomo Nacchianti, *Narratione pia, dotta, et catolica del salmo Qui habitat*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1561: [16], 308 p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 20.25

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.8519 denari

## **54. Novo nascimento del christiano. In 8°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 20845] Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Nuovo e spirituale nascimento dell'huomo christiano, nel quale il padrino, over compare, ragiona del battesimo et de' suoi divini et altri misteri: et ammaestra l'infante in tutto quello, che per lui al sacro fonte haveva promesso*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [16], 93, [3] p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

**55. Prediche del Cornelio, in 8°, compite con la vita. L. 9 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27414] Cornelio Musso, *Il primo [-quarto] libro delle prediche*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1580, 4 volumes: [40], 516, [4] p., [48], 789, [3] p., [40], 567, [1] p., [32], 551, [1] p., 8°

[CNCE 54999] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche con la vita di esso descritta da Gio. Battista Leoni*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [32], 160 p., 8°

Printing sheets: 174

Total price: 2,280 denari

Price per sheet: 13.1034 denari

**56. Idem, in 4°, con la vita. L. 12 ss. -**

[CNCE 27566] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche fatte in diversi tempi et in diversi luoghi, nuovamente ristampate et poste per ordine*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582, 2 volumes: [48], 854, [2] p., [40], 974 p. (?), 4°

Printing sheets: 240

Total price: 2,880 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**57. Fatte a Vienna. L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 26414] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche fatte in Vienna alla sacra maestà cesarea et al serenissimo re et reina di Bohemia il giorno di san Giacomo apostolo et il giorno della Madonna della neve, l'anno MDLX*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562, 26 c., 8°.

Printing sheets: 3.25

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 14.7692 denari



**58. Idem, 4 ultime con la vita. In 8°. L. - ss. 12***Unidentified edition*

The “ultime quattro prediche” had numerous editions and there are no reasons to identify the one described in this item with one of them. Nevertheless, as they all have the same number of pages - [32], 160 p. - the price per printing sheet can be calculated.

Printing sheets: 12

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**59. Poeti antichi emendati, Roma. In 16°. L. 2 ss. 8***Unidentified edition*

The same item also features in another printed catalogue kept in Winterthur, bound together with the *Indice copioso*, where this edition of ancient poets is described as consisting of two volumes (Puntel 2013-2014, 60).

Printing sheets: not available

Total price: 576 denari

Price per sheet: not available

**60. Pianto della Pescara, in 12°, spirituale. L. - ss. 3**

[CNCE 14918] Vittoria Colonna, *Pianto sopra la passione di Christo, con una oratione della medesima, sopra l'Ave Maria, oratione fatta il venerdì santo, sopra la passione di Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562: 70, [2] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 3

Total price: 36 denari

Price per sheet: 12

**61. Persecuzioni della Chiesa. In 4°. L. 3 ss. -**

[CNCE 20983] Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Le persecuzioni della Chiesa descritte in cinque libri*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1573: [32], 457, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 61.5

Total price: 720 denari

Price per sheet: 11.7073 denari

**62. Retorica Cipriani. In 12°. L. - ss. 10**

[CNCE 27795]: Cipriano Suárez, *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1587: [16], 200, [28] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 10.17

Total price: 120 denari

Price per sheet: 11.7994 denari

**63. Regola spiritual del Bloisio. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 41382] Louis de Blois, *Breve regola d'un novitio spirituale et un conforto dei pusillanimi*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588: 116 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4.83

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 14.9068 denari

**64. Sermoni di santo Agostino. In 4°. L. 3 ss. -**

[CNCE 3429] Aurelius Augustinus, *Varii sermoni di santo Agostino et d'altri catholici et antichi dottori utili alla salute dell'anime*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [28], 448 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 59.5

Total price: 720 denari

Price per sheet: 12.1008 denari

**65. Selva d'orationi, in 12°, con aggiunta ristampata del '87. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 6967] Niccolò Bonfigli, *Selva d'orationi di diversi signori dottori e di molti scrittori antichi et moderni*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [96], 552 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 27

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 13.3333 denari

**66. Scudo di fede. In 4°. L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 21761] Nicole Grenier, *Scudo della fede per ribatter i colpi di tutti i nimici della Chiesa catholica, con l'autorità delle sacre Scritture, de' santi Concilii et de' più antichi santi padri et dottori della Chiesa*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [24], 309, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 42

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 11.4286 denari

**67. Scudo e spada. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 50024] Nicole Grenier, *Dialogo di due pellegrini, intitolato scudo e spada della fede*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1585: [24], 198 p., 8°

Printing sheets: 13.88

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 10.3746 denari

**68. Spada di fede. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 21758] Nicole Grenier, *Spada della fede per difesa della Chiesa cristiana contra i nimici della verità cavata dalle Sante Scritture, da' santi concilii et da' piu antichi santi Padri et Dottori di essa Chiesa*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1563: [20], 279, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 37.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

**69. Specchio di croce. In 12°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 10414] Domenico Cavalca, *Trattato pio et christiano detto Specchio di croce*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [28], 302, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 13.83

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 10.4121 denari

**70. Stadio del cursor christiano. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 54948] Antonio Ulstio, *Stadio del cursore christiano, il quale sotto al lieve peso di Christo s'indirizza alla meta; cioè al segno e termino della vita eterna*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1568: [24], 105 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 5.42

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 13.2841 denari

**71. Trattato dell'obediencia. In 8°. L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 26649] Giovanni Pontano, *Trattato dell'obediencia nel qual si contengono tutti i precetti et regole appartenenti, a chi deve comandare et a chi deve obedire*,

*secondo la diuersità di tutti gli stati de gli huomini, cosi publici come privati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568: [20], 242, [2] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 16.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 11.6364 denari

## **72. Theodoreto della providenza. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 27024] Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Sermoni dieci della providenza di Dio*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari e fratelli, 1551: 12 p., 13-179, [1] c., 12°

Printing sheets: 145

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 9.931 denari

## **73. Vita della madonna. In 4°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 27413] Bartolomeo Meduna, *Vita della gloriosa vergine Maria madre di Dio regina dei cieli, con l'humanita del redentor del mondo Giesu Christo, nostro Signore*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1580: [8], 150, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 20

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

## **74. Vita della beata Gertruda con aggiunta de gli essercitii. In 4°. L. 3 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27797] Johann Landsberg, *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda, ridotta in cinque libri ... ne' quali si contengono le rivelationi della divina pietà e perfettioni del christiano con molti santi et pietosi ammaestramenti necessari alla salute nostra, et con molte istruzioni, appartenenti alla futura vita et all'apparecchio del punto della morte. ... Et in quest'ultima editione aggiuntivi gli essercitii di*

*detta santa et le rivelationi e visioni della beata Mettilde e della beata Elisabetta,*  
In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 2 volumi: [20], 572 p.; [16], 246, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 107

Total price: 840 denari

Price per sheet: 7.8505 denari

**75. [Vita] della beata Metilde et Elisabetta. In 4° L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 27797] Johann Landsberg, *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda, ridotta in cinque libri ... ne' quali si contengono le rivelationi della divina pietà e perfettioni del christiano con molti santi et pietosi ammaestramenti necessari alla salute nostra, et con molte istruzioni, appartenenti alla futura vita et all'apparecchio del punto della morte. ... Et in quest'ultima editione aggiuntivi gli essercitii di detta santa et le rivelationi e visioni della beata Mettilde e della beata Elisabetta,* In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 2° volume: [16], 246, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 33

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

**76. Vita del padre Ignatio volgare. In 4° L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 27632] Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della Religione della Compagnia di Giesù,* In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586: [44], 589, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 79.5

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

**77. Idem, in 8°, volgare. L. 2 ss. 8**

[CNCE 27792] Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della*

*religione della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [64], 684, [4] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 47

Total price: 576 denari

Price per sheet: 12.2553 denari

**78. [Vita] patris Ignatii latina. In 8°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 27619] Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae, qui Societatem Iesu fundauit, libri III*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1585: [24], 286, [2] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 19.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3077 denari

**79. Vita di san Placido dell'Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 27810] Felice Passero, *La vita di san Placido e suo martirio, descritta in ottava rima*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [20], 99, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 15

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 12.8 denari

**80. [Vita] di Gioseffo, in 4°, in rima. L. - ss. 10**

[CNCE 17375] Lodovico Dolce, *La vita di Giuseppe descritta in ottava rima*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1561: 43, [1] c., 4°

Printing sheets: 11

Total price: 120 denari

Price per sheet: 10.9091 denari

### 81. [Vita] de' pontefici e cardinali. In 4°. L. 3 ss. 10

[CNCE 20425] Girolamo Garimberti, *La prima parte delle vite, ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi et di tutti i cardinali passati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [40], 515, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 69.5

Total price: 840 denari

Price per sheet: 12.0863 denari

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# Peace at the Lily. The De Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti

Flavia Bruni\*

In the sixteenth century, long past the pioneering days of the new printing industry, the cycle of production and distribution of books concentrated to a large extent around a few centres, in the hands of entrepreneurs who were able to take control over a large slice of the market through the investment of substantial amounts of capital. Among the dynasties of businessmen, and also women, who developed a commercial empire based in the main printing places and spreading from there all over Europe and beyond, were the Italian families of the Giunti and the De Franceschi. In this contribution I am going to present some provisional results of the ongoing study of a source which provides valuable information on these two firms as individual enterprises and on their commercial interaction.

Francesco De Franceschi was born in Siena around 1530. He moved to Venice towards the end of the 1550s, likely driven by keenness to establish a business of his own in what was at the time still one of the main printing centres in Europe. Evidence of his work as a publisher dates from the early 1560s.<sup>1</sup> Over the space of four decades, Francesco engaged in partnerships with several professionals of the book in Venice and other Italian centres to build one of the most solid and prolific publishing houses of the post-Tridentine era, signing some 350 editions “at the sign of peace”.<sup>2</sup> At his death, in 1599, his younger sons

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<sup>1</sup> His first known edition is a collection of works of medicine and logic by Remigio Megliorati printed in 1561 (CNCE 27424; SBN BVVEE005520; USTC 827733).

<sup>2</sup> In Venice, Francesco De Franceschi engaged with Giovanni Battista Ciotti, Gaspare Bindoni,

Giacomo and Giovanni Antonio inherited and managed the workshop together at least until 1608 (Andreoli 2013; Baldacchini 1988 and 2013).<sup>3</sup> Later on, they signed separately several editions between the second and third decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> New evidence on the De Franceschi firm is provided by some precise information on the value of the books carrying this name on the contemporary market, as reported in a document known as the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Now in the Department of Special Collections at the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, the so-called stockbook of Bernardino Giunti is an in-folio manuscript comprising 313 leaves, bound in contemporary limp dark brown calf, possibly designed to help the staff of the Giunti store in Venice by listing available books and their individual prices.<sup>5</sup> It was drawn up and updated from 1 March 1600, as an inscription at the beginning of the volume tells us,<sup>6</sup> until the second decade of the seventeenth century, as we can infer from the date of printing of some of the items listed.<sup>7</sup> Two more hands, besides Bernardino's, are clearly recognisable.<sup>8</sup>

Nicolò Bevilacqua, Damiano Zenaro, Johann Chrieger, Pietro Dusinelli, Giorgio Angelieri, Paolo Venturini, Giacomo Vidali, Francesco Ziletti and the Giunti. In Bologna, with Giovanni Battista Bellagamba; in Bergamo, with Comino Ventura; in Modena, he was possibly involved in a collaboration with Antonio Gadaldini: see Nuovo 2013, 65–7, 186, 300, 414–8. See also EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 366.

<sup>3</sup> See also EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 304 and 569.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Giovanni Antonio appears on a new edition, printed in 1624 (SBN UM1E001956; USTC 4006604), of the two books *De arbitrariis iudicum quaestionibus & causis* of the jurist from Pavia Giacomo Menochio, whose works seem to have been a long-seller in the De Franceschi catalogue: see OPAC SBN – *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* online: <http://opac.sbn.it>.

<sup>5</sup> Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, call number 170/622; see the record in the library online catalogue: <http://ucla.worldcat.org/oclc/900236983>. A digital copy of the entire manuscript is available online: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewer/viewer.do?projectNo=97&arkId=21198/zz002j9bpx>. The actual purpose of the manuscript is being thoroughly investigated by Andrea Ottone, whom I thank for sharing with me his thoughts on this point.

