

## **From printshop to piazza: the dissemination of cheap print in sixteenth century Venice**

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QUEEN MARY COLLEGE,  
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

FROM PRINTSHOP TO PIAZZA:

THE DISSEMINATION OF CHEAP PRINT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY  
ROSA SALZBERG

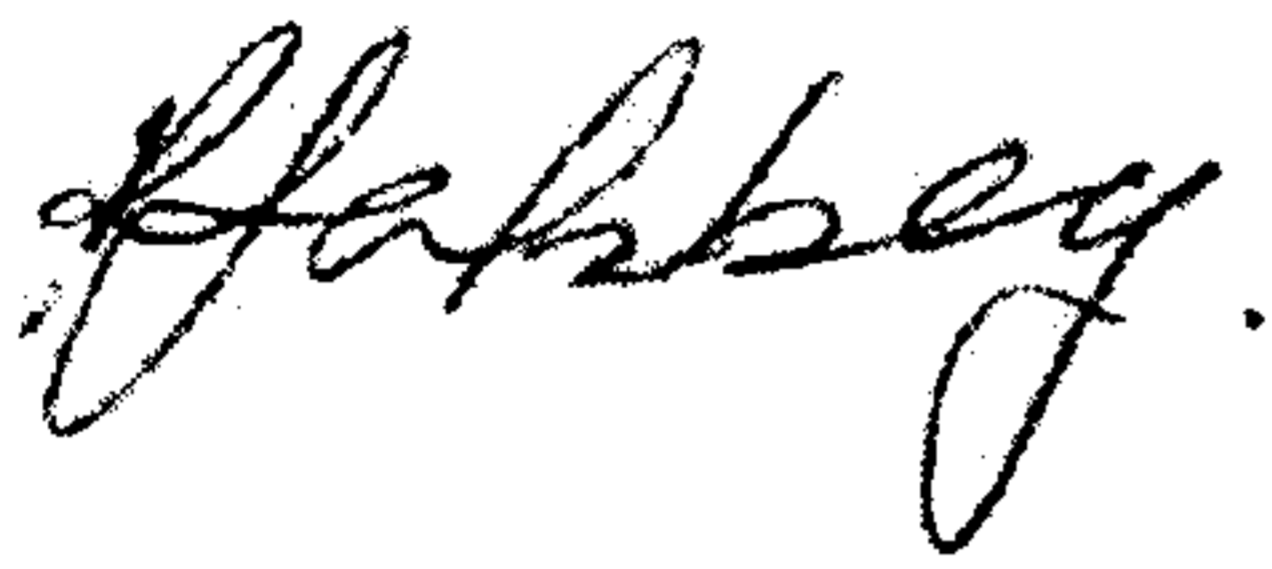
OCTOBER 2008



## Declaration

This is to certify that the thesis comprises only my own original work. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rosa Salzberg', written in a cursive style.

(Rosa Salzberg)

## **Abstract**

This thesis is concerned with the smallest and cheapest products of the Venetian presses in the sixteenth century. Pamphlets and printed fliers were the most accessible articles of printed matter to the wider public, and they are crucial to understanding how the technology of printing infiltrated the urban life of Venice in this period. To this end, Chapter One is concerned with the spaces of print dissemination in the city, mapping information about the locations of presses, bookshops, and stalls in the city. A particular focus is the street trade in cheap print, how this interacted with established shops and was drawn to particular times and spaces of public gathering. Chapters Two and Three consider the chief producers and disseminators of cheap print: printers and publishers, and vendors both established and itinerant. I examine the people who came to make up the printing industry in this developmental phase, and the role that the production of cheap print played in the process of establishing a successful business. A focus on performers who published or sold cheap print—enacting the oral dissemination of texts in tandem with their printed diffusion—suggests how broader publics, of every shade from illiterate to literate, were becoming acculturated to an expanding print culture. Chapter Four then concentrates on representative examples of printed pamphlets produced in Venice by itinerant publishers and performers in collaboration with members of the local printing industry, for example, tales of chivalry, poems about recent wars, charlatans' recipes, and prognostications. Finally, in Chapter Five I consider how cheap print dissemination fared in the intensifying climate of control and censorship of the Counter-Reformation era.

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## Abbreviations

### Archives/Libraries

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
AMS	<i>Arte dei medici e speciali</i>
ASP	Archivio storico del patriarcato, Venice
ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice
AC	<i>Avogaria di Comun</i>
ALS	<i>Arte dei librai, stampatori, e ligatori</i>
CI	<i>Cancelleria Inferiore</i>
CCX	<i>Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci</i>
CX	<i>Consiglio dei Dieci</i>
Decime	<i>Dieci savi sopra la Decime</i>
ECB	<i>Esecutori contro la bestemmia</i>
PSM	<i>Procuratorie di San Marco de supra</i>
Reformatori	<i>Reformatori dello studio di Padova</i>
Sanità	<i>Provveditori alla Sanità</i>
ST	<i>Senato Terra</i>
SU	<i>Sant'Uffizio</i>
BBM	Biblioteca Braidense, Milan
BEM	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena
BGC	Biblioteca Giorgio Cini, Venice
BL	British Library, London
BLCR	Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome
BMCV	Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice
BMV	Biblioteca Marciana, Venice
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence



BTM	Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan
HABW	Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Wellcome	Wellcome Library, London

Printed Publications and Databases

<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> . Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-
<i>DTEI</i>	Menato, Marco, Ennio Sandal, and Giuseppina Zappella, eds. <i>Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento</i> . Vol. 1: A-F. Milan: Editrice Bibliografia, 1997.
<i>Edit 16</i>	Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche (ICCU). <i>Edit 16. Censimento Nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo</i> . (Website accessed 12 October 2008).
<i>GOR</i>	<i>Guerre in ottava rima</i> . 4 vols. Ferrara: Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali; Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1989.
<i>HPB</i>	Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). <i>Heritage of the Printed Book Database</i> . (Website accessed 12 October 2008).
<i>Rava</i>	Rava, Carlo Enrico. <i>Supplement à Max Sander, Le livre à figures italien de la Renaissance</i> . Milan: Hoepli, 1969.
<i>Sander</i>	Sander, Max. <i>Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530: essai de sa bibliographie et de son histoire</i> . 5 vols. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969.
<i>STA</i>	<i>Short-Title Catalog of Books Printed in Italy and of Books in Italian Printed Abroad 1501-1600 Held in Selected North American Libraries</i> , 3 vols. Boston: Hall, 1970.
<i>STC</i>	<i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 Now in the British Library</i> . London: British Library, 1958.
<i>STC supp.</i>	<i>Short-Title Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 Now in the British Library. Supplement</i> . London: British Library, 1986.

Other Abbreviations

b.	<i>busta</i>
c./cc.	leaf/ves
col./cols	column/s
f.	<i>filza</i>
fasc.	fascicle
MS	manuscript
Not.	notary
n.d.	no date
n.p.d.	no place, no date
r.	<i>registro</i>
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
vol./vols.	volume/s

Editing Criteria

All translations into English are my own unless stated. In the transcriptions from early modern Italian texts I have expanded abbreviations, added spaces or apostrophes to separate words, modernised the punctuation, capitalisation and accentuation, and changed ‘u’ to ‘v’ and vice versa to distinguish respectively vocalic and consonantal ‘u’. I have not otherwise modernised the spelling. Editorial glosses or uncertain transcriptions are indicated with square brackets. I have applied the same principles to the titles of texts, and abbreviated long titles. I also give publication details where possible; attributed publication details are inserted in square brackets. For rare editions, I include the library and shelfmark of the copy I have consulted. When quoting verse passages of more than two lines, I give the original in the text and the translation in the footnotes; otherwise I give the original in the footnotes.

The Venetian calendar began on 1 March. Unless otherwise stated, I have adapted *more veneto* dates to the modern style. The Florentine calendar began on March 25, and I have likewise adapted dates to the common style.

## Introduction

On 13 February 1543, on the steps of the Rialto Bridge, a government herald announced a law passed the previous day by Venice's powerful Council of Ten. The Ten were concerned about one of the city's most recent and lucrative industries, that of printing and bookselling. Their law stated that no one could print or sell any work without first obtaining a licence, as there was growing concern that many were printing and also selling books "which are very improperly against the honour of the Lord God and of the Christian faith, setting a very bad example and [causing] universal scandal."<sup>1</sup> In question were not only prestigious editions for sale in the city's many bookshops. The Ten specifically extended their edict to all those "who sell such books and works, prognostications, stories, songs, letters, and other similar things on the bridge of the Rialto, and in other places of this city."<sup>2</sup>

This latter clause addressed a category of printed matter that has not been accorded its deserved place in the narrative of Venetian printing history and, consequently, in the story of the city's daily life and culture in this period. By virtue of being small and ephemeral, and therefore cheap and likely to be sold in the streets rather than in bookshops, this category of print has eluded proper recognition. Cheap print has a tendency to slip through the cracks of traditional historiography, even though there is much evidence that it was produced in great quantities from the earliest days of Italian printing and that it constituted a significant presence in Italian life and culture. New frameworks and new approaches are needed to evaluate these fugitive items, which were among the cheapest consumer goods for sale in sixteenth-century Venice.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Sono fatti cossì licentiosi li stampadori e li botegieri de questa città che ... stampano et etiam vendeno libri et opere stampati altrovo pubblicamente, molte delle qual sono molte inhonestissime contra l'honor del Signor Dio e della fede Christiana cum tanto mal exemplo e scandalo universal." ASV, CX, Parte comuni, f. 32, fasc. 234. Printing had begun in Venice in 1469.

<sup>2</sup> "Quelle veramente che vendeno de tal libri et opere pronostici, hystorie, canzone, lettere, et altre simel cose sul Ponte de Rialto et in altri loci de questa città." Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A few scholars have begun to show how ephemeral print was produced in quantity from the beginning of Italian publishing. Very early responses to contemporary events in the form of cheap printed pamphlets were explored in Ugo Rozzo, "Il presunto 'omicidio rituale' di Simonino di Trento e il primo santo tipografico," *Atti dell'Accademia Udinese di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* 90 (1997): 185-223; and Margaret Meserve, "News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2006): 440-80. Massimo Rospocher highlighted the effective use of ephemeral printed items such as celebratory poems and Papal bulls by Pope Julius II in "Propaganda e opinione pubblica: Giulio II nella comunicazione politica europea," *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-*

As Peter Stallybrass has argued, the history of printing has been dominated by what he terms “the conceptual gluttony of ‘the book’” which, in the view of much scholarship, “consumes all printing as if all paper was destined for its voracious mouth.” Stallybrass adds: “printers do not print books. They print sheets. If the printer is also the publisher, he or she will be financially involved in transforming those sheets into books. But in terms of printing, the sheets are what matter. It is even more important to emphasize how frequently printers were not even trying to make books.”<sup>4</sup> Stallybrass and others argue that the practice of “jobbing” printing, or taking on small jobs on commission between larger works was fundamental to the economic stability of printing firms throughout the early modern period.<sup>5</sup> In other words, a large proportion of what presses produced was not made to be gathered into a thick volume and bound together to become what we think of as a “book”; small pamphlets of a few pages, single sheet imprints, and other, even smaller ephemera were produced. Francesco Novati called this the *popolo minuto* of print, which, when Novati wrote in the early twentieth century, he considered to have been “until now almost completely ignored.”<sup>6</sup>

Much of the scholarship on print consumption and on reading likewise has been skewed by the “conceptual gluttony of the book.” This, warned Roger Chartier, threatens to interpret the relationship of people to print culture “exclusively in terms of book

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*germanico in Trento* 33 (2007): 117-57. Piero Scapecchi suggested a vernacular religious book with engravings may even be the first surviving Italian incunable, if indeed it can be dated to 1463, in “Subiaco 1465 oppure [Bondeno 1463]? Analisi del frammento Parsons-Scheide,” *La bibliofilia* 103, no. 1 (2001): 1-24. Small publications could be produced in enormous quantities compared to larger books, for example an edition of over 100,000 bulls printed in Sicily in 1500, recorded in Ugo Rozzo, “La strage degli innocenti,” *L’oggetto libro* 5 (2000): 122.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Stallybrass, “‘Little Jobs’: Broadsides and the Printing Revolution,” in *Agent of Change. Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, eds Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press; Washington D.C.: Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 2007), 340.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein noted the importance of “jobbing printing” in her influential work: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:59-60. But see also Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 162-64; Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli, “Elementi culturali e fattori socio-economici della produzione libraria a Roma nel ‘400,” in *Letteratura e critica. Studi in onore di Natalino Sapegno*, eds Walter Binni et al. (Rome: Bulzoni, 1976), 3:101-43; D.F. McKenzie, “The Economies of Print, 1550-1750: Scales of Production and Conditions of Constraint,” in *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro, secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Le Monnier, 1992), 389-425; John L. Flood, “The Printed Book as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 76 (2001): 72-82.

<sup>6</sup> In Novati’s words, the *popolo minuto* included: “i fogli volanti, ond’è riprodotta la canzonetta di attualità, la descrizione di orrendi prodigi, le paurose gesta di briganti e d’assassini, gli almanacchi, le poesie per ventole, le orazioni devote, gli scongiuri, i presagi, i Pianeti, le carte da giuoco, infine le immagini pie, le caricature politiche o sociali.” Francesco Novati, “La storia e la stampa nella produzione popolare italiana,” first published 1906. Reprinted in Novati, *Scritti sull’editoria popolare nell’Italia di antico regime*, eds Edoardo Barbieri and Alberto Brambilla (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 2004), 91-92.

ownership,” when in fact “a relationship with the written word did not necessarily imply individual reading, reading did not necessarily imply possession of books, and familiarity with the printed word did not necessarily imply familiarity with books.”<sup>7</sup> If we are to understand the place of print in early modern society, we need more flexible and capacious conceptions of printed texts, and of the way in which people engaged with texts at the time.

Approaches such as those of Stallybrass and Chartier might well be applied to the case of Cinquecento Venice, home to the largest printing industry in Europe for most of the first century of printing and arguably the first city in the world to feel the true impact of the new technology. Far ahead of other Italian printing centres, Venice produced as many as 50,000 to 60,000 editions in the sixteenth century, out of an estimated 400,000 for all of Europe.<sup>8</sup> Printers based in Venice were pioneers in the publication of Greek and Latin classics, of music and of illustrated books, and in the establishment of distribution systems for books spanning across the continent.<sup>9</sup> Towards 1500, expansion was occurring at a phenomenal pace, and more than ever in the production of vernacular books, rather than Latin.<sup>10</sup> Cheap print has not featured prominently in the story of Venice’s enormous printing output in the sixteenth century, when more and more works poured off the presses and more and more people encountered the printed word.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Roger Chartier, “Publishing Strategies and What the People Read, 1530-1660,” in *idem, The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 152.

<sup>8</sup> Ugo Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell’editoria religiosa in Italia (1465-1600)* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1993), 21-22, an estimate based on the database *Edit 16*. Paul F. Grendler in his fundamental *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 6, made a “conservative” estimate of between 15,000 to 17,500 Venetian sixteenth-century editions, based on applications for imprimaturs in the first instance and the holdings of several libraries in the second. As Conor Fahy notes in “The *Index librorum prohibitorum* and the Venetian Printing Industry in the Sixteenth Century,” *Italian Studies* 35 (1980): 59-60, Grendler omitted pamphlets and broadsides from this tally, and with constantly expanding online databases being constructed Grendler’s often-quoted figure now seems far too low. Venetian predominance in Italy is unquestionable, however. Amedeo Quondam, projecting from the holdings of the British Library, suggested 52.39 per cent of surviving editions up to 1600 came from Venice, the next closest being Rome with 11.42 per cent. “La letteratura in tipografia,” in *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 2, *Produzione e consumo*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 584. However, Quondam’s figures should be qualified by Neil Harris’s comments about the dangers of extrapolating universal statistics from one collection in “Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi,” *La bibliofilia* 95 (1993), pt 1, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Major works surveying these developments include Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* (London: Nimmo, 1891); Prince Victor Masséna D’Essling, *Les Livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, 4 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1907-14); Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979); and *idem, Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Quondam, “La letteratura in tipografia,” 587-89. On the development of vernacular printing, see Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

<sup>11</sup> However, aside from the few catalogues of so-called *stampe popolari*, cited below, note 18, there are several important works that have placed some aspect of cheap print at the centre of their enquiry, focused directly or

Although ephemeral printed items are not those for which Venice won its renown for publishing, they were produced there in quantity. Cheap print seen, heard, or bought in the city streets played a role in the cultural, religious, and political life of Venice in the sixteenth century that needs further exploration. The diaries of the Venetian patrician Marin Sanudo record a fragment of the corpus of printed laws and *bandi* or announcements that were beginning to circulate in growing numbers at this time, complementing the established circuits of oral and manuscript communication by which information flowed around the city.<sup>12</sup> Any visitor or local who walked between the Rialto market and Piazza San Marco in the central zone of Venice would have seen abundant evidence of the city's flourishing print trade, catering to all tastes and purses, whether they were tempted to buy or not. Bookshops lined the most well-trodden streets and squares, and outdoors street vendors lured customers to their wares with loud hawking or attention-grabbing performances. The aim of this thesis is to employ a number of different historiographical frameworks to arrive at a clearer understanding of this fascinating source material—cheap print—and its significance in Venetian culture in the sixteenth century.

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in part on Venice. These include Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Printing, Piety, and the People in Italy: The First 30 Years," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980): 5-19; *eadem*, "Teaching Adults to Read in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Giovanni Antonio Tagliente's *Libro Maistrevole*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no. 1 (1986): 3-16; Paul F. Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History 1560-1600," *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): 139-80; *idem*, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1993): 451-85; Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alla origine della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome: Laterza, 2002). Recent works such as Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (London: Yale University Press, 2007) examine cheap printed material, as well as larger books and manuscript works, to produce illuminating analyses of aspects of Venetian society. Outside of Italy, the literature on ephemeral print in other areas of early modern Europe is vast. Among the most significant works for this study are Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), first published 1981; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). The comparative lack of work on Italian material is exemplified by its non-appearance in important collections on the subject such as Roger Chartier and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, eds, *Colportage et lecture populaire. Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe - XIXe siècles (Actes du colloque des 21-24 avril 1991, Wolfenbüttel)* (Paris: Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine/ Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the laws printed by Paolo Danza and collected by Sanudo, cited in note 164 below. For an important articulation of the continuing interaction of print, manuscript, and oral forms of communication after the advent of the press, see D. F. McKenzie, "Speech—Manuscript—Print," first published 1990, reprinted in *Making Meaning. Printers of the Mind and Other Essays*, eds Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 237-58.

In evaluating cheap print we must contend with the fact of its extreme scarcity today. Recently, William St Clair suggested it to be “a stable economic pattern of the whole print era, almost a model which we can use in estimating readerships, that the more common and less expensive a printed text was when it was produced, the greater its readership and the poorer its survival rate to the present day.”<sup>13</sup> Too little account is taken of the vast numbers of editions that have been completely lost; Neil Harris estimated that this could be as many as ninety per cent of incunable editions and around fifty per cent of sixteenth-century editions.<sup>14</sup> Harris argued also that chief factors that “stacked the deck” against the survival of a title were its dimensions (the smaller and thinner, the less likely to survive) and its language (vernacular works less likely to survive than Latin ones, which more commonly were large editions with features that attracted the care of collectors).<sup>15</sup> The destruction of posters, handbills and pamphlets printed on a single folio—so-called *fogli volanti*, or “flying sheets”—has been so great as to have been dubbed a “massacre of the innocents” by Ugo Rozzo. He estimated only a few years ago that perhaps one in twenty of these kinds of texts survive from the first century and a half of printing in Italy and that only one in ten of these survivors have been identified thus far.<sup>16</sup> In other words, we can assume that the fliers and pamphlets from the sixteenth century that we know of today, often only in a single copy, are a fraction of what was produced originally. Moreover, examples of cheap print that have lived on can be difficult to find in libraries as often they lack the information about their author, printer, place, and date of publication that facilitates consistent cataloguing.<sup>17</sup> The desire of some Italian scholars over a century ago to see the corpus of what they called *stampe popolari* systematically surveyed and catalogued was never realised, although

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<sup>13</sup> William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 28. Although focused on the Romantic period, St Clair’s study rigorously surveys English printing history from its beginnings and his arguments are relevant to the Italian case.

<sup>14</sup> Harris, “Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi,” pt 1, 18-19.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-22. See also Neil Harris, “Statistiche e sopravvivenze di antichi romanzi di cavalleria,” in *Il cantare italiano fra folklore e letteratura. Atti del convegno internazionale, Landesmuseum Zürich, 23-25 giugno 2005*, eds Michelangelo Picone and Luisa Rubini (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 383-411; and Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), 11, for a list of the kinds of works most likely to disappear.

<sup>16</sup> Rozzo, “La strage degli innocenti,” 121. Rozzo later reflected that this phenomenon might better be called “La strage ignorata,” such has been the neglect of it. “I fogli volanti a stampa nell’Italia del secolo XV,” in *L’Europa del libro dell’età dell’umanesimo. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale (Chianciano, Firenze, Pienza 16-19 luglio 2002)*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Cesati, 2004), 248. See also Armando Petrucci’s introduction to *Bononia manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI sec. per Bologna e il suo territorio*, ed. Zita Zanardi (Florence: Olschki, 1996), v-xv.

<sup>17</sup> *Fogli volanti* often turn up in archives rather than libraries. See Carlo De Frede, “Due ‘avanzi’ veneziani della stampa non libraria del ‘500 relativi all’eresia e ai libri proibiti,” *Studi veneziani* 38 (1999): 217-21; and Daniela Fattori, “Incunaboli sconosciuti ed incunaboli semisconosciuti all’Archivio di stato di Venezia,” *La bibliofilia* 102, no. 3 (2000): 253-64.

catalogues of ephemeral print collections in Italian libraries did appear sporadically throughout the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> The lack of systematic study and cataloguing of this kind of material remains an obstacle to taking stock of its dimensions and cultural significance and quantitative evaluations are very difficult to make.

Aside from its low survival rate, the consumption of the *popolo minuto* of print has left few traces on the documentary record. Inquisition trials have been used to suggest that reading, or listening to works being read, were activities that penetrated far down the social scale in Cinquecento Venice.<sup>19</sup> However, generally the inquisitors were preoccupied with books—vernacular bibles and the works of church reformers foremost—rather than with the mundane and seemingly innocuous items of cheap print that are considered here.<sup>20</sup> The methods of quantitative history that have been an important facet of the history of reading tend to perpetuate the view that cheap print barely existed and that very few people below the intellectual and social elite came into contact with print.<sup>21</sup> For a city that produced such a vast amount of printed matter in the Cinquecento, Venetian wills and personal inventories give a surprisingly low indication of book ownership across the social spectrum. Cheap print was almost never regarded as worthy of record in these sources; either it perished quickly with use or was considered too worthless to be valued or to pass on. Venetian inventories include entries (“libreti pizoli octo pezzi incirca de poco valore,” “altri libri piccoli de pocho momento”) that may conceal the identity of the kind of cheap print discussed here.<sup>22</sup> Cheap

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<sup>18</sup> On the plan for a universal *Bibliografia di stampe popolari italiane*, never brought to conclusion, see Edoardo Barbieri's introductory comments to the essay by Francesco Novati, “Per la bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane dal sec. XV al XVIII,” in Novati, *Scritti sull'editoria popolare*, 157-66. Novati's essay first appeared as a preface to Arnaldo Segarizzi, ed., *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane della R. Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1913), the first volume of a proposed pair, of which the second never emerged. However, other catalogues of cheap print include: Carlo Angeleri, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari a carattere profano dei secoli XVI e XVII conservate nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1953); Caterina Santoro, ed., *Stampe popolari a carattere profano della Biblioteca Trivulziana* (Milan: Castello Sforzesco, 1964); Lorenzo Baldacchini, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari religiose del XVI-XVII secolo. Biblioteche Vaticane, Alessandrina, Estense* (Florence: Olschki, 1980); Alberto Di Mauro, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari profane dal Fondo Capponi della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Florence: Olschki, 1981).

<sup>19</sup> See Richard Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders. The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c.1250-c.1650* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), especially 183-95; John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), especially 81-89; Xenia Von Tippelskirch, “Lettrici e lettori sospetti davanti al tribunale dell'Inquisizione nella Venezia post-tridentina,” *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Italie et méditerranée* 115, no. 1 (2003): 315-44.

<sup>20</sup> Although, for some examples of cheap print targeted by the censors, see below, pp. 160-68.

<sup>21</sup> See Robert Darnton's comments on some of the shortcomings of a quantitative approach to book history in his “First Steps Towards a History of Reading,” first published 1986, reprinted in *idem, The Kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), 57-59.

<sup>22</sup> Marino Zorzi, “La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Biblioteche private e pubbliche,” *Ateneo veneto* 28 (1990): 117-90. See also Isabella Palumbo-Fossati, “L'interno della casa dell'artigiano e dell'artista nella Venezia del Cinquecento,” *Studi veneziani* 8 (1984): 133-35.



print is rarely listed specifically in the few inventories of bookshops that survive from the sixteenth century, appearing, if at all, under generalised titles such as “volumina liberculorum parvorum.”<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, baseline calculations of literacy founded on numbers of those attending school also would suggest that print would have been of little use or interest to the majority of people in Cinquecento Venice, because they could not read. Even a century after the introduction of printing, in a wealthy and cosmopolitan city such as Venice, it has been estimated that only around thirty-three per cent of boys and twelve to thirteen per cent of girls were attaining full literacy.<sup>24</sup> However, historians increasingly have stressed the many shades of grey between complete illiteracy and the confident ability to read and write; undoubtedly many people fell somewhere in the middle of this scale rather than at one extreme or the other.<sup>25</sup> Armando Petrucci uncovered a high degree of “functional semiliteracy” (*semialfabetismo funzionale*) on the part of those involved in the artisanal trades of early Cinquecento Rome, and stressed the importance of non-institutional spaces such as the workshop, the family home, and the printed page (in the form of writing manuals) to the process of acquiring some literacy skills. Petrucci posited that a similar situation would have pertained in any large Italian, or indeed European city at the time.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli 1998), 50-51. Exceptions include the 1537 inventory of the stock of Niccolò Gorgonzola in Milan, reprinted in Arnaldo Ganda, *Niccolò Gorgonzola, editore e libraio in Milano (1496-1536)* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 126-45, and several stationers' inventories from sixteenth-century Milan that contain great quantities of cheap print, discussed in Kevin M. Stevens, “Vincenzo Girardone and the Popular Press in Counter-Reformation Milan: A Case Study (1570),” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 3 (1995): 639-59. The inventory of a Venetian bookseller, Domenico Soresini, from 1554, includes some generic headings indicating cheap print, for example “14 quinterni [a *quinterno* equalled twenty-five printed sheets] istorie deverse,” “221 salterii da puti [ie. the literacy primer, the *Salterio*, discussed below] in uno mazo.” ASV, CI, Miscellanea notai diversi inventori, b. 39, fasc. 30, cc. 14r, 15r.

<sup>24</sup> Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 43-46. Grendler does admit that functional literacy probably extended into a relatively broad segment of the male population at least (p. 47).

<sup>25</sup> See Jonathon Barry, “Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective,” in *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1800*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1995), 69-94; and also Sara Nalle, “Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile,” *Past and Present* 125 (1989): 65-96; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*; Peter Burke, “Oral Culture and Print Culture in Renaissance Italy,” *ARV: Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* (1998): 7-18; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Tiziana Plebani, *Il “genere” dei libri. Storie e rappresentazioni della lettura al femminile e al maschile tra Medioevo e età moderna* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001). Stallybrass argues that “job printing transformed daily life without necessarily having any connection to reading. Our obsession with literacy rates has tended to obscure the extent to which many printed sheets fulfill their function without being read ... An indulgence served its function (or did not) whether or not the recipient could read the Latin or vernacular writing on it. And the laws that were issued through printed proclamations were (sometimes) put into effect whether or not anyone had heard or read them.” “‘Little Jobs’: Broadsides and the Printing Revolution,” 340.