<sup>6</sup> F. [4]r: “Al nome de Dio. Adi p.<sup>mo</sup> Marzo 1600. Questo libro si e de mi Bernardino Giunti libraro in Venetia”.

<sup>7</sup> The “Farmacopea Quercetano. 4°, c. 37” (f. 191r), added by a later hand, matches with the edition printed by Giovanni Guerigli in 1619: Joseph Du Chesne, *Le ricchezze della riformata farmacopea del sig. Giuseppe Quercetano medico, e consiglier regio. Nuouamente di fauella latina trasportata in italiana dal sig. Giacomo Ferrari medico, e filosofo mantouano*. In Venetia: appresso Giouanni Guerigli, 1619 (SBN BVEE033612; USTC 4025333), pp. [24], 256; 4°. Collation: π<sup>4</sup> πA–B<sup>4</sup> A–2I<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> For an analysis of the stockbook see Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 10–20; see also Nuovo 2013, 133.

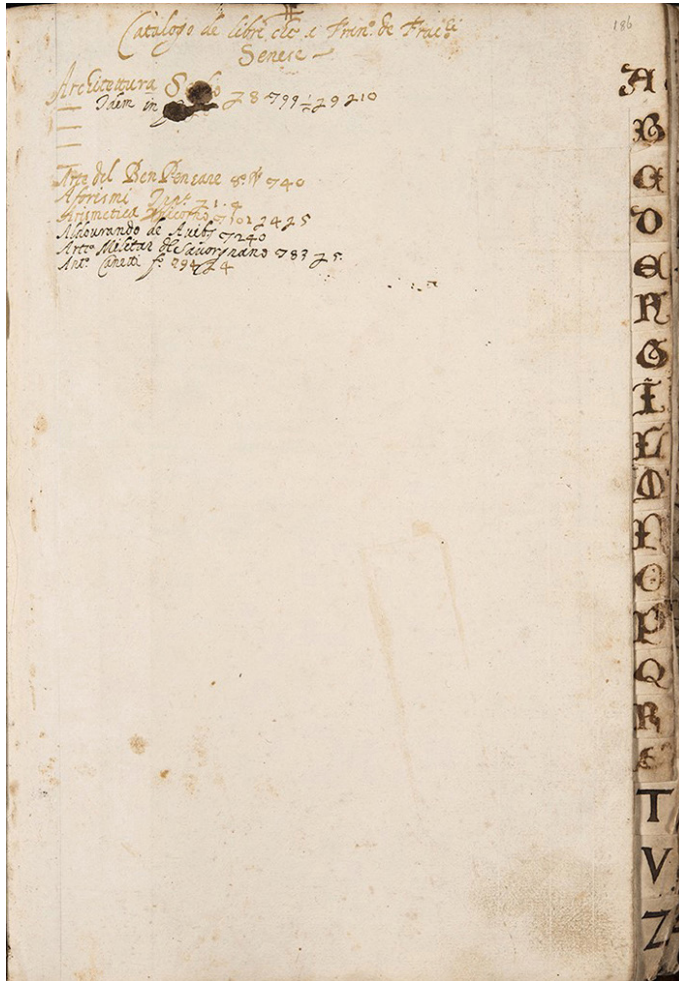


Illustration 1. Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, ms. 170/622, f. 186r.

Despite being already known to scholars, this goldmine of information on prices and policies in an early modern bookshop has never been studied extensively and thoroughly until today. Martin Lowry made it the object of an essay in which he focused on Aldine editions to support the assumption they were still luxury items one century after Manutius's death (Lowry 1991).<sup>9</sup> In the section of the stockbook where books are listed by place of printing and printer, 19 leaves (ff. 186r–204v) are devoted to the production of Francesco De Franceschi (ill. 1).

<sup>9</sup> See also Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 12.

The somewhat obscure inscription (“Catalogue of books which *has* (?) Francesco De Franceschi from Siena”)<sup>10</sup> might result from the transcription of a lost catalogue, possibly printed, of the books published and sold by De Franceschi.<sup>11</sup> This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that only about a half of the entries includes a price, so putting into question the assumption that the books listed were actually available in store for sale and giving rise to the conclusion that the information came from another source.<sup>12</sup> Printed sale catalogues were once included in the stockbook as an additional tool, as they were useful for providing information on books not currently in store but available on demand from other printers and booksellers.<sup>13</sup>

The De Franceschi section comprises 130 entries arranged alphabetically and, secondly, by format.<sup>14</sup> Such a high number of entries makes of De Franceschi the second best represented publisher in the stockbook after Giovanni Battista Ciotti with 171 entries.<sup>15</sup> Such prominence is unsurprising, not only given their importance in the contemporary book market, but also in view of the fact that Ciotti and De Franceschi, both originally from Siena, were both involved in partnerships with Bernardo Giunti.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the very limited number of words, each entry of the stockbook is accurate enough to allow us to make a quite precise identification of editions. An essential description comprises author and title, usually followed by the indication of bibliographic format, number of printing sheets and, for about half of the entries, a price expressed in Venetian *lire*.<sup>17</sup> The count of printed sheets

<sup>10</sup> F. 186r: “Catalogo de libri che a [!] Fran[cesc]o de Fran[cesc]hi Senese”. Emphasis mine.

<sup>11</sup> This suggestion was provided by Angela Nuovo and seems to be supported by the analogy with the list of books published in Turin and sold by Giovanni Domenico Tarino (ff. 267r–268v), which probably reproduces one of Tarino’s printed sale catalogues. I am grateful to Andrea Ottone for sharing with me some of the results of his current study on this part of the stockbook.

<sup>12</sup> See also below. The proportion of entries including a price in the stockbook as a whole has to be investigated further.

<sup>13</sup> Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 19.

<sup>14</sup> Consistently with the rest of the stockbook, capital letters in alphabetical order are inked on labelled vellum tags on the external margin of each leaf to help retrieve the books as need arose.

<sup>15</sup> According to the calculation of Angela Nuovo: see Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 16.

<sup>16</sup> On Giovanni Battista Ciotti see Firpo 1981; Maclean 2013; Rhodes 2013; and Nuovo 2013, 291–3. On his partnership with Francesco De Franceschi and Bernardo Giunti, Firpo 1981, 693–5; Baldacchini 1988, 31; Nuovo 2013, 291; Baldacchini 2013, 337; Andreoli 2013, 15.

<sup>17</sup> On prices and the currencies in which they were expressed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the problematic comparisons among them, see Francesco Ammannati’s contribution in this volume.

is peculiar to the commercial context of a printing workshop and bookstore, where new books, hot off the press, were usually sold loose to be bound at a later stage. The information on the number of printing sheets is crucial for us today as it was for customers and shop assistants in the seventeenth century. In several instances, it proves to be the key element in such a short bibliographic description, as, thanks to its accuracy, it allows to identify one unique edition which matches completely the features described. Entries carefully registered the number of printing sheets up to a half sheet, as in the case of the 16 ½ sheets of the *Pastor fido* by Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>18</sup> or in that of the 105 ½ sheets of the work by Girolamo Piatti;<sup>19</sup> or even to a quarter sheet, as for the 10 ¼ sheets of the *Contrasto amoroso* by Muzio Manfredi.<sup>20</sup>

Books might appear more than once, listed under as many headings as one could possibly look for them in every relevant section of this peculiar document. As a general rule, each entry describes what we would define an edition, either distinguishing between multiple volumes or simply listing them together. Even editions are occasionally listed together, revealing they were for sale as a group. Such compilations should encourage us to reconsider our definitions of publishing programmes. The habit of selling multiple books as lots, in order to create collected volumes on one topic by putting together works by the same author published successively, is an understandable commercial strategy confirmed by the presence of numerous such ‘miscellanies’ in library special collections today. What we do not know much about are the details of such transactions from the bookseller’s side. Some might be straightforward to infer, when a total of printing sheets and the respective cost are provided for sets of volumes which are also described separately. In addition to the number of

<sup>18</sup> F. 198r: “Pastor fido. 8°, c. 16 ½, L. 1”: Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi senese, 1596 (CNCE 28648; SBN VIAE011995; USTC 834919), ff. 132 ; 8°. Collation: A–Q<sup>8</sup> R<sup>4</sup> = 16.5 printing sheets. On the editions of the *Pastor fido* published by De Franceschi between 1592 and 1599 see Andreoli 2013, 20.

<sup>19</sup> F. 198r: “Plato, De bono stato, v[ulgar]. C. 105 ½, L. 4”: Girolamo Piatti, *Del bene de lo stato de’ religiosi libri tre*. In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1600 (CNCE 28903; SBN BVVE019111; USTC 848198), pp. [32], 930 [i.e. 810], [2] ; 4°. Collation: a–b<sup>8</sup> A–G<sup>8</sup>

H<sup>10</sup> I–3D<sup>8</sup> 3E<sup>4</sup> = 105.5 printing sheets.

<sup>20</sup> F. 251rb: “Contrasto amoroso. 8°, c. 10 ¼”: Muzio Manfredi, *Il contrasto amoroso pastorale*. In Venetia : appresso Giacomo Anton. Somascho, 1602 (SBN UBOE006641; USTC 4034756), pp. [16], 144, [2] ; 8°. Collation: A–K<sup>8</sup> χ<sup>2</sup> = 10.25 printing sheets. Differently from the other examples, this one is not taken from the De Franceschi section of the stockbook.

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Fior di Francia q. 1079			
Naturali Naturali q. 107			
—	Filosofia Piccolomini Naturali 5 volumi	1° 100	
—	Calor. De Inventionibus p. 10725	2° 64	
—	Comentarij	3° 66	
—	Anima	4° 48	
—	Moral	5° 72	
—	Celo	640	10
—	Fisica	350	14.10
		164	8
		804	40.10

Galilei Grandiori Mathematica p. 10227 -  
 farmaceutica quercetana p. 103350

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Illustration 2. Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, ms. 170/622, f. 191r.

printing sheets and the price, which are both clearly stated for each of the eleven volumes on physics by Francesco Piccolomini, partial sums are also noted next to and below the entries by means of a complex structure of annotations using pointers and braces (ill. 2).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> F. 191r: “Filosofia Piccolomini natural., 5 uolumi: 1°: 100; 2°: 64; 3°: 66; 4°: 48; 5°: 72 = c. 350, L. 18. Idem. Definitionibus. Folio, c. 107, L. 5. {De ortu et interitu}. C. 71, L. 3.10. Anima. C. 112, L. 6 = c. 290, [L.] 14.10. Moral. C. 164, [L.] 8. Celo [!]. Fisica. C. 350, L. 18 + 290, L. 14.10 = 640; 640 + 164, L. 8 = L. [i.e. c.] 804, L. 40.10”: Francesco Piccolomini, *Librorum ad*



Similar offers of more than one book at a time are less obvious to read as such where entries do not include individual descriptions but merely consist of one laconic cumulative record. It took some time to work out that the 65 ½ printing sheets of the “Prediche de Tosignano” comprise the 61 ½ sheets of the two quarto volumes of sermons by Pietro Ridolfi printed in 1584, with the addition of a sermon on the seven words of Christ on the cross in 4 sheets, printed in the same year, also in quarto format.<sup>22</sup> This practice of proposing miscellanies for sale, mostly the collected works of an individual author, seems further confirmed by an entry shortly above the example just mentioned, referring to some more *Prediche*, in this case by Gabriele Fiamma: the entry records 71 printing sheets, matching the 44 of the edition of the sermons published in 1590 plus 27 sheets of six more sermons published the following year.<sup>23</sup> Even more

*scientiam de natura attinentium pars prima [-quinta]*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1596 (CNCE 47402; SBN BVEE015617; USTC 848399), ff. [18], 186; [12], 118; [14], 117, [1]; [8], 87, [1]; [12], 132 ; 2°. Collation:  $\pi^{*4} *6 2^{*8} A-2H^6$  (= 102 printing sheets instead of the 100 mentioned in the entry);  $\pi a-b^6, a-t^6 u^4$  (= 65 printing sheets instead of the 64 mentioned in the entry);  $*6 2^{*8} A-T^6 V^4$  (= 66 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry);  $*8 A-O^6 P^4$  (= 48 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry);  $*6 2^{*6} A-Y^6$  (= 72 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *De rerum definitionibus liber vnus*. Venetijs : apud haeredes Francisci de Franciscis, 1600 (CNCE 28934; SBN BVEE006587; USTC 848400), ff. [12], 202 ; 2°. Collation:  $a-b^6 A-2K^6 2L^4$  (= 107 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *Librorum Aristotelis de ortu et interitu lucidissima expositio*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium, & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1602 (SBN UM1E000274; USTC 4035234), ff. [2], 139; 2°. Collation:  $a^2 A-Y^6 Z^8$  (= 71 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *In tres libros Aristotelis De anima lucidissima expositio. Nunc primum in lucem edita*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium, & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1602 (SBN MODE024879; USTC 4036549); ff. [2], 221, [1] ; 2°. Collation:  $a^2 A-2O^6$  (= 112 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *Vniuersa philosophia de moribus*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1583 (CNCE 28151; SBN BVEE006664; USTC 848396), pp. [20], 596, [44] ; 2°. Collation:  $\dagger^{10} A-2N^8 2O^{10} a-b^8 c^6$  (= 165 printing sheets, instead of the 164 mentioned in the entry); a successive edition (1594: CNCE 28630; SBN BVEE006662; USTC 848398) has a different collation, not matching the number of printing sheets mentioned in the item. Idem, *In libros Aristotelis De coelo lucidissima expositio*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1607 (SBN UBOE032329; USTC 4034884), only De Franceschi edition of this work. The last item perhaps refers to Idem, *Octaui libri naturalium auscultationum perspicua interpretatio, multiplici annotationum varietate illustrata. Nunc primum in lucem edita*. Venetijs : apud Ioan. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1606 (SBN RMLE016178; USTC 4033514).

<sup>22</sup> F. 198r: “Prediche de Tosignano. C. 65 ½”: Pietro Ridolfi, *Delle prediche ... fatte in vari luoghi, et intorno à vari soggetti. parte prima [-seconda]*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1584 (CNCE 28160; SBN BVEE019115; USTC 852548), ff. [16], 143, [1]; [10], 76 ; ill. ; 4°. Collation:  $\dagger-2^{\dagger 8} A-S^8$ ;  $\dagger^{10} a-i^8 k^4$  = 61.5 printing sheets; and Pietro Ridolfi, *Discorso intorno alle sette parole di Christo in croce*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1584 (CNCE 28162; SBN BVEE019116; USTC 852549), ff. 15, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation:  $a-b^8$  = 4 printing sheets. No other editions of these works are known.

<sup>23</sup> F. 198r: “Prediche Fiamma. 8°, c. 71, L. [...]”: Gabriele Fiamma, *Prediche ... fatte in vari tempi*,

significantly, what is described as one “book of embroidery” turned out to be not an individual book, but rather a collection of two books published by De Franceschi in 1591, one edited by the already mentioned Giovanni Battista Ciotti and the other by Giovanni Ostaus, both printers and publishers themselves.<sup>24</sup> Copies of these two editions bound together, making up the total of 15 printing sheets mentioned in the entry, are found in Rome, Paris and Oxford.<sup>25</sup>

Price are given and are reliable only for about a half of the entries of the De Franceschi section in the Giunti stockbook.<sup>26</sup> This relatively reduced number would seem to suggest that the main purpose of this extraordinary journal was not only to provide prices for books on sale in the bookstore, but to help Bernardino in keeping track of books available on the market.<sup>27</sup> Still, it offers fresh evidence of the actual cost of some well-known best-sellers produced by the De Franceschi publishing house.

Francesco De Franceschi, founder of the firm, specialised in the field of technical and scientific texts, targeting diverse categories of professionals as a potential clientele.<sup>28</sup> His production ranged over works of law, architecture,

*in vari luoghi, & intorno a vari soggetti [!]. Tomo primo.* In Vinegia : presso Francesco de Franceschi senese, 1590 (CNCE 18925; SBN RMLE022363; USTC 829408), ff. [8], 324, [20] ; 8°. Collation: a<sup>8</sup> A–2V<sup>8</sup> (2V8 blank) = 44 printing sheets; and Gabriele Fiamma, *Sei prediche ... in lode della beata Vergine, sopra l'euangelo di s. Luca, Missus est angelus Gabriel. Predicate in Napoli, nella chiesa dell'Annunciata, i sabbati di quaresima, l'anno 1573.* In Venetia : presso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1591 (CNCE 18928; SBN RMLE022365; USTC 829409), ff. 216 ; 8°. Collation: A–2D<sup>8</sup> = 27 printing sheets; total 71 sheets.

<sup>24</sup> F. 194r: “Libro de recami. C. 15, L. 1.10”: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, *Prima parte de' fiori, e disegni di varie sorti di ricami moderni. Come merli, bauari, manichetti, & altri nobili lauori, che al presente sono in vso.* In Venetia : appresso Francesco di Franceschi senese all'insegna della Pace, 1591 (In Venetia : appresso Nicolo Moretti : ad instantia di Francesco di Franceschi, 1591) (CNCE 61373; SBN RMLE011694; USTC 822687; Lotz 1963, 121), ff. XV [i.e. 19], [1] : ill. ; 4° oblong. Collation: A–E<sup>4</sup> = 5 printing sheets; and Giovanni Ostaus, *La vera perfezzione del disegno di varie sorti di ricami, & di cucire ogni sorte di punti a fogliami, punti tagliati ... E di nuouo aggiuntoui varie sorti di merli ...* In Venetia : appresso Francesco di Franceschi senese all'insegna della pace, 1591 (In Venezia, 1590) (CNCE 71404; SBN RMLE011695; USTC 845602; Lotz 1963, 96e), pp. LXXIX, [1] ; 4° oblong. Collation: A–E<sup>8</sup> = 10 printing sheets. See also Andreoli 2013, 43–4.

<sup>25</sup> Rome, Biblioteca universitaria Alessandrina, call number Rari 288.1–2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, call number Reserve 4–S–4551 (2–3); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Weston Stack, call number Douce V.162 (1). The consecutive shelfmarks of two more copies in Paris, Tolbiac, Rez-de-jardin, call number Res.P-V-693–694, should be investigated further.

<sup>26</sup> 65 out of a total of 130 entries.

<sup>27</sup> See above, note 5.

<sup>28</sup> See the dedication to Ippolito Agostini in the 1584 edition of the *Orlando Furioso*: “È cosa conuenevole che tutte le professioni sieno accompagnate da' suoi particolari studi. ... È molto

medicine, botany, arithmetic, geometry, the military arts and music, mostly in Italian to serve as manuals and textbooks for a broad class of specialists. Yet, according to Bernardino's stockbook, the most expensive purchases from the De Franceschi assortment were, quite contrary to expectation, two works of scholasticism: the two *Summae* of Thomas Aquinas and of Alexander de Ales, in nine volumes priced at 50 *lire venetiane* and 12 *soldi*,<sup>29</sup> and in five volumes priced at 40 *lire venetiane* respectively.<sup>30</sup> Even more significantly, through the notes of Bernardino Giunti we are able to infer the value of a single printed sheet by collating references between the price of an entire volume, its format and the number of sheets comprising it. This allows us to isolate and analyse the material features that made a book expensive, regardless of its length and before it was bound. Some of these features, such as the size and quality of paper ("carta mezzanella", "carta corsiva"), are occasionally noted down in the entries as factors affecting the value of the final good.<sup>31</sup>

tempo che io attendo a dar in luce per mezzo delle stampe opere nove, di profitto, et di gusto agli studiosi": cited in Baldacchini 1988, 31–2; and in Andreoli 2013, 22.

<sup>29</sup> F. 201r: "Summa s. Tomaso con Poretta. C. 1410, L. 50, S. 12": edition shared between De Franceschi and Giunti: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa totius theologiae d. Thomae de Aquino ... Cum elucidationibus formalibus ... per f. Seraphinum Capponi a Porrecta editis ...* Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis, 1596 (Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596) (CNCE 28681; SBN BVVEE021930; USTC 859609), and Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596 (Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596) (CNCE 50911; SBN RMLE033571; USTC 859610), 9 volumes: pp. [132], 976, ff. 56, [4]; pp. [80], 789, [3]; pp. [84], 1230, [2]; pp. [32], 954, [2]; pp. [64], 548, ff. 545–581, [1]; pp. [12], 306, [2]; ff. [6], 58; ff. 26; ff. [26] ; 2°. Collation: a–c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>10</sup> e<sup>8</sup> f–g<sup>6</sup>, πA<sup>8</sup> B<sup>4</sup>, A–3P<sup>8</sup>, <sup>2</sup>A–G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>4</sup>; b–f<sup>8</sup> A–3C<sup>8</sup> 3D<sup>4</sup>; a<sup>4</sup> b–e<sup>8</sup> f<sup>6</sup> A–4H<sup>8</sup>; a–b<sup>8</sup> A–3N<sup>8</sup> 3O<sup>6</sup>; a–d<sup>8</sup> A–2K<sup>8</sup> 2L<sup>10</sup> 2M–2P<sup>8</sup> 2Q<sup>6</sup>; a<sup>6</sup> A–S<sup>8</sup> T<sup>10</sup>; a<sup>6</sup> A–F<sup>8</sup> G<sup>10</sup>; A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>10</sup>; A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>10</sup> = 1411 printing sheets. On the partnership between Giunti and De Franceschi see below.

<sup>30</sup> F. 201r: "Summa Alexandro de Ales. Folio, c. 628, L. 35. L. 40": the second price was added by the same hand some time later, probably to replace and update the previous one. The only edition of this work sold by De Franceschi recorded in EDIT16, SBN and USTC seems to be Alexander de Ales, *Vniuersae theologiae summa. In quatuor partes ab ipsomet autore distributa: quicquid in sacris bibliis, in sanctorum patrum scriptis, philosophorumque monumentis, aut abditis, aut reconditi erat.* Venetijs : apud Franciscum Franciscum Senensem, 1576 (CNCE 1080; SBN RMLE005896; USTC 808728), but the number of printing sheets does not match that indicated in the description: ff. [10], 186; [18], 416; [10], 302; [10], 466; [44] ; 2°. Collation: a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>4</sup> A–Y<sup>8</sup> Z<sup>6</sup> 2A<sup>4</sup>; AA–C<sup>6</sup> Aa–L<sup>8</sup> MM–ZZ<sup>8</sup> AAa–ZZz<sup>8</sup> AAAa–FFFf<sup>8</sup>; a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>4</sup> a–k<sup>8</sup> L–Z<sup>8</sup> 2A–2O<sup>8</sup> 2P<sup>6</sup>; A<sup>6</sup> B<sup>4</sup> A–3L<sup>8</sup> 3M<sup>10</sup>; a<sup>6</sup> B–F<sup>6</sup> G<sup>8</sup> = 731 printing sheets. Still, the price per sheet is calculated on the basis of the number of printing sheets stated in the entry, according to the view of the bookseller. A correct match with an actual edition is therefore irrelevant for this calculation.

<sup>31</sup> F. 188r: "Consiglia [!] Turetto. 1°: 114, mezzanella; 2°: 148 = c. 262, L. 12" and, two lines below, "Francesco de Ponte. C. 140 mezzanella, L. 9": 'mezzanella' is in superscript by a later hand in the first instance, and added straight on the line, also by the same later hand, in the second one. F. 203r: "Vite de' santi del Fiamma, primo. Carta corsiva. Idem, secunde. Carta mezzanella, c. 133. Idem, tertio. Carta corsiva". On sizes of paper see Harris 2017, 33–40. At p. 115, Harris

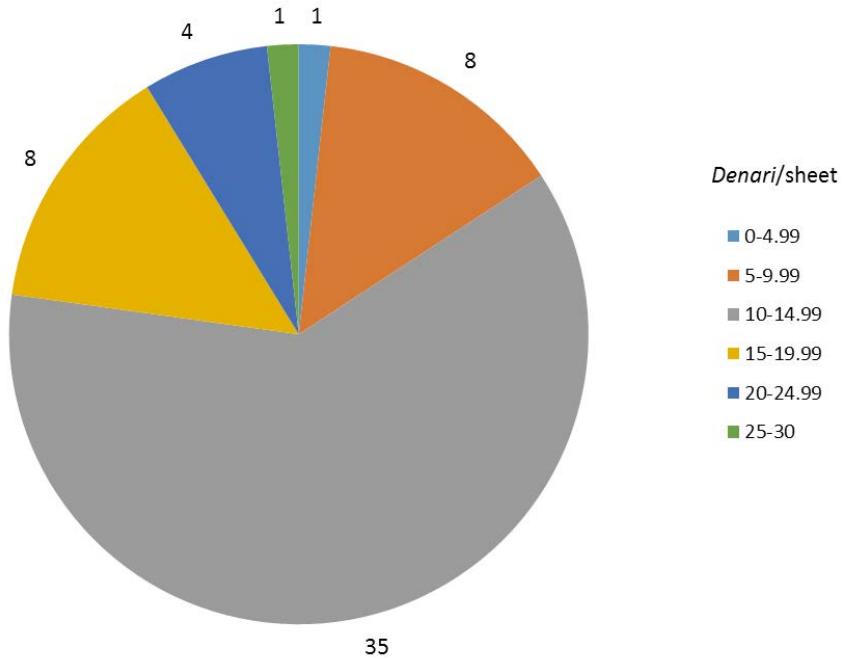


Figure 1. Distribution of De Franceschi editions according to price per sheet calculated on prices given in the Giunti stockbook, expressed in Venetian *denari*.