<sup>26</sup> Armando Petrucci, “Scrittura, alfabetismo ed educazione grafica nella Roma del primo Cinquecento. Da un libretto di conti di Maddalena Pizzicarola in Trastevere,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978): 184.

The nature of urban life in compact cities like those of northern Italy produced what Houston refers to as a “hothouse effect” on literacy as one had much greater contact with written materials than in rural areas.<sup>27</sup> Scholars especially have emphasised the ways in which oral and written cultures were inextricably entwined in this period, as in the widespread practice of reading out loud which invited the partially literate and the illiterate into the world of the written word. As Robert Darnton summarised, “for most people throughout most of history, books had audiences rather than readers. They were better heard than seen.”<sup>28</sup>

An area which merits more attention is the particular modes of promotion and sale of printed texts in Italian cities, considering how these practices brought print into the experience of the urban population. Although cheap print was also sold in shops, a common, and perhaps a chief, method of distribution was via street sellers and urban pedlars.<sup>29</sup> This often very public mode of sale, whereby sellers used their voices to attract customers, hold their attention, and convince them of the merits of a work, is central to understanding the presence of cheap print in city life. Susan Noakes proposed that street sellers, especially those who combined the sale of pamphlets with some kind of performance, may have been more successful at bridging the gap between printers and customers newer to print-buying than more established booksellers and *cartolai* or stationers.<sup>30</sup> Noakes based her argument particularly on sources such as the logbook of the Ripoli press in Florence, which shows charlatans and ballad singers commissioning runs of up to one thousand copies of pamphlet or broadsheet devotional orations and chivalric poems. These part-time publishers collected their works in batches presumably to hawk on the road, and then appear to have sold them much more quickly than those that were distributed through shops.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800*, 2nd edition (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2002), 150-51.

<sup>28</sup> Darnton, “First Steps Towards a History of Reading,” 169. For examples of interactions between oral and print culture, see also Brian Richardson, “‘*Recitato e cantato*’: The Oral Diffusion of Lyric Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in *Theatre, Opera, and Performance in Italy from the Fifteenth Century to the Present. Essays in Honour of Richard Andrews*, eds Brian Richardson, Simon Gilson, and Catherine Keen (London: Society for Italian Studies, 2004), 67-82.

<sup>29</sup> Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, 105-10; Gustavo Bertoli, “Nuovi documenti sull’attività di John Wolf a Firenze (1576-1577), con alcune considerazioni sul fenomeno delle stampe popolari,” *Archivio storico italiano* 153, no. 3 (1995): 583.

<sup>30</sup> Susan Noakes, “The Development of the Book Market in Late Quattrocento Italy: Printers’ Failures and the Role of the Middleman,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11, no. 1 (1981): 46-47.

<sup>31</sup> See Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli, 1476-1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: Olschki, 1999).

Although it is important not to over-emphasise the slice of the market that ambulant selling occupied, nor assume the universality of the Florentine case, in this thesis I hope to demonstrate that the “Ripoli model” also operated to some extent in Venice and elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> The major source of evidence for this is the surviving pamphlets produced in Venice that indicate that they were published *ad instantia di* (on commission of) a small-time performer-publisher. Such works are more numerous than is often recognised, although surely only a part of what was produced originally, as they bear the characteristics of the kind of works that were very likely to have been destroyed over time.<sup>33</sup> In this study I correlate a survey of such works with documentation about the street trade in print in Venice, and about the activity of performers and vendors of print in order to build a picture, fragmentary though it may be, of the dissemination of cheap print in the city.

Given the preceding considerations, I have chosen to structure this study not as an examination of a particular genre of text, or of the works of a certain writer or printer. Rather, I focus on the diffusion of cheap print in the city of Venice over the course of the sixteenth century. I use the term “cheap” rather than “popular” deliberately. In Italian scholarship, items such as those considered in this thesis generally have been called *stampe popolari*, popular prints.<sup>34</sup> However, much scholarship by now has undermined the concept of “popular culture” as a clear and singular expression of the interests, desires, or practices of the lower classes, a concept that was implicit in much of the early scholarship on *stampe popolari*.<sup>35</sup> Almost as soon as the concept of “popular culture” entered the mainstream of historical discussion in the later twentieth century, the term itself came up for intense questioning and debate. Although many historians quickly dispensed with the sharp distinction between “elite” and “popular” culture that had been implicit in the work of some early folklorists, attempts to find an alternative model have failed to reach consensus.<sup>36</sup> The

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<sup>32</sup> Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia*, 108-10, argues for the limited importance of street selling. However, I would argue that she is too dismissive of the street trade, as her preoccupation is with the upper end of the book trade for which, as she notes “restano la maggior parte delle testimonianze” (p. 109).

<sup>33</sup> A number of such works are discussed in Chapter Four, and listed in the Appendix.

<sup>34</sup> Like *stampe popolari*, the descriptor cheap print does not distinguish between printed images and items that are wholly or principally text. In this study, however, I do not look specifically at printed images and maps, on which see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (London: Yale University Press, 1994); David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors and Consumers* (London: British Library, 1996); Gert Jan van der Sman, “Print Publication in Venice in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century,” *Print Quarterly* 17 (2000): 235-47; and Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620* (London: British Museum, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> On the attitude of Italian critics to popular poetry over time, see Giorgio Raimondo Cardona, “Culture dell’oralità e culture della scrittura,” in Asor Rosa, *Letteratura italiana*, 2:86-95.

<sup>36</sup> Robert W. Scribner, “Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?” *History of European Ideas* 10, no. 2 (1989): 175-95, provides an excellent overview of these debates. See also Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 1-8,

need is now evident to be careful about assuming a direct and exclusive association between the smallest products of the press, the *popolo minuto*, and the lower classes of Venice. For one thing, elite consumers also sought out cheap print.<sup>37</sup>

If we can no longer bestow labels such as popular and elite casually, a way forward has been pointed out by Roger Chartier, who argued that rather we need to search for “the differentiated ways in which common material was used” by different social groups.<sup>38</sup> A number of more recent studies have argued persuasively that so much interchange and cross-fertilisation can be demonstrated between the cultures designated popular and elite that it is better to focus on processes of transmission and appropriation of cultural themes, styles, and texts by different groups.<sup>39</sup> An examination of cheap print produced in sixteenth-century Venice supports this approach, as I will discuss further below.

Sixteenth-century usage did not distinguish between popular and elite texts in any clear-cut way but tended to identify a small or short work using epithets such as *libretto* (little book), *operetta*, or *opuscolo* (little work). At other times, it was their common content and modes of dissemination that identified these items, as in the Council of Ten’s reference to the “prognostications, stories, songs, letters, and other similar things” that were being sold on the Rialto in 1543. Grendler suggested that a key indicator of “popularity” was the physical form (ie. small format, few pages, certain styles of type) chosen by printers, which communicated to customers that this was a book that was accessible, fairly cheap, and likely to be entertaining or useful. The content of a popular book, in Grendler’s words, “exerts a very broad, nearly universal appeal ... [it] might attract the interest and delight of those with more refined taste and greater intellectual capacity, as well as those of limited abilities and

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on their specific relation to this kind of printed matter. Key contributions to the debate with reference to early modern Italy have been Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper, 1978); with some further qualifications in *idem*, “Popular Culture Reconsidered,” *Storia della storiografia* 17 (1990): 40-49; and Piero Camporesi, “Cultura popolare e cultura d’élite, fra Medioevo ed età moderna,” in *Storia d’Italia: Annali*, vol. 4, *Intelletuali e potere*, ed. Corrado Viviani (Turin: Einaudi, 1981), 82-83.

<sup>37</sup> Marin Sanudo, for example, collected vernacular plays and chivalric poems, as well as some *fogli volanti*. See Harris, “Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi.” On the “social mobility” of cheap print, consumed by a range of social classes, see Fenlon, *Ceremonial City*, 241-47.

<sup>38</sup> Roger Chartier, “Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France,” in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 235.

<sup>39</sup> Studies that emphasise the idea of transmission include Niccoli, *Prophecy and People; eadem*, *Rinascimento anticlericale. Infamia, propaganda e satira in Italia tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Rome: Laterza, 2005); Lodovica Braida, *Le guide del tempo. Produzione, contenuti e forme degli almanacchi piemontesi nel Settecento* (Turin: Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1989); and De Vivo, *Information and Communication*.

tastes.”<sup>40</sup> However, Grendler also employed a definition of the popular fundamentally associated with class, describing a popular book as one “within the intellectual grasp of ordinary readers of little learning and lower social status” and therefore with the connotations of commonness and vulgarity that Italian Renaissance elites bestowed on their inferiors.<sup>41</sup> My study suggests that such a definition is problematic if used with the assumption that “popular” works form a clear opposite to works of “high” or “elite” culture.<sup>42</sup>

The key fact about small and short printed items is that they could be cheap; as paper was the most expensive component in printing, size dictated cost. This is the aspect that I have chosen to emphasise in this study.<sup>43</sup> The Venetian Senate also made this distinction of price in 1537, when it passed a law attempting to counter slipping standards of quality in the local printing trade. Threatening to fine those printers who did not use good quality paper for their works, the Senate exempted “small things that are sold up to the sum of ten *soldi* each.”<sup>44</sup> Texts considered in this thesis are mostly pamphlets of small format (primarily octavo or quarto) with relatively few pages. Some have a few simple illustrations, especially on the title page, but these were often rough and re-used from other works rather than designed bespoke.<sup>45</sup> They do not feature printing with red ink or other adornments that made the printing process more complicated and thus expensive. Sometimes cheap print was stuck up in public spaces like taverns or on city walls (in the case of some announcements or *bandi*) or distributed *gratis* (as were some charlatans’ printed recipes). When sold, the prices of things of this kind could be exceedingly low, even in relation to the wages of poorer

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<sup>40</sup> Grendler, “Form and Function,” 453. Bertoli, “Nuovi documenti sull’attività di John Wolf,” 582-83, highlights ambulant selling as the defining characteristic of “popular” print rather than its destination for an exclusively lower class readership.

<sup>41</sup> Grendler, “Form and Function,” 453.

<sup>42</sup> As Jonathon Rose writes: “the term ‘popular culture’ is only meaningful as a quantitative measure of the audience ... ‘High culture’ is not its polar opposite, but rather a qualitative measure of the work—the best that is known and thought in the world, leaving open the question of whose criteria we are following.” “Rereading the *English Common Reader: A Preface to the History of Audiences*,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 1 (1992): 58.

<sup>43</sup> Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 5: “the notion of ‘cheap print’ is a valid one if used as a neutral category, not as a genre aimed exclusively at a definable social group.” The fundamental importance of book size (and thus cost) in determining what is read by who is a central tenet of St Clair, *Reading Nation*. Another Italian term for ephemeral print, *letteratura a un soldo*, also emphasises cheapness. See Arturo Graf, “La letteratura a un soldo,” in *Antologia della nostra critica letteraria moderna*, ed. Luigi Morandi (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1893), 221-26.

<sup>44</sup> “Non si comprehendono però sotto el presente ordine le cose minute, che si vendessero fino alla summa de soldi 10 l’una.” ASV, ST, r. 29, cc. 129v-130r (4 June 1537).

<sup>45</sup> On the use of images that did not illustrate the text, see Marian Rothstein, “Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 14, no. 2 (1990): 101-20.

members of society. All of them, the evidence suggests, would have fallen below the 10 *soldi* benchmark, sometimes a good deal below.

A rare source of information about prices of ephemeral print is the diary of Marin Sanudo, who recorded that in 1509 printed songs about the ongoing war of Venice with the League of Cambrai were being sold around the city for one *bezzo*, or half a *soldo*, each. The following year, the Pope's excommunication of the French was in print and could be bought on the Rialto for one *soldo*.<sup>46</sup> This was also the suggested price for a two-leaf quarto of sonnets by Leonardo Giustinian printed in Venice in the early Cinquecento, and for a four-leaf pamphlet oration by the Imperial ambassador printed in 1507.<sup>47</sup> Crucially, printed texts that aided the process of learning to read and write were among the cheapest and most abundant products of the press from the very beginning. The small literacy primer the *Psalteriolo* was selling for as little as two *quattrini* a copy in 1486, and being sold by the dozen.<sup>48</sup>

Although it is impossible to establish a standard price for small pamphlets in sixteenth-century Venice, it is clear that, unlike longer, bound books which might sell for as much as a few ducats, unbound pamphlets were relatively affordable.<sup>49</sup> In the early

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<sup>46</sup> On these two occurrences, see below, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> A quarto was one printed sheet folded into four leaves. The pamphlet *Questi sonetti scrissi con sua mano in proposito de ciaschum [sic] amatore il nobil miser Leonardo Iustiniano* makes reference to its price of one *marchetto*, equal to one *soldo*. Listed in Marino Zorzi, ed., *La vita nei libri. Edizioni illustrate a stampa del Quattro e Cinquecento dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice: Edizioni della Laguna, 2003), 244. The pamphlet oration for one *soldo* is mentioned in Marin Sanudo, *I diarii (1496-1533)*, eds Rinaldo Fulin et al. (Venice: Visentini, 1879-1903), vol. 7, col. 132 (16 August 1507), quoted in Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 63.

<sup>48</sup> Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 191. The *quattrino* was a coin worth four *denari*, or one-third of a *soldo*. There were 496 *quattrini* to the Venetian ducat according to Marin Sanudo's early sixteenth-century notes on Venetian currency: *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae ovvero La città di Venetia (1493-1530)* (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980), 63-64. On basic schooling texts, see Piero Lucchi, "La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino. Libri per imparare a leggere nel primo secolo della stampa," *Quaderni storici* 38 (1978): 593-630; *idem*, "Nuove ricerche sul Babuino. L'uso del sillabario per insegnare a leggere e scrivere a tutti in lingua volgare (sec. XV-XVI)," in *Lesen und Schreiben in Europa 1500-1900*, eds Alfred Messerli and Roger Chartier (Basel: Schwabe, 2000), 201-34. The collection of pamphlets bought by the great print collector Ferdinand Columbus, frequently annotated with price, date, and place of purchase, offers further information about the cost of ephemeral print in the early Cinquecento in Italy. Columbus's collection indicates that a common price for a four-leaf quarto pamphlet between the 1510s and early 1530s was between one and two *quattrini*. See Klaus Wagner and Manuel Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa in lingua italiana della Biblioteca Colombina di Siviglia/ Catalogo de los impresos en lengua italiana de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla* (Ferrara: Panini, 1991), for example, pp. 268-69, nos 483-84.

<sup>49</sup> Grendler suggests that the average price for books in Cinquecento Venice was about one to two *lire* (a *lira* being worth twenty *soldi*), based on some inventories and catalogues from the second half of the century, although, as suggested, these sources did not tend to include the cheapest products; see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 14. On the prices of larger books, see also Martin Lowry, *Book Prices in*

Cinquecento, shipbuilders starting work in the Arsenal took home about six *soldi* a day.<sup>50</sup> Later in the century, lowly porters in the Arsenal were earning about ten to thirteen *soldi* a day, while unskilled labourers in the building trades took home about 20.4 *soldi* per day.<sup>51</sup> While the basic costs of living varied, and are difficult to ascertain, it is recorded that a loaf of bread in a time of grain shortage (1534) cost two *soldi*, also the cost of one mackerel.<sup>52</sup> While not negligible, the price of a *soldo* or less for many small printed items was far from prohibitive.

Delving into the bottom end of the print market in Cinquecento Venice provides new perspectives on the life and culture of the city at this most vibrant moment in its history. At the same time as magnificent works of art were being painted, as enduring pieces of music and literature being composed, and as monumental buildings that still stand were being erected, a more fleeting and more quotidian urban culture was being expressed in thousands of articles of cheap print circulating in the streets and shops, workshops, and houses. It cannot be said that these works represent exclusively the culture of the Venetian *popolani*; however, the modes of their diffusion—via street selling and oral performance, sold for a few coins or distributed for free—brought these works into the lives of a wide cross-section of the community in ways that had not been possible prior to the invention of the press.

For the reasons discussed, it is necessary to employ a number of approaches in order to investigate the ephemeral presence of cheap print and its modes of dissemination in the context of sixteenth-century Venice. Here, I seek to evaluate examples of cheap print that survive today as material goods produced and disseminated in a concrete physical environment; as expressions of an urban culture in which oral and written forms of communication could be closely entwined; as literature that was mass-produced because it was presumed to appeal to the interests of a broad audience but that was subject,

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*Renaissance Venice: The Stockbook of Bernardo Giunti* (Los Angeles: Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, 1991).

<sup>50</sup> Robert C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal. Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 29.

<sup>51</sup> Brian Pullan, "Wage-Earners and the Venetian Economy, 1550-1630," *Economic History Review* 16, no. 3 (1964): 415, 420.

<sup>52</sup> Paola Pavanini, "Abitazioni popolari e borghesi nella Venezia cinquecentesca," *Studi veneziani* 5 (1981): 71. The cost of the fish (and other contemporary food costs) given in Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal*, 103. By the time of the Interdict crisis of 1606-7, polemical pamphlets were selling for around four *soldi* for quartos and octavos of a few leaves, which, De Vivo concludes, brought them within reach of "a great many readers indeed." *Information and Communication*, 226-27.

increasingly, to restrictions on what was acceptable in a changing political and religious climate.

The first chapter of this thesis examines the social and physical “geography” of cheap print in sixteenth-century Venice. A growing attention to geography has contributed much to print culture studies in recent years, following the example set by the seminal study of Febvre and Martin.<sup>53</sup> If we are truly to understand the impact of printing with movable type, we must consider the full spectrum of places in which people produced and came into contact with the new output of the press. As well as mapping the shops of printers who published cheap print proliferating in the central zones of Venice, Chapter One also looks outdoors: into the streets and squares and on the bridges of the city. The cheapest printed products were particularly suited to street sale because they were easily portable and printers thus designed them with appealing, eye-catching title page illustrations and bold titles that echoed the advertising patter of the street seller. Street selling of printed material was a natural extension of a wider urban street trade that has received comparatively little attention but which certainly was a pervasive feature of city life in Renaissance Italy. While cities like Venice hosted ranks of skilled artisans with established workshops and retail shops, a whole other array of commerce was transacted daily from temporary stalls and the baskets of ambulant vendors.<sup>54</sup>

Street selling is a particularly important topic as it brings to light how the dissemination of print could be a vibrant feature of public life in a city like Venice in the Cinquecento. Looking at the way that print was sold in the streets, posted on walls, and read out loud out of doors (or in semi-public spaces such as workshops), helps us to move away from what Henkin described as the “persistently powerful image of the private reader” and to think about the ways in which the spread of printing might have affected the lives of the whole community in one way or another.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, an attention to the geography

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<sup>53</sup> See the section “The Geography of the Book” in Lucien Febvre and H. J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, eds Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, trans. David Gerrard, new ed. (London: N.L.B., 1976), 167-215. Valuable recent studies that consider the “geography of the book” (or of print), include David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), especially chap. 2; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), especially chap. 6; and Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (London: British Library, 2007).

<sup>54</sup> See Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), especially 32-60.

<sup>55</sup> Henkin, *City Reading*, 6.



of daily experience in Venice suggests how the street trade in print interacted with other urban itineraries. It becomes clear how the unique geography of Venice shaped the dissemination of cheap print just as it influenced the nature of celebration, performance, politics and communication, and the interactions between patricians and *popolani*, neighbours and kin, men and women.<sup>56</sup>

Having considered the places and spaces in which print dissemination occurred, I move on to an investigation of the people involved in this process. Over a century ago, Francesco Novati published a list of printers in Italy who produced cheap works. Many of these still have not received much focused study.<sup>57</sup> Chapter Two examines some of the chief printers of cheap material active in Venice in the Cinquecento. Having considered them in their geographical context in the city, I look at the social and commercial strategies they employed to establish themselves in a new industry in—what was for many—a new city. I follow the process by which many succeeded to move from being “outsiders”—new arrivals, and new practitioners of the trade—to being “insiders”—members of a consolidating industry, with a growing sense of trade identity promoted by the guild of printers and booksellers decreed in 1549. I also consider the part that the production of cheap print played in their strategies to stay afloat in the competitive business of printing.

It is often noted that the roles of printer, publisher, and bookseller in the early years of the press are difficult to distinguish.<sup>58</sup> As the trade was establishing itself, these roles were in flux. The focus on cataloguing printers and compiling annals of their editions often

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<sup>56</sup> Studies that consider the city’s geography in relation to performance include Deborah Howard, “Ritual space in Renaissance Venice,” *Scroope. Cambridge Architecture Journal* 5 (1993-94): 4-11; and Eugene Johnson, “Jacopo Sansovino, Giacomo Torelli, and the Theatricality of the Piazzetta in Venice,” *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 4 (2000): 436-53; in relation to gender, Dennis Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 2 (1989), 339-53; and Robert C. Davis, “The Geography of Gender in the Renaissance,” in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London: Longman, 1998), 19-38. The geography of communication is brought to the fore in Peter Burke, “Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilisation of an Italian City-state, 1297-1799*, eds John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 390-408; Elizabeth Horodowich, “The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice,” *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22-45; and De Vivo, *Information and Communication*.

<sup>57</sup> The “Elenco topografico di tipografi e calcografi italiani che dal sec. XV al XVIII impressero storie e stampe popolari” was published as an appendix to Novati, “La storia e la stampa,” and is reproduced in Novati, *Scritti sull’editoria popolare nell’Italia di antico regime*, 110-17. For the work that has been devoted to a few of these figures, see the citations in Chapter Two. Novati listed seventy-six printers or partnerships that produced popular material in Venice for the sixteenth century, although some of the names are repeated as printers recombined in different partnerships.

<sup>58</sup> The Italian terms are *tipografo* (or *stampatore*), *editore*, and *libraio* respectively. However, the specific term *editore* was not yet used in the sixteenth century. For a discussion of the fluid terminology, see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Durer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 48-49.

has obscured the role of others who participated in the print trade in a more ad hoc manner.<sup>59</sup> Those who carried out the printing of a work also were often involved in financing and selling it. At the same time, numerous partnerships were set up between printers, booksellers, and others to finance one or a number of publications. There was a constant need for up-front investment in order to supply paper and other materials, and early printers looked for this investment from many different sources. Among the publishers (and distributors) of cheap print in Italy were street performers of various kinds, such as charlatans (*cerretani*) and ballad singers (*cantimbanchi*—literally, bench singers).<sup>60</sup> Over a century ago, Salvatore Bongi considered it “an ascertained fact that principal disseminators of *stampe popolari* [in the sixteenth century] were those ingenious vagabonds, who, in the *piazze* of Italian cities, especially on the occasion of fairs, entertained the crowd with buffoonery and games, improvising and singing of battles and romance, reciting dialogues and comedies, narrating *novelle*, displaying beasts and monsters, selling soap and perfumes, and above all advertising medicines and miracles.”<sup>61</sup> Performers and other humble street sellers proved an effective means for cheap works to get out to a broad audience.

Chapter Three examines street vendors of print and itinerant publishers who spent shorter periods in the city, operating on the margins of the printing world of Cinquecento Venice. As Bongi emphasised, a good number of these figures were performers of one kind or another who engaged in the publication or sale of cheap print as a supplement to their other activities. It is proposed that, by selling printed pamphlets alongside other small items in their public pitches, and by reciting or singing some part of their contents, they helped to take cheap print into the streets where it was exposed to more people. These important cultural mediators often are mentioned in passing, but there is a need for more evaluation of

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<sup>59</sup> Lorenzo Baldacchini pointed out the problems with traditional typographical *annali* when confronted with a figure like Nicolò Zoppino, who played the role of printer, publisher, and bookseller in various cities at various times. “Chi ha paura di Nicolò Zoppino? Ovvero: la bibliologia e una ‘coraggiosa disciplina’?” *Bibliotheca. Rivista di studi bibliografici* 1 (2002): 189-91. Mario Infelise, “Note per una ricerca sull’editoria veneziana del ‘500,” in *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento. Atti del convegno, Roma, 17-21 Ottobre 1989*, ed. Marco Santoro (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992), 2:634, also criticised the over-emphasis on compiling printers’ annals.

<sup>60</sup> I discuss these and other contemporary terms for performers below, pp. 84-85.

<sup>61</sup> Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato, stampatore in Venezia* (Rome: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1890), 2:27. The few pages that Bongi dedicated here to charlatans and ballad singers who published works in the early Cinquecento (pp. 27-36), were also published in a similar form as “Le Rime dell’Ariosto,” *Archivio storico italiano* ser. 5, vol. 2 (1888): 267-76; and slightly revised in *Antologia della nostra critica letteraria moderna*, ed. Luigi Morandi (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1893), 463-72. Novati, “La storia e la stampa,” 96-98, also highlighted the role of these figures, while recently David Gentilcore considered the role of cheap print in the careers of medical charlatans in *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chap. 10.

them in the cultural landscape of the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Despite the inherent problems of dealing with figures who were often poor and itinerant, more about their lives can be reconstructed than is often supposed, by gleaning information from the works they left behind, from contemporary documents and accounts of performers' activities. By tracing itinerant performer-publishers who worked in Venice across Italy, I have been able to highlight several who were responsible for publishing a fascinating array of pamphlet editions (documented in the Appendix).

In Chapter Four, my focus is the printed items themselves. Pamphlets published by itinerant publishers and performers in concert with the printers of Venice are examined as a sample of the surviving corpus of cheap print from this period, which is still inordinately rich despite it being a meagre remnant of what was originally produced. As mentioned, much cheap print lacked some or all identifying information.<sup>63</sup> Given this obstacle, chiefly I examine works in which the publisher, at least, identified himself, even if the printer, date, and place of publication cannot be known with certainty. The pamphlets produced by itinerant publishers and performers represent an eclectic mix, covering a number of the genres cited by Novati as constituting the *popolo minuto* of print. Those that I consider are all vernacular texts, indicating a much wider potential readership than could be expected for Latin works.<sup>64</sup> Many of the texts are closely related to the known repertoires of street performers active before and after the advent of print, for example chivalric ballads, simple prognostications, and spurious remedies for common complaints. Other editions, in contrast, confound simple assumptions about the relationship between these itinerant, marginal figures and an unlearned culture rooted in orality. Itinerant performers were responsible for publishing (and probably also for reciting and selling) works of significant literary renown, for instance those by Ludovico Ariosto or Pietro Aretino. I argue that this was particularly representative of the earlier sixteenth century, before increased surveillance of mthe

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<sup>62</sup> The role of such figures as cultural mediators, which I explore further in Chapter Four, was highlighted by Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 78, 94-100; and Cardona, "Culture dell'oralità." Petrucci also urged study of the producers of cheap literature in his introduction to *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna. Guida storica e critica*, ed. Armando Petrucci (Bari: Laterza, 1977), xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>63</sup> Possible reasons for the frequent anonymity of cheap print are discussed in below, p. 99.

<sup>64</sup> None of the performer-publishers documented in my Appendix appear to have published Latin works. Nonetheless, some *fogli volanti* and booklets such as laws, speeches, and familiar religious prayers and orations were printed in Latin. For some examples, see Holger Nickel, "Orations Crossing the Alps," and Falk Eisermann, "Mixing Pop and Politics. Origins, Transmission, and Readers of Illustrated Broad-sides in Fifteenth-Century Germany," both in *Incunabula and Their Readers. Printing, Selling and Reading Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: British Library, 2003), 153-8, 159-77. De Vivo argues that vernacular pamphlets about the Interdict were designed to reach a more diverse readership than those produced in Latin. *Information and Communication*, 225-26.

bookselling and printing trades imposed much greater restriction on what could be printed, read, and sold, and by whom.