Prices varied from a minimum of 4.6 Venetian *denari* per sheet, for the quarto edition of the aphorisms of Hippocrates published in 1595, apparently quite cheap,<sup>32</sup> to the 27.42 for the instructions for bombardiers by Eugenio Gentilini published in 1592, also in quarto format, where the text is richly illustrated

point out stock-books and inventories of printers as “another potential source for information about paper types and sizes”. For a categorisation of books in three classes (expensive books in large format, imprints “in carta mezzana” and chapbooks) see Carnelos 2010, 206–7 and 223, and Carnelos 2012, 158; on the “carta corsiva” (of poor quality) and its role in the production of cheap imprints Carnelos 2010, 75–81, 214–6, and 234, and Carnelos 2012, 164. For a definition of “carta mezzanella” see Schröter 1998, 145–7.

<sup>32</sup> F. 186r: “Aforismi Ippocrate. L. 1.4”: this work was published by Francesco De Franceschi in 1595 and re-issued by his heirs in 1608 with minor adjustments not affecting pagination: Rodrigo da Fonseca, *In septem Aphorismorum Hippocratis libros commentaria, eo ordine contexta, quo doctoratus puncta exponi consuevere*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1595 (CNC 19427; SBN BVVE002668; USTC 830225); and Venetijs : apud Ioannem Antonium & Iacobum de Francisci, 1608 (SBN TO0E122872; USTC 4034626): ff. [4], 244 [i.e. 246] ; 4°. Collation: a<sup>4</sup> A–2G<sup>8</sup> 2H<sup>6</sup> = 62.5 printing sheets. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the 1595 edition of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000068115>.

throughout.<sup>33</sup> The stockbook of Bernardino Giunti reports an average cost of between 10 and 15 Venetian *denari* per sheet for books published by De Franceschi. Only 9 editions had a cheaper price per sheet, while 13 editions were more expensive (see fig. 1).

The already mentioned volumes of physics by Francesco Piccolomini were variably priced between 10 and 13 *denari* per sheet (ill. 2).<sup>34</sup> The *Osservazioni* by Girolamo Calestani, a treatise of popular medicine which De Franceschi published at least eight times, were also on sale for about 11 Venetian *denari* per sheet.<sup>35</sup> Music theory was represented as well in the production of De Franceschi, especially through the works of Giuseppe Zarlino, chapel master of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. The four volumes of his *opera omnia*, published by De Franceschi in 1589, were priced in the Giunti stockbook 18 *lire*, that means the still reasonable amount of 13.21 *denari* per sheet.<sup>36</sup> Although not one of his main specialisations, literature occasionally appears in De Franceschi production. The price per sheet for the *Pastor fido* by Giovanni Battista Guarini was 14.55 Venetian *denari*, a considerable price especially for a copy of the 1596 and not the 1597 edition, the first to be illustrated with the engravings by Cristoforo Paulini.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> F. 193r: "Institutio. de bombardiere. C. 17 ½, L. 2": Eugenio Gentilini, *Istruzione de' bombardieri*. In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1592 (CNCE 20670; SBN BVVE003459; USTC 832255), pp. [8], 126, [2]: ill.; 4°. Collation: πA<sup>4</sup> A–Q<sup>4</sup> = 17 printing sheets instead of the 17.5 mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000057405>. The price per sheet is calculated on the basis of the number of printing sheets stated in the entry, according to the view of the bookseller. A correct match with an actual edition is therefore irrelevant for this calculation.

<sup>34</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>35</sup> F. 197r: "Oseruationes Calestano. C. 77, L. 3.10": likely to be the latest De Franceschi edition: Girolamo Calestani, *Delle osservazioni parte prima [-seconda]*. In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1589 (CNCE 8493; SBN CNCE008493; USTC 817850), pp. [16], 190, [2]; [40], 366, [2]; 4°. Collation: πA<sup>8</sup> A–M<sup>8</sup>; A<sup>4</sup> b–c<sup>8</sup> A–Z<sup>8</sup> = 77 printing sheets.

<sup>36</sup> F. 204r: "Zerlino, Opera. Folio, q. p.<sup>ia</sup>, c. 327, f. 4, L. 18": Giuseppe Zarlino, *De tutte l'opere già separatamente poste in luce, hora di nuouo corrette, accresciute, & migliorate, insieme ristampate, il primo [-quarto, & ultimo] volume ...* In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1588–1589 (CNCE 28450; SBN CFIE003062; USTC 864239), or the later issue *Institutioni et dimostrazioni di musica, diuise in quattro parti, & cinque ragionamenti ...* Venetia: appresso Gio. Antonio, & Giacomo de' Franceschi, 1602 (SBN SBSE000055; USTC 4032617), pp. [32], 448; [16], 287, [1]; [16], 330, [22], [1] folded plate; pp. [4], 132, [12]; 2°. Collation: a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>10</sup> A–E<sup>8</sup>; a<sup>8</sup> A–S<sup>8</sup>; a<sup>8</sup> A–2D<sup>6</sup> 2E–2F<sup>4</sup> 2G<sup>6</sup>; π<sup>2</sup> A–H<sup>8</sup> I<sup>8</sup> K<sup>6</sup> = 326 printing sheets instead of the 327 mentioned in the entry.

<sup>37</sup> F. 198r: "Pastor fido. 8°, c. 16 ½, L. 1. Idem. 12°, c. 11": Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido, tragicomedia pastorale*. In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1596 (CNCE 28648; SBN VIAE011995; USTC 834919), ff. 132; 8°. Collation: A–Q<sup>8</sup> R<sup>4</sup> = 16.5 printing sheets,

Indeed, the cost of a book rose dramatically for those which were lavishly illustrated. For some of them, such as the works of Cosimo Bartoli, Prospero Alpino, Ulisse Aldrovandi, Andreas Vesalius and the just mentioned 1597 edition of the *Pastor fido*, a price is unfortunately not available;<sup>38</sup> but the quarto edition of the works by Oronce Finé published in 1587, including 370 xylographic engravings, was worth 16.47 Venetian *denari* per sheet.<sup>39</sup> The *Notitia Romani Imperi* by Guido Panciroli, professor of law at the University of Padua, is illustrated by 117 xylographies (with 30 repetitions) and according to the Giunti stockbook would cost 18.46 Venetian *denari* per sheet.<sup>40</sup> With astronomy, represented by the work by Giovanni Padovani on sundials,<sup>41</sup> and mathematics, with the *Aritmetica universale* by Giuseppe Unicornio,<sup>42</sup> prices

as mentioned in the entry. Idem, *Il pastor fido, tragicomedia pastorale*. In Venetia : presso Franc.o de' Franc.i senese, 1597 (CNCE 48830; SBN VEAE131645; USTC 834920), ff. 132 : ill. ; 12°. Collation: A–L<sup>12</sup> = 11 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. On the De Franceschi editions of the *Pastor fido*, and especially on those illustrated, see Andreoli 2013, 41.

<sup>38</sup> The illustrated edition of the *Orlando furioso* published in 1584, on which see Andreoli 2013, is not even listed in this section.

<sup>39</sup> F. 197r: “Opera Orontio. 4°, L. 7, c. 102”: Oronce Finé, *Opere ... diuise in cinque parti; aritmetica, geometria, cosmografia, e oriuoli, tradotte da Cosimo Bartoli gentilhuomo & academico fiorentino, et gli specchi, tradotti dal caualier Ercole Bottrigaro, gentilhuomo bolognese. Nuouamente poste in luce*. In Venetia : presso Francesco Franceschi senese, 1587 (CNCE 19063; SBN BVVE004049; USTC 829603), ff. [8], 81, [1], 84, 126, 88, 18, [2] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: \*8 A–K<sup>8</sup> L<sup>2</sup> a–k<sup>8</sup> l<sup>4</sup> 2A–2P<sup>8</sup> 2Q<sup>6</sup> 2a–2l<sup>8</sup> 3a–3b<sup>8</sup> 3c<sup>4</sup> = 102 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNN:BNA01001462139>. The engravings are copies of those drawn by Finé himself for the folio edition printed in Paris at the expense of Gérard Morrhy and Jean Pierre in 1532 (USTC 138121): see Andreoli 2013, 24 (where 1535 is a mistake for 1532).

<sup>40</sup> F. 196r: “Notitia Romani Imperi. Folio, c. 104, L. 8”: likely to be the *Notitia vtraque dignitatum cum Orientis, tum Occidentis ultra Arcadij, Honorijque tempora. Et in eam Guidi Panciroli i.v.c. praestantiss. ac in celeberrimo Patauino Gymnasio interpretis legum primarij, commentarium*. Venetij : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1593 (CNCE 28542; SBN BVVE006034; USTC 806823), ff. [14], 298 [i.e. 198], [2] : ill. ; 2°. Collation: a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>6</sup> A–Z<sup>8</sup> 2a–2b<sup>8</sup> = 107 printing sheets, instead of the 104 mentioned in the entry: missing b<sup>6</sup>? The engravings are all, except for one, smaller copies of those included in the edition printed in Basel by Froben and Episcopus in 1552: see Andreoli 2013, 43. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000075885>.

<sup>41</sup> F. 198r: “Padoano, De orologis. L. 3, c. 36”: Giovanni Padovani, *De compositione, et usu multiformium horologiorum solarium ad omnes totius orbis regiones, ac situs in qualibet superficie*. Venetij : apud Franciscum Franciscum Senensem, 1582 (CNCE 28147; SBN BVVE006122; USTC 846039), pp. [12], 267 [i.e. 263], [13] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: \*4 A–2M<sup>4</sup> χ<sup>2</sup> = 36.5 printing sheets (χ<sup>2</sup> contains the *Errores sic corrigito*). 20 Venetian *denari* per sheet. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000076345>.

<sup>42</sup> F. 186r: “Aritmetica [!] Vnicorno. C. 102, L. 4; L. 5”: Giuseppe Unicornio, *De l'aritmetica*

went through the roof of 20 Venetian *denari* per sheet.

Architecture was constantly one of the main subjects in De Franceschi's production and topic of some of his most expensive imprints. They are represented in the stockbook by Vitruvius, exceeding 22 Venetian *denari* per sheet;<sup>43</sup> and Serlio, whose folio Latin edition was on sale for a price per sheet of 16.27 Venetian *denari*.<sup>44</sup> Published between 1567 and 1569, these editions of Vitruvius and Serlio were the result of a partnership between Francesco De

*universale ... parte prima [–seconda]*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi, 1598 (CNCE 28830; SBN BVVEE015584; USTC 861613), ff. [8], 204, [4] 205–395, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: \*<sup>4</sup> 2\*<sup>4</sup> A–3E<sup>4</sup>; χ<sup>4</sup> 3F–5G<sup>4</sup> = 102 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. In two volumes, respectively £4 and £5; price per sheet: over 21 Venetian *denari*. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000177705>.  
<sup>43</sup> F. 203: “Vitruuio. In 4°, c., L. 6. Quarto”: in the absence of any information on the number of printing sheets, the most likely match seems to me to be the most recent De Franceschi edition: Vitruvius Pollio, *I dieci libri dell'architettura ... tradotti et commentati da monsig. Daniel Barbaro eletto patriarca d'Aquileia, da lui riveduti & ampliati; & hora in piu commoda forma ridotti*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1584 (CNCE 28172; SBN VIAE000270; USTC 863692): pp. [8], 505, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: \*<sup>4</sup> A–N<sup>8</sup> O–P<sup>4</sup> Q<sup>8</sup> R<sup>4</sup> S<sup>2</sup> T<sup>4</sup> V<sup>2</sup> X<sup>8</sup> Y<sup>4</sup> Z–2N<sup>8</sup> = 65 printing sheets. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNN:BNA01001462765>. It was a new edition, entirely recomposed on the model of that published in 1567 “appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, & Giouanni Chrieger alemano compagni” (CNCE 28880; SBN VIAE000269; USTC 863691). The engravings drawn by Chrieger for the 1567 edition were reused for that of 1584, which also counts 65 printing sheets, despite a different collation: pp. [8], 506 [i.e. 512] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: a<sup>4</sup> A–2H<sup>4</sup> 2I<sup>2</sup> 2K<sup>4</sup> 2L<sup>2</sup> 2M–3T<sup>4</sup>. The calculation of price per sheet is therefore the same either way.

<sup>44</sup> F. 186r: “Architettura Serlio. L. 8. c. 99 ½ L. 9 L. 10. Idem, in folio. L. 8”: this entry refers, in the reverse order, to the in–folio Latin edition published by Francesco De Franceschi in 1569, and to the in–quarto Italian edition published by his heirs in 1600: Sebastiano Serlio, *De architectura libri quinque*. Venetij : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, & Ioannem Chrieger, 1569 (CNCE 28891; SBN BVVEE019687; USTC 856060), pp. [24], 448 [i.e. 446], [2] : ill. ; 2°. Collation: \*<sup>6</sup> 2[flower]<sup>6</sup> A–K<sup>6</sup> L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>6</sup> N<sup>2</sup> O–2O<sup>6</sup> 2P<sup>4</sup> = 118 printing sheets; and Idem, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura, et prrospectiua [!]* ... *Con la aggiunta delle inuentioni di cinquanta porte ... Diuiso in sette libri. Con vn'indice copiosissimo con molte considerationi, & vn breue discorso sopra questa materia, raccolto da M. Gio. Domenico Scamozzi vicentino. Di nuouo ristampate, e corrette*. In Vinegia : presso gli heredi di Francesco de' Franceschi, 1600 (CNCE 28940; SBN BVVEE019687; USTC 856064), 3 volumes (ff. [24], 219, [1]; 27, [1]; pp. [8], 243, [1]) : ill. ; 4°. Collation: a–f<sup>4</sup> A<sup>4</sup> B–F<sup>8</sup> χG<sup>4</sup> G–I<sup>8</sup> K–P<sup>4</sup> Q–S<sup>8</sup> T<sup>4</sup> 2I–2Q<sup>4</sup> 2R–3A<sup>8</sup>; a–c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>4</sup>; \*<sup>4</sup> A–O<sup>8</sup> P<sup>10</sup> = 99.5 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca civica of Varese: <https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/bdl/bookreader/index.html?path=fe&cdOggetto=5454#page/1/mode/2up>. The engravings drawn by Chrieger for the first Italian edition of the works of Serlio published by Francesco in 1566 (CNCE 28873; SBN BVVEE022384; USTC 856057; see, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000283285>) were reused for the Latin edition published in 1567 and, again, for the Italian edition published by Francesco's heirs in 1600: see Andreoli 2013, 29–32.

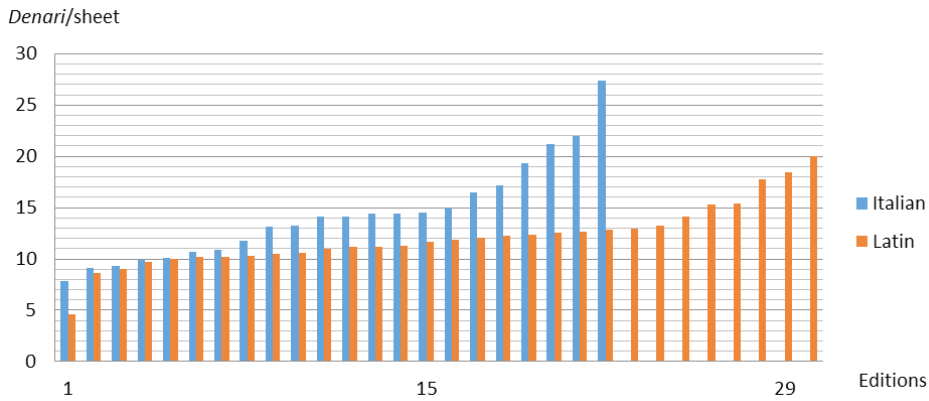


Figure 2. Price per sheet expressed in Venetian *denari* for De Franceschi editions in Italian and Latin according to the Giunti stockbook. Each bar represents one edition.

Franceschi and the German printer and engraver Johann Chrieger.<sup>45</sup> Engravings drawn by Chrieger were reused in later editions, including the quarto Italian edition of Serlio's *Architettura* published by Francesco's heirs in 1600, priced 24.12 *denari* per sheet.<sup>46</sup> De Franceschi targeted professionals through a production mostly in the Italian vernacular, on occasions commissioning new and accurate translations of foreign texts. Italian editions appear to be less well represented than Latin ones in the stockbook, but on average more expensive (see fig. 2). Among the most expensive sheets, those of the already mentioned book including engraved embroidery patterns (Speelberg 2015) which, with a cost of 1 *lira* and 10 *soldi*, worked out at 24 *denari* per sheet.<sup>47</sup>

Looked at a whole, the De Franceschi catalogue in the Giunti stockbook paints the portrait of a prosperous and flourishing business and gives us an idea of the successfulness of Francesco's publishing programme. The stockbook also offers

<sup>45</sup> "Ho voluto benigni lettori ad utilità commune, mandar in luce l'uno & l'altro Vitruvio, & usare ogni diligenza, per rifarli in forma commoda, & con figure accuratamente & diligentemente intagliate dal mio honorato compare & compagno in questa impresa, m. Giovanni Chrieger Alemano, & accomodate a questa nuova forma, accioche ognuno possa godere il frutto delle dotte fatiche del sopradetto mio signore": prefatory letter from Francesco De Franceschi to the readers in both editions of the ten books of architecture of Vitruvius, f. a3v (1567) and \*3v (1584). On this partnership see Andreoli 2013, 32–9.

<sup>46</sup> See above, note 44.

<sup>47</sup> See above, note 24. See, for instance, digitised copies of both editions of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15108613> and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10548040p>.



us a new perspective on the partnership between these two powerful families of entrepreneurs.<sup>48</sup> Both the Giunti and the De Franceschi built their fortune on commercial empires based on pervasive networks in Italy and beyond, in order to manage the production and distribution of books through both their own work as printers, editors and publishers, and their partnership with other professionals in the book trade. Francesco De Franceschi participated in the company known as the *Societas Aquilae renovantis*, set up by Lucantonio Giunti the Younger in 1571 for the publication of juridical works.<sup>49</sup> In 1584 they worked together on a new edition of the works of St Augustine<sup>50</sup> and, in 1592, on that of the *Istorie del mondo* by Giovanni Tarcagnota, already published by the Giunti in 1585: the 1592 issue was shared between the two publishers, as proved by the variant title pages which display either the Giunti or De Franceschi device and signature. In 1596 they shared a massive edition of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in nine volumes.<sup>51</sup> The year 1598 seems to mark the end of their collaboration, as Lucantonio reported Francesco to the authorities for not respecting the terms of an agreement signed in 1597 for another reprint of the work by Tarcagnota.<sup>52</sup> New details on the commercial relationship between the two businessmen will hopefully emerge from a closer examination of other sections of the stockbook, drawn up shortly after these dates.

These first, provisional results of an ongoing analysis serve as an introduction to a difficult document, which demands further attention on many levels, and, above all, a comparison with similar contemporary sources. Despite a recent approach focusing on economic factors behind the production of books, several aspects of the book trade still remain quite obscure. Among them, book prices are particularly problematic to interpret, especially given the lack of a constructive dialogue with economic historians, the need for which has been neglected until now. Some answers to these questions are expected from the next stages of the research carried out by the EMoBookTrade project team.

<sup>48</sup> On the partnership between the Giunti and the De Franceschi see also Camerini 1963, 1.2, 17–8.

<sup>49</sup> The *Societas Aquilae renovantis* started publishing in 1574. Ceresa 2001; Nuovo 2013, 65–7; EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 90.

<sup>50</sup> It was likely to be another stage of the *Societas Aquilae renovantis*, which also involved many personalities of the book world in Venice and beyond: see Ceresa 2001.

<sup>51</sup> See above, note 29.

<sup>52</sup> Ceresa 2001.

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# La venta de libros italianos en Madrid en tiempos de Felipe II: el catálogo de Simone Vassalini (1597)

Pedro Rueda Ramírez\*

## Introducción

El librero italiano Simone Vassalini abrió una tienda de libros en Madrid, en la calle Arenal, en pleno centro de la ciudad. Este negocio de compra-venta de libros estuvo en activo en tiempos de Felipe II y en los primeros años del reinado de Felipe III. Tal como intentaremos demostrar Vassalini tuvo un especial interés en la importación de libros venecianos, negociando con otros colegas italianos asentados en España y, especialmente, con los mercaderes de libros de Venecia (Agulló Cobo 1992, 38). En uno de los libros que editó Vassalini, los *Responsorum* (Venecia, 1602) de Tiberio Deciani, encontramos el texto de una dedicatoria a un cortesano escrito en latín y firmado por “Simon Vassallinus” en el que se indicaba lugar de origen del librero: “Venetias patriam meam” (Deciani, 1602).

Vassalini se dedicó a la importación de textos en latín e italiano para su venta y distribución en Castilla, Andalucía y México, entre otros lugares (Rueda Ramírez 2017). En este trabajo intentaremos reunir los escasos datos que se conocen sobre sus actividades como mercader de libros y editor, y nos ocuparemos de analizar un catálogo de 1597, considerado el primer catálogo de librería publicado en la Península Ibérica, y el único que conocemos del siglo XVI (Bruni 2013, III, 1049). Este impreso se conoce por un único y raro ejemplar que perteneció a un jurista sardo llamado Monserrat Rosselló que reunió una importante colección en la isla. Esta vinculación del catálogo a una

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colección privada que ha pervivido, al menos en parte, hasta nuestros días en la Universidad de Cagliari es otro aspecto al que dedicaremos especial atención. En este caso podemos conocer al librero y al lector, el catálogo y los libros. La importancia del catálogo como medio de conexión con un público selecto, al que los libreros se dirigen para ampliar la clientela, fue muy apreciado por Boulard en su *Traité élémentaire de bibliographie contenant la manière de faire les inventaires, les prisées, les ventes publiques et de classer les catalogues*. En este manual de librería, uno de los primeros publicados, valoraba los catálogos como “le *nec plus ultra* d’un libraire” (Boulard 1804-1805, I, 105).

En el caso de Vassalini sus estrategias comerciales fueron similares a las de otros libreros extranjeros asentados en España. Estos negociantes procuraron convertirse en agentes de los grandes mercaderes de libros para los negocios de importación al por mayor, pero también buscaron un público local al situar su tienda cerca de centros de poder de la Corona y el cabildo municipal, los Consejos reales, tribunales y colegios. El catálogo, como intentaremos demostrar, estuvo destinado a promover la compra de títulos importados, de hecho hay un único libro publicado en España, y se dirigía a un público erudito. En este sentido es un catálogo que ofrece una panorámica de la oferta de libros venecianos, que son mayoría, disponibles en una librería de la Corte a finales de la centuria.

## Los libreros de la Corte

La comunidad italiana que residía en la Corte madrileña podía encontrar un nutrido lote de títulos italianos a la venta en las librerías del centro de la ciudad. Estos libros podían proceder del tráfico de libros de importación de libreros españoles o italianos asentados en Madrid o en otras ciudades castellanas que jugaron un papel relevante en la llegada de libros procedentes del extranjero (Agulló Cobo 1992). Una singularidad del caso español en el tráfico de libros es la “descentralización” de los negocios de librería, que no se concentra en una ciudad, como es el caso de París o Lyon. De hecho, algunas de las principales librerías están fuera de la Corte (Rial Costas 2013). En la primera mitad del siglo XVI el principal centro de producción fue Sevilla, y en la segunda mitad de la centuria jugaron un papel esencial ciudades como Salamanca, Valladolid, Medina del Campo o Alcalá de Henares, entre otras (Wilkinson 2012). Un motivo destacado para esta multipolaridad del tráfico es la existencia de ferias

comerciales, en Medina del Campo y en Alcalá de Henares, que facilitaron los acuerdos comerciales al ofrecer mejores condiciones fiscales y financieras, especialmente en el cobro de impuestos y en las cartas de pago (Cátedra 2001). Las librerías de Medina del Campo jugaron un papel esencial, dinamizando las actividades comerciales del libro, de hecho, su papel fue clave en el tráfico hacia las librerías del resto de Castilla (y de los territorios americanos controlados por la Corona española) (Bécares Botas y Luis Iglesias 1992). En otros casos son librerías que contaron con el potencial de instituciones de relieve, como la Universidad de Salamanca, que contribuyó a consolidar notables negocios de librería en la ciudad. En las librerías salmantinas encontraremos a la familia Portonaris, originaria de Italia, establecida en Lyon y con arraigo en España en Salamanca, Medina del Campo y Zaragoza (Delgado Casado 1996, I, 551), cuya librería en 1585 contaba con 10.741 ejemplares, al cargo de Vicente de Portonaris; o los herederos de los Junta (Giunti), familia de origen florentino (Pettas 2005), que tenían en Salamanca una librería que contaba en 1565 con 19.664 ejemplares (Bécares Botas 2007, 26).