It is the aim of Chapter Five, then, to consider regulation of the production and diffusion of cheap print in Venice particularly from the 1540s to the end of the century. To a certain extent, the increasing regulation of the print sector reflects the civic authorities of Venice playing “catch up” with a new technology which had expanded too quickly to control. However, the extension of Counter-Reformation principles over Venetian life also undoubtedly affected the cultural climate and consequently the production and dissemination of literature. In the past, most scholarship on Italian culture in the Counter-Reformation period, and especially on printing and bookselling, has focused on the dictates of the most powerful church authorities, the international trade in heterodox books, and the effect of censorship on “high” cultural texts of theology and literature.<sup>65</sup> More recently, scholars have begun to explore the small-time players in these dramas, and how the relationship of ordinary people to printed matter developed in the era of the Counter Reformation.<sup>66</sup> I consider the records of state and church authorities such as the Council of Ten, the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, and the Venetian branch of the Sant’Uffizio, which demonstrate attempts to extend control over the street trade and over the publication of even seemingly harmless little pamphlets in the course of the sixteenth century, albeit attempts that were sporadic and sometimes half-hearted. Additionally, the records of the guild of printers and booksellers suggest how the consolidation of the industry into a guild, with the urging of the government, served to promote the interests of the wealthiest and most

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<sup>65</sup> This point was made in Gigliola Fragnito’s introduction to *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 9-10, a collection of essays which goes on to address some of the neglected areas. See also Giorgio Caravale, “Censura e pauperismo tra Cinque e Seicento. Controriforma e cultura dei ‘senza lettere’,” *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 38, no. 1 (2002): 40-41. The vagaries of Venetian printing under the Roman Inquisition are the subject of Grendler’s essential *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, but this broad-ranging work does not allow much in-depth attention to the bottom end of the print market, and is concerned more with the printers and booksellers who moved clandestine books *en masse*.

<sup>66</sup> Works that have begun to address these issues include Ottavia Niccoli, “Un aspetto della propaganda religiosa nell’Italia del Cinquecento: opuscoli e fogli volanti,” in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano* (Ferrara: Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali; Modena: Panini, 1986), 29-37; Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies*; Gigliola Fragnito, *La bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471-1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997); *eadem*, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); and Ugo Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli Indici del Cinquecento* (Udine: Forum, 2005). See also the brief discussion of popular literature in Mario Infelise, *I libri proibiti da Gutenberg all’Encyclopédie* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1999), 49-55. Carlo Ginzburg’s micro-historical study of Menocchio the heretical Friulian miller remains an essential reference point for the consideration of lower-class culture during the Counter Reformation. *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). First published in Italian, 1976.

established members of the trade, marginalising outsiders of the kind considered in previous chapters. The kinds of collaborations that had been common earlier in the century, such as those between itinerant publishers and local printers, were technically prohibited, and while cheap print continued to be produced in abundance, its content appears to have been channelled ever more in directions that met with the approval of the authorities.

## Chapter One

“Through the Piazzes and on the Bridges”:

### *The Physical and Social Geography of Cheap Print*

In 1509, during Venice’s engagement in the disastrous war of the League of Cambrai, the patrician diarist Girolamo Priuli noted that “*frottole*, verses and songs” about recent developments in the war “were being sold in Venice in the *piazze* and on the Rialto Bridge.”<sup>67</sup> There was nothing particularly abnormal about this—it was “just as usual”—however, Priuli was perturbed that the Venetian authorities should permit the circulation of such pamphlets, damning their enemies and celebrating temporary successes, since constant reversals of fortune meant morale in the city was declining.<sup>68</sup> A month earlier, the city’s powerful Council of Ten had in fact acted to remove from sale a song against Venice’s enemies, printed within days of the declaration of war, that it worried would cause offence. Yet other similar ones soon took its place on the market.<sup>69</sup> The upheavals of these years prompted the famous scholarly printer, Aldo Manuzio, temporarily to close up shop and leave Venice.<sup>70</sup> They evidently did not impede some enterprising others—printers, hack poets, ballad singers, ambulant sellers—from launching their wares onto the market.

These examples highlight some of the varied ways in which the city of Venice was experiencing the rapid development of its printing industry, a development described by Martin Lowry as a “sudden explosion in [the city’s] vitals.”<sup>71</sup> The sale of print was not confined to the shops of stationers (*cartolai*) and specialist booksellers (*librai*) starting to

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<sup>67</sup> “Se vendeva a Venetia per le piazze e sopra il Ponte d’el Rialto secondo il solito li frotoli li verssi in rima et le canzoni dele ruyne ... nel territorio ferarexe e del’armata veneta in pado contra il Ducha ferarexe.” Girolamo Priuli, *Diarii*, BMCV, MS. Prov. Div. 252-c, vol. 5, cc. 55r-v (end of December 1509). *Frottola* is a type of popular song from the period. I would like to thank Krystina Stermole for alerting me to this reference.

<sup>68</sup> “Per opinione mia hera grande manch[ansto] per la citade veneta di lassare vendere simel verssi in rima et frotoli inpreguditio di alchuno dovendo molto bene considerare ch’el possa venire in contrario e quanto sia mutabile la fortuna. La citade veneta senza dubia et cum veritade hera molto sconsolata e male contenta et tanto de mala voglia et cum pocha speranza di bene quanto dire si potesse non tanto posso ne descrivere.” Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 335 (22 November 1509): “Era stampado una canzon si chiama: *La Gata di Padoa*, con una altra in vilanescho di Tonin: *E l’è partì quei lanziman*, qual, per non offender il re di Romani, cussì chome si vendevano un bezo l’una, fo mandato a tuorle per li capi di X, adeo più non si vendeteno. Tamen, vene fuera altre canzon fate contra Ferrara numero tre, et sono lassate vender.” See also Sanudo’s remark: “è da saper, la scomunica, fata per il papa contra il gran maestro e altri francesi [promulgated in early November], ozi vidi vender su el Ponte di Rialto, a stampa, latina et vulgar, un soldo l’una.” Ibid., vol. 11, col. 615 (19 November 1510).

<sup>70</sup> Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 159.

<sup>71</sup> Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 177.

proliferate in the central areas of the city. Street-selling of all kinds of goods was a fixture of late medieval cities, and it is not surprising that when printing developed printed products started to find their way to customers in this manner. Although as yet there were no extensive networks of print pedlars like those that later would spring up all over Europe, individual street-sellers quickly perceived small printed items to be a valuable supplement to their baskets, often alongside consumer trifles such as ribbons, soap, and perfumes.<sup>72</sup> Although cheap print was also sold in bookshops, street-selling played a significant role in the dissemination of this kind of material.<sup>73</sup> Street selling of print has not been studied systematically for this period in Italy; it is important to trace its beginnings as far as possible as they represent an essential place of encounter for a wide range of people with the new products of the press.

Venice was the most densely populated city in early modern Italy. Its unique urban geography was one where private and public spaces had permeable boundaries and where words and music could travel easily through windows, streets, squares, and canals. Different kinds of interactions and social exchanges were encouraged by proximity and this permeability.<sup>74</sup> This chapter seeks to apply a broadly geographical lens to a consideration of print in the city in the sixteenth century, considering both the movement of cheap print, and of the people that made, sold, performed, and consumed it, in urban spaces. This approach, I suggest, is an extremely useful way to bring to light the dissemination of cheap print in particular, an aspect of print culture that tends to be hidden by more traditional approaches to book history. Where and when might one have encountered cheap printed matter in the

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<sup>72</sup> There has been more work on later developments of peddling networks elsewhere in Europe, including Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. Vicki Whittaker (Cambridge: Polity, 1996); Chartier and Lüsebrink, *Colportage et lecture populaire*; and Myers, Harris, and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*. Most scholarship on ambulant bookselling in Italy has focused on later periods, although exceptions include Gustavo Bertoli, "Librai, cartolai e ambulanti immatricolati nell'Arte dei medici e speciali di Firenze dal 1490 al 1600," pts 1 and 2, *La bibliofilia* 94, nos 2 and 3 (1992): 125-64, 227-62; and Ugo Rozzo, "Pietro Perna colportore, libraio, tipografo ed editore tra Basilea e l'Italia," *Bibliotheca. Rivista di studi bibliografici*, no. 1 (2004): 46-64. On later periods, see Mario Infelise, *I Remondini di Bassano. Stampa e industria nel Veneto del Settecento*, 2nd ed. (Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina and Tassotti, 1990), 114-18; Maria Iolanda Palazzolo, "Banchi, botteghe, muricciuoli. Luoghi e figure del commercio del libro a Roma nel Settecento," in *eadem*, *Editoria e istituzioni a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento. Saggi e documenti* (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1994), 3-27; and Gabriella Solari, "I colporti evangelici: venditori ambulanti di bibbie, opuscoli religiosi e fogli volanti," *Culture del testo* 4 (1996): 37-50.

<sup>73</sup> See the works cited above, n. 29.

<sup>74</sup> Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 6, believed that "Venice's geography played a real part in encouraging the city's social elasticity. The circuitous structure of the lagoon made for a constant rubbing of elbows between different classes that Venetians seemed to take as a natural part of daily affairs." On the high density of Venice, see Daniele Beltrami, *Storia della popolazione di Venezia dalla fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica* (Padua: Cedam, 1954), 43.

city at this time? Who was it sold by and how? How did the dissemination of cheap print interact with other urban activities? Thus far it has been the city's restricted literary salons and the houses and *botteghe* (workshops) of the most celebrated representatives of the new printing trade that have received the most investigation by scholars, and for these the most abundant evidence survives.<sup>75</sup> In this chapter I attempt to map the operations of those who specialised in the production and dissemination of cheaper print, both from shops and on the street. Street-selling of print is an especial focus of this chapter, and it can be illuminated by contemporary literary and archival sources. If one pays attention to how available, visible—and audible—print actually was in the urban environment it can help to illuminate how the new technology was entering the lives of all Venetians.

### *The Established Trade*

Walking through Venice before the commencement of printing there in 1470 the presence of books would have been far less apparent than later on. The city had no large-scale book trade before the arrival of the press, a situation which is thought to have made it easier for printing to flourish there as rapidly as it did.<sup>76</sup> Books were expensive and prized, and moved within networks of scholars and the social elite by means of lending and borrowing.<sup>77</sup> Certainly, in the fifteenth century one might have witnessed auctions of books from deceased estates taking place in Piazza San Marco and at Rialto, by the Procurators of San Marco. But these were held sporadically and the manuscript books sold were costly.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Important works that have considered print culture and links to the city's cultural circles include Amedeo Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore,' 'mercanzia d'utile.' Produzione libraria e lavoro intellettuale a Venezia nel Cinquecento," in *Libri, editori e pubblico*, ed. Petrucci, 51-104; *idem*, "Nel giardino dei Marcolini: Un editore veneziano tra Aretino e Doni," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 157 (1980): 75-116; Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere. Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988); and Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*. See also Nuovo's discussion of bookshops as important places of intellectual exchange in *Il commercio librario nell'Italia*, 266-72.

<sup>76</sup> Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Los Angeles: Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, 1988), 32. This can be compared to Florence, where a very strong manuscript trade seems to have stifled the beginnings of the printing industry, which remained one of the less important in Italy.

<sup>77</sup> For a nuanced reading of Venetian manuscript culture in the era preceding the introduction of print, see Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, especially chap. 2.

<sup>78</sup> See the documents in Susan Connell, "Books and their Owners in Venice, 1345-1480," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 163-86, for example the records of a collection of books sold off



There were also some bookshops and *cartolai* (stationers) who sold books located around Rialto and Santa Maria Formosa, the parish to the north of San Marco.<sup>79</sup> At least partially, the dissemination of printed books seems to have grown from and fed upon an existing circuit of dissemination of manuscripts, as happened in other cities.<sup>80</sup> The two kinds of book distribution could co-exist, even collaborate, because there continued to be a market both for manuscripts and print. When a section of the Rialto Bridge collapsed in 1524, Sanudo recorded the great damage done to the shops on the bridge that had thereby lost much of their stock in the water, which included two *cartolai* and two sellers of “libri a stampa.”<sup>81</sup>

Although sometimes there was dispute about the right of *cartolai* to sell finished books, they were the natural collaborators of printers and booksellers, serving as suppliers of paper and offering complementary services in binding and embellishment as mentioned above. As in other trade communities, the printers and booksellers also cemented mutually-beneficial ties with *cartolai* by intermarriage. Nuovo pointed out that the presence of *cartolai* in particular diminished the rupture between manuscript and print, as many moved quickly into the binding, hand-illustration, and sale of printed books and frequently into the role of publisher themselves.<sup>82</sup> Yet as the production of printed books escalated rapidly towards 1500 the press necessitated great changes in book distribution, especially for the growing numbers of small, cheap, unbound pamphlets and *fogli volanti* that had few precedents in the manuscript era.<sup>83</sup>

As a large printing industry developed into one of the most important commercial facets of the city, Venetians and visitors to the city were exposed to an ever-widening

at a series of auctions between 1460 and 1464, with an average price of several ducats per book (pp. 176-82). Connell thought this kind of bookbuying was more common than buying from a shop (p. 164).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>80</sup> In Rome, printers and booksellers in the sixteenth century were located above all in the Parione area, where paper-sellers and *cartolai* had been and continued to be clustered. Paolo Cherubini, “Note sul commercio librario a Roma nel ‘400,” *Studi romani* 33, nos 3-4 (1985): 217-18. In Florence, *cartolai*, booksellers, and printers in the sixteenth century were mostly located in the vicinity of the Badia. Maria Luisa Bianchi and Maria Letizia Grossi, “Botteghe, economia e spazio urbano,” in *Arti fiorentine. La grande storia dell’artigianato*, eds Franco Franceschi and Gloria Fossi (Florence: Giunti, 1999), 45.

<sup>81</sup> “Et quelli de le botege haveno gran danno, maxime quelle botege verso la riva d’il Ferro, qual era do cartoleri, [e] do librari di libri a stampa.” Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 36, col. 526 (14 August 1524). On the continued market for manuscripts in the sixteenth century, see Zorzi, “Circolazione del libro.”

<sup>82</sup> Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell’Italia*, 36. See also Rouse and Rouse, *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers*; and Anna Melograni, “The Illuminated Manuscript as a Commodity: Production, Consumption and the *Cartolaio*’s Role in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” in *The Material Renaissance*, eds Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch, 71-84 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

<sup>83</sup> On the lack of manuscript precedents for smaller printed works, as opposed to larger books, see Armando Petrucci, “Alle origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 301-2.

panorama of print. In the early 1490s, the humanist Sabellico famously described a friend becoming distracted and entranced by the many bookstalls displaying their wares as he walked down the great commercial artery of the Merceria that weaves from the Rialto Bridge to Piazza San Marco.<sup>84</sup> Shops exhibited their goods out of doors, or stuck up stock lists outside to lure in customers.<sup>85</sup> As the sixteenth century progressed, print penetrated the city ever more. By 1533, there were at least sixteen dedicated booksellers in the city, and at least thirteen printers who may also have sold books, catering to a population of over 120,000, plus visitors.<sup>86</sup> In 1549 the Venetian branch of the Sant'Uffizio questioned Angelo Lion, a young scribe, regarding his possession of prohibited books. Lion testified that “wishing to read some nice things” (“desideroso de lezer qualche bella cosa”) he had both borrowed and bought some prohibited works. He had purchased them in one of the city’s key civic spaces: Piazza San Marco, the nexus of government and civic and religious ritual, specifically under the clocktower and under the porticoes of the grand buildings that surrounded the square, “from those booksellers who sell on feast days.”<sup>87</sup> Others, he noted defiantly, he had bought “publicly in the Merceria” (“publicamente in merzaria”).<sup>88</sup>

The testament of contemporaries like Priuli, Sabellico and Lion highlights the range of possible places and methods to obtain printed material in Venice during the first century of the industry’s development. Below the upper level of merchant booksellers, with sophisticated national and even international distribution systems, a rank of lesser known figures toiled to meet the needs of a more exclusively local market. At the bottom end of this spectrum existed the vendors without their own *botteghe*, such as those who sold on feast days under the porticoes of Piazza San Marco to Lion. At certain times, public spaces such as the Piazza were co-opted for a variety of ephemeral sales operations—temporary but nevertheless important sites for the dissemination of printed texts to the city’s reading

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<sup>84</sup> Marc’Antonio Sabellico, *De latinae linguae reparatione* (1493), discussed in Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 36-37.

<sup>85</sup> Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell’Italia*, 114.

<sup>86</sup> A list of booksellers to whom a warning not to sell or print certain works was communicated in 1533 records sixteen *librarii* with shops, alongside thirteen *impressores* (printers) many of whom probably also had some kind of bookselling operation. ASV, AC, Notatorio, r. 2054, c. 40v (29 March 1533). However this does not seem to be a comprehensive list as it omits several figures thought to have been active in this period. It also includes no stall-holders or street-sellers, who appear in some quantity on another list of 1567 discussed below. The population of Venice at 1540 was around 129,000 people; see Beltrami, *Storia della popolazione*, 57.

<sup>87</sup> “Sotto el relogio di San Marco”; “sotto i portigi a San Marco da quelli librai che vendeno la festa.” ASV, SU, b. 7, fasc. 18, cc. 1v-2v (22 May 1549).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 2v. Lion also noted he had bought books from “uno libraro a San Polo avanti la pistoria” (perhaps Francesco Rocca, who had a shop and a *banco* in San Polo in these years) and “un libraro al Ponte del Ogljo per andar a Sant’Apponal” (probably the bookseller Pasqualin at the sign of San Sebastiano at the Ponte dell’Olio, who was fined by the Esecutori contro la bestemmia in 1544 for publishing a prohibited book).

public. Just as Lion bought works “publicly in the Merceria,” buying, reading, and listening to printed texts could be very public activities in Cinquecento Venice. Assembling and examining information about printing and bookselling locations helps to place printers, booksellers and bookbuyers within their cultural and social contexts. Such information can be found in the colophons of printed works, as well as in archival documents such as wills and tax declarations, yet rarely has been considered together.

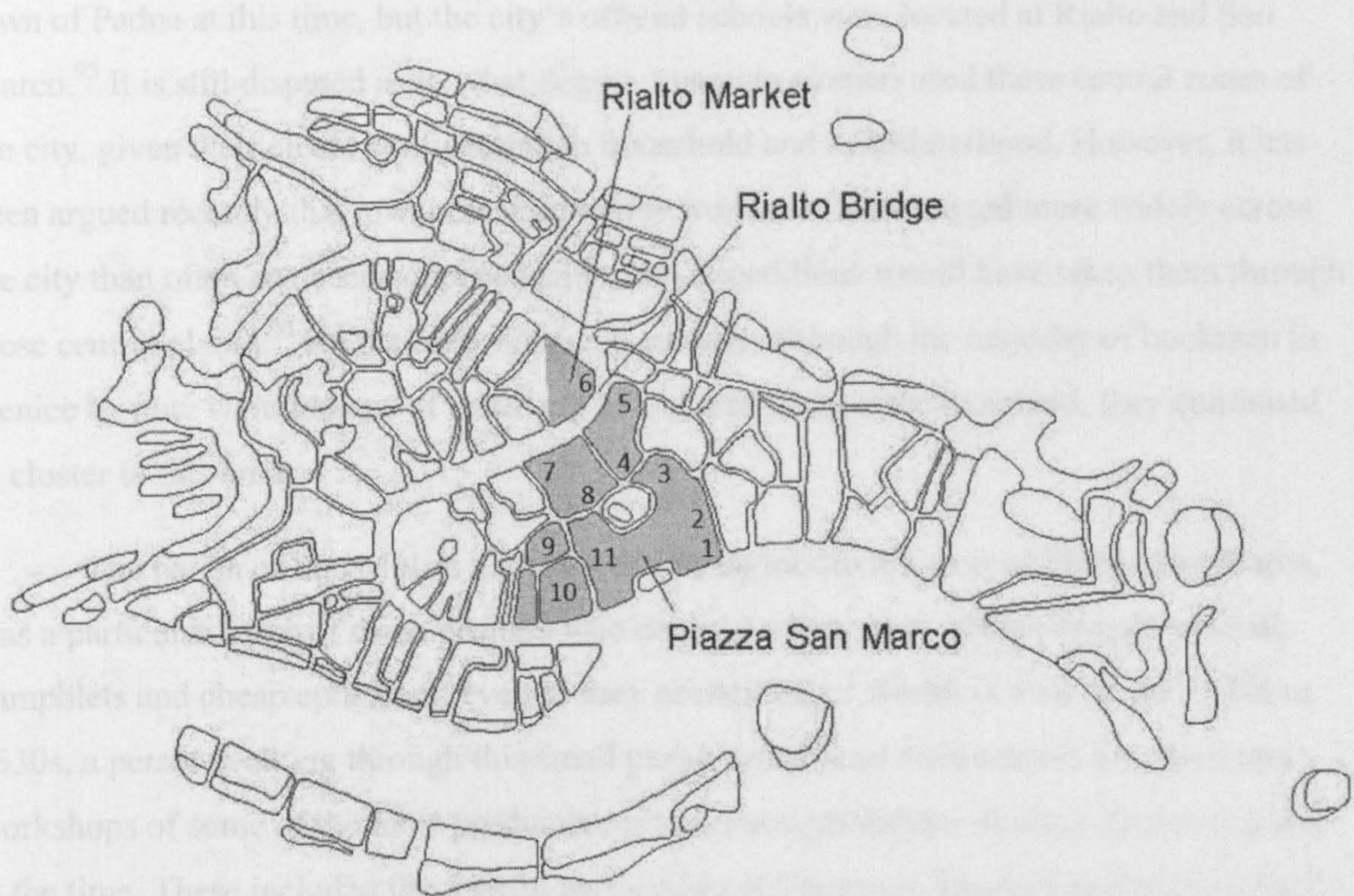
Romano’s study of Venetian society in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries found that practitioners of the same trade could be spread widely across the city, rather than residing in “closed, occupationally defined neighbourhoods.” Nevertheless, he and other scholars noted clusters of certain trades in certain areas, particularly by the sixteenth century.<sup>89</sup> The location of printers and booksellers followed this latter model. After the advent of printing, the shops of printers and booksellers rapidly came to be clustered around and between Rialto and San Marco [see map, Fig. 1]. Zorzi noted twelve printers active in Venice in 1473, nearly all German and mostly living in the parishes of San Paternian and San Giuliano, thus around the Merceria. These parishes had an established German community and were proximate to the German trading house, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, off Campo San Bartolomeo.<sup>90</sup> Rialto, San Marco, and the zone in between them were also the chief loci of trade and commerce in early modern Venice, the most densely-populated areas of the city through which many people had to pass on daily business of various kinds.<sup>91</sup> In these areas merchants and noblemen gathered to negotiate and gossip, along with a great variety of other Venetians and foreigners come to trade, buy and transport goods around the city. The fact that the city’s two chief food markets were located at Rialto and San Marco also made them essential stops. Venice made use of the university in the mainland subject

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<sup>89</sup> Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 79–81. Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan highlighted the localisation of certain trades in *Venice Triumphant. The Horizons of a Myth*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002; first published in French 1999), especially 171–82; as did Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*.

<sup>90</sup> Marino Zorzi, “Stampatori tedeschi a Venezia,” in *idem, Venezia e la Germania* (Milan: Electa, 1986), 122. See also Martin Lowry, “The Social World of Nicholas Jenson and John of Cologne,” *La bibliofilia* 83, no. 3 (1981): 193–218; and Cristina Dondi, “Printers and Guilds in Fifteenth-Century Venice,” *La bibliofilia* 106, no. 3 (2004): 229–65, for what is known about the locations of early printers’ homes and shops.

<sup>91</sup> Beltrami, *Storia della popolazione*, 43–50.



### Key

1	San Marco	5	San Bartolomeo	9	San Fantin
2	San Basso	6	San Giovanni di Rialto	10	San Moisè
3	San Giuliano	7	San Luca	11	San Geminiano
4	San Salvador	8	San Paternian		

**Fig. 1** Map of Venice. Central parishes with clusters of printers and booksellers highlighted

town of Padua at this time, but the city's official schools were located at Rialto and San Marco.<sup>93</sup> It is still disputed as to what degree Venetian women used these central zones of the city, given their closer confinement to household and neighbourhood. However, it has been argued recently that lower class *popolane* women at least ranged more widely across the city than often has been supposed and many expeditions would have taken them through these central places.<sup>94</sup> By the early sixteenth century, although the majority of bookmen in Venice by now were Italians of relatively recent arrival from the mainland, they continued to cluster in this area.

The parish of San Moisè, a minute or two on foot to the west of Piazza San Marco, was a particular focus of those printers who devoted a large part of their output to small pamphlets and cheap ephemera, even as they printed larger works as well. In the 1520s or 1530s, a person walking through this small parish could have encountered the shops and workshops of some of the most productive printers and publishers of cheap material active at the time. These included the fruitful partnership of Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini at the sign of the Archangel Raphael;<sup>95</sup> Giorgio Rusconi;<sup>96</sup> and Guglielmo Fontaneto.<sup>97</sup> Francesco Bindoni's uncle Bernardino was in the Frezzaria, the main thoroughfare through San Moisè.<sup>98</sup> This area continued to be a focal point for the production of cheap print throughout the century. From the 1540s, Matteo Pagan, one-time partner of Bernardino's brother Agostino, worked as a printer and an engraver at the sign of Faith in the Frezzaria in San Moisè,<sup>99</sup> while from the 1550s the printers and *librai* Pietro and Domenico de' Franceschi ran a *bottega* in the same street, at the sign of the Queen.<sup>100</sup> The densely-packed lattice of streets around San Moisè in the sixteenth century was an area devoted to the

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<sup>93</sup> Cf. Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 176-77, on the clustering of bookshops around the neighbourhoods of universities and *parlements* in French cities.

<sup>94</sup> Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). On the question of women's movement about the city and stronger affiliations with networks in the neighbourhood, see also the works on gender noted above in n. 56.

<sup>95</sup> Bindoni and Pasini were active from around 1525 until the 1550s. See *DTEI*, s.v. Many of the Bindoni/Pasini colophons give their address as "nelle case nuove Giustiniani" in San Moisè and on at least one occasion this location was given more precisely as "presso il bastione di San Moisè," a *bastione* being a type of wine shop or tavern; see Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane, ovvero origini delle denominazioni stradali di Venezia*, ed. Lino Moretti, rev. ed. (Venice: Filippi, 1970), 67.

<sup>96</sup> Rusconi is documented in the parish from 1514 and was active until the 1520s; Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI* (Florence: Olschki, 1924), 76.

<sup>97</sup> Fontaneto was active from around 1514 until the 1540s and recorded at San Moisè in the 1533 list cited above, n. 86.

<sup>98</sup> Bernardino was active ca. 1532-62; see *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>99</sup> Pagan was active from ca. 1543-60; see Fernanda Ascarelli and Marco Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 383.