El papel de Madrid se iría consolidando lentamente, al convertirse en sede estable de la Corte, y atraer a impresores y libreros, sin olvidar el peso que jugaba la cercana ciudad de Alcalá de Henares, que contaba con una universidad, imprentas y una intensa actividad de compra-venta de libros en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI (Martín Abad 1991. Cayuela 2006). E igualmente tuvieron un notable peso las ciudades universitarias, como es el caso de Salamanca, o bien las sedes de importantes sedes catedralicias, como Toledo (Moll 1997). Las posibilidades de negocio para los libreros hicieron que numerosos mercaderes de libros viajasen a diferentes ciudades para llegar a acuerdos comerciales, y fue habitual el intercambio de lotes de libros y la compra-venta de surtido entre libreros. Estos libreros tuvieron en sus miras el mercado de Nueva España y el Perú, negociando en Sevilla como polo de distribución de textos importados de Italia (Maillard Álvarez 2014). Los mercaderes de libros contribuyeron a la difusión de tendencias de consumo cultural de los diferentes territorios italianos en el resto de Europa, facilitando circulaciones textuales, modelos tipográficos y ofreciendo canales de difusión internacional para las ideas. En este sentido actuaron como otros mercaderes en el mundo moderno reforzando la movilidad geográfica del comercio de libros y el carácter híbrido de los intercambios culturales (Herrero Sánchez 2016, 6).

## Agentes de paso

Una singularidad de la Corte es la capacidad de atracción de viajeros de todo el mundo que acudían para formalizar peticiones, resolver asuntos y buscar mercedes de la Corona. Los asuntos de los territorios italianos atrajeron a agentes que se ocuparon de resolver los temas jurídicos de Milán, Sicilia, Nápoles y Cerdeña, ante el Consejo de Italia. En algunos casos estos intermediarios acudían para tratar asuntos puntuales, pero en otras ocasiones residían en la Corte como agentes generales. Este último fue el caso de Baltasar Porro que llegó desde Milán en 1672, quedándose en la villa madrileña hasta su muerte en 1703. Porro reunió una biblioteca de 356 volúmenes “los más italianos y algunos latinos, todos viejos”, además de textos en castellano (Barrio Moya 2010, 526). Estos italianos podían desarrollar una misión diplomática, defender los intereses de una ciudad o un parlamento, o bien acudir para defenderse ante los consejeros reales. En ocasiones traían algunos libros, para pasar el tiempo durante una estancia que podían durar semanas o meses, y en no pocos casos se regalaban o vendían antes de iniciar el regreso a sus ciudades de origen. Estos viajeros, diplomáticos y religiosos actuaron como mediadores culturales entre los diferentes territorios de la Monarquía hispánica. Los libros escritos sobre Cerdeña también fueron clave para dar soporte a los intereses de la isla en Castilla, y sus autores llegaron a contar con obras que despertaron el interés de los miembros de los tribunales. El libro de Francisco Vico sobre las leyes del reino, el *Libro primero de las leyes y pragmáticas reales del reyno de Sardaña* (Sardinae, 1633) formaba parte de algunas bibliotecas castellanas (Catálogo 1737, 59. Vico 2004). En general en las colecciones españolas los libros italianos tuvieron un notable peso, especialmente en algunas colecciones de libros humanísticos y eruditos, y de manera destacada en las colecciones profesionales de los letrados. La biblioteca del jurista Jerónimo de Zeballos (1560-1641) incluía 504 títulos, muchos de ellos relacionados con su oficio de abogado, contando en su colección un especial peso los juristas italianos. De hecho, los libros de Venecia suponen el 28% del total y los de Turín el 5,7% (Aranda 2001, 149–156). En la relación de Simón Contarini en 1605 se transmitía esta imagen al indicar “estar llena de hombres doctísimos en todas letras y facultades particularmente en la escriptura y leyes” (Contarini 2001, 82). Esta imagen transmitida por algunos diplomáticos revela el creciente peso de los letrados en la maquinaria política y administrativa de la Corona.



En algunos casos la visita a la Corte fue una oportunidad para enriquecer sus bibliotecas o abastecerse de nuevas publicaciones, especialmente en los casos de viajeros que provenían de áreas mal abastecidas o sin librerías permanentes. E igualmente numerosos españoles que pasaron a Italia o que volvían, con algún encargo de la Corona o en alguna misión diplomática, pudieron traer o llevar impresos, manuscritos y estampas en sus equipajes. La riqueza de casos y situaciones revela un tráfico constante de libros entre los territorios italianos y España, pero también desde la Corte a numerosos lugares, incluyendo Cagliari en Cerdeña, como veremos a continuación en el caso de Montserrat Rosselló que viajó a la Corte, regresando a la isla en 1598 (Martini 1845, 9).

## Montserrat Rosselló y el catálogo de 1597

El estudio de las procedencias está ofreciendo excelentes resultados, al permitir la reconstrucción de colecciones, pero también al ofrecer una trazabilidad para determinados impresos, que permite seguir su paso a través de distintas bibliotecas (Shaw 2005. Coppens 2010). En el caso del catálogo de Vassalini la única copia conservada se encuentra en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Cagliari (Martini 1863, 123). El libro lleva una marca de propiedad en la parte superior de la portada, en la que se anota a pluma “Ex libris M[onsse]rrati Rosellò” (Cagliari, Biblioteca universitaria, ROSS.D.115). Es el mismo ex-libris que se encuentra en otros muchos libros que pertenecieron a este destacado letrado, por ejemplo, otro ejemplar del que se conserva una única copia es la edición zaragozana de la *Suma de la art de arismètica* (1486) de Francesc Santcliment que lleva la anotación manuscrita “Ex libris Monsserrati Rossellò” (Escobedo 2007).

El jurista Montserrat Rosselló había nacido en Cagliari a mediados del siglo XVI, hijo del mallorquín Vincenzo Rosselló y de Elena Nicolau Carbonell de Cagliari. Asistió a la universidad de Pisa en *utroque iure* siendo reconocido como “doctor” en 1585 (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, I, 13; see also the article by G. Granata in this volume). Su afición por los libros era conocida en la isla, formando parte de un grupo de hombres de letras, como Nicolò Canyelles, que lograron reunir importantes bibliotecas (Seche 2013). Estos eruditos se conocían y compartían intereses en el ámbito local, se prestaban libros y fomentaron los estudios humanísticos (Cadoni 1989). En el caso de Rosselló logró reunir una importante colección que incluía

manuscritos, incunables interesantes como la *Història de la passió de N.S. Jesu Christi en cobles* (Valencia, 1493. ISTC if00066500), y una riquísima variedad de obras humanísticas del Quinientos, que algunos autores cifran en torno a los cuatro mil volúmenes (Armangué i Herrero 2001, 71–72). El virrey de la isla en 1604 informaba a Felipe III de los diferentes candidatos para una vacante en la diócesis de Ales, indicando entre las cualidades de Rosselló que tenía “muy gran librería, así de theología como de leyes” (cit. Cadoni y Laneri 1994, I, 18). En 1613 se realizó un detallado inventario de sus bienes que incluía su biblioteca, en esta lista de propiedades se anotó con cuidado una obra titulada “Index omnium scientiarum et artium, 4 fol., Madriti 1597” que, como resulta lo más probable, es el catálogo de Vassalini (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, II, 471, n. 2359).

Los libros que Rosselló había reunido pasarían, tras su fallecimiento en 1613, a manos de los jesuitas, con la condición de no cancelar su exlibris. Los jesuitas llegaron a Cagliari en 1564 y fundaron el colegio de Santa Croce y su iglesia, que se consolidó en tiempos de Rosselló (Elias 2010, 198). De este modo Rosselló seguía la senda de otros mecenas que habían donado sus bibliotecas, como el arzobispo Andrea Bacallar que tras su muerte en 1612 donó su rica colección de teología y humanidades (Turtas 2004, 170). Tras la supresión de la orden estos libros donados al colegio jesuita pasaron a la “regia università di Cagliari” (Martini 1845). De este modo es posible seguir los pasos del *Index librorum* (1597) que se integró en la colección de Rosselló, pasando tras su muerte a la biblioteca jesuítica, y en el siglo XVIII a la universidad. El catálogo quedó recogido en los inventarios decimonónicos de la biblioteca (Martini 1863, 123), pero pasó desapercibido para buena parte de la historiografía del libro hasta fechas recientes (Bouza 1998). En la portada también figura un sello de tinta negra circular con la leyenda “BIBL.A .R. PUB. DE. CAGLIARI” y un escudo con un águila coronada.

El *Index librorum* (1597) tiene algunas notas de uso que resultan interesantes. En algunas entradas de los libros a la venta hay una marca (un punto) en el margen que indica el interés en esos libros por parte de Roselló, de hecho en otros catálogos de librero de la colección también se encuentran estas marcas. Entre sus volúmenes tenía el *Catalogus librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae et sociorum* (Venecia, 1608) y los catálogos de las ferias del libro de Fráncfort de 1586, 1587 y 1589 (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, II, 346–347, n.

998-1003). En el caso de Roselló se observa una clara preferencia por marcar los libros eruditos en latín, pero no podemos saber si eran libros que ya tenía o que, precisamente, marcaba para comprar. Lo que sí se aprecia con claridad es su especial interés en los textos de derecho civil, ya que buena parte de las obras de consejos y decisiones están marcadas. Esta selección revela el interés del poseedor del *Index librorum* en las obras jurídicas, de hecho, en la isla Montserrat Rosselló tuvo una marcada actividad en los tribunales sardos. También jugó un papel clave como síndico del estamento militar en el Parlamento sardo del virrey Gastón de Moncada, marqués de Aitona, convocado en los años 1592-1594, pero finalizado en 1598 al cerrarse los capítulos debatidos. Rosselló había consolidado su prestigio como docto jurista. En este Parlamento se jugaron fuertes intereses en un contexto de fricciones entre las facciones de la nobleza local y el virrey. En estos encuentros se tuvo que resolver el reparto del donativo a la Corona, entre otros diversos asuntos en los que intervino Rosselló de manera cualificada como experto en derecho (Quaglioni, 1997: 14–15). Un aspecto destacable fue su nombramiento como juez de la Real Audiencia de Cerdeña en 1598 y, más revelador de la confianza depositada por Felipe II, como visitador de los oficiales reales del reino, incluyendo al virrey Antonio Coloma, en un momento decisivo en el que Rosselló volvía a la isla (Manconi 2010, 303–304). En el Consejo de Aragón se debatió esta nueva plaza de la Audiencia con una clara preferencia por Rosselló del que se decía que era “natural de Cerdeña, que ha venido a esta Corte por síndico del estamento militar, muy buen letrado, virtuoso y gran christiano, bien nascido y con hacienda, y en quien concurren todas las buenas partes que son menester para la dicha plaça” (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Consejo de Aragón, leg. 1053, f. 18r). Este paso por la Corte resultaría clave para entender su interés en el catálogo de Vassalini, ya que fue una excelente oportunidad para comprar textos para su biblioteca.