<sup>100</sup> On the Franceschi brothers, active from ca. 1557-76, see *DTEI*, s.v.

production and sale of fine artisanal goods, particularly arrows (*frezze*—hence Frezzaria). As in much of Venice at this time, the parish was socially mixed: it housed some very grand patrician palaces in unavoidable proximity to dilapidated buildings and courtyards reputed for their poverty. This parish was presumably attractive to producers and sellers of print because of its closeness to the commercial strips of the Frezzaria and the Merceria, renowned for the glittering array of goods for sale that could be found there.<sup>101</sup>

A number of printers also established their homes and businesses in the directly bordering parishes such as San Fantin, San Salvador, and San Luca by the early sixteenth century. Among these were Giovan Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers;<sup>102</sup> Nicolò Aristotile de' Rossi known as “il Zoppino”;<sup>103</sup> Benedetto Bindoni and his brother Agostino;<sup>104</sup> and, no more than a few minutes walk away, the engraver and printer Giovan Andrea Valvassore.<sup>105</sup> In the Merceria, probably in the parish of San Giuliano bordering Piazza San Marco directly to the north, was the *bottega* of the successful publisher and bookseller Melchior Sessa, who farmed out printing jobs to many of these smaller printers.<sup>106</sup>

Another cluster of printers and booksellers was located around the Grand Canal end of the Merceria, at the south-eastern side of the Rialto Bridge, as well as on the north-western side and on the bridge itself, which was crowded with shops. These included Giulio Danza, indicted with Bernardino Bindoni and others in 1544 by the blasphemy magistrates, a “seller of books and paper next to the church of San Giacomo di Rialto,” and Giulio’s brother Paolo, a printer active from around 1511 to 1543.<sup>107</sup> The publisher and *libraio*

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<sup>101</sup> San Moisè also later became the focal point for writers of manuscript newssheets in the seventeenth century, because of its proximity to the hub of political power, San Marco; see Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 25-26.

<sup>102</sup> The Nicolini worked in San Fantin from ca. 1512 until mid-century; see Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del '500*, 354.

<sup>103</sup> Zoppino was publishing in Venice (located at least some of that time “sul campo della Madonna di San Fantino”) from 1507 until the mid 1540s. Neil Harris, *Bibliografia dell'Orlando innamorato* (Ferrara: Istituto di studi rinascimentali; Modena: Panini, 1988), 2:87.

<sup>104</sup> Benedetto was recorded in San Fantin in the 1533 list cited in n. 86 although in 1538 he had relocated, renting a *bottega* next to the church of San Geminiano for twenty ducats per annum; see ASV, *PSM*, *Affittanza*, r. 174, c. 52r. He was active ca. 1520-41. Agostino had his shop in San Paternian, immediately north-east of San Fantin, according to the 1533 Avogaria list. He was active ca. 1523-58. For both, see *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>105</sup> For the location of Valvassore’s shop near the Ponte dei Fuseri in San Luca, see J.D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1864), 5:88-89. Valvassore was active ca. 1530-72; see Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del '500*, 363.

<sup>106</sup> Melchior Sessa was active from 1505 to ca. 1562, when his heirs carried on in the same shop; see Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del '500*, 327.

<sup>107</sup> For the Danza, see *DTEI*, s.v.

Giovan Antonio Pederzano, who financed editions printed by Agostino Bindoni, the brothers Nicolini, and others, informed readers in his colophons that he could be found at the sign of the Tower at the foot of the bridge (“a pie’ del Ponte di Rialto”).<sup>108</sup> Later in the century, the publishers Stefano Alessi and Giovanni Bariletto were among those who worked off Campo San Bartolomeo, on the San Marco side of the Rialto, in Calle della Bissa and Calle dei Stagneri respectively.<sup>109</sup> Around here were clustered the shops of those who offered specialist goods of use to printers and booksellers, for example *speziali* or spice-dealers who sold the ingredients for ink and *vende colori* or colour sellers who sold pigments for illustration.<sup>110</sup>

Aside from a few printers located in more peripheral parts of the city, such as Aurelio Pincio at San Giovanni in Bragora in the eastern *sestiere* of Castello and Tomaso Ballarin at San Giacomo dell’Orio, west of Rialto, the majority were thus located in Venice’s most central, frequented areas.<sup>111</sup> Printers who specialised in printed images and maps, from large and expensive ones to cheaper varieties, were also, significantly, clustered around the Merceria and the Frezzaria.<sup>112</sup> It is important to stress this clustering of purveyors of print in these central neighbourhoods for several reasons. From the customer’s point of view, it suggests that the presence of print in Venice in the Cinquecento was difficult to ignore, encountered whenever one passed through the central arteries of the city. For the bookmen, the rather intimate, parochial context in which many of them lived and worked mirrored the close-knit nature of the industry from its early days, as will be explored further in the next chapter.

It is also vital to note that there was no apparent spatial dislocation between the shops of the more prestigious publishers and printers and those who produced significant quantities of cheaper material. The bookshop of the esteemed publisher Gabriele Giolito was near Rialto, in the parish of Sant’Apponal, while the powerful and wealthy family of

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<sup>108</sup> Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del ‘500*, 360.

<sup>109</sup> Alessi, active from ca. 1551-60 in Calle della Bissa, had previously had a shop at the sign of San Moisè in the Merceria. Bariletto was active from at least 1559-74. For both see *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>110</sup> On the locations of *speziali*, see Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 88-89. Julia DeLancey is mapping the locations of the emerging trade of colour sellers, who were particularly clustered around San Bartolomeo and San Salvador; see “Mapping Color: Placing Color-Sellers in the Urban Fabric of Renaissance Venice” (paper given at the Renaissance Society of America annual meeting, Chicago, IL, 2008).

<sup>111</sup> Both these printers are recorded in the 1533 list cited in n. 86.

<sup>112</sup> Van der Sman, “Print Publication in Venice,” 235, suggests this proximity reflected the symbiotic relationships between print and book publishers; see also Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 45.

publishers and book merchants, the Giunta, was based on the Merceria, in San Giuliano.<sup>113</sup> Geographical proximity may have brought a stronger sense of identity and community to a trade that encompassed men spread over a broad spectrum of specialisations and socio-economic levels, and that until the later sixteenth century had no official guild to bring them together.<sup>114</sup> The concentration of members of the print trade in these neighbourhoods also provided strong bases for new arrivals to access, particularly networks of fellow migrants from the same regions of the mainland who were connected further by ties of marriage and business.

### *Print in the Streets*

As suggested, printers and booksellers with their own shops were not the only source of print, particularly of cheap print, in Venice. The shops were supplemented by street-sellers, and we might now consider where they operated in the city. First though, it is important not to draw too great a distinction between bookshops and the street trade in print. In the words of Evelyn Welch, this distinction between shops and the street in Italian cities of this period was a “defined yet permeable” boundary, not absolute.<sup>115</sup> As we have already seen, bookshops could be open to the street, and advertise their wares outside. Furthermore some stalls were semi-permanent fixtures of the urban landscape, occupying the same position for a number of years, such as those of Giacomo da Trino under the portico at Rialto and Battista Furlan in Piazza San Marco in the 1560s and 70s.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> On Giolito, active ca. 1538-78, see Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del '500*, 374. The Giunta, active throughout the century, were located in the Merceria according to a list of booksellers to whom a decree was communicated by the Sant'Uffizio; see ASV, SU, b. 156, unnumbered sheet dated 13 September 1567. This list is transcribed in Paolo Veneziani, introduction to *Il libro italiano del Cinquecento: produzione e commercio* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1989), 21-23.

<sup>114</sup> This was the suggestion of DeLancey, “Mapping Color,” regarding the new specialisation of colour sellers, who she argues had a clear sense of association promoted by their physical proximity in the city, despite never having their own guild.

<sup>115</sup> Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 97.

<sup>116</sup> “Ser Iacomo da Trini quondam Alberto sartor libraro vende sotto il portego de Rialto” was recorded in the 1567 list of booksellers cited in n. 113 above. In 1571, still working in this location, Giacomo was questioned by the Sant'Uffizio about selling prohibited books; see ASV, SU, b. 156, c. 27r. “Ser Batista furlan quondam Tomaso Zanier, ha il banco in Piazza de San Marco” was recorded in the same 1567 list and in 1575 was picked up by the Sant'Uffizio for selling unlicensed *fogli volanti* orations; see ASV, SU, b. 39, fasc. 7.



Some booksellers may have graduated from being street sellers to stall-holders to shopkeepers as their economic status became more secure; however, the various activities were not mutually exclusive. Sigismondo Bordogna for some years had a stall near the north-east corner of the Piazza, near the church of San Basso, in addition to his shop, as well as publishing various cheap pamphlets.<sup>117</sup> The bookseller Francesco Rocca had both a shop and a stall in San Polo, for both of which he registered the sign of the *Novizza in lustro* (The Glowing Bride).<sup>118</sup> In the seventeenth century, the guild struggled to stop masters with shops from selling their wares in the streets, or sending them out with ambulant pedlars or their own *garzoni* (apprentices), in an effort to maintain the propriety of the trade and to marginalise poor and untrained practitioners.<sup>119</sup> In the earlier sixteenth century, however, there was little restriction on publishing and selling print in Venice, and it seems that various kinds of mutually beneficial relationships were improvised between printers, booksellers, and street vendors.

More ephemeral, street-based commercial activity undoubtedly made up only a minor segment—economically speaking—of the book trade. Often it was smaller, cheaper items that were sold in this way, because of the practical limitations of space and volume. Most of the descriptions of the street trade from the period, as we will see, refer to the kinds of small works I am calling “cheap print”—images, *fogli volanti*, and small pamphlet works like orations, letters, songs, and prognostications. However larger works could also be sold out of doors. Some stall-holders sold second hand works, such as Bartolomeo da Sabbio, a poor old bookseller with a chest at Rialto, who was caught selling prohibited second-hand books there in 1574. This kind of ad hoc sales operation may have been the refuge of some

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<sup>117</sup> Bordogna was active in Venice from ca. 1555 to 1602; see *DTEI*, s.v. He was listed as “tien banchetto a San Marco” in 1571; see ASV, *SU*, b. 156, c. 34v. In the 1567 list, he appears as “Ser Sigismondo quondam Zuane bressan vende libri a la chiesa de San Basso.”

<sup>118</sup> Rocca took “per insegna della sua bottega et suo bancho la novizza in lustro” in 1568; see Giacomo Moro, “Insegne librerie e marche tipografiche in un registro veneziano del ‘500,” *La bibliofilia* 91 no. 1 (1989): 69. In the 1567 Sant’Uffizio list, he was recorded as “Ser Francesco Rocha de Piero Rocha in contra de San Polo ala insegna del castelo.” See also Ascarelli and Menato, *Tipografia del ‘500*, 391, who have Rocca active on and off from 1549–76. In Florence, the printer Giorgio Marescotti was among those who petitioned for the right to peddle cheap print in the streets on feast days, even after he had his own *bottega*; see Tim Carter, “Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni,” *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 41–42.

<sup>119</sup> Ivo Mattozzi, “‘Mondo del libro’ e decadenza a Venezia (1570-1730),” *Quaderni storici* 72, no. 3 (1989): 754–55.

print workers when they reached old age without the means or skills to run their own shops.<sup>120</sup>

The most “ephemeral” sellers of all were those with no stall, who simply carried their works in their arms or a basket. These may often have been young boys employed by booksellers to cry their works in the streets. In 1567, the Esecutori contro la bestemmia tried to control the selling of unlicensed cheap works “by boys [*puti*] and others on the Rialto Bridge and in other places.”<sup>121</sup> Such a character, a street urchin (*furfante*) selling stories, appears in Aretino’s play *La Cortigiana*. He enters the scene shouting about his “lovely stories” for sale (“Alle belle Istorie!”) and offering a range of typical items including letters or poems about recent events (“*La pace tra il Cristianissimo e l’Imperatore! La presa del re!*”) and popular poetry (“*I Capricci de fra Mariano in ottava rima! Egloghe del Trasinio!*”).<sup>122</sup> Although Aretino set his play in Rome, he must have encountered similar characters in Venice where he moved in 1527. In the poem *Il trent’uno della Zaffetta* (*The Zaffetta’s Thirty-One*), written by Aretino’s pupil Lorenzo Venier and published in the early 1530s, the courtesan-victim lamented that the news of her malicious gang-rape described in the poem was being spread rapidly around the city, for already she could “hear the loud cry of the boys / on the Rialto Bridge [shouting]: / ‘Who wants [to buy] the story of the Zaffetta?’”<sup>123</sup>

As these examples suggest, the Rialto Bridge and market probably were the city’s key locations for the selling of cheap print from very early on in the history of the printing trade. By the 1490s, printed prognostications were already being hawked on the bridge.<sup>124</sup> Although there were ferry stations (*traghetti*) along the Grand Canal, the bridge was still an

<sup>120</sup> Both Bartolomeo and Giacomo da Trino, whose cases are discussed below, pp. 167-68, were old men who were scrounging a living selling second-hand books in the street. Bartolomeo said he had been an apprentice in various shops.

<sup>121</sup> “Molti librari et stampadori contra la forma delle parte et ordini dell’illustrissimo Consiglio di Dieci ... si fano lecito stampare in questa città libri, istorie, frotole, canzon, lettere, et pronostichi senza le debite licentia et liberamente venderli over per puti et altri far vender sul Ponte di Rialto et altri lochi.” ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 2, c. 38v (2 March 1568). See also below for the sale of prognostications on the Rialto in the 1480s by a young boy.

<sup>122</sup> Pietro Aretino, *La Cortigiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970), act 1, scene 4, p. 71. The first version of the play was already circulating in Rome in the mid 1520s but it was first published in 1534, in Venice. On the texts advertised, see *ibid.*, 163.

<sup>123</sup> “E parmi udir da i putti gridar forte, / Sul Ponte di Rialto, acciò s’intenda: / Chi vuol della Zaffetta legenda?” Lorenzo Venier, *La Zaffetta* (Catania: Guaitolini, 1929), 47.

<sup>124</sup> The preface to Johann Lichtenberger’s *Pronosticatione* (Venice, 1511) records an incident eighteen years earlier when a young boy had been selling prognostications on the Rialto. Quoted in Pon, *Raphael, Durer and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 51. In 1528, the Mantuan ambassador to Venice reported there “un povero homo che va vendendo li giuditij per Rialto.” Quoted in Alessandro Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia e la corte dei Gonzaga* (Turin: Loescher, 1888), 8.

“obligatory passage” of the city, especially for those without their own *gondole*. The bridge was the only way then possible to cross on foot the Grand Canal that cut the city in half. The bridge created a bottle-neck for foot traffic in the city, and thus was an obvious place for selling and begging, while the nearby Rialto market area was also a focal point for ambulant selling of all sorts of goods.<sup>125</sup>

Pamphlet sellers on the Rialto appear repeatedly in contemporary poems that depict the bustle of life in this most frenetic part of Venice. Later in the sixteenth century, the poet Maffio Venier (Lorenzo’s son) described sellers on the Rialto hawking devotional booklets, prognostications and cheap pamphlets of poetry.<sup>126</sup> Another work depicted among the many items for sale on the Rialto Bridge—“so crowded / with people and shops and stalls”—small books of hours, almanacs, and the printed “song of San Martino / twenty for a *quattrino*.”<sup>127</sup> By the 1580s, a song was published in the voice of the *massare* (housekeepers) of the city, calling for retribution against the ballad-singing pamphlet sellers who sung about them. The lead *massara* calls out to her comrades:

Demo in prima a quel giotton,  
 che, sul Ponte de Rialto,  
 nostro pianto, o sia canzon,  
 vende, e cria con parlar alto.  
 Femo farlo in acqua un salto ...  
 Insegnemoghe a trovar  
 ogni dì nuovo cantare.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Donatella Calabi and Paolo Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il Ponte (1514-1591)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), 176. The other two bridges that now span the Grand Canal, the Accademia and the Scalzi, were built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively. On the social distinctions reinforced by various means of transport, see Dennis Romano, “The Gondola as a Marker of Station in Venetian Society,” *Renaissance Studies* 8, no. 4 (1994): 359-74.

<sup>126</sup> “Sul ponte de Rialto chi ghe cria: / ... A chi dàghio sti bei officietti? / Un pronostico nuovo ... / che ve mostra i pianetti / ... La barceletta de Missier Sbruffaldo!” Maffio Venier, *Canzoni e sonetti* (Venice: Corbo e Fiore, 1993), 177-78.

<sup>127</sup> “A un pont che tug de legn fondat senz arch, / e quand ol vid si carch / de zent e de boteghi, e de banchet ... Puri qui è la canzon de San Martin, / vinti per un quattrin ... / Chi vol un officietto ... ? / Lunari novi e beli.” *Viaggio de Zan Padella, cosa ridiculosa e bela, dond es descriftug le cose ches vende sul punt de Rialt in Venesia* (Modena, [ca. 1580]), cc. 2r-3r. BL, 1071.c.63(20). On the publication of songs about San Martino, see below, p. 53.

<sup>128</sup> “Let’s go first to that fool, / who, on the Rialto Bridge, / sells and cries out loudly / our lament, or song. / Let’s throw him in the water ... / We’ll teach him for making up / a new song every day ...” *La congiura che fanno le massare, contra coloro che cantano la sua canzone*. (Venice: Antonio Facol, [ca. 1600]), c. 1v. BL, 1071.a.37. This song is also quoted in Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini*

Other bridges were almost certainly places for pamphlet selling as well. In a short poem published in the early decades of the century in Venice, claiming to be the lament of a priest's concubine over her lover's imprisonment for blasphemy, the "femena" of Father Agostino complained that her lover's plight had become fodder for the pamphlet writers of Venice, and now the stories about him "are sold on the bridges / and through the *piazze* of every parish."<sup>129</sup>

The 1543 Council of Ten law regarding printing licences confirms the presence of street sellers of print operating in Venice "on the bridge of the Rialto, and in other places of this city," in numbers significant enough to trouble the authorities.<sup>130</sup> Regular printers and booksellers who contravened this law were to be fined twenty-five ducats, while the street vendors were rather to be whipped publicly along the prominent route between the Rialto and San Marco, and then imprisoned for six months. This may have been because they were expected to be too poor to pay the fine, as well as to make a very public example of them in precisely the spaces in which they tended to operate.

Information recorded by the Sant'Uffizio, re-established in Venice in the 1540s, also indicates that street sellers tended to locate themselves around Rialto and San Marco. A list of bookmen to whom a censorship decree was communicated in 1567 included a significant number of stall holders and street sellers, such as "Jacomo di Simon di Venezia, bookseller who sells under the portico at Rialto"; "Julio Bressanin di Bortolomeo the Brescian, has a bench in Piazza San Marco"; "Nicolò di Bortolomeo Pierio Toschan from Bergamo, sells books on feast days in the Merceria"; and "Zuane de Anzolo *erbariol* [*erbarolo* = seller of greens] ... sells books at San Salvador, without a shop."<sup>131</sup> Sellers of printed images in particular are also known to have frequented Piazza San Marco.<sup>132</sup>

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*alla caduta della repubblica*, 4th ed. (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1906), 2: 266-67, from a 1584 edition printed "Al segno della Regina." There was probably an earlier work containing this *pianto* of the *massare* that is referred to, but I have not been able to identify it. This pamphlet also contains the *risposta* of the singers, with the refrain "Ste massare no ha cervello."

<sup>129</sup> "Si vendeno le hystorie per li ponti, / et per le piazze in ciascadun confino." *Il lamento della femena di Pre Agustino, qual si duol di esser viva vedendolo in tante angustie* ([Venice: ca. 1520s?]), c. 2r. BMV, 2231(5).

<sup>130</sup> See the above, p. 10.

<sup>131</sup> "Jacomo de Simon da Venezia libraro vende sotto il portego de Rialto"; "Julio Bressanin de Bortolomio bresan ... a il banco in piazza"; "Nicolò de Bortolamio Pierio Toschan da Bergamo vende libri la festa in Marzaria"; "Zuane de Anzolo erbariol ... vende libri a San Salvador non ha botega." *Erbariol* could also be from *erbolaio*, a seller of medicinal herbs; see Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice: Cecchini, 1867), s.v. The list is cited in n. 113. The others listed who were almost certainly street sellers are: "Ser Bonadio de Filippo Tagiapiera da Venezia vende libri in Rialto," "Ser Piero francese quondam Jane Feriero francese vende libri in Rialto sotto il portego," "Ser Ulivier quondam Lunardo da Vizenza vende libri

Print was frequently sold alongside many other goods. The street-selling of print alongside other goods such as soap, gloves, and perfumes is amply demonstrated by the collection of ambulant sellers who registered with the *Arte dei medici e speziali* in Florence in the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>133</sup> As I discuss further in Chapter Three, other sources show that some of these same figures turned up in Venice, so one can assume that they carried out the same mixed activity there. When networks of pedlars began to spread across Europe from later in the sixteenth century, printed texts were initially “pack-filler” items alongside a load mainly comprised of haberdashery.<sup>134</sup> The selling of print alongside other merchandise is difficult to trace in any detail but should be kept in mind when assessing the cultural significance of a printed pamphlet in its possible original contexts—as a somewhat quotidian commodity—rather than, for example, in a richly-bound miscellany in the rare books collection of a library.

The presence of sellers of cheap print was greater not just in certain spaces but at certain times, as in the aforementioned case of Nicolò da Bergamo who sold books on feast days. Street sellers of cheap print were drawn to the times and places when buying and selling were most common, particularly market days and fairs. Sanudo records that great markets were held weekly at the city’s two largest open spaces, Campo San Polo (Wednesdays) and Piazza San Marco (Saturdays), while every May the Venetian Ascension festival, the *Sensa*, was accompanied by a famous fair, during which Piazza San Marco was filled with temporary stalls, but also attracted many street vendors.<sup>135</sup> In one Sant’Uffizio trial, a soldier was questioned for possessing some obscene pictures, which he claimed to have bought in

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in Rialto sotto il portego,” “Ser Zuane del quondam Nicolò bergamasco vende libri in Rialto sotto il portego,” “Ser Bortolomio del quondam Bernardin di Salò vende libri a San Marco soto li portegi,” “Ser Antonio de Alvise da Venetia vende libri a San Marco apreso il Ponte dela Palgia [ie. Paglia],” “Ser Lorenzo da Bergamo di ser Bortolomio di Maffei vende in Piazza de San Marco,” and others listed in the following footnotes.

<sup>132</sup> Bury, *Print in Italy*, 170. According to Vasari, the artist Marc’Antonio Raimondi encountered prints by Albrecht Dürer being sold in Piazza San Marco, which Raimondi later copied. This incident, thought to have taken place around 1506, is reported in Pon, *Raphael, Durer and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 38-40.

<sup>133</sup> Those who sold some kind of print are listed by Bertoli in “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti immatricolati.”

<sup>134</sup> Fontaine, *History of Pedlars*, 42. Cf. Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 5-6, on the peddling of print and other items in England.

<sup>135</sup> Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 166, 177-84. The time of the *Sensa* also brought a rise in the sales recorded by the established bookseller Francesco de’ Madi, especially of works of a more popular nature; see Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell’Italia*, 116-17.

Piazza San Marco during the Sensa, where vendors were “selling them outside, publicly” (“le vendevano li fuori pubblicamente”).<sup>136</sup>

Initially, the Venetian authorities did not do much to regulate the print trade flourishing in the midst of the city. Contemporary court records show greater concern to monitor commerce of goods fundamental to public order and health such as foodstuffs, than of non-essential items such as print.<sup>137</sup> However, there were frequent attempts in the Cinquecento to clear Piazza San Marco of the numerous little shops and stalls that clustered around the important buildings lining the square. Such small-time operations now were deemed unsightly and inappropriate to architect Jacopo Sansovino’s vision of the Piazza as a grand ceremonial centre.<sup>138</sup> Only when print became recognised as a potential threat to public morality and order in the light of religious ferment in Italy did the Venetian authorities move to control its distribution specifically. In the period after the Council of Trent, the Venetian authorities made a more serious effort to separate sacred and secular spaces and times. In 1565, the magistracy of the *Giustizia Vecchia*, which controlled commerce, ruled that on feast days under the portico of the Rialto known as the Drapparia, it was permitted only to sell works appropriate to a religious holiday: “images of Saints, books of the epistles, the evangelists, and legends of the saints, Offices, bibles, and similar devout works” and not “dirty books, plays, and [works] of any other sort that be profane.” Down the Merceria and under the portico at San Marco there might be sold only images of saints and other “honest and devout” subjects, and not of “dishonest and shameful things.”<sup>139</sup> Later

<sup>136</sup> Trial of Capitano Annibale da Perugia (1585), held in ASV, SU, b. 55, quoted in Marisa Milani, *Piccole storie di stregoneria nella Venezia del '500* (Verona: Essedue, 1989), 180.

<sup>137</sup> James E. Shaw, *The Justice of Venice. Authorities and Liberties in the Urban Economy, 1550-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), 77. On the sporadic regulation of ambulant sellers around Rialto, see Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il Ponte*, 35-36, 183.

<sup>138</sup> Deborah Howard notes the 1531 resolution of the Maggior Consilio to keep the Piazza free of stalls, apart from during the annual Sensa fair; however, such prohibitions were reiterated continually suggesting it proved difficult to dislodge the stall-holders; see her *Jacopo Sansovino. Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (London: Yale University Press, 1975), 13-14. Efforts to bring greater propriety and order to city life in Venice at this time are discussed in the essays in Manfredo Tafuri, ed., *Renovatio urbis. Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)* (Rome: Officina edizioni, 1984); and also in Donatella Calabi, “Il rinnovamento urbano del primo Cinquecento,” in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, eds Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, vol. 5, *Il Rinascimento: società ed economia* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 101-63.

<sup>139</sup> “Sotto il portego di Rialto della Drapparia, non sia lecito ad alcuno di tenir in tal zorni, salvo che santi, et libri de epistole, et evangeli, et lezende de santi, offitii, bibie, et simil opere devote, et non libri immondi, comedie, et d'altra sorte, che siano profano, et così altra sorte de robba non s'habbi da vender sotto il detto portego. Per la Marzaria veramente se possi tenir santi, et carte de disegni, et depente de cose divote, et honeste, et non cose dishoneste, et vergognose, et così sotto il portego de San Marco.” Law copied into the *Matricola dell'Arte dei stampatori e librari di Venezia*, BMCV, MS. Cicogna 3044 / Mariegola no. 119, c. 42r.

in the century, when the guild of printers and booksellers had been established, it would attempt to prohibit the activity of vendors of books on holy days, as they cut in on the business of guildsmen who were not supposed to operate during *feste*.<sup>140</sup>

There are a number of reasons why print pedlars sometimes became the targets of repression, satire, or criticism in sixteenth-century Venice. In the view of contemporary writers, even those writers who took utmost advantage of the press to further their own careers, ambulant sellers of books embodied the most crassly commercialistic effects of printing, leading to the utter degradation of knowledge. In a poem of the irascible scribe Fra Filippo De Strata, a seller with a basket-load of books offered them all “for three or two *grossetti*, / As if he wanted to sell me a sack of cats.”<sup>141</sup> In Nicolò Franco’s 1539 dialogue, the character Sannio stands on a bench, crying out his wares, which are also written out on a large board (*cartone*). With the characteristic hyperbole of the charlatan, he calls out to customers to “come to me if you want to make something of yourself. I, I, I, and no one else, possess the true art of making any man a Solomon ... [Come to me] whoever wants to learn letters without having to learn from pedants.”<sup>142</sup> After seven fruitless hours on his bench, Sannio complains to his friend Cautano, he has sold nothing, and starts to knock down the price of his wares. From offering a work that will make buyers into “a Pope, or a Bishop, or a Cardinal” for ten *scudi*, he eventually drops down to peddling “a good poet for half a *soldo*.”<sup>143</sup> What has the world come to, he asks Cautano,

that today ... for the price of a salad you cannot sell off [*stravendere*] Poetry? If I were a charmer selling pills and roots, or a charlatan who shows off asps and snakes, you can be sure that right now I would not be wanting for business. But ... today the avarice of the world is such, that one appreciates a *quattrino* more than to learn a thousand pieces of wisdom.<sup>144</sup>

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On the attitudes of church and state authorities to working, trading, and displaying goods on the many movable and immovable feasts of the Italian calendar, see Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 111-15.