## El catálogo de 1597

En 1597 fue publicado en Madrid el *Index librorum omnium tam ad Theologiam, Philosophiam, & Iuris utriusque peritiam, quam ad quascumque alias artes, & facultates cuiuscumque generis spectantium* (Matriti: Ex Typographia Regia, Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1597) (Bruni 2013, III, 1049). El impresor Juan Flamenco fue el responsable de la Imprenta Real de 1596 hasta 1612,

publicando numerosas obras por encargo (Delgado Casado 1996, I, 238). En este mismo año 1597 también publicó en su taller *Los libros* de Santa Teresa de Jesús o los *Remedios preservativos y curativos* de Miguel Martínez de Leyva. Esta Imprenta Real estuvo regentada por impresores profesionales que imprimían para la Corona pragmáticas y otros textos legales, además de los libros del Nuevo Rezado como el *Missale Romanum* (1600), impreso por Juan Flamenco; pero también títulos muy variados, incluyendo obras de literatura como la *Diana* (1602) de Montemayor (Delgado Casado 1996, I, 342–44). En el caso del *Index librorum* se trataba de un impreso menor en formato cuarto de cincuenta páginas impresas, que con bastante probabilidad fue encargado y pagado por el librero Vassalini.

En el siglo XVII se publicaron en España diez catálogos de venta de libros, de ellos cinco en Madrid y cinco en Sevilla. El número total de once catálogos en dos siglos revela que la publicación de catálogos fue poco frecuente en el caso de los libreros españoles. En el caso español fueron listas de venta de surtido de libros nueve de los catálogos, y otros dos fueron de venta de bibliotecas particulares (Rodríguez Moñino 1966). En estos casos los títulos indicaban *Inventario de la librería* de Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (1660) y *Catálogo general de la librería* de Diego de Arce (1666), en referencia a las bibliotecas privadas de estos dos importantes personajes de la Corte (Entreambasaguas 1943).

El *Index librorum* incluye 875 ediciones diferentes que agrupa por materias, dando preferencia en primer lugar a libros de teología y derecho en latín, algunas obras en árabe, griego y hebreo, y finalmente un amplio apartado a los “libri de diuerse scienze in lingua toscana”, que incluye temáticas muy diversas y subapartados sobre milicia o fortificaciones. Las entradas son sencillas e incompletas, en cada título se ofrece el título, autor, formato y lugar de edición, añadiendo en 37 títulos “con figure” bien “in rame” o “stanpe fine”. Este sería el caso de la “Le antichita di Roma de Bernardo Gamuci, con figure. 8. Venet.” que permite identificar la obra y, en ocasiones, la posible edición, aunque en muchos casos son títulos con varias ediciones, lo que hace difícil su completa identificación. En otros casos el libro incluía calcografías, las que denomina estampas finas, como en el caso de la “Architettura di M. Giacomo Barozzio da Vignola con stanpe fine. fol. Venet.”, “La Patrica di Prospetiu del caualiere

Lorenzo Sirigatti, con stanpe fine. fol. Venet.” y el *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte le isole del mondo* (c. 1565).

En el *Index librorum* los libros en latín suman 681 ediciones (77,83%), con un predominio notable de libros jurídicos y teología (además de filosofía, retórica y gramática), seguido del italiano con 176 ediciones (20,11%), 9 títulos en árabe, 2 en hebreo y otros dos en griego, y algunos libros de música. Los libros en árabe se imprimieron en la “*typographia Medicea*” de Roma, que sacó a la luz títulos de gran interés para los eruditos, como el *Alphabetum Arabicum* (1592).

La agrupación de los títulos por materias y lenguas muestra el peso del latín en el caso de los saberes universitarios (teología, derecho y medicina). Los textos latinos de temática religiosa suman 208 ediciones, con el 23,7%. En el caso del derecho 277, el 31,6%, y en las obras médicas 64, un 7,3%. Sin embargo, en los libros en italiano se observa el peso de las materias literarias (51, 5,8%) y la historia (42, 4,8%).

En el caso del formato de las ediciones del catálogo nos encontramos con que los impresos en folio suponen el 40,3% del total y el formato cuarto el 31,5%. Ambos formatos, los más comunes para los libros de estudio y erudición, suman el 71,9% del total. Es decir, una buena parte de los títulos tenían un peso y unas dimensiones destinadas a dotar a las bibliotecas de un empaque y un prestigio por el volumen de los ejemplares. Esto se refuerza en el caso de las *Opera* de algunos autores en varios tomos, como era el caso de la *Opera omnia* del jurista André Tiraqueau en 7 volúmenes, probablemente en este caso Vassalini tenía la edición veneciana de 1588-1589.

El catálogo ofrece información del lugar de publicación en 855 casos (97,7%), lo que ofrece unas pistas de interés de los lugares de abastecimiento de libros de Vassalini. De procedencia italiana eran 792 ediciones, el 90,5%, seguido de Francia de donde llegaron a su tienda 55 títulos (6,3%), 2 ediciones de los Países Bajos meridionales y, curiosamente, un único libro impreso en Castilla, en concreto una obra de Juan Bustamante de la Cámara titulada *De animantibus scripturae sacrae* (Alcalá de Henares, 1595).

<b>País de edición</b>	<b>Ediciones</b>	<b>%</b>
Alemania	5	0,6
Bélgica	2	0,2
España	1	0,1
Francia	55	6,3
Italia	792	90,5
Sin especificar	20	2,3
Total	875	100

Países de edición de los títulos del *Index librorum* (1597)

En el caso de Italia resulta más revelador la presencia de 606 ediciones venecianas, 69,3% del total de títulos y 76,5% de los impresos de procedencia italiana (Rueda Ramírez, 2017). Una buena parte del catálogo, sin duda, proviene directamente de las relaciones de Vassalini con los mercaderes de libros de Venecia ya que además de comprar libros editaría en esta ciudad al menos dos obras jurídicas, los *Commentarii et tractatus ad sacras confessiones* (1601) de Martín de Azpilcueta y el *Responsorum* (1602) de Tiberio Deciano. Otras quince ciudades italianas aparecen citadas en el catálogo, con un predominio de obras procedentes de Roma, 50, situándose el resto entre 1 y 8 ediciones (es el caso de Bérgamo, Bolonia, Brescia, Ferrara, Florencia, Nápoles, Padua, Parma, Pavía, Perugia, Pisa, Turín, Urbino y Verona). En el caso francés la plaza de publicación más destacada es Lyon, con 50 títulos, destacando algunos títulos como la “Historia generalis Plantarum cum figuris. fol. Lugd.” y la *Hieroglyphica, seu De sacris Aegyptiorum* de Pierio Valeriano, seguida de París con 5 obras. Estos datos confirman la valoración de Pelorson de las bibliotecas de los letrados de Felipe III, ya que considera este autor que buena parte de sus obras de derecho “procedían del extranjero, sobre todo de Italia (Venecia, Turín y, más tarde, Bolonia y Roma), y también de Francia (donde Lyon ostentaba casi un monopolio)” (Pelorson 2008, 355).

## **El contenido del catálogo**

La mayor parte de los libros incluidos en el catálogo procedían de Italia, 792 ediciones de 875, lo que refuerza la idea de un catálogo mayoritariamente de libros importados. Si a esto sumamos que 681 ediciones, el 77,83%, son libros

en latín, queda claro que el público al que va destinado es el de los eruditos, humanistas o letrados de la Corte.

<b>Estructura del <i>Index librorum</i> (1597)</b>	<b>Ediciones</b>
Theologiae scholasticae et positivae authores, et alii qui in diuinam Legem scripserunt	198
Theologia en toscano	38
Iuris canonici authores	58
Iuris civilis auctores	219
Graeci auctores graece	2
Hebraica linguae auctores	2
Libri arabici	9
Libri de diuerse scienze in lingua toscana	132
Prospetiu e architettura	7
Fortificazione e militia	5
Libri de musica de diuersi ecellentissimi autori antichi e moderni, a 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Voce	12
Humanitatis, ac variae eruditionis autores	81
Mathematici, atque astrologici auctores	25
Logici, philosophici autores	24
Artis medicae principes autores	63
Total	875

La estructura del catálogo revela otros aspectos, como suele suceder estas listas o memorias de libros a la venta tienen una tendencia a copiar el modelo idealizado de las bibliografías eruditas (Serrai 2005). Aunque no son tan cuidados en su organización o la descripción de las entradas. Vassalini prefirió destacar ciertas temáticas eruditas. Tal como se aprecia en el esquema introdujo apartados temáticos singulares para pequeños lotes que deseaba destacar, como fue el caso de “Prospetiu e architettura” y “Fortificazione e militia”. A la par creó otros bloques que sumaban libros de diferentes temas, como el conjunto de textos agrupados bajo “Libri de diuerse scienze in lingua toscana” que reunía textos de historia, literatura o religión. Por ejemplo, en la letra C encontramos

las *Institutione di cirugia* de Jean Tagault, los *Concetti per scriuere & ragionar familiarmente* de Girolamo Garimberti y *Delle cagioni delle guerre antiche* de Tommaso Porcacchi.

La diversidad de títulos a la venta tiene una concentración notable en los libros jurídicos (278) y de religión (249), que suman conjuntamente el 60,2%. Las obras de derecho civil (219) incluyen una riquísima variedad de textos que fueron, sin duda, los que más interesaron a Rosselló, ya que incluía recopilaciones muy apreciadas (y caras) como los “*Tractatus omnium Doctorum. volumina 29. fol. Vene.*” y las obras de Alberico da Rosate, Bartolo da Sassoferrato, Giasone Maino, Guy Pape y otros juristas de distintas escuelas que constituían una tradición jurídica enraizada en el *mos italicum* (Romano 1984). También destacan los casi cien títulos de *consilia* o los veinte textos de *decisionum* que fueron marcados por Rosselló. En estos casos hay una notable variedad de libros prácticos como las *Decisiones Sacri Regii Consilii neapolitani* de Vincenzo de Franchis o las *Decisionum seu diffinitionum causarum Perusinarum et Prouinciaie Vmbriae* de Giuseppe Ludovisi, que debieron constituir instrumentos de consulta en la defensa de casos en los tribunales.

Otro apartado que también debió interesar a Rosselló fueron las obras de humanidades, que incluían las ediciones de los clásicos greco-romanos, entre los que aparecen marcados en el catálogo las *Opera omnia* de Cicerón, o los comentarios de Raffaele Maffei al *Oeconomicus* de Jenofonte. Además de otros muchos libros apreciados por los humanistas, como los *Emblemata* de Andrea Alciato o las polianteas que fueron un vergel de citas muy bien recibido por los lectores, de las cuáles se incluía en el catálogo la de Domenico Nani Mirabelli, que también tenía Rosselló, pero en una edición de Solingen de 1539, más antigua que la ofrecida por Vassalini. Las coincidencias en este bloque entre los libros del jurista y la oferta del librero madrileño son bastante comunes, ya que se trataba de libros habituales en las bibliotecas, aunque algunas coincidencias de formatos y lugares de impresión indican bastante proximidad entre ambos, como es el caso del “*Seminarius in omnem Philosophiam. fol. Vene. 3 volum.*” de Giovanni Battista Bernardo que tenía Rosselló en su edición veneciana de Damiano Zenaro (1582-1585, 3 v.) (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, II, 479, n. 2449). También se incluirían en este conjunto las obras clásicas traducidas al italiano, de las que se incluyen textos de Horacio, Ovidio, Virgilio, Terencio, Valerio Máximo y Cicerón.



Las obras literarias italianas también tuvieron una presencia interesante. En las obras en prosa destaca Boccaccio, del que se incluyen el *Decamerone*, el *Laberinto di amore* y *L'amorosa Fiammetta*, textos que tuvieron una amplia influencia en la literatura española. A estos textos deben sumarse las recopilaciones de Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie, motti, et burle, di diuersi signori et persone priuate*, y *L'hore di recreatione* de Lodovico Guicciardini que entraría en el género de las *facezie* o de los *detti memorabili*. Un autor del que hay varias ediciones venecianas es Tommaso Garzoni, en concreto el *Teatro di vari, e diuersi ceruelli mondani*, *L'hospitale de pazzi incurabili*, *La sinagoga de gl'ignoranti* y *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*. En este caso hay una notable coincidencia con los gustos de Rosselló, ya que en el inventario de 1613 aparecen tres obras de Garzoni en ediciones venecianas de 1591 y 1594, cercanas a la fecha de edición del catálogo (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, II, 643, n. 4297-99). Otro caso de coincidencia es el de la entrada del catálogo de las “Nouele di Giouambatista Giraldi nobile Ferrarrese. 4. Ve.” que hace alusión a las *Hecatommithi, ouero Cento Nouelle*, que también encontramos en el inventario de Rosselló en una edición anterior de Monte Regale de 1565 (Cadoni y Laneri 1994, II, 480, n. 2460).