<sup>140</sup> The extension of control over the street trade is explored further below, pp. 172-76.

<sup>141</sup> “Vuottu comprare questa corba intiera, / piena de libri in stampa ben ligati? / ... Se li dasessi per tri o dui grossetti, / comme che in sacco me volessi vender gatti.” De Strata quoted in Arnaldo Segarizzi, “Un calligrafo milanese,” *Ateneo veneto* 32, no. 1 (1909): 70. The *grossetto* was a silver coin worth four *soldi*; see Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, s.v.

<sup>142</sup> “Vegniate a me se volete essere da qualche cosa. Io, Io, Io, e null’altro, ho la ver’arte da fare tutti gli huomini Salamoni ... chi vuole imparare lettere senza pratica di pedanti.” Nicolò Franco, *Dialogo del venditore di libri (1539-1593)* (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), 26. Similarly, in Aretino’s *La Cortigiana*, one character buys an “orazione ch’insegna a diventare cortigiano” from a street seller for the trifling sum of two *quattrini* (act 1, scene 7, pp. 44-45).

<sup>143</sup> “Venga con diece scudi, chi vuole imparare di farsi o Papa, o Vescovo, o Cardinale”; “un buon poeta per mezzo soldo.” Franco, *Dialogo del venditore di libri*, 48, 54.

<sup>144</sup> “Che hoggi ... al prezzo d’un’insalata non si possa stravendere la Poesia? S’io fussi incantatore di pillole, e di radici, o ciurmatore, che avessi mostro sordaspi, e biscie, sia tu certo, che a quest’hora non mi mancherebbe

At the same time, Franco's dialogue expresses the anxiety of living in an age when it seems as if, suddenly, "two thirds of men" are involved in writing and printing books, so there are more works coming out than could ever be stocked in one shop. Meanwhile true learning "has fallen so low that it is sad to think about it."<sup>145</sup> Street-sellers were emblematic figures of an age when everything seemed to be up for sale. They were often poor and uneducated; they jostled for space and vied for attention with the rest of the rabble in the squares; they were seen to reduce the printed text to one more item for sale in the marketplace. Moreover, they sold *publicly* that which had once been mainly the reserve of the educated and the wealthy.

The truth of these perceptions is difficult to assess. The preceding survey has shown that street-selling in various guises, of all sorts of printed texts and images, was a common activity in Venice during the Cinquecento. Given this, we need to think about the role of street sellers in the wider print industry. Even in a large city like Venice with many bookshops, street sellers were able to eke a living; hence they must have offered something that the established booksellers did not. They may not have stocked a wide range of works, but they could use aggressive forms of verbal and visual advertising to draw customers who made their way through the streets. It is probable that vendors working in public spaces frequented by a broad cross-section of the community brought new printed products, which we have already seen could be very cheap, within the grasp of more people than might have crossed the threshold of a bookshop to buy a printed a book, and certainly many more than would have sought out a manuscript from a scribe or a stationer.<sup>146</sup> Assessing the problems of the early print trade in enticing more readers to a proliferating range of works, Susan Noakes summarised that: "In terms common in marketing today, a 'need' for a new product or a 'need' to use more frequently a familiar product or a new variant of it has to be created in the consumer."<sup>147</sup> Street vendors could be successful in this regard because they showed (or recited or sung) the work directly to the customer; their unmediated relationship with

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de le faccende. Ma ... hoggi l'avaritia del mondo e tale, che piu s'apprezza un quatrino, che l'imparare mille scienze." Ibid., 54.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 30, 36.

<sup>146</sup> Writing of Dutch and English pedlars from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jeroen Salman opines that "the itinerant trader functioned as a crucial extension of the established booksellers in the towns. The pedlar contributed to a distribution network that effectively reduced the gap between the established bookseller and the more modest consumers in town and countryside"; see his "Watching the Pedlar's Movements," in Myers, Harris, and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, 137.

<sup>147</sup> Noakes, "Development of the Book Market," 40.



customers also made them useful as “intermediaries transmitting necessary information about demand and supply in both directions, between the printer and the public.”<sup>148</sup>

### *Performing Print*

I have already mentioned several examples where the selling of cheap print intersected with performance of one kind or another on the streets of Cinquecento Venice. Performance, in a spectrum that extended from the hawker’s cry to staged songs and recitals, would have drawn more attention to the activity of street-selling. It was a natural development when the advertised item was a printed pamphlet, often containing stories or songs that might hook the attention of listeners. Selling printed pamphlets quickly became a common feature of the appearances of charlatans and other street performers.

Contemporary with the expansion of printing, Venice was experiencing an exceptionally vibrant period of development in public spectacle and performance in the sixteenth century. Frequent, lavish festivals and processions involved large numbers of the populace as participants or observers, and increasingly worked to frame and direct attention towards Piazza San Marco as the chief site of secular and spiritual power.<sup>149</sup> Theatrical performances held in private palaces or official spectacles within the Ducal Palace often spilled out into the streets, squares, and the canals, opening themselves up to a wider audience. The permeability of Venetian spaces allowed for widespread participation in cultural events. In 1514, Sanudo described a patrician wedding celebration that culminated in a water parade along the Grand Canal to San Marco, and then back to Santa Croce, all the time followed by “a great many boats behind [wanting] to see and on the balconies of the houses [there were] women and others to watch such festivities.”<sup>150</sup> Enjoyment of spectacles was not confined to those with the status or the means to be part of a select audience in a private location; the use of public space opened up participation to a broader audience.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>149</sup> Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 154, 209-11.

<sup>150</sup> “Seguitava[no] moltissime barche drierdo per veder, e sopra li balconi di le caxe done e altri per veder tal festa.” Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 18, col. 299 (26 June 1514).

<sup>151</sup> Although many theatrical performances were held in patrician palaces at this time, there were also those open to the public for a fee, with a ticket price recorded as one *marcello* or 10 *soldi* in 1517 and 1522; see

Abundant designated street performances also took place, particularly during the period of Carnival and the Ascension fair. By the end of the Cinquecento, Venice was renowned for the street entertainments that could be witnessed there. Tomaso Garzoni's *Piazza universale*, first published in 1585, described charlatans and performers competing for attention on platforms in Piazza San Marco, and visitors to Venice in the early modern period often reported on this phenomenon. According to Garzoni, buffoons and charlatans could be seen in the piazza "every evening from the twenty-second to the twenty-fourth hours of the day, acting out tales, inventing stories, making up dialogues ... singing impromptu, getting angry at each other, making peace, dying from laughter, becoming angry again, brawling on the stage, making a fuss together, and finally passing out the collection boxes, and coming to the little matter of the coins, which they want to swindle out of you with this most polite and courteous chatter of theirs."<sup>152</sup> Hyperbolic though it might have been, Garzoni's depiction of the Piazza was rooted in reality. In the early seventeenth century, the Englishman Thomas Coryate wrote that, although there were mountebanks elsewhere in Italy, "there is a greater concourse of them in Venice than elsewhere" and "a larger toleration of them here than in other Cities." Coryate described five or six stages erected in the Piazza for charlatans' performances that took place twice a day, plus more humble performers working on the ground.<sup>153</sup>

The coincidence of performance spaces with some of the city's most important sites for politics and religious ritual was a matter of periodic concern to the Venetian powers. Throughout the Cinquecento, there seems to have been tacit permission for various kinds of street performers to operate in the Piazza, although, as with the street pedlars, there were attempts to restrict their activity to appropriate times and places. A law promulgated in early 1543, within weeks of the Council of Ten's printing regulation, circumscribed the places in which entertainers could operate in Piazza San Marco, instructing them to mount their

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Ronnie Ferguson, "Staging Scripted Comedy in Renaissance Venice (1500-1560): A Survey of the Evidence," in *Theatre, Opera, and Performance*, eds Richardson, Gilson, and Keen, 47-48. A very useful overview of the kinds of festivities occurring in Venice in this period is the collection of *Articoli estratti dai Diarii di Marino Sanudo concernenti notizie storiche di Commedie, Mumarie, Feste e Compagnie della Calza*, held in BMCV, MS. Cicogna 1650/XV.

<sup>152</sup> "Ogni sera dalle vintidue fino alle vintiquattro hore di giorno, finger novelle, trovare historie, formar dialoghi ... cantare all'improvviso, corrucchiarsi insieme, far la pace, morir dalle risa, alterarsi di nuovo, urtarsi in sul banco, far questione insieme, e finalmente buttar fuori i bussoli, et venire al quanquam delle gazette [the *gazetta* was a coin worth two *soldi*], che vogliono carpire con queste loro gentilissime, et garbatissime chiachiere." Tomaso Garzoni, *La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, ed. G.B. Bronzini (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 2:910.

<sup>153</sup> Thomas Coryate and George Coryate, *Coryate's Crudities* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905; reprint of 1611 ed.) 1:409-10.



benches towards the clocktower at the northern edge rather than in the Piazzetta that gave onto the waterfront at the south, closer to the important sites of the Ducal Palace and the Basilica of San Marco.<sup>154</sup> The Piazzetta was the location of the *broglio*, the space outside the gate of the Ducal Palace where patricians entering or exiting the council gathered to gossip and campaign.<sup>155</sup> Solemn rites of punishment took place nearby, between the two great columns on the waterfront. That it was the Provveditori alla Sanità who made the 1543 decree suggests that the charlatans' entertainments were considered a threat to the orderliness and health of a key location of public gathering, as well as a matter of propriety. The Sanità increased their efforts to monitor the presence of such figures in the city throughout the century. In 1563, they appointed the well-known writer of books of secrets Leone Tartaglini "l'Herbolario" as "overseer for charlatans" in Venice.<sup>156</sup> In 1575, the raging plague spurred the Sanità to prohibit the activity of those who gathered an audience, including charlatans.<sup>157</sup> The government officials charged with maintaining order in the Piazza, the Procuratori di San Marco de supra, also became involved at certain times. In 1570 the Procurators granted a specific licence allowing "Girolamo known as Zanuol to be able to sing from his bench [and] to sell stories, songs, soap, and *aqua rossa*" through the period of carnival.<sup>158</sup> In 1589, the Procurators stepped in again to decree that mountebanks could only perform in the evenings "after the closing of the church of San Marco at the completion of vespers," but not at all on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, on the important religious holidays, and during Lent.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> "Alcuno che canta in bancho per l'avenir non debbi più montar in bancho per cantar, o altro, dalla Piera del Bando verso le colone in loco alcuno, ma debano star da li verso il relogio." ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 729, c. 21r (4 January 1543). This is precisely where Coryate described them performing over half a century later: "The principall place where they act, is the first part of St Marks street that reacheth betwixt the West front of S. Marks Church, and the opposite front of Saint Geminians Church." *Coryate's crudities*, 1: 410.

<sup>155</sup> De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 47.

<sup>156</sup> The election of Tartaglini to oversee "li zaratani et altri che sopra le piazze vendono diverse sorte di oglie, polvere, letuarii et altri remedii si con ricette come senza, si in bancho como sopra scagni, stuoie et etiam alle case loro," is in ASV, *Sanità*, b. 731, c. 4r (5 July 1563), cited in Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 106. Similarly, the itinerant actors of the *commedia dell'arte* were subjected to greater monitoring on their travels around northern Italy at this time, as in 1599 when the *comico* Tristano Martinelli was appointed as *Superiore* in Mantua, having to register all "comici mercenari, zaratani, cantinbanco, bagattiglieri, postiggiatori, et che mettono banchi per vender ogli, balotte, saponeti, historie et cose simili." Cited in Siro Ferrone, *Attori, mercanti, corsari: la commedia dell'arte in Europa tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turin: Einaudi 1993), 11.

<sup>157</sup> Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 316-17.

<sup>158</sup> "Licenza data à Gerolemo detto Zanuol di poter cantar sopra il suo bancho di vender historie, canzoni, balle, et acqua rossa per tutto il Carneval di ditto anno." ASV, *PSM*, Discipline –Terminationi, b. 4, fasc. 2, c. 48v (14 February 1571). *Balle* probably refers to balls of soap (usually *palle*), as in the poem cited below, n. 338, however it may refer to printed tales.

<sup>159</sup> "Monta in banco non habbino à montar niun giorno della settimana né festivo, né ferial la mattina, ma sibene sia lor permesso il montarlo il doppio disnar doppo serrata la chiesa di San Marco per il vespero

As will be explored further in Chapter Three, the two flourishing cultures, of print and performance, unfolding in the same city spaces at the same time, were linked at many points. A number of the performers Garzoni mentioned, for instance, can be identified as authors or publishers of pamphlets in the printing annals of the few decades prior to his writing.<sup>160</sup> Most probably they sold or even gave away such works in the context of performances in these most public spaces of the city. Coryate reported that the mountebanks he witnessed peddled “oyles, soveraigne waters, amorous songs printed, Apothecary drugs, and a Commonweale of other trifles,” while another restriction on their performances specifically listed their activities including singing, giving out stories, and pulling teeth.<sup>161</sup> The records of the Venetian health magistrates throughout the century confirm that charlatans gave away or sold printed copies of their remedies and “secrets” as a key promotional strategy.<sup>162</sup> The dissemination of cheap print was part of not only the physical but of the aural and visual geography of the city in the Cinquecento.<sup>163</sup> Performance and public advertisement of print brought it into the realm of daily experience for many city dwellers.

### *News, Advertisements, Announcements*

Performers and sellers of cheap print knew what they were doing when they erected their stages and *banchi* in Piazza San Marco or launched into a performance on the Rialto Bridge or around the market. The spaces in which public print-selling and performance occurred in Venice were also the established hotspots for the exchange of information and for communication of all kinds.<sup>164</sup> Cheap print rapidly insinuated itself into the existing

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compito, adoperando un sol banco ordinario. Eccettuando le feste di Natal, Epiffania, Pasqua di Resurretionone, Ascensione, Pentecoste, Corpo di Cristo, et tutte di Nostra Donna, Ogni Santi, et di San Marco, ne quali tempo non debbano montar à modo alcuna à niun hora. Né similmente possino montar tutte le domeniche di Quadragesima.” Ibid., c. 89v (24 August 1589). For further comments on the regulation of performers in Venice, see below, p. 160.

<sup>160</sup> Robert Henke, *Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell’Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 117-20.

<sup>161</sup> “Non sia persona alcuna ... che ardisca montar sopra bancho alcuno per cantar, dar via balote, historie, o ... a cavar denti.” ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 729, c. 26r (law of 2 May 1543).

<sup>162</sup> See below, pp. 136-38.

<sup>163</sup> On the cries of vendors as aural geography, see Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 60.

<sup>164</sup> See De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 89-119, for an exploration of Venice’s “information centres” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also Burke, “Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information”; Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*; Horodowich, “The Gossiping Tongue”; and Christiane Neerfeld,

matrix of oral and written communication that centred on these strategic city spaces. Laws, just beginning to be printed in the early sixteenth century, were routinely posted up at Rialto and San Marco and also read out loud from the two columns designated for this purpose, the *pietre delle bande*, along with court summons and banishments. The printer Paolo Danza, who wrote and printed songs about recent events of the kind that were sold on the Rialto, was also employed in the 1520s and 1530s to print some government laws, several of which survive preserved in Sanudo's diary.<sup>165</sup> It was presumed that a good number of Venetians frequently would pass through these central locations in person, or that the news would rapidly make its way from there to the more outlying quarters of the city.

The Rialto and San Marco in this period were also the sites for public auctions and lotteries, occasions that blended commerce and entertainment and in which, once again, ephemeral print came to play a role from the early Cinquecento. While the *sensali* (brokers or auctioneers) who ran lotteries pulled out tickets and announced the winners to the assembled crowd, lists of rules and prizes were circulated via printed fliers. In 1522, Sanudo described an upcoming lottery being advertised one morning in Rialto, with "trumpets and pipes"; however, printed notices were also used.<sup>166</sup> The diarist wrote of the huge crowds that crammed into the Rialto area when a lottery was drawn: "you can't go through these places, there are so many people it seems like the Sensa fair."<sup>167</sup> Less official forms of communication also centred around the Rialto, the favoured site for defamatory graffiti and the posting of libels, especially on the hunch-backed statue of the Gobbo in the market square of San Giacomo.<sup>168</sup>

Not only were they frequently sold or posted up in the streets, but cheap printed items were produced in close relation to the ebb and flow of daily events. In Florence, the Ripoli logbook shows that charlatans and ballad singers were commissioning pamphlets with a close eye to what was topical or current, for example the *Oration of San Rocco* in time for

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*Historia per forma di diaria: la cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), 147-73.

<sup>165</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 50, cols 140-41, 306-7; vol. 58, cols 107-14.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 33, col. 408 (8 August 1522). On the running of lotteries, see Evelyn Welch, "Lotteries in Early Modern Italy," *Past and Present* 91, no. 1 (2008): 71-111. Lotteries were also held in churches and *scuole*. I would like to thank Evelyn Welch for showing me a copy of this article prior to its publication.

<sup>167</sup> "Non si pol andar per questi lochi, tante person è che par una Sensa." Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 32, col. 500 (27 February 1523).

<sup>168</sup> The Gobbo was erected in 1541 and immediately became the chosen site for libels which had previously been stuck to the *pietra delle bande*; see Antonio Marzo, "Pasquino e il Gobbo di Rialto," in *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell'Europa moderna*, eds Chrysa Damianaki, Paolo Procaccioli, and Angelo Romano (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2006), 123. See also Andrea Moschetti, "Il Gobbo di Rialto e le sue relazioni con Pasquino," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 5, no. 1 (1893): 5-93.

the saint's feast day, or a news-poem about a recent battle.<sup>169</sup> There are many indications that cheap print was used in the same way in Venice. The testimony of Priuli and Sanudo, above, showed how quickly pamphlet writers and sellers were responding to events in the war of the League of Cambrai.<sup>170</sup> The speed of the pamphleteers to spread news of local interest was a recurring literary trope, as shown in the earlier example of the poem about the courtesan La Zaffetta. Pamphlet writers recorded events of local significance such as the fire that ripped through the Rialto market in 1514, or the festivities of Carnival.<sup>171</sup> Pamphlets were produced to tap into popular enthusiasm for occasions such as the Sensa festival and the day of San Martino.<sup>172</sup> As the century progressed, there were huge outpourings of cheap printed pamphlets, maps, and images informing the public about, and commemorating, major events such as the Venetian victory over the Turks at Lepanto or the French King Henry III's visit to Venice.<sup>173</sup>

Thus print flowed into and intermingled with existing currents of oral and written communication, while a growing wave of printed ephemera, for the most part now vanished, became part of the temporary architecture of the city. The pamphlets and broadsheets that survive now, often only in single copies, scattered through libraries and archives, have been unpicked from the fabric of city life in which they were once closely woven.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See my discussion of the Ripoli press below, pp. 96-97.

<sup>170</sup> For some discussion of the production and consumption of these kinds of pamphlets, see below, pp. 123-32.

<sup>171</sup> See, for example, the two-leaf quarto pamphlet by the singer Perosino della Rotonda, *Lo incendio de Realto in Venetia nel anno M.D.XIII. Novamente composto* (n.p.d.), bought by Ferdinand Columbus in Rome in November 1515 for half a *quattrino*; listed in Wagner and Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa*, p. 397, no. 745. See also the four-leaf octavo *Dimostrazione fatta il giovedì di Carnevale in Venetia sopra la Piazza di Santo Marco, con il prologo al serenissimo Principe, e alla illustrissima Signoria* (Venice, 1528), also owned by Columbus; listed in *ibid.*, p. 450, no. 855.

<sup>172</sup> See, for example, the pamphlet, thought to have been produced in Venice in the early decades of the sixteenth century, entitled *El triumpho e festa che fanno le garzone alegrandosi de la Sensa ...*, listed in Emilio Picot, "La raccolta di poemetti italiani della Biblioteca di Chantilly," *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana* 2 (1894): 122. Many pamphlets were produced containing songs for the festival of San Martino, a popular celebration in Venice; for example *Canzone e barcellette de san Martino. Con la vita del Pizinino* (Venice: Agostino Bindoni, [before 1558]), listed in *Edit 16*.

<sup>173</sup> See Fenlon, *Ceremonial City*, especially chap. 9.

<sup>174</sup> For similar comments about printed notices and pamphlets used in shaping concepts of urban space, authority and community in seventeenth-century Rome, see Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City Out of Print* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 26; while various kinds of ephemeral print in the city life of Bologna are considered in Pierangelo Bellettini, Rosaria Campioni, and Zita Zanardi, eds, *Una città in piazza. Comunicazione e vita quotidiana a Bologna tra Cinque e Seicento* (Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2000).

## Conclusion

Roger Chartier has suggested the importance of printed matter being displayed in the streets and read out loud in various group settings to the process of “acculturating” the illiterate or partially literate to the written word in the early years of printing.<sup>175</sup> Reconstructing the presence of these activities in the urban environment encourages us to consider how, at street level, the expansion of printing was impinging on the lives of all Venetians. The ubiquity of ephemeral printed matter and its connections to public performance suggested throughout this chapter confirm the need to move beyond calculations of literacy rates and book buying practices if we are to understand this development. If the same material being sold in printed form was also being performed independently or recited as part of the process of sale, it would suggest that even if a majority of the Venetian population did not possess full functional literacy, or did not wish to part with the few coins necessary to buy a pamphlet, they were experiencing something of a shared culture via public performance.<sup>176</sup>

This chapter has suggested how the mechanisms of producing and disseminating cheap print insinuated themselves right into the economic, political, and ritual heart of Venice by the early years of the sixteenth century. The city’s canals, bridges, public squares, and alleyways described an urban geography of production, circulation, and consumption of printed texts. More ephemeral means of diffusion were far from marginal in Venetian life. While the shops of prolific printers and publishers of cheap material were clustered tightly around the main commercial thoroughfares of the city, the sellers of print that were probably the most visible and most familiar to the majority of city-dwellers were those now most invisible to modern scholars. Stall holders and street sellers who sold a variety of goods including print operated in strategic, central locations, putting themselves in the path of many Venetians going about their everyday business. Additionally, sacred and secular celebrations drew a great proportion of the city’s inhabitants towards the city centre and, as we have seen, ambulant sellers and performers did not fail to take advantage of the crowds on these occasions. The ever-wider dissemination of the printed text cannot be explained

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<sup>175</sup> See Roger Chartier, “Publishing Strategies and What the People Read,” in *idem*, *Cultural Uses of Print*.

<sup>176</sup> On the “similar commercial and social stimuli” to which all city-dwellers were exposed by means of the display of goods down the Merceria or at the Sensa, see Patricia Allerston, “Clothing and Early Modern Venetian Society,” *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000): 381.

without taking into consideration this urban social setting, and Venice in the sixteenth century cannot be rendered fully without reference to its print culture, with its intricate geographies.



## Chapter Two

### *“A Trade Open to Any Mortal Man” : Entering the Print Trade*

When the northern humanist Erasmus published an edition of his *Adages* in Venice in 1508, he used the occasion to lavish praise on his printer, Aldo Manuzio. Aldo’s famous trademark of the “dolphin and anchor,” which was stamped on his books and probably hung above the door of his shop in the parish of San Paternian, “is now [wrote Erasmus] not only famous but beloved wherever Good Letters are known or cherished.” Aldo was accorded the highest praise for his commitment to publishing the classics of Greek and Roman literature, thereby making them easily available to scholars everywhere. “This man seems born to restore [classical learning], and shaped for that destiny by the Fates themselves; all his desires are turned to one thing, all his tireless efforts are spent on it, no labour is too great, if only literature in all its glory may be restored pure and unsullied to honest minds.”<sup>177</sup> When Erasmus updated his work in 1525, however, he felt moved to insert some extra comments into this section. Aldo had died in 1515, Venetian printed books were snapped up everywhere now because of the fame of the Aldine press, and yet “rascally printers” were abusing this reputation by printing shamelessly inaccurate works. “The law sees to it that no one may make shoes or boxes without the approbation of the masters’ guild,” Erasmus complained, and yet the greatest authors

are handed out to the public by people so illiterate that they cannot even read, or so lazy that they don’t trouble to go over what has been printed, or so mean that they would rather let a good book get choked up with six thousand mistakes than spend a few coins on paying someone to supervise the proof-reading. ... Not everyone may have leave to be a baker, but printing is a trade open to any mortal man.<sup>178</sup>

The scholar showed great concern for the bewildering proliferation of print issuing uncontrolled from the presses, and he placed responsibility for remedy at the door of rulers and wealthy men who should regulate the unscrupulous printers and support those, like Aldo, who had true learning at heart.

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<sup>177</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Erasmus on His Times: A Shortened Version of the “Adages” of Erasmus*, ed. Margaret Mann Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 9, from his explication of the adage “Festina lente” (Hasten slowly), which was Aldo’s motto. On Erasmus’s relations with Aldo, and his time staying in the printer’s house in 1508, see P.S. Allen, “Erasmus’ Relations with his Printers,” *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 8 (1913-15): 297-321.

<sup>178</sup> Erasmus, *Erasmus on his times*, 10-11.

For now, however, the Venetian government was content to let printing flourish in their city with few restrictions. Indeed, there were few impediments in the early sixteenth century to anyone who wished to come to Venice and involve himself in printing, publishing, or bookselling in one way or another, and a great many did, lured by the promise of great profit that only a few managed to obtain. At least 690 separate individuals put their names to editions in Venice in the sixteenth century although many managed only one or a handful of works before meeting failure or moving on to other enterprises.<sup>179</sup> Others managed to accrue the necessary financial backing and connections, and to read the market well enough, to stay in business for a number of years, bequeathing capital and equipment to subsequent generations. The careful pursuit of business and personal connections drew members of the trade into an ever more recognisable body, with a growing sense of trade identity and a clearer definition of professional roles, and into the seventeenth century production became concentrated ever more in the hands of a few big families.<sup>180</sup>

The majority of the new arrivals at the beginning of the Cinquecento did not achieve the reputation or success of Aldo, who, himself a former schoolteacher from near Rome, came to Venice and entered into printing only in his forties. In accordance with the criticism of Erasmus and others, the greater part of men in the print trade often have been considered beneath consideration as subjects for close study. In this chapter, however, my focus is a cohort of printers active in Venice in the first few decades of the sixteenth century who were responsible for much of the cheap print with which this study is concerned. I consider how they arrived in Venice mostly as new migrants from mainland Italy, and set about establishing themselves in the city and in the burgeoning print business, forging social and commercial ties with others in the trade. I discuss the example of the Bindoni family of printers as illustrative of many of these general tendencies over the course of the century. But the story of the Venetian printing industry is not just one of migrants settling into a recognisable community in their new city; printing had begun as an itinerant trade and the movement of people in and out of the trade and across the Italian peninsula and beyond remained prevalent. Thus finally I consider Nicolò Zoppino, a publisher, printer, and bookseller who remained markedly mobile, and who may be seen as a mediating figure

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<sup>179</sup> Tiziana Pesenti, "Stampatori e letterati nell'industria editoriale a Venezia e in terraferma," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4, pt 1, eds Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1983), 94, counted 533 printers and 157 publishers.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

between the settled printing world of Venice and more mobile figures on the fringes of the print trade who are the subject of the next chapter.<sup>181</sup>

### *Culture and Commerce*

I began this chapter with the passage from Erasmus because it illustrates a dichotomous view of printers that has been remarkably tenacious. Working on the fault lines between culture and commerce, trade, and scholarship, printers (and publishers and booksellers) were always in danger of criticism, especially from men of letters. The instrument they employed was the first tool of mass-production, and yet the thing that they mass-produced—writing—traditionally had associations of preciousness, power, and mystery.<sup>182</sup> Writers in sixteenth-century Venice inherited Erasmus' ambivalence towards men in the print trade. While a new generation of writers were some of the first to attain a measure of independence from working for the presses, they were troubled by the commercialisation of literature that printing accelerated.<sup>183</sup> As a character in the dialogue on printing by the *poligrafo* and sometime printer Anton Francesco Doni opined on the subject of printers: "Put the riff-raff on one side, and put virtuous, well-to-do people who succeed in whatever they embark upon on the other," citing Manuzio, once again, as the supreme example of the latter type. It was a point of contention between Doni's characters whether one could make a profit only from "printing trash" and "lay[ing] honesty aside for lucre" or "turning to finer things, grow wealthier still."<sup>184</sup> As for bookselling, a character in Nicolò Franco's satirical dialogue suggested that "to make a tidy profit every year" one needed to

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<sup>181</sup> Business records are notoriously scarce for sixteenth-century printing, especially for the small-time operators that concern me. However, I have been able to make use of a range of wills, notarial records, and tax declarations (*condizioni*) from the Venetian archives, in addition to some illuminating trials regarding religious matters, many of these previously unpublished. On the lack of biographies or memoirs of printers, see Anna Giulia Cavagna, "Missing Lives: The Absence of Printers' Life Writings in Early Modern Italy and their Evolution in the Nineteenth Century," in *Lives in Print: Biography and the Book Trade from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, eds Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (London: British Library, 2002), 151-70.

<sup>182</sup> See Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69-88.

<sup>183</sup> On the professional writers who worked for the Venetian presses in this period, see Di Filippo Bareggi, *Mestiere di scrivere*. For some criticisms by Cinquecento editors of printers, see Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 11-12.

<sup>184</sup> Anton Francesco Doni, *A Discussion about Printing which Took Place at I Marmi in Florence*, trans. David Brancaleone (Turin: Tallone, 2003), 40-46. For a similar "unwritten" division between honourable and dishonourable publishers in the Dutch Republic, see Jeroen Salman, "Peddling in the Past. Dutch Itinerant Bookselling in a European Perspective," *Publishing History* 53 (2003):14.

stock all sorts of books, the good and the bad indiscriminately, for “the tastes of men are diverse.”<sup>185</sup> In his *Piazza universale*, Tomaso Garzoni was largely laudatory, describing the arts of the *libraio* and the *stampatore* as among the most noble, bringing benefit to scholars and to society by making literature accessible. However Garzoni noted that booksellers could be unscrupulous salesmen, prone to overcharge and to “sell to peasants and rustics with their sales prattle some foolish thing they have in their shop, and above all sometimes they talk up a piece of nonsense composed by a shoemaker more than some good and useful work written by a gentleman.” Printers, meanwhile, could be very careless with corrections, and frequently devoted their attention to useless trifles while neglecting worthy works.<sup>186</sup>

Some printers and publishers worked hard to counter this perception of their trade. They cultivated the favour of *litterati* and promoted their literary ideals in prefaces and dedications, while also managing to become rich men from their work.<sup>187</sup> Some of these men won praise in their time and were described as worthy successors to the likes of Manuzio. Scholars have tended to inherit the partialities of earlier writers and bestow their attentions above all on the upper echelons of the print trade, leaving aside the “crowd of transient and financially embarrassed phantoms down below”,<sup>188</sup> whose lives admittedly are less documented. Those who specialised in cheaper works did not usually bother to promote their efforts as a public service, beyond informing customers on the title page that their products were *nuovo, dilettevole, molto utile* or *diligentemente corretta*. The clientele for such works, be they patrician or *popolano*, evidently did not prioritise high levels of material or literary quality, and indeed the claims about novelty and correctness were often

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<sup>185</sup> “Per guadagnare un bel thesoro ogni anno. Prima v’è di mistier che tengniate di tutti libri. Non guardare, che il tale e buono, et il tale e tristo, quegli si spacciano, e questi non ... Si che per la miglior parte si e, l’havere d’ogni insalata. Gli appetiti de gli huomini sono diversi.” Franco, *Dialogo del venditore di libri*, 34. See also Pietro Aretino’s comment, in a letter to his printer Marcolini, in Aretino’s *Lettere*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Salerno, 1999), 1:513 (22 June 1537): “Impari a esser mercatante chi vole i vantaggi de l’utile, e facendo l’esercizio di libraio, sbattezzisi del nome di poeta.”

<sup>186</sup> Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, vol. 2. On booksellers: “vendono a’ contadini, et a’ villani con ciancie quanto di sciocco hanno in bottega, et sopra tutto magnificano talhora più una castroneria composta da un ciavattino, che qualche opera bella, et utile composta da un galanthuomo” (p. 1021). On printers: “nelle cose inutile mettono sovente studio grandissimo, et nelle giovevoli sono scioperati, et negligent affatto” (p. 1024). Notably, Garzoni had particular praise for bookselling because it was not a mechanical art: “non è sporca niente in se stessa, ma netta, et polita quanto dir si possa” (p. 1020).

<sup>187</sup> See Quondam, “‘Mercanzia d’onore,’ ‘mercanzia d’utile’”; and Anna Giulia Cavagna, “L’immagine dei tipografi nella prima età moderna,” in *L’Europa del libro dell’età dell’umanesimo. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale (Chianciano, Firenze, Pienza 16-19 luglio 2002)*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Cesati, 2004), 11-42. See also Martin Lowry, “The Manutius Publicity Campaign,” in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 31-46, on Manuzio’s canny self-presentation.

<sup>188</sup> This is the description of Victor Scholderer, “Printing at Venice to the End of 1481,” in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1966), 86.

stretching the truth. Nor did the writers who worked for them, providing new material or editing and proof-reading, often pen encomiums for these printers, beyond the occasional pragmatic attempt at flattery (which may have been added by the printers themselves).

The majority of men in the print trade were motivated by making a profit, trying one way or another stay afloat in a notoriously competitive industry. In this way, they were not strikingly different from their neighbours among the artisans and small businessmen of Venice. This view is indicated by a work in the traditional performer's metre of *ottava rima* published in a small pamphlet by the printer Paolo Danza around the same time that Erasmus updated his adage. The *Opera nuova de le malitie che usa ciascheduna arte* (*A New Work About the Deceits Used By Every Trade*) had appeared in the repertoire of ballad singers and been printed before.<sup>189</sup> In it, the anonymous author, "motivated by charity and great love," warned his listeners about a long list of urban professions who found devious ways to dupe unwary customers out of their money.<sup>190</sup> Printers and booksellers were described along with the others. "I am not speaking about all of them, worthy listener," he wrote, "but of those who employ great deceit," such as selling books with missing or incorrect pages. "And never trust their words," he urged, "because their habit is to talk up their wares."<sup>191</sup> Books and pamphlets, increasingly, were just another good for sale in the crowded Venetian marketplace, and the men who produced and sold them, while not all corrupt, ultimately could be seen as little different from bankers, shoemakers, or blacksmiths out to make a profit. While this means that they do not fit the criteria deserving celebration and commemoration according to writers like Erasmus, examination of their lives can illuminate numerous facets of the print trade and of Venetian society in the Cinquecento.

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<sup>189</sup> *Opera nuova de le malitie che usa ciascheduna arte ...* (Venice: Paolo Danza, [ca. 1525]). BL, 11426.e. The suggestion of date comes from the *STC*. An undated four-leaf quarto *Le malitie di tucte larti* was bought by Ferdinand Columbus in Viterbo in 1515 for one *quattrino*. Wagner and Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa*, 268-69, no. 483. Another edition of the work is included in a miscellany thought to have been owned by a Roman ballad singer and dated to the early Cinquecento. Antonio M. Adorasio, "Cultura in lingua volgare a Roma fra Quattro e Cinquecento," in *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*, eds Giorgio de Gregori and Maria Valenti (Rome: Associazione italiana biblioteche, 1976), 32.

<sup>190</sup> "Mosso da charitade e grande amore / trattar in general de tutti quanti / ... le malitie de tutte quante le arte." *Opera nuova de le malitie*, c. 1r.

<sup>191</sup> "Convien che segua d'alcun stampadore, / o ver de quelli che libri venderanno. / Non dico de tutti, degno auditore, / ma de quelli che usan cotal inganno. / E se tu non apri li occhi, comperatore, / in qualche modo te la caleranno. / Ma se odientia alquanto me darai / dirote la rason se tu non la fai. / Qualuncha vora libri comparare, / convien che habbia mente t'imprometto, / di dover in carta in carta guardare, / acciò non sia caduco né scoretto, / o qualche carta non havesse a mancare, / o fusse straciato o qualche difetto. / E in le parole mai non te fidare, / ch'usanza è la sua roba avantare." *Ibid.*, c. 2r. *Cartolai* were accused of selling badly bound and poorly illustrated works (*ibid.*).

*New Arrivals*

The first generation of printers in Venice predominantly had been northern Europeans, bringing the skills and techniques of the new craft to Italy. In a city renowned for its large populations of foreigners, they settled with relative ease, and tapped into networks both of fellow immigrants and of others so as to access the commercial, technical, and artistic contacts that they needed.<sup>192</sup> There were occasional protests about this new influx, for example those of Fra Filippo de Strata who in the 1480s complained about the need for the Venetians to regulate the foreign printers who were flooding into the city, “utterly uncouth types of people,” drunken and greedy for profit, but they produced little effect.<sup>193</sup>

By the early Cinquecento, most of the printers in Venice were first or second generation migrants from the mainland. In this tumultuous period in northern Italy, Venice seemed a place of great opportunity (especially for those in the print trade) and of relative serenity, excepting the few years of turmoil that marked the war of the League of Cambrai (1509-17). The brothers Nicolini and probably Paolo Danza were among the many who came from the paper-producing region of the Riviera di Salò on Lake Garda (part of Venetian territory prior to 1509) while Guglielmo Fontaneto was among several printers to hail from the marquisate of Monferrato, near Milan.<sup>194</sup> Giorgio Rusconi and the Bindoni family also came from the vicinity of Milan in the early Cinquecento.<sup>195</sup> Giovanni Andrea Valvassore came from Telgate near Bergamo, also part of Venetian territory, and was

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<sup>192</sup> Marino Zorzi, “Stampatori tedeschi a Venezia”; Martin Lowry, “Venetian Capital, German Technology and Renaissance Culture in the Later Fifteenth Century,” *Renaissance Studies* 2, no. 1 (1988): 1-13. For a general survey of immigrant communities in Venice, see Donatella Calabi, “Gli stranieri e la città,” in Tenenti and Tucci, *Storia di Venezia*, 5:913-46.

<sup>193</sup> See Fra Filippo de Strata, *Polemic Against Printing*, ed. Martin Lowry, trans. Shelagh Grier (Birmingham: Hayloft, 1986), [unpaginated]. For this and other contributions to the debate about the new technology, see Brian Richardson, “The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy,” *La bibliofilia* 100 (1998): 135-55.

<sup>194</sup> Giovan Antonio, the eldest Nicolini, had his own shop by 1526 but before this was working in the shop of Andrea Torresani. See Ennio Sandal, ed., *Il mestier de le stamperie e de i libri. Le vicende e i percorsi dei tipografi di Sabbio Chiese tra Cinque e Seicento e l'opera dei Nicolini* (Brescia: Grafo, 2002), 14-15. Danza, who was printing by 1511, is thought to have come from a paper-making family from Toscolano. See *idem*, “‘Folli da papir’ e ‘merchantia de libri.’ Il caso della Riviera di Salò,” in *Il libro nell'Italia del rinascimento*, eds Angela Nuovo and Ennio Sandal (Brescia: Grafo, 1998), 176. Guglielmo Fontaneto was printing in Venice by 1514. Other printers from Monferrato include Gabriele Giolito, Giovan Maria di Monferrato, and Comin da Trino.

<sup>195</sup> On Rusconi, whose first work in Venice is dated 1500, see Lucia Gasperoni, “Giorgio Rusconi stampatore ed editore (Venezia, 1500-1522),” *Bibliotheca* 4, no. 2 (2005): 39-74. On the Bindoni, see below.

working as an engraver by 1518, later establishing himself as a printer and publisher.<sup>196</sup>

Melchiorre Sessa, who became one of the most powerful publishers of this generation, was the son of Giovanni Battista, who had migrated to Venice from Lugano at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>197</sup>

While many migrants to Venice in the early modern period settled in the peripheral zones of the city, most printers quickly established shops and homes in the central areas.<sup>198</sup> Obviously, it was considered important to be within the central commercial area in order to maximise custom. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the most prolific printers of cheap material in Venice in the first half of the Cinquecento came to be clustered tightly in a few parishes in the *sestiere* of San Marco, particularly around San Moisè. The new arrivals accessed networks of fellow immigrants and were often followed by other members of their families. Regional connections not only provided points of first reference for the new arrival in the city, but also valuable links back to the home territory, for example for immigrant bookmen from the Riviera del Salò back to the many paper dealers operating in that area.<sup>199</sup> Shared provenance was a crucial binding factor for many printers, publishers, booksellers, and *cartolai* at this time, as it was for those in other trades, which led to some clustering of immigrant groups in certain localities.<sup>200</sup>

Although most were too humble to consider applying for Venetian citizenship, these men used other well-tested strategies to embed themselves in their adopted environment.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Anne Markham Schulz, "Giovanni Andrea Valvassore and his Family in Four Unpublished Testaments," in *Artes atque humaniora. Studia Stanislaw Mossakowski sexagenario dicata* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1998), 118.

<sup>197</sup> See Nereo Vianello, "Per gli 'annali' dei Sessa tipografi ed editori in Venezia nei secoli XV-XVII," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 38, nos 4-5 (1970): 262-85.

<sup>198</sup> The northern *sestiere* of Cannaregio especially had high numbers of new migrants and the eastern *sestiere* of Castello retained a high proportion of settled migrants. See Philippe Braunstein, "Cannaregio, zona di transito?" and Jean-François Chauvard, "Scale di osservazione e inserimento degli stranieri nello spazio veneziano tra XVII e XVIII secolo," both in *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri. XIV-XVIII secolo*, eds Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro (Rome: Laterza, 1998), 52-62 and 85-107.

<sup>199</sup> Sandal, "'Folli da papir' e 'merchantia de libri'."

<sup>200</sup> For example, there was a concentration of immigrants from Bergamo and Brescia in the parish of San Salvador, discussed in Annalisa Bruni, "Mobilità sociale e mobilità geografica nella Venezia del fine '500: la parrocchia di San Salvador," *Annali veneti* 2, no. 2 (1985): 75-83. There is no adequate census data from early sixteenth-century Venice that would confirm whether printers specifically moved into areas settled by their compatriots.

<sup>201</sup> Among the few exceptions were the printer Vincenzo Valgrisi, although his privilege of citizenship was never confirmed by the Senate, and Gabriele Giolito. On Valgrisi, see Anna Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001), 44; on Giolito, see Bonghi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, 1:lix. On the costly and time-consuming process of application for citizenship, only possible for elite migrants who desired the tax-exemptions and status this brought, see Luca Molà and Reinhold C. Mueller, "Essere straniero a Venezia nel tardo Medioevo: accoglienza e rifiuto nei privilegi di cittadinanza e nelle sentenze criminali," in *Le migrazioni in Europa, secc. XIII-XVIII*,

Once arrived, they set about constructing a very tangled web of personal and business connections that facilitated their establishment in the city and in the business of printing and print-selling. Dennis Romano noted low rates of endogamy within professions in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Venice; however, intermarriage was marked in the print trade from its earliest days.<sup>202</sup> This form of social cement perhaps was particularly important in a new trade that was not gathered together into a guild until later in the Cinquecento. As one example, Giorgio Rusconi's daughter, Daria, was married to the printer Alessandro Paganino, while she in turn wed one of her own daughters to a paper dealer (*cartaio*) in the Riviera del Salò and another to the *libraio* Giovanni Varisco in Venice.<sup>203</sup> Alessandro's sister Anna was married to a printer Comin, possibly Comin da Trino.<sup>204</sup> Women could be important transmitters of knowledge, capital, and equipment in the book trade.<sup>205</sup>

Personal and business connections were intertwined in other ways. Woodcuts by Giovan Andrea Valvassore appear in Paolo Danza's pamphlets; in his 1523 will Valvassore requested that Danza organise his burial.<sup>206</sup> Guglielmo Fontaneto named Melchiorre Sessa, for whom Fontaneto had worked as a printer, as *commissario* of his will in 1542, and in 1545 Sessa acted as pledge (*piezo*) for Guglielmo when the printer got into trouble with the blasphemy magistrates.<sup>207</sup> Lay confraternities, aside from their pious functions, could offer useful artistic, financial, and technological contacts for men in the print trade.<sup>208</sup> For instance, the printers Nicolò Nicolini and Paolo Danza probably rubbed shoulders at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in the 1530s and 1540s with powerful publishers such as

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ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1994), 839-51; and Reinhold C. Mueller, "'Veneti facti privilegio': stranieri naturalizzati a Venezia tra XIV e XVI secolo," in Calabi and Lanaro, *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri*, 105-20.

<sup>202</sup> Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 77-78. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice," 84, notes the case of Paola, a "matrimonial phoenix" and the widow of Venice's first printer, John of Speyer, who remarried the publisher John of Cologne and later took for her third husband another master printer, as well as marrying her daughter Hieronima to a bookseller.

<sup>203</sup> ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. de Canali, b. 209, fasc. 155 (testament of Daria Rusconi, dated 14 July 1556).

<sup>204</sup> ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. Marcon, b. 1203, fasc. 22 (testament of Anna "consorte di Comin stampador," dated 1551).

<sup>205</sup> Deborah Parker, "Women in the Book Trade in Italy, 1475-1620," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1996): 509-41; Plebani, *Il "genere" dei libri*, 78-80.

<sup>206</sup> The will is published in Schulz, "Giovanni Andrea Valvassore," 120-21.

<sup>207</sup> Fontaneto's will, dated 1542, is in ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. Marcon, b. 1203, fasc. 92. The blasphemy case is recorded in ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, c. 48r, and discussed below, pp. 160-62. As early as 1532, Fontaneto had printed the *Bibbia in lingua materna* for Sessa; listed in Silvia Curi Nicolardi, *Una società tipografico-editoriale a Venezia nel secolo XVI. Melchiorre Sessa e Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525)* (Florence: Olschki, 1984), 12.

<sup>208</sup> This has been highlighted by Dondi, "Printers and Guilds"; and Lowry, "Social World."



Giovan Maria and Tomaso Giunta and Hieronimo Scotto.<sup>209</sup> Giorgio Rusconi and his son Giovan Francesco both belonged to the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, where their *confratelli* included a number of members of the print trade, among them Paganino de' Paganini, whose son Alessandro married Daria, Giorgio's daughter, and Luc' Antonio Giunta, who employed Giorgio as a printer.<sup>210</sup>

These various kinds of social interactions suggest a degree of solidarity within an industry whose members spanned the economic spectrum. As Grendler writes, minor printers and booksellers with shops "shared the status of small shopkeepers and artisans" in the context of Venetian society, the more successful publishers and booksellers "fitted snugly into the middle-class world of merchants and professionals."<sup>211</sup> Although it is difficult to gauge the precise economic standing of the men considered in this study, archival evidence suggests that indeed they were on a par with many of their *popolani* neighbours in Venice. For instance, the dowries brought at their marriages to Paolo Danza (of one hundred ducats) and to Guglielmo Fontaneto (of two hundred) put them in the company of most artisans in Venice.<sup>212</sup> In contrast, the publisher Tomaso Giunta's Florentine wife brought with her upon their marriage in 1528 a dowry of 1400 florins, which put Giunta on a par with many patricians.<sup>213</sup>

Despite the diversity of wealth and stature in the print trade from the beginning, relationships akin to patronage and the provision of mutual support bound together men of different social levels. Those at the top of the Venetian printing tree were usually publisher-booksellers who contracted other printers to execute much of their work, and who also

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<sup>209</sup> See ASV, Scuola di San Marco, b. 40, *Libro di Morti*, listing deceased members and new recruits. The *libraio* Sebastiano Danza, possibly a brother of Paolo's, was also admitted to the *scuola* in 1536.

<sup>210</sup> For the membership of these men in the scuola, see Dondi, "Printers and Guilds," 260-61, 264. Dondi points out the remarkable number of business collaborations that took place between printers and booksellers who were also contemporary members of this scuola.

<sup>211</sup> Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 16.

<sup>212</sup> Anna Bellavitis, "'Per cittadini metterete ...' La stratificazione della società veneziana cinquecentesca tra norma giuridica e riconoscimento sociale," *Quaderni storici* 30, no. 2 (1995): 360, writes that many artisan dowries were less than one hundred ducats and most did not surpass two hundred. For the dowry of Angela, Danza's wife, see her testament of 1530 in ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. G. Canali, b. 189, fasc. 34; for that of Eufrosina, wife of Fontaneto, see his will, cited above n. 207.

<sup>213</sup> Paolo Camerini, "Il testamento di Tomaso Giunta," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Padova* 43 (1926-27): 202. The florin was of a similar value to the ducat in the sixteenth century; see Carlo M. Cipolla, *Money in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 13.

engaged themselves in other forms of commerce.<sup>214</sup> On a social level, these men acted as patron-like figures to less established members of the trade. The publisher Melchiore Sessa farmed out projects to an extensive list of different printers as well as acting as a testamentary executor for Guglielmo Fontaneto (as noted above), for the poor, old printer Bertochio of Cremona, and for the *libraio* Domenico Soresini, who had a shop in Sessa's home parish of San Giuliano.<sup>215</sup> In his own will, Sessa extended his chosen role as patron to less successful bookmen, bequeathing twenty ducats to needy printers.<sup>216</sup> Tomaso Giunta was also elected as a testamentary executor and *piezo* for other printers, and as arbitrator in disputes for other bookmen.<sup>217</sup> Sessa and Giunta were both described as unofficial *capi* of the guild in 1559, acting as representatives of the other printers and print-sellers in a dispute with the authorities over the enforcement of censorship laws.<sup>218</sup>

That vertical ties between some of the most successful and most humble members of the trade could serve to strengthen solidarity and fortify connections of reciprocal support is suggested by the aforementioned will of Bernardo, known as Bertochio, of Cremona. This may have been the same Bertochio who printed several popular works in Rome in the later 1520s, or merely a press-worker.<sup>219</sup> Certainly as he drew up his will in Venice in 1542, "blind and sick in bed ... wishing to order the few things that in my poverty I find myself to have," Bertochio betrayed a fairly lowly status.<sup>220</sup> Bertochio ordered a few little bequests including a ducat each to a Lucia *fornera* and to the wife of the printer Polidoro, a leather vest to Polidoro himself, and another ducat to be shared between the forty *poveri* that he wished to accompany his body to burial in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>221</sup> Evidently he had other ties to the families of his employers, as he left two small gilded

<sup>214</sup> For example, see Alberto Tenenti, "Luc' Antonio Giunti il giovane, stampatore e mercante," in *Studi in onore di Armando Saponi* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1957), 2:1021-60.

<sup>215</sup> Bertochio's will, dated 1542, is in ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. de Canali, b. 209, fasc. 70. Sessa was to execute only one particular bequest for Bertochio, whose principal executors were a "Zanetto stampador, Polidoro stampador e maestro Francesco Bindo[ni] libraro." Soresini's testament can be found in *ibid.*, fasc. 147 (1553).

<sup>216</sup> For Sessa's will, see ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. Marsilio, b. 1210, fasc. 689 (1 March 1563).

<sup>217</sup> See the testament of "Zuan Augustin dal Borgo fiol di maestro Jacomo libraro in Venetia al'insegna de l'anchora," in ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. A. de Canali, b. 209, fasc. 269 (19 December 1536); Giunta acting as pledge for printer Giovanni Padovano in the same blasphemy case cited above in n. 207 above; and the contract between the publisher Nicolò Zoppino and the son of his late partner, Vincenzo di Polo, arbitrated by Giunta and Sessa, cited below, n. 291.

<sup>218</sup> See below, pp. 171-72.

<sup>219</sup> See *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>220</sup> "Ciecho et amalado in letto ... volendo ordenar quel pocho di povertà mi atrovo." Bertochio's will is cited above, n. 215.

<sup>221</sup> Bertochio also made a few other small pious bequests, including "uno dopier da mezo ducato per la ellemosin del corpus dei" to the Madonna of the church of San Fantin.

paintings (*quadretti dorati*), one each to Daria, the daughter of his master, the printer Zanetto, and to the daughter of Polidoro. Despite being old, sick, and quite poor, the printing world evidently offered Bertocho some degree of protection, for he still lived in the house of his master Zanetto.<sup>222</sup> Later on, the guild would take on some of the responsibilities of helping the humbler members of the trade, for example providing dowries to the daughters of poor guildsmen.<sup>223</sup>

A shifting pool of press-workers, also many of them migrants to Venice, moved frequently from shop to shop on short-term contracts in obeisance to the ebb and flow of production. As such they underpinned the inter-connectedness of the printing world and promoted the flow of information between shops as well as constituting continual infusions of foreign blood that kept the industry running.<sup>224</sup> However, the workers' lack of power and job security could also breed resentment.<sup>225</sup> This is illustrated well by the 1534 blasphemy trial of the press operator Iseppo of Carpenedolo (a town near Brescia), who claimed he had worked "in all the printing shops in this city" ("ho lavorato in tute le stamperie di questa tera") and painted a vivid picture of the strong interconnections between members of the industry.<sup>226</sup> Indeed, from Iseppo's testimony, one can see that he had worked for many of the chief printers of cheaper material working in Venice at the time, although often for very short periods. His moves may have been accelerated by a tendency to make enemies and leave a bad impression; however, he did claim that he left the printshop of Giovan Antonio Nicolini because he was not being paid his wages.<sup>227</sup> The anonymous denunciation claimed rather that Iseppo had been sent away for fear his unorthodox ideas would "schandalizar le persone" (c. 455r). The printer Bernardino Bindoni testified that he had heard a frustrated Iseppo "renounce Christ and all his family" when some letters that he was working on fell in

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<sup>222</sup> Bertocho described Zanetto, one of his executors, as "el mio patron de casa."

<sup>223</sup> See, for example, the twenty-five ducats granted to Richa, the daughter of the late printer Francesco Franceschini "al suo maritar," recorded in ASV, *ALS*, b. 163, c. 104v (17 March 1593).

<sup>224</sup> See Mattozzi, "Mondo del libro," for an overview of the work relations and conditions in the industry from the mid-sixteenth century on. Spanish presses similarly were manned by a shifting pool of press workers, many of them foreigners; see Clive Griffin, *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 87.

<sup>225</sup> On the social divisions between masters and workers in most trades in early Renaissance Venice, see Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 71-76. Natalie Zemon Davis found similar dynamics within the printing trade in Lyons; see her "A Trade Union in Sixteenth-Century France," *Economic History Review*, 19, no. 1 (1966): 48-69; and *eadem*, "Strikes and Salvation at Lyon," first published 1965, reprinted in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987), 1-16.

<sup>226</sup> ASP, Archivio segreto, Criminali inquisizioni, b. 1, c. 462r. This case is discussed briefly by Sandal, *Mestier de le stamperie*, 33-35, in relation to the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio.

<sup>227</sup> "Mi ho sparrito scorociato [scoraggiato?] perche non me pagavano le mie fadege." ASP, Archivio segreto, Criminali inquisizioni, b. 1, c. 462r.