En el caso de las obras poéticas destacan *Le prime imprese del conte Orlando* de Lodovico Dolce y el *Orlando innamorato* de Matteo Maria Boiardo. En esta línea heroica-caballeresca también se enmarca otro texto del catálogo, *Il fido amante* (1582) de Curzio Gonzaga, “in ottava rima”. En el caso de los poemas de Torquato Tasso se incluyó el *Goffredo, ouero Gierusalemme liberata* en una edición veneciana en cuarto.

La diversidad temática hace difícil referirse aquí a todos los títulos, pero la muestra revela una clara intencionalidad de orientar los intereses de los posibles compradores. Un conjunto de obras eruditas en latín, junto a una cuidada selección de obras italianas que incluía intereses literarios e históricos que, sin duda, despertaron interés en España. Es interesante destacar que Vassalini seleccionó textos italianos que ya se habían editado en español, pero esto no impidió que circularan los textos, especialmente las *nouelle* que tanta influencia tendría en el Siglo de Oro y las rimas, *romanzi* en octavas y la poesía épica, que tuvo imitadores entre los poetas españoles (Infantes 2001).

## Conclusiones

El *Index librorum* fue un catálogo de venta publicado por el librero de origen veneciano Simone Vassalini. Este catálogo interesó al jurista sardo Monserrat Rosselló, que decidió conservarlo junto a otras listas de títulos venales que despertaron su interés. En este caso los libros podían interesar a los cortesanos de Madrid que pudieron comprar estos libros importados que podían encontrar en su tienda de la calle Arenal, en pleno centro urbano. El catálogo incluía 875 ediciones, la mayoría en latín, el 77,83%, e italiano, el 20,11%, y títulos en árabe, griego y hebreo. En la lista se incluyen numerosos libros impresos en Italia (90,5%), la mayoría de la república veneciana (el 69,3% del total de títulos).

El conjunto de libros jurídicos alcanza los 278 títulos, especialmente de derecho civil que fueron los que interesaron de manera especial a Rosselló ya que aparecen marcados por este juez la mayor parte de ellos en el margen, lo que podría indicar su predilección por este tipo de obras. Algunos autores y títulos del catálogo de Vassalini coinciden con el inventario de la biblioteca del jurista, lo que podría indicar la coincidencia de intereses entre los textos a la venta y las lecturas. En todo caso, en el estado de la investigación, no podemos establecer una correlación directa entre los títulos vendidos por Vassalini y los que formaron parte de la biblioteca de Rosselló.

La diversidad temática de los textos en italiano es un aspecto destacable del catálogo. En este lote se incluyen obras de divulgación científica, como es el caso de los textos de secretos de Leonardo Fioravanti *Del compendio de' secreti rationali* y Girolamo Ruscelli el *Secreti del reueren. donno Alessio Piemontese*, o bien obras más técnicas como las de arquitectura de Paladio y Vitrubio, obras matemáticas o de pintura como *Della simmetria de i corpi humani* de Durero. En este sentido también aparecen obras literarias de autores clásicos, y libros de prosa y poesía en “toscano”, destacando Petrarca, Bocaccio, Tasso, Giraldi, Garzoni, Tansillo, Trissino, Ruscelli, Boiardo, Dolce, Gonzaga y otros muchos. Otro aspecto de esta diversidad es el de libros de música, desde los libros de madrigales, motetes a los de “Intauolature de citara”.

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# Abstracts

## **Francesco Ammannati, *Book prices and monetary issues in Renaissance Europe***

The difficulties associated with the creation of a large database of book prices include giving effective answers to questions such as how prices were formed during the various steps of the production process (sedimentation of production costs, costs related to the sale) or what the nature of the assigned value is (estimated in the case of used books, or of stock inventories, or the result of special conditions offered to specific customers, etc.). But first it is necessary to reflect on the interpretation given to the figures provided by the heterogeneous documentation which supports the creation of such a database. The many reference currencies in which these prices are expressed, depending on the monetary area of action of the economic operators (printers, booksellers, customers) are likely to confuse and mislead if their exact meaning is not clearly understood. This problem becomes even more urgent when, for example, the primary sources are the private notes of a collector who recorded how much he had paid for a book, or when two different currencies in place or in time have the same name. This aspect is also crucial in comparing different places and markets. Was the price expressed in money of account or in coined money? In domestic or foreign currency? Is it possible to relate two prices expressed in different currencies?

The purpose of this paper is therefore to explore in greater depth some of the economic-monetary aspects of Renaissance Europe in order to help clarify any doubts or misreadings by building a reliable picture of the various types of currency used in Europe between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is an essential step to subsequently address the possibility of comparing prices expressed in different currencies as they emerged on different markets.

KEYWORDS: History of the book; Economic history; Price history; Money of account; Early modern Europe.

**Giliola Barbero, *Ordinary and extraordinary prices in the Giolito Libri spirituali sales list***

This article illustrates an early modern sales list of books, the Libri spirituali di stampa of the Venetian Giolito publishing house. This printed list, kept in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia, includes the descriptions of 81 devotional and religious sixteenth century books with their prices expressed in Venetian lire (an account money). The aim of the research is to illustrate the price policy of the Giolito firm between 1587 and 1592, and the segment of the market they intended to serve. For this purpose, on the basis of the books priced, the list has been dated and placed in chronological relation with other already known Giolito sales catalogues. In the second part of the article, average prices per printing sheet are calculated and the relationships between prices and dates, languages and formats are taken into consideration. In the end, the reasons why some few editions were proposed on the market at a higher price are discussed. The list is published in the Appendix.

KEYWORDS: Book trade; book market; history of the book; 16th-century books; printed booksellers' catalogues; early modern book prices; Giolito printing house; devotional early modern books.

**Flavia Bruni, *Peace at the Lily. The De Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti***

This contribution investigates the catalogue of publications by Francesco De Franceschi, printer, publisher and bookseller between 1561 and 1599, and his heirs, who took over his business until 1624, as recorded in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti (Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, call number 170/622), also a printer, publisher and bookseller in Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Each entry of this De Franceschi section has been matched with the edition it was meant to describe, in order to analyse the price of each book according to the Giunti stockbook as the result of material features and book marketing strategies.

KEYWORDS: 16th-century books; 17th-century books; Book history; Book market; Book trade; Book trade catalogues; Early printed books; Stockbooks; Selling catalogues; Early printing; Typography.

**Christian Coppens, Angela Nuovo, *Printed catalogues of booksellers as a source for the history of the book trade***

Printed advertisements and lists of books for sales were used by publishers and booksellers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively to promote



and increase the sale of books in distant markets. This article proposes an overall interpretation of the uses of these catalogues in the trade in books, the purposes they were designed to fulfil, and the reading public(s) they aimed to reach. Specific attention is paid to the book prices which are found in about 30% of the surviving printed catalogues. These represent a reliable testimony to the pricing policies some of the most important publishing firms, and the segments of the market they intended to serve. The catalogues are therefore among the main sources for our understanding of the mechanisms of the early modern book trade and its economic structure.

KEYWORDS: Book advertisements; Book trade; book market; history of the book; 16th-century books; printed booksellers' catalogues; early modern book prices.

***Giovanna Granata, The collection of Monserrat Rosselló in the University Library of Cagliari***

The book collection of the jurist Monserrat Rosselló (ca. 1560-1613) from Cagliari comprises approximately 4,500 editions and is the most notable private library on the island in modern times. Rosselló stipulated that on his death it should be entrusted to the Jesuit College in Cagliari; following the suppression of the Jesuit order, in 1779 it was given by the ruling Savoy family to the University Library, which had recently been founded as a public library.

The Rosselló collection is not merely a matter for local pride but, with its introduction in Sardinia of the model of a modern public library, represents an important episode in library history. An attentive reading of Rosselló's testament shows that he did not wish simply to donate his library to the Jesuits; he wanted to entrust them with the responsibility for preserving and maintaining it, as a living collection which would serve as a library "for everyone". An examination of the inventory of the library reveals that in building it Rosselló did not merely accumulate volumes; he acquired and exploited bibliographical tools which helped him to navigate the world of publishing. Among these tools there are some bookseller and publisher catalogues, some of which survive today in the University Library, by means of which Rosselló gathered information on available publications, thus widening his scope beyond what the local booktrade in Sardinia could offer to take in the whole of Europe.

KEYWORDS: Private libraries; Cagliari; Sardinia; Monserrat Rosselló; Booksellers' and publishers' catalogues; 16th century.

**Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, *Building an Up-to-date Library. Prospero Podiani's Use of Booksellers' Catalogue, with Special Reference to Law Books***

Prospero Podiani (1535 ca. - 1615) is well known as one of the major book-collectors in the 16th century Italy. He was keen to gather the best editions of the most important works published until his own day (along with relevant manuscripts) and to make them available to scholars. In 1582 he agreed with Perugia city governors about the donation of his collection and the foundation of the Biblioteca Augusta. Podiani was able to keep pace with the production of all the major European publishers mainly by acquiring sale catalogues. The evidence for this can be found in the great number of copies of those catalogues (some of which are very rare) that exist today in the Biblioteca Augusta. Along with acquiring printed catalogues, he also produced a series of manuscript lists of books for sale. This article aims to provide an overall presentation of those documents, printed and manuscript, and then to present the results of a more detailed analysis of one of those catalogues where Podiani listed almost exclusively law books printed in the course of the 16th century and to put them in relation to the section of the library dedicated to legal texts.

KEYWORDS: Book Trade; Sale catalogues; Private Libraries; Perugia Biblioteca Augusta; Prospero Podiani.

**Goran Proot, *Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues (Paris 1541-1552): a statistical analysis***

This survey focuses on prices as they were advertised by the Paris printer and bookseller Robert Estienne in nine booksellers' catalogues published between 1541 and 1552. 1,801 entries in total were entered onto a database; it has been possible to identify 77% of these from references to them in bibliographies, catalogues or other, mainly online, tools (in particular the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, USTC). After exclusion of incomplete or doubtful data, 1,087 entries were selected for statistical analysis, in order to attempt to reveal overall trends as well as some of the main factors influencing prices of 'first-hand' (i.e., not second-hand), unbound books. These factors include the year of publication, the 'age' of editions, bibliographical format and use of any specific founts, such as Hebrew and Greek. Our analysis shows that prices of the majority of the editions mentioned more than once across different catalogues remained stable. In 13% of the cases for which enough data is present, prices varied. The results of this survey help us to understand something about the general price levels of books in Paris in this period, which in turn will help us develop a deeper understanding of the book trade on a wider scale in both time and space.

KEYWORDS: Book history; economic history; price history; book trade; sixteenth century; early modern Europe.

**Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *La venta de libros italianos en Madrid en tiempos de Felipe II: el catálogo de Simone Vassalini (1597)***

In 1597 in Madrid, the bookseller Simone Vassalini printed what is considered to be the earliest known example of a printed book sale catalogue published in Spain, the *Index librorum*. The only remaining copy, which once formed part of the private library of the Sardinian jurist Monserrat Rosselló, lists the titles of 875 printed books. Of these, 77.83% are works in Latin and 20.11% are Italian books. The catalogue also lists works in Arabic, Greek and Hebrew. Of all the books, 90.5% were printed in Italy and 69.3% were printed in the Republic of Venice. The main subjects are law, religion, medicine, history, humanities and sciences, although the list also features Italian literary texts and poetry anthologies, which would have been particularly popular in sixteenth-century Spain.

KEYWORDS: Bookshops; Spanish Golden Age; Italian books; Booksellers' catalogues; Madrid; Cagliari.

**Graziano Ruffini, *Une vente de livres à Gênes en 1583***

The article, based on archival sources, examines a sale of books held in Genoa in 1583 between two booksellers: Cristoforo Zabata and Antonio Orero. Most of these books had been previously acquired in Venice. The article provides an accurate analysis of book prices according to subject: law, literature, history, medicine and so on. The survey also highlights costs with regard to the number of sheets, format and language, thus providing a set of information useful for further comparative cross-regional studies. The appendix includes a transcription of the source along with a bibliographic identification of the books enlisted.

KEYWORDS: Early modern books; Book trade; Book prices; Cristoforo Zabata; Antonio Orero.



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# Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe

Based on the contributions given at a conference held at the University of Cagliari in September 2017, this collection of essays provides an insight into the distribution and acquisition of printed books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Publishers' and booksellers' catalogues are examined as evidence of the advertising and selling techniques used by agents in the book trade, with a focus on book prices. The role of sixteenth-century private libraries and the growing phenomenon of book collecting are studied within a commercial frame. In this context, private collections are investigated as places of preservation rather than consumption, of the works being circulated within the book trade.

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