Bindoni's shop in the Frezzaria, about a year and a half earlier.<sup>228</sup> Yet in response to charges of blasphemy and secretly printing works of necromancy on his day off, Iseppo claimed that a host of printers and print-shop workers had conspired together to frame him as a result of his enmity with another printer named Cristoforo of Arezzo, whom Iseppo had charged with assault. Aside from Bindoni, Iseppo's list of his "inimici capital" included the names of the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, Guglielmo Fontaneto, and Comin da Trino, along with many others identified as press workers.<sup>229</sup> Jacopo, a builder and *compare* (god-father) of Iseppo, testified that several of these printers had encouraged him to denounce Iseppo, as this would "be pleasing to everyone" ("fareti piacer a tuti").<sup>230</sup> There may have been some truth behind Iseppo's conspiracy theories, as eventually he was absolved of his crime and released from prison.<sup>231</sup> Certainly, his case indicates the close-knit little world that comprised the shops of middle-rank printers in Venice in this period, in which both friendships and enmities could develop among the workers as among the masters.

Ties of marriage, friendship, and business such as those discussed helped the new arrivals to set up a solid base in Venice. However, like other immigrant artisans and merchants in early modern Italy, they also forged connections on other fronts in their quest to make their way in a new city, with those occupying the same spaces of work and domestic life as well as with those of shared provenance or *mestiere*.<sup>232</sup> This is illustrated by a 1548 trial that implicated the printer Giovan Andrea Valvassore in a circle of suspected heretics living around his home parish of San Moisè. Valvassore was not one of those accused directly, but he seems to have been friends with some who were. Simon, a pearl worker from the territory of Bergamo, accused of having participated in heterodox discussions, testified that he had talked about the gospels in his shop with Valvassore.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> "Uno zorno stando io in Frizaria [the Frezzaria] za fa anno uno et mezo in circa, et laborava nella mia botega, el dicto Isepo ... disse renego Christo con tuto il suo parentado ..." Ibid., c. 461v.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., c. 456r.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., c. 481r.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., c. 484r.

<sup>232</sup> See for example Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 57-60, 84; and Joseph Wheeler, "Neighbourhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice," in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 39. On immigrants to early modern Rome, see Eleonora Canepari, "Mestiere e spazio urbano nella costruzione dei legami sociali degli immigrati a Roma in età moderna," in *Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea*, eds Angiolina Arru and Franco Ramella (Rome: Donzelli, 2003), 33-76.

<sup>233</sup> ASV, SU, b. 7, fasc. 5, c. 23v. Other figures with whom Valvassore associated included Antonio, a *mascherer* (mask maker) and second-hand clothes dealer and neighbour of Valvassore's in San Moisè (cc. 16r-v.). This was probably the same Antonio who was married to Valvassore's niece Samaritana (whose will, dated 1560 is published in Schulz, "Giovanni Andrea Valvassore," 122-23). As *commissario*, Valvassore had an inventory drawn up of the household and shop of "Dominus Antoniis Rossati quondam dominus Bernadini

The figure of Valvassore also reminds us of the hybrid nature of the careers of many who were involved in the early print trade. As well as printing and publishing, Valvassore was an engraver of woodcuts enrolled in the painters' guild.<sup>234</sup> Venetian printers, like printers elsewhere, came from a diverse array of professional backgrounds and some continued to move fluidly between different kinds of work for some time.<sup>235</sup> Comin da Trino, one of the most prolific printers in Venice from the 1530s to 1570s, appears to have worked also as a *comandador*, or government herald, in his younger days.<sup>236</sup> As few men in the industry in the early sixteenth century had long family histories in the trade, there was as yet no set path to becoming a printer or bookseller and, as mentioned earlier, the identities and roles of printer, publisher, and seller were blurred and flexible.<sup>237</sup>

### *The Production of Cheap Print*

Pettinelli has argued that in Rome widely-sold but cheap to print small works like devotional booklets and poetic *cantari* provided the “fundamental support” allowing more expensive editions to be produced.<sup>238</sup> It seems likely that cheap print played a similar role for some printers in Venice, although surviving documents and sixteenth-century editions rarely allow us to answer this question precisely. What is evident is that most experimented with a diverse array of titles and of business arrangements in their efforts to stay afloat and to prosper. Large undertakings—books of a certain size and length that involved significant

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strazaroli sita in confinio Santi Moysis in Frizaria,” which contains a great number of masks. ASV, CI, Miscellanea notai diversi inventori, b. 39, fasc. 44 (1556).

<sup>234</sup> See G. Nicoletti, “Per la storia dell’arte veneziana. Lista dei nomi di artisti tolta dai libri di tanse o luminarie della fraglia dei pittori,” *Ateneo veneto* 1 (1890): 505.

<sup>235</sup> There are many examples of early printers who combined their craft with other jobs, or moved on to it from distinctly different fields. The printer Cosmo Bianchino da Verona, active in Perugia in the early Cinquecento, had a side-job taking care of two lions given to the Commune of that city, from which he took his nickname, “del Leone.” The itinerant printer Luca Bini, also active for a time at Perugia, simultaneously fulfilled the role of official printer and beadle of the university in Macerata in the 1550s; see *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>236</sup> This fact has not been noted in writings on Comin, but is suggested by the testimony of the printshop worker Iseppo of Carpenedolo who refers to “uno Comin da Trin comandador et stampador” as one of those conspiring against him in the 1534 trial (cited above, n. 226; c. 462r). Another witness in the trial also mentions “comin da trin comandaor” (c. 481r). *DTEI*, s.v., dates Comin’s first surviving publication to 1539, thus the trial may indicate that he was not yet a master printer at this point. On the role of the *comandador*, see De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 128-29.

<sup>237</sup> See above, n. 58. For a long-range perspective on the common practice of engaging various forms of work, see R.E. Pahl, “Editor’s Introduction: Historical Aspects of Work, Employment, Unemployment and the Sexual Division of Labour,” in *On Work: Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Approaches*, ed. R.E. Pahl (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 18.

<sup>238</sup> Pettinelli, “Elementi culturali,” 102. See also the other works cited in n. 5 above.

upfront investment and therefore greater risk—were often financed by wealthier publishers, or produced in a partnership that could be short- or long-term. Small works obviously were cheaper and quicker to print, and could provide an entry point for printers with little operating capital. However, printers also produced cheap works on commission. Editions both large and small also were published on commission of institutions (such as government councils or the church) and of smaller groups (such as confraternities). Paolo Danza, for example, concentrated chiefly on small pamphlets in the vernacular that, according to some, may reflect his own background as a ballad singer.<sup>239</sup> However, Danza was also one of the first printers that we know of to publish edicts of the Venetian councils on commission.<sup>240</sup> Meanwhile, the brothers Domenico and Nicolò dal Jesus, studied by Lisa Pon, were among those who produced reams of cheap printed images of saints (*santini*) on commission of Venetian confraternities.<sup>241</sup> As will be explored further in the next chapter, a number of Venetian printers including several discussed in this chapter printed cheap pamphlets repeatedly on commission of itinerant performers, publishers, and street sellers.

Snapshots of the surviving works produced by printers in a single year of activity give further indication of the diversity of titles and forms of financing that they might pursue. For instance, in 1532, the year in which Guglielmo Fontaneto printed a sixteen-leaf octavo pamphlet, *Opera nova del superbo Rodamonte re di Sarza* (*A New Work About Rodamonte, the Mighty King of Sarza*), on commission of the ballad singer Ippolito Ferrarese, Fontaneto also produced at least eight other works.<sup>242</sup> These ranged in size from smaller works such as the bestselling school book the *Donato* (printed by Fontaneto as a quarto of thirty-two leaves) to a folio-sized vernacular bible of nearly four hundred leaves that Fontaneto produced in partnership with Melchiore Sessa and the heirs of Pietro Ravani.<sup>243</sup> In 1541, the year that Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini printed the sixteen-leaf octavo *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro* (*The First Canto of the Knight of the Golden Lion*) for the singer Baldassare Romano “detto il Faentino,” this partnership also

<sup>239</sup> Danza is thought by some to have been a performer as he composed some of the poems and songs he printed. See Novati, “Storia e la stampa,” 97; Tito Saffioti, *I giullari in Italia* (Milan: Xenia, 1990), 23; and Niccoli, *Prophecy and People*, 17. Some of his works are listed in *GOR*, 1: 80, no. 110 and p. 94, no. 139.

<sup>240</sup> Several of these *fogli volanti* decrees are preserved in Sanudo’s diary. See n. 165 above.

<sup>241</sup> See Pon, *Raphael, Durer and Marcantonio Raimondi*, especially 59-62.

<sup>242</sup> For further discussion of Ferrarese and this pamphlet, see below, pp. 119-20. Given the problems of compiling accurate annals of printing output because of large loss rates, mentioned above, I do not attempt to give definitive statistics of the annual output of printers here. In order to provide these snapshots, I have consulted the current listings of printers’ works on *Edit 16* and in the *STC*, which adequately testify to the diversity of works produced.

<sup>243</sup> *Donato costruito novamente corretto; Biblia in lingua materna ultimamente impressa.*

issued at least eighteen other editions.<sup>244</sup> In April, they finished printing the proven seller the *Fioretti di san Francesco* (a ninety-six page octavo);<sup>245</sup> in August, Ovid's *Heroides* in Latin (232-leaf octavo);<sup>246</sup> in October, Giovan Antonio Tagliente's popular manual on letter-writing (an octavo of forty leaves);<sup>247</sup> and in December, the sermons of Fra Bernardino d'Ochino (an octavo of eighty-four leaves), who had become famous in Venice in 1539 for his electrifying preaching and who in 1542 fled Italy after being cited by the Inquisition.<sup>248</sup> As a final example, in 1545 when Giovanni Padovano printed *Il dio Priapo* for Guglielmo Fontaneto, a work which was sold by the ballad singer Francesco Faentino and which incurred the punishment of the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, the printer produced a handful of other works of various kinds.<sup>249</sup> These included Latin works on commission of Bindoni and Pasini and of Matteo Pagan, the statutes of the town of Cadore in the Veneto, no doubt on commission, and another edition of the *Donato*.<sup>250</sup>

### *The Bindoni*

I have discussed some of the key producers of cheap print in the earlier part of the sixteenth century in Venice and suggested some of the social and business strategies they employed to further their careers in the print trade. I turn now to the Bindoni family of printers, who furnish a diachronic example of some of the trends and tendencies identified so far. Several of the Bindoni family have been mentioned in passing; however, it is worth dwelling on their case in more detail. From one perspective, the Bindoni were rather ordinary. None of them fostered the kind of elite connections boasted by the top-tier printers nor, it would seem, did they achieve great wealth. Among the few notes of contemporary praise penned about them is a short and generic stanza addressed to Agostino and Benedetto

<sup>244</sup> On *Canto primo*, see below, pp. 110-12.

<sup>245</sup> *Fioretti di san Francesco neli quali se contiene la vita e li miracoli che lui fece in vita*. This work had previously been published in Venice by, among others, Rusconi, Tacuino, Bernardino Bindoni, and Francesco and Maffeo themselves.

<sup>246</sup> *Heroides epistolae Pub. Ovidii Nasonis*.

<sup>247</sup> *Componimento di parlamenti. Formulario nuovo che insegna a ogni qualità di persone a dittar lettere*.

<sup>248</sup> *Prediche del reverendo padre frate Bernardino Occhino*.

<sup>249</sup> On this case, see below, pp. 160-61.

<sup>250</sup> *Praxis medicinae quovis illustriori inscribenda titulo ad communem usum totius fere Europe in gratiam eorum qui se a theorice ad practicam conferunt* (for Bindoni and Pasini); *Thomae Philologi, Ravenna. ... Mali Galeci sanandi, vini, ligni et aquae* (for Pagan); *Statuta communitatis Cadubrii cum additionibus noviter impressa; Donato al senno con il Cato volgarigiato*.

Bindoni by the improvisatory poet Baldassare Olimpo di Sassoferrato, at the end of an edition these printers published of Olimpo's works in 1525:

Chi vuol l'opere de Olimpo ingenioso,  
 nove, corrette, senza alcuno errore;  
 chi vuol fornirse d'alcun *Furioso*,  
 over l'altra opra del medesimo autore [ie. Ariosto];  
 chi vuol stampar qualche libro famoso  
 d'humanità, di spirto, d'armi o amore,  
 vada alla stampa di Bindon gemelli,  
 Benedetto e Augustino ambo fratelli.<sup>251</sup>

It should not be supposed that Olimpo had a close attachment to the Bindoni brothers in particular; he addressed an almost identical stanza to Maffeo Pasini (partner of Francesco Bindoni), in another work.<sup>252</sup> And yet, the family were among the most prolific producers of cheap print in Cinquecento Venice, and thus they are one of the many "minor" printers of the sixteenth century who deserve much more attention than they have been given thus far.<sup>253</sup>

The first of the Bindoni brothers to relocate to Venice from the tiny island of Isola Bella in Lago Maggiore appears to have been Alessandro, who started printing in the lagoon city by 1506, with no known history in the trade.<sup>254</sup> Alessandro set up shop in the Frezzaria in San Moisè, at the *insegna della Giustizia*, and initially collaborated with another Lombard printer, Nicolò Brenta, who may have provided a link in Bindoni's transfer.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> "Whoever wants the works of the ingenious Olimpo, / new, correct, without any error; / whoever wants to find himself a *Furioso*, / or another work by the same author; / whoever wants to print some famous work / of humanity, of spirit, of battles or of love, / go to the printshop of the Bindoni twins, / the brothers Benedetto and Agostino." Olimpo's *Parthenia. Libro novo di cose spirituali* (Venice: Benedetto and Agostino Bindoni, 1525), quoted in Nadia Cannata, *Il canzoniere a stampa (1470-1530). Tradizione e fortuna di un genere fra storia del libro e letteratura* (Rome: Bagatto, 2000), 89.

<sup>252</sup> Pasini also seems to have changed the end of an edition of Agostino's continuation of the *Orlando innamorato* to praise himself, rather than the original praise of the publisher Zoppino; see Neil Harris, "L'avventura editoriale dell'*Orlando innamorato*," in *I libri di Orlando innamorato* (Modena: Panini, 1987), 96.

<sup>253</sup> Peter Burke in "Oral Culture and Print Culture," 9-10, pointed out the particular interest of the Bindoni among the printers of Venice, but they have not been the subject of a dedicated published study. However, see Ilde Menis, "I Bindoni: Materiali storico-documentari per una ricostruzione biografica e annalistica" (*tesi di laurea*, Università degli studi di Udine, 1992-93), for an overview of their career and output.

<sup>254</sup> On Alessandro, see *DTEI*, s.v., and *DBI*, 10:498-99.

<sup>255</sup> Vittorio Adami, "Nicolò Brenta da Varenna stampatore," *La bibliofilia* 25, no. 7 (1923): 193-207. The first dated book by Alessandro is the 1506 *Vita del beato patriarca Iosaphat convertito da Baarham*, "in Frezzaria



Before he died around 1522, Alessandro printed close to one hundred surviving editions. Like many printers starting out, Alessandro concentrated on small works, no doubt because they required little time and investment and were easy to sell.<sup>256</sup> So in the early years he interspersed larger works like a folio edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, financed by Luc'Antonio Giunta, with small topical pamphlets such as the *Summario dela scomunica de Ferrara*, which he appears to have financed himself.<sup>257</sup> The immigrant printer made something of a specialty of news-poems in pamphlet form that promoted a jingoistic pro-Venetian agenda, recounting events in the wars waged by Venice to preserve its territories on the terraferma. For example, he printed *La obsidione di Padua*, about the re-conquest of Padua after it had been lost to the Holy Roman Emperor, and *La vera nova de Bressa de punto in punto com'è andata*, on the recapture of Brescia from the French.<sup>258</sup> Such publications suggest that Alessandro was quick to perceive and attempt to cater to the sentiments of a Venetian reading public, and possibly to print works that would have been pleasing to the Venetian authorities by promoting their political agenda of the time.

Alessandro's testament of 1521 indicates he was already well-embedded in the printing world of his adopted city by this time. He appointed as his testamentary executors three prominent figures in Venetian printing: a Giunta (probably Luc'Antonio), Pietro Ravani, *libraio* and partner of Melchiore Sessa, and the publisher Lorenzo Lorio.<sup>259</sup> However, Alessandro still maintained ties to his homeland, bequeathing unspecified holdings in Isola Bella to his brothers on the condition that they distribute annually one ducat to the poor of the island. Alessandro was followed to Venice by his brothers Benedetto, Agostino, and Bernardino. In the 1533 Avogaria di Comun list of printers,

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presso a San Moyse." Harris, "L'avventura editoriale," 95. However, in his 1521 will Alessandro identified himself as "stampator a libris in contrata Sancti Patroni Marci." ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. G. Grasolario, b. 1183, fasc. 27. The will is transcribed in Menis, "I Bindoni," 186-87.

<sup>256</sup> On this common tactic, see Flood, "Printed Book as a Commercial Commodity," 179.

<sup>257</sup> The Duke of Ferrara was excommunicated by Julius II in July 1510. As mentioned above, n. 69, another cheap print detailing the Pope's excommunication of the French commander Charles d'Amboise several months later was sold on the Rialto for one *soldo*.

<sup>258</sup> *La obsidione di Padua*, written by Bartolomeo de Cori, was first printed in 1510 in Venice, anonymously, and reprinted under Bindoni's name in 1515. See *GOR*, 1:60-61, nos 72-73. A copy of the Bindoni edition is in BTM, Inc.C.257(1). *La vera nova de Bressa*, is attributed to Bindoni ca. 1512 in *GOR*, 1: 68-69, no. 85. Copy in BL, C.20.c.22(17). See Krystina Stermole, "Venetian Art and the War of the League of Cambrai (1509-17)" (PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Ontario, 2007), chap. 2, for comments on the production and consumption of such news pamphlets.

<sup>259</sup> "Dominum Iunctarum librarium ad signum ziglii et etiam Dominum Petrum de Ravanis librarium ad signum gatte et per Laurentium de Portesio agri brixienis stampatores." The will is cited above, n. 255. On Ravani, see Curi Nicolardi, *Società tipografico-editoriale*. Lorio was from Portese on the banks of Lake Garda, thus also a Lombard, and Alessandro had printed some works for him prior to 1522. See Dennis E. Rhodes, "Lorenzo Lorio, Publisher at Venice, 1514-1527," *La bibliofilia* 89, no. 3 (1987): 279-83.

Benedetto was listed as active in the parish of San Fantin, Agostino in San Paternian, and Bernardino in the Frezzaria (San Moisè?), locations all within easy walking distance.<sup>260</sup> The brothers collaborated with each other in various combinations of partnership at various times; however, on their own they followed subtly different publishing strategies to avoid stepping on each others' toes.<sup>261</sup> All three of the younger brothers, but especially Agostino, continued on Alessandro's basic tactic of interspersing larger works, sometimes in Latin, with an array of small cheap pamphlets in the vernacular. In the mid-range, the Bindoni also produced many editions of contemporary writers such as Aretino and Ariosto in handy pocket-sized octavos. Bernardino showed a particular predilection for works that flirted with the ideas of religious reform that were widespread in Venice in the 1530s and early 1540s, for example publishing the first edition of the soon-to-be prohibited *Beneficio di Cristo*. As the cultural climate changed in the 1540s, Bernardino's work persistently roused the suspicious of the authorities.<sup>262</sup>

Meanwhile, the family attempted to consolidate its position in the community and the printing industry. Alessandro's widow Orsia remarried a bookseller and publisher from the territory of Brescia, Maffeo Pasini, who established a very fruitful partnership with Alessandro's son Francesco from about 1524.<sup>263</sup> Benedetto's son Candido also became a printer and bookseller.<sup>264</sup> Agostino married his eldest daughter to Antonio Gardano, a recent immigrant from France who would go on to found a successful music publishing dynasty; another daughter wed Costantino Raverii of Cesena, also a musical publisher. Agostino's sons Stefano and Marco became booksellers and sometime publishers with shops in San Luca and San Salvador respectively.<sup>265</sup> Bernardino also had a son, Giovan Antonio, an

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<sup>260</sup> On the other brothers see *DTEI*, s.v., and *DBI*, 10:496-501; and Emilio Motta, "Uno stampatore del Lago Maggiore a Venezia," *Bollettino storico della svizzera italiana* 14, nos 9-10 (1892): 199-200. For shop locations and years of activity, see above, pp. 36-37.

<sup>261</sup> Menis, "I Bindoni," 84, notes that "i membri di questa famiglia di tipografi riescano, per così dire, a non invadere i 'confini di competenza' l'uno dell'altro, ovvero abbiano una quasi sottintesa accortezza nella scelta dei titoli, atta ad evitare ripetizioni troppo vistose dei cataloghi dei ciascuno nei confronti degli altri."

<sup>262</sup> On the publication of the *Beneficio*, see Diana Robin, *Publishing Women. Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 35. Bernardino's run-ins with the censors are discussed further below, pp. 162-63.

<sup>263</sup> Pasini describes himself as "Maphio fi[glio] di quondam ser Francisci di Pasini di sopra Torso [?], territorio bressan stampador in Venettia in contrada di San Patturnian" in his 1549 testament. ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, Not. B. Marino, b. 641, fasc. 295.

<sup>264</sup> *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>265</sup> *DTEI*, s.v.

engraver of woodcuts for books who published works with his father and later on his own.<sup>266</sup>

Later generations of Bindoni continued to participate in the book trade, although their attentions were turned more to bookselling than to printing the kind of cheap, vernacular editions in which their forbears had specialised. One of Francesco's sons, Gaspare, was a successful bookseller, the first *scrivan* (bookkeeper) of the guild and collaborated in prestigious publishing ventures.<sup>267</sup> Gaspare was also a sometime associate of Pietro Longo, executed in 1588 for selling prohibited books imported from the north.<sup>268</sup> A sign of the changing times, Gaspare's cousin Stefano fell under suspicion of the Sant'Uffizio and the blasphemy magistrates for heterodox practices and the commissioning of manuscript copies (and later of a printed edition with a false date and place) of Aretino's prohibited *Ragionamenti*.<sup>269</sup> The sons of Francesco Bindoni were successful enough to have to submit *condizioni* for the Decime tax of 1566, showing minor holdings of land and houses in Venice and its hinterland.<sup>270</sup> Generally speaking, the family's publishing output became more conservative, and more addressed to a socially-elevated readership who could afford to buy longer books and were perhaps able to read Latin.<sup>271</sup> One witnesses this in the partnership of Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini in the course of its quarter-century lifespan. Francesco had begun his career in continuation of the tradition started by his father, Alessandro, printing a number of small secular vernacular pamphlets such as the four-leaf

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<sup>266</sup> *DTEI*, s.v.

<sup>267</sup> Gaspare collaborated with his brothers Francesco the younger and Alessandro the younger in a new printshop at the mark of the Eye in the later Cinquecento, while Gaspare also had a shop at the sign of the Compass and later re-adopted the mark of his father, of the Archangel Raphael. See *DTEI*, s.v. On Gaspare's participation in a partnership with Nicolò Bevilaqua, Damiano Zenaro, and Francesco de' Franceschi, see Carlo Maria Simonetti, "La compagnia dell'aquila che si rinnova: Appunti sui consorzi editoriali a Venezia nel Cinquecento," in *Bibliografia testuale o filologia dei testi a stampa? Definizioni metodologiche e prospettive future*, ed. Neil Harris (Udine: Forum, 1999), 219-68. Gaspare was regularly elected to positions of responsibility in the guild in the 1570s and 1580s and in 1580 and 1584 Francesco, Gaspare's father, was elected to the *zonta* or body of guild advisors; see ASV, *ALS*, Atti, b. 163.

<sup>268</sup> Gaspare's testimony to the Holy Office helped to condemn Longo; see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 187-88.

<sup>269</sup> *DTEI*, s.v. Stefano was denounced to the Sant'Uffizio by his brother-in-law in August 1558 for heterodox practices, but does not seem to have been punished on this occasion. In 1579-80 he was held and questioned about the Aretino case but eventually let off with a light sentence of ritual penance; see ASV, *SU*, b. 56, fasc. marked "Stefano Bindoni." Stefano's brother Marco was also reprimanded by the Sant'Uffizio in 1571 for holding prohibited books in his shop. Marco claimed he could not understand the Index of prohibited books because he did not read Latin; see ASV, *SU*, b. 156, c. 33r.

<sup>270</sup> ASV, *Decime*, b. 126, fasc. 311 and 315, *condizioni* of Alessandro the younger and Francesco the younger; b. 127, fasc. 753, *condizione* of Gaspare. Francesco and Gaspare had evidently made good marriages, as they claimed that most of their property had come to them in the dowries of their wives, a pair of sisters named Marina and Isabella Spiron.

<sup>271</sup> Menis, "I Bindoni," 79-81, 106-7.

quarto *Hystoria de Maria per Ravenna* of 1524.<sup>272</sup> These were small and thus cheap, and mostly reprints of earlier editions by his relatives or others, so proven sellers. After Bindoni teamed up with his step-father Pasini, they continued in the same vein, also finding success with popular works such as chivalric tales and the poems of contemporaries such as the improviser Olimpo di Sassoferrato. In the latter period of their partnership, however, Bindoni and Pasini appear to have turned towards a more educated readership, with fewer works of cheap print and a rise in the proportion of Latin titles.<sup>273</sup> In part, this may be attributed to the growth of print censorship in Venice which extended even over the kind of small, bawdy stories produced by the earlier Bindoni as they were setting themselves up in the city.<sup>274</sup> It may also have been that the Bindoni were seeking to ameliorate their reputation as respectable law-abiding Venetian businessmen, modest holders of land and participants in the guild, and that they chose to print more prestigious editions as a result.

By the early seventeenth century, however, it would seem that the Bindoni family were losing the moderate stature they had achieved in the trade, in tandem with the general decline of Venetian printing. In 1613, Agostino Bindoni the younger, the son of Marco Bindoni, was one of several poor guildsmen who applied for special permission to sell on feast days in the streets, to supplement the presumably meagre income from his shop at San Luca.<sup>275</sup> His cousin Gaspare the younger left the city altogether and ran a bookshop in Bologna before travelling all over Europe, ending up poor and debt-ridden.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> *Sander*, 2:748, no. 4365.

<sup>273</sup> Menis calculates that the proportion of their Latin titles rose from 10.6 per cent between 1524-39 to 31.4 per cent in 1540-51. "I Bindoni," 77-78.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 129-30. See below, pp. 162-63, for several examples of the Bindoni getting into trouble with the authorities for these kinds of publications.

<sup>275</sup> ASV, *ALS*, Atti, r. 2, cc. 87v, 91v.

<sup>276</sup> A letter dated 1618 describes Gaspare at about the age of sixty, after "se n'andò pellegrinando in diverse parti del mondo come per tutta l'Italia, Spagna, Franza, Ungaria, Terra Tedesca, Polonia et in altri paesi, eccetto nell'Indie, et è ancor stato in Inghilterra ... è povero, e per quanto dicono, con qualche debito." Quoted in "Notizie: Sul famoso libraio veneziano Gaspare Bindoni," *La bibliofilia* 35, nos 8-9 (1933): 359.

*'Nicolò saggio, accorto et peregrino'*<sup>277</sup>

While the Bindoni strove to settle themselves in Venice after relocating from Lago Maggiore, others carried on the itinerant traditions of the print trade, moving from place to place in search of new and better opportunities. Many of these have slipped through the cracks of history, the contours of their careers obscured by their peregrinations and by the dispersal of any documents recording their activity.<sup>278</sup> Others became markedly successful, setting up shops in various locations, and it is possible to piece together testament of their mobile and prolific careers.<sup>279</sup> An eminent example is Nicolò d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara nicknamed "il Zoppino" (the little cripple). Zoppino's importance only recently is being recognised and rewarded with serious study partly because of his extraordinary mobility around northern Italy in the early years of the Cinquecento.<sup>280</sup> Zoppino was an itinerant publisher in the early years of his career, commissioning works in Bologna (1503), Milan (1504), Pesaro (ca. 1510), Ancona (1514), and Perugia (1524-25). While he opened a shop in San Fantin in Venice and produced the majority of his works there, he continued to roam and shows little sign of having embedded himself in the social world of the Venetian printers in the ways discussed above.<sup>281</sup> In 1536, in order to be able to work in Florence, he enrolled in the Florentine *Arte dei medici e speziali*—the guild that encompassed sellers of print—as a self-described "libraius de ferraria" and in 1542 petitioned to open a bookshop in Ravenna.<sup>282</sup> The petition noted that "wandering for so many years through the cities of Italy,

<sup>277</sup> This description of Nicolò Zoppino was written in 1524 by Nicolò degli Agostini, author of a "sequel" to Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, who insisted in his work that: "Composta ho al'improvista questa historia / in dieci di, ma per il mio Zopino: / Nicolò saggio, accorto et peregrino." Quoted in Harris, "L'avventura editoriale dell'*Orlando innamorato*," 94.

<sup>278</sup> This is especially the case given the regional focus of much scholarship on the Italian book trade, so that movements of people through different places sometimes are missed. In general, the lack of work on lower status migrants in Italy in the medieval and Renaissance periods identified by Giuliano Pinto still holds true; see Pinto, "Forestieri e stranieri nell'Italia comunale: considerazioni sulle fonti documentarie," in *Forestieri e stranieri nelle città basso-medievali. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio, Bagno a Ripoli (Firenze), 4-8 giugno 1984* (Florence: Salimbeni, 1988), 19-27.

<sup>279</sup> Some of the most successful Venetian publishers had networks of branch offices all over Italy and beyond, sometimes staffed by family members. While some would travel to these shops and to trade fairs, few appear to have been so continuously mobile as Zoppino, whom I discuss here. On the functioning of book sales networks and fairs, see Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia*, 76-104.

<sup>280</sup> See particularly Baldacchini, "Chi ha paura di Nicolò Zoppino?"; *idem*, "Zoppino editore: ultime notizie dal cantiere," *Bibliotheca. Rivista di studi bibliografici* 2 (2003): 221-33.

<sup>281</sup> On Zoppino's activity in Venice after 1507, see above, n. 103. There were some Zoppino or Zoppini brothers active in Venice later in the sixteenth century, but as yet there is no proof that they were heirs of Nicolò; see Ascarelli, *La tipografia del '500*, 394.

<sup>282</sup> See Alberto Serra-Zanetti, *L'arte della stampa in Bologna nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento* (Bologna: Alle spese del Comune, 1959), 40-41; Bertoli, "Librai, cartolai e ambulanti," pt 1, p. 157, no. 84; Jeremy M.

as he has done,” Zoppino had observed the need in Ravenna for “a shop full of books with which to serve and help itself,” which he promised to provide for the benefit of the city.<sup>283</sup> The comments of authors about Zoppino also highlighted his mobility. Raphael Valcieco of Verona, the author of a continuation of Boiardo’s *Orlando innamorato*, wrote that willingly he had “placed [the book] in the hand of Nicolò Zoppino / so that he might carry it to every clime.”<sup>284</sup>

Zoppino is also a significant figure because of his ties to the world of itinerant performing and the possibility that he may have been a performer himself before he settled into a long and productive publishing career. The identification of Zoppino as a performer originally was prompted by the appearance of a charlatan/ballad singer character called Zoppino in several works by Pietro Aretino, whose first foray into print was a collection of poems published by Zoppino in Venice in 1512.<sup>285</sup> However, Zoppo or Zoppino were among the most common nicknames for performers throughout this period, and a number of them dabbled in publishing. Yet, many of Zoppino’s works, especially in the early years, were of the type geared towards recital and sale by charlatans and street performers. They were, for the most part, in the vernacular, octavo or quarto editions of poetry from the Quattro- and Cinquecento.<sup>286</sup> A good number of Zoppino’s publications were directly linked to performance, both plays and the kinds of songs and poems habitually performed by popular entertainers.<sup>287</sup> Poems by him appear occasionally in his works and around 1510 he printed the only work known in which he is the identified author, a song in the popular

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Potter, “Nicolo Zoppino and the Book-Trade Network of Perugia,” in *The Italian Book, 1465-1800. Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on His 70th birthday*, ed. Denis V. Reidy (London: British Library, 1993), 135-59. Zoppino’s last recorded publications are from 1544.

<sup>283</sup> “Discorendo per tanti e tanti anni come ha fatto per le città d’Italia ... ha visto havere bisogno de una bottega fornita de libri comodamente servirsi et suvenirsi”; quoted in Silvio Bernicoli, “Librai e tipografi in Ravenna a tutto il secolo XVI,” *L’Archiginnasio* 30, no. 14 (1935): 174-75. The petition also records that Zoppino held bookshops in Faenza and other cities.

<sup>284</sup> “Posta l’ho in man a Nicolo Zopino, / acìò che la traporta in ogni clima.” *El quinto libro e fine de tutti li libri de lo innamoramento de Orlando* (Milan: Gorgonzola, 1518), quoted in Count Gaetano Melzi and Paolo Antonio Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani*, 2nd ed. (Milan: Tosi, 1838), 78.

<sup>285</sup> The original terms of the debate about the identity of Zoppino were laid out in a series of notes published in *Giornale degli eruditi ed i curiosi*, vols 1-4 (1882-84), principally between S. Bongi arguing for the probability of the publisher’s identification with the Aretino character, and A. Tessier against.

<sup>286</sup> On Zoppino as an important contributor to vernacular printing, see Quondam, “Letteratura in tipografia,” 639-40.

<sup>287</sup> For example, Zoppino published the first surviving edition of the Siense improviser Strascino’s very popular *Lamento* about his suffering from the *mal francese* in 1521, and several other works by artisan comics from Siena; see Cristina Valenti, *Comici artigiani. Mestiere e forme dello spettacolo a Siena nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Ferrara: Panini, 1992), 197-98, 200-1, 214-15, 218, 231.

*barzelletta* form about the Venetian war with Ferrara.<sup>288</sup> As some scholars have recognised, Zoppino could very well have been a performer in Rome in his younger days and an esteemed publisher in later life.<sup>289</sup> While this remains unresolved, Zoppino certainly was in partnership for at least a decade with a Vincenzo di Polo di Faenza, described as a book seller and ballad singer or *cantastorie* (“bibliopola ac cantor circumforaneus”) in his 1524 testament.<sup>290</sup> This was a strong bond. Vincenzo appointed Zoppino his heir, and a 1543 contract shows Zoppino working with Vincenzo’s son Paolo.<sup>291</sup> Looking at Zoppino, Baldacchini proposed that the years around the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the emergence of “a new figure of the publisher linked to the world of the *ambulanti* and *cantastorie*” who could act as “mediator between this world and that of the printers.”<sup>292</sup> As will be shown in the next chapter, Zoppino was not the only such mediating figure at the time. There were a number of printers in Venice who collaborated directly with travelling performers to produce cheap works.

## Conclusion

The story of members of the printing trade such as those discussed here is expressive of aspects of Venetian history in the sixteenth century. At least earlier in the century, Venice was relatively open to foreigners who wished to settle there and work, especially in the printing trade which had few restrictions on entry before the end of the Cinquecento. This

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<sup>288</sup> *Barzoletta novamente composta de la mossa facta per Venetiani contra alo illustrissimo Signore Alphonso duca terzo de Ferrara* (Venice: Zoppino, [ca. 1510]), cited in Baldacchini, “Chi ha paura di Nicolo Zoppino?” 197. Zoppino also penned short poems including a fairly conventional one in praise of women (“Nicolò Zopino in laude delle donne”) in *Opera moralissima de diversi auctori* (n.p.d.), c. 17v; BMV, Misc. 2429(3). The *Thesaurus spirituale vulgare in rima e hystoriato* (Venice: Nicolò Zoppino and Vincenzo di Polo, 1518), BL, 1071.c.30, contains two sonnets by Zoppino in dedication to Lucretia Borgia (c. 2r). Francesco Tromba da Gualdo’s *Guerre battaglie nuovamente fatte in Provenza* (Perugia: Zoppino, 1525) also includes a *strambotto* by Zoppino. See *GOR*, 1:101, no. 151.

<sup>289</sup> See Baldacchini, “Chi ha paura di Nicolo Zoppino?” 194. We might also note the conclusion of Bongi, letter in *Giornale degli eruditi ed i curiosi* 2 (1883): 344: “non vogliamo dedurre che egli potesse farsi spacciatore personalmente, stando in piazza e cantando in Banchi, di tutti i molti libri ne’quali apparisce, non si sa bene, se stampatore o editore: ma che in parte, e per taluni anni, esercitasse anche quel mestiere di Cantimbanco, non è del tutto improbabile.”

<sup>290</sup> Transcribed in Giuseppe Rossini, “Ulteriori notizie su la cartiera, i librai e le prime stampe faentine,” *Studi romagnoli* 7 (1956): 287. Nicolò and Vincenzo were in partnership from around 1513 to 1524.

<sup>291</sup> ASV, Notarile, Not. A. Pellestrina, b. 10638, cc. 73v-74r, cited in Harris, *Bibliografia dell’Orlando innamorato*, 2:87.

<sup>292</sup> Baldacchini, “Zoppino editore,” 223.

openness contributed to a marked degree of experimentation and innovation—printers and publishers energetically sought new works to feed a growing market; they joined in various combinations of partnerships for a certain venture before disbanding and linking up with someone else; new men arrived with fresh ideas and approaches and settled with success or failed and moved on.

Cheap print is a significant element in this story. It provided a point of entry for many into the printing business (whether as printers, publishers, or sellers) because it required less capital investment than larger works for paper, decoration, or correction, and because it could be sold quickly and easily in a variety of locations. Examples such as the Bindoni family show how printers below the top tier could gain a foothold in the trade using cheap print as a central pillar of their business strategy, while also producing other, larger works. Meanwhile, they participated in various partnership arrangements and forged social ties on a number of fronts in order to augment their position in the community and in the trade. In this way, families like the Bindoni achieved a moderate social mobility and integration into Venetian society, although this was threatened in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century by the declining fortunes of the Venetian print trade and growing restrictions on print production and dissemination.

The examples I have considered suggest that the print trade in the sixteenth century was crystallising into a more defined professional group, with a growing sense of itself as a trade community amid the wider artisan and commercial class of Venice. The example of Zoppino, however, reminds us of the continued mobility of men in the print trade, and the “protean” nature of many who participated in it, particularly in the early decades of the Cinquecento. The movement of men into and out of Venice and into and out of various roles in the printing trade as well as other types of work was a characteristic and significant aspect of this vibrant period in the history of Venetian printing.



### Chapter Three

#### *From the Lowest Corner of the Piazza: Itinerant Publishers and Performers in Venice*

In 1545, Pietro Aretino wrote from Venice to the charlatan and performer Iacopo Coppa, who had been praising the writer's work as he sold it in the piazza at Ferrara. In contrast to some who disparaged the showmanship and mendacious prattle of street performers, Aretino claimed to be delighted (*mi rallegro*) that his work and reputation were being disseminated in this manner, "in the mouths of charlatans."<sup>293</sup> The power of the charlatan to pull in an audience and to convince them of the merit of his wares was unrivalled:

Who is so busy, so needy, or so stingy, [asked Aretino] that at the first touch of [the performer's] *lira*, at the first sound of their voice, at the first advertisement of their merchandise, he would not stop himself, not engage himself, and not throw himself into buying the remedies, the little boxes, and the stories, that they give by sale even to anyone who is certain that they are worth nothing, that they matter nothing, and that they say nothing?<sup>294</sup>

This rather back-handed compliment is typical of Aretino, who embodied many of the complexities and contradictions of the early period of the publishing industry. While he cleverly orchestrated the publication of his works for sale, Aretino also made use of print to win the patronage of princes and noblemen, a more traditional source of sustenance for a writer.<sup>295</sup> At times he declared himself repelled by what he perceived to be the cold commercialisation of creativity entailed in the mass-production and sale of books, as when he wrote to his printer Marcolini that a writer "who goes to the [book]shop in the evening to collect the money from the day's sales smacks of the pimp who empties his woman's purse

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<sup>293</sup> "Avisami M. Francesco de gli Albizi da la Mirandola, il come Tiziano e egli furono isforzati dal grido desto de la vostra isvegliata eloquenza di fermarsi a udire lo in che foggia di favella mi metteste in cielo in su la piazza di Ferrara, cantando in banca. Del che mi laudo non altrimenti che mi laudarei, caso che Apollo avesse tanto di me detto ne i chiostrì di Parnaso poetizando improvviso"; "mi rallegro d'essere in bocca de i ceretani." Aretino, *Lettere*, 3:325-27.

<sup>294</sup> "Quale è quello infacendato, quale è quel bisognoso, e quale è quello avaro, che al primo tocco de la lor lira, al primo verso de la lor voce, e al primo isciorar de la lor merce, non si fermi, non s'impegni, e non si scagli nel conto del comperare le ricette, i bossoletti, e le leggende, ch'essi donano con la vendita sino a quegli che son certi che niente vagliano, che niente importano, e che niente dicono?" Ibid., 326. The stringed *lira*, usually in the form of the *lira da braccio*, played with a bow, was the common instrument of singers and verse improvisers in this period.

<sup>295</sup> See Giovanni Aquilecchia, "Pietro Aretino e altri poligrafi a Venezia," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4, *Dal primo Quattrocento al concilio di Trento* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1981), 61-98; Quondam, "Nel giardino dei Marcolini"; Fabio Massimo Bertolo, *Aretino e la stampa. Strategie di autopromozione a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Salerno, 2003); Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire, and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 33-56.

before he goes to bed. Please God, I wish that the favours of our princes and not the poverty of those who buy them will pay me for my trouble in writing ... ”<sup>296</sup> Yet Aretino was also attracted by the new opportunities that print afforded a lowly-born writer such as himself. He professed some admiration for figures who adapted themselves brazenly to the mercenary spirit of the times, be they charlatans, courtesans, or professional writers.<sup>297</sup> In this vein, Aretino claimed pleasure in hearing of his work disseminated in the streets, with the most attention possible drawn to it by the performative techniques of the charlatan. In so doing, he illuminates the unique role of such street performers in communicating works of vernacular poetry, song, and prose to urban audiences, by voice and by the sale of pamphlets. This important but neglected feature of early modern Italian culture is explored in this chapter.

The relationship between street performers and the press was close from the beginning, although it has not been explored adequately.<sup>298</sup> Street performers played a part in medieval society as, apart from the church, the most important transmitters of information, entertainment, and ideas to large audiences.<sup>299</sup> Moving into print was a logical step for them. The press brought a new immediacy to the activity of diffusing news and cultural trends. Printers, publishers, and some writers like Aretino recognised the unique power of the street performer or hawker to attract the attention of buyers. Furthermore, having to hold audience interest with only the power of their voice and body, and an instrument such as a *lira da braccio*, performers were closely attuned to what appealed to an urban public, very useful knowledge for printers trying to expand the market and beat off competition.

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<sup>296</sup> “Colui che la sera va a la bottega per torre i danari de la vendita del giorno, pizzica de la natura del Roffiano, che prima che se ne va a letto vota la borsa de la sua femina. Io voglio, con il favor di Dio, che la cortesia de i Principi mi paghi le fatiche de lo scrivere, e non la miseria di chi le compra.” Aretino, *Lettere*, 1:513 (22 June 1537).

<sup>297</sup> See for example the passage in his *Ragionamenti* in which he compared the skill of courtesans and charlatans to entrance an audience and sell their “wares.” Pietro Aretino, *Aretino's Dialogues*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Marsilio, 1994), 178-79.

<sup>298</sup> There has been little follow-up research on this topic since the attention drawn to it over a century ago by scholars such as Novati and Bongi, as discussed in the Introduction. However, see Marco Villorosi, “Zanobi della Barba, canterino ed editore del rinascimento,” in Picone and Rubini, *Il cantare italiano*, 461-73, on a Florentine performer and publisher of the early Cinquecento.

<sup>299</sup> Indeed, on the competition between preachers and performers in medieval *piazze*, and the influence of performers' techniques on preachers, see Carlo Delcorno, “Professionisti della parola: predicatori, giullari, concionatori,” in *Tra storia e simbolo. Studi dedicati a Ezio Raimondi dai direttori, redattori e dall'editore di Lettere italiane* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 1-21. On the cultural role of medieval street performers, see Camporesi, “Cultura popolare e cultura d'élite”; Cardona, “Culture dell'oralità e culture della scrittura,” 56-58; Saffioti, *I giullari in Italia*, especially 102-3.

Exploiting this talent, itinerant performers did not just disseminate print in the streets by voice and by pamphlet; they were active as publishers. As the eminent historian of Venetian printing Martin Lowry noticed some time ago, the records of the Ripoli press in Florence “prove beyond any doubt that investment in printing reached from the top of the palazzo to the lowest corner of the piazza” in early Italian publishing. Although without comparable sources it is hard to trace investment in Venetian printing far beneath the eminent financial movers at the top, Lowry wrote, “we can be sure that it was there ... There must have been as many, if not more [performer-publishers] in Venice” than in Florence, evidenced by the many small pamphlets produced there bearing their names.<sup>300</sup> In fact, my research confirms that there were a significant number of such figures passing through Venice in the Cinquecento. I have traced many who commissioned small works in Venice and other cities that I mention below, and in the Appendix I document the publications of seven who were markedly prolific over the course of several decades. This chapter examines these itinerant publishers and performers active in Venice in the sixteenth century, seeking to evaluate the nature of their participation in Venetian publishing and print-selling in the context of broader careers, and to shed light on the symbiotic relationships that tied them to established printers such as those considered above.

### Cantimbanchi *and* Cerretani

In the previous chapter, I discussed the example of Nicolò Zoppino, who started as an itinerant publisher before establishing shops in Venice and elsewhere, while retaining links to the world of street performance. There were many other itinerant figures who involved themselves in the Venetian print trade in the sixteenth century who were less successful and remain more obscure, some of them public performers of one kind or another. A survey of library catalogues and of relevant archival material in Venice and Florence, however, unearths many of these names and helps us start to piece together something of their activity.

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<sup>300</sup> Martin Lowry, “La produzione del libro,” in Cavaciocchi, *Produzione e commercio*, 385. See also *ibid.*, 371. I discuss the example of the Ripoli press below, pp. 96-97.

The records of the Florentine *Arte dei medici e speciali* in the Cinquecento, featuring a number of figures who also appeared in Venice, confirm how commonly the selling of cheap print could be combined with charlatanry, singing, or with peddling small items of mercery. These records also hint at the marked mobility of those who dabbled in these professions, moving from place to place in search of new opportunities. In total, Bertoli published the names of fifty-eight *ambulant*i or street sellers who sold print in some form and registered with the guild between 1490 and 1614, alongside booksellers and *cartolai* with shops.<sup>301</sup> The ballad singer and seller of stories and soap Baldassare Faentino had already commissioned several small pamphlets in Venice before he matriculated in the Florentine guild in 1544.<sup>302</sup> Maffeo Taietti of the Veneto, who used the stage name of Il Fortunato, and who published small pamphlets in Venice in the 1550s, was recorded in Florence as a vendor of “*historias et libros et profumeria*” (stories and books and perfumery).<sup>303</sup> Andrea di Giovan Antonio Volpini, whose father had printed in Venice around 1540 for the likes of Zoppino, was trying his luck as an ambulant book and picture seller in Florence in 1559.<sup>304</sup> These records demonstrate how slippery professional definitions were in the world of small-time street selling in Italian cities at this time, and confirm that it is necessary to move beyond narrow conceptions of “bookseller” and “book” in order to comprehend fully how cheap print was penetrating early modern society.

It is also necessary to define performance broadly. Most street sellers would have performed some kind of oral advertisement, frequently in the form of song. From the humblest street cries to the loquacious eloquence of charlatans, the presence of cheap print for sale and something of the content of that print could be communicated verbally to urban

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<sup>301</sup> Bertoli, “*Librai, cartolai e ambulanti*,” pt 1, p. 131. Bertoli omitted many other charlatans and performers who did not specifically say that they sold print, although there is good reason to believe that some of them did. For example, Bertoli did not include a number of ballad singers who were identified only as selling unspecified goods that brought them within the compass of the guild (which could have meant haberdashery, soap, perfumes, print etc.), such as “*Benedictus [?] di Venetia di Claris cantans in bancha et vendens res pertinente ad dictam Arte*” who matriculated on 3 June 1549 and who was probably the Benedetto Clario *cieco* who published several short works in Venice around this time; see ASF, AMS, f. 12, c. 38r. Bertoli also left out a “*Johanes Todescus vicentinus vendens pilas ... et dentibus biancheria cavans dentes hystorias et alias res suppositas ad hanc Artem*”; see ASF, AMS, f. 12, c. 193v (7 September 1564).

<sup>302</sup> On Baldassare’s matriculation in Florence, see below, n. 398. For his publications, see the Appendix.

<sup>303</sup> “*Maffias Bernardini Maffiae de Taiettis venetus vendens historias et libros et profumeria*.” Bertoli, “*Librai, cartolai e ambulanti*,” pt 2, p. 236, no. 143. For some of Taietti’s publications, see Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, 2:28, and *Edit 16*.

<sup>304</sup> “*Andreas Johannis Antonii de Ulpinis de Venetia vendens storias et fiuras [sic] in et per civitatem Florentiae*.” Bertoli, “*Librai, cartolai e ambulanti*,” pt 2, p. 238, no. 149. For Giovan Antonio’s publications, see *Edit 16*.

audiences.<sup>305</sup> Generally, the boundaries between various types of performers—and indeed between performance and other activities—before at least the mid-Cinquecento are extremely blurred and a range of names were used and are used to describe figures of the type discussed in this thesis.<sup>306</sup> The terms for charlatan had associations of trickery (*cerretano*, from the supposed breed of false mendicants from the Umbrian town of Cerreto, or *ciurmadore*, from *ciurmare*—to deceive), and of entrancing prattle (*ciarlatano*, from *ciarlare*—to chatter). However charlatans used these terms for themselves regularly, and they had a general meaning of those who perform and sell small items in the streets.<sup>307</sup> Medical charlatans, as public healers and sellers of remedies, were early and astute exploiters of print, and their “most defining characteristic was their use of performance of some sort.”<sup>308</sup> There were also several terms for street-singers (such as *canterino*, public singers of *cantari*, or ballads; or *cantastorie*, tale-singers); however, *cantimbanco* (or *canta in banco*—“sings on a bench”) is perhaps the most commonly used in sources from the period.<sup>309</sup> In a slightly separate category, one might mention also *buffoni*, the buffoons active in Venice and elsewhere who shared some of the repertoire of street singers and charlatans.<sup>310</sup>

This motley crew, who might be found in an Italian piazza in the sixteenth century, represented a complex mix of traditional types of performance and newer evolving forms. Descendants of the *giullari* (jesters or minstrels) of the past, ballad singers had enjoyed a golden age in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy, when the vogue for vernacular *cantari* was at its height. While they were on the wane in the sixteenth century, they remained in some form through to recent times.<sup>311</sup> The medical charlatan, as David Gentilcore writes,

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<sup>305</sup> See, for example, Ariosto’s *Herbolato*—in fact published by the charlatan Iacopo Coppa in 1545 as mentioned below, n. 558—, thought to be a literary rendition of the charlatan’s spiel.

<sup>306</sup> See James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 78; and on the linguistic uncertainty around medieval performers, Saffioti, *I giullari in Italia*, 12-13; and Sandra Pietrini, “Il disordine del lessico e la varietà delle cose. Le denominazioni latine e romanze degli intrattenitori medievali,” *Quaderni medievali* 47 (1999): 77-113.

<sup>307</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 64. On the original *cerretani*, who were legitimate licensed beggars, see Mario Sensi, “Dossier sui cerretani,” in *Vita di pietà e vita civile di un altopiano tra Umbria e Marche (secc. XI-XVI)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 357-472.

<sup>308</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 93.

<sup>309</sup> *Montimbanco*, or “mounted on a bench,” is also used.

<sup>310</sup> However, I am not concerned here with amateur performers who did not need to make a living from performance, such as the groups of young nobles known as the *compagnie della calza* who were active in early Cinquecento Venice staging spectacles and festivities, and sometimes performed with the *buffoni*; see Lina Urban Padoan, “Le Compagnie della Calza: edonismo e cultura al servizio della politica,” *Quaderni veneti* 6 (1987): 111-27.

<sup>311</sup> See Alessandro d’Ancona, “I canterini dell’antico comune di Perugia,” in *idem, Varietà storiche e letterarie* (Milan: Treves, 1883), 1:39-73; and on nineteenth-century ballad singers, Pio Rajna, “I ‘Rinaldi’ o i

was emerging with increasing definition in the sixteenth century, having developed from the combination of various pre-existing strands: “medicinal, peddling and street-selling, popular and learned entertainments (including court jesting, carnival, and the *commedia dell’arte*), practical alchemy and alms-gathering itinerancy.”<sup>312</sup> The roots of the *commedia dell’arte*, emerging in the later sixteenth century, also lie in these traditional street spectacles.<sup>313</sup>

“Poverty makes me invisible”

As many performers undoubtedly were among the poorest members of society, the predominance of evidence documents the lives of the more eminent performers, figures such as Iacopo Coppa with whom this chapter began. In the most elite cultural and social circles of Italy the vogue for “popular” spectacle such as buffoonery, chivalric balladry, vernacular theatrics, and musical forms such as *frottole* and *strambotti* was particularly strong in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and some performers were sought after and rewarded.<sup>314</sup> Those who plied their trade before a large and varied crowd in the streets might also play to gatherings of patricians or nobles.<sup>315</sup> The Florentine ballad singer l’Altissimo (“the greatest” or “highest”), who played for the crowds in the piazza of San Martino in Florence and in Venice near the Palazzo Ducale, received the dedication of an edition of the humanist Jacopo Sanazzaro’s *Arcadia* from the Florentine publisher Bernardo di Filippo Giunti, who wrote fawningly to l’Altissimo, praising him as “Venerando Poeta.”<sup>316</sup> On a more practical note, Coppa apparently was rewarded with a chain worth 200 *scudi* by the

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cantastorie di Napoli,” *Nuova antologia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 12 (1878): 557-79. On the literature of the *canterini*, see Armando Balduino, “Letteratura canterina,” in *idem*, *Boccaccio, Petrarca e altri poeti del Trecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1984), 57-92.

<sup>312</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 5.

<sup>313</sup> See Robert Henke, “The Italian Mountebank and the *Commedia dell’Arte*,” *Theatre Survey* 38 (1997): 1-29.

<sup>314</sup> See Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry*, chap. 4; Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, “Buffoni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d’Isabella d’Este,” pts 1 and 2, *Nuova antologia*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, vol. 34 (1891), pp. 618-50; vol. 35 (1891), pp. 112-46; and Arturo Graf, “Un buffone di Leone X,” in *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (Turin: Chiantore, 1926), 299-319. An example of a sought-after performer paid large sums was the Siense artisan comic Nicolò Campani, or Il Strascino, on whom see Valenti, *Comici artigiani*, 34-69.

<sup>315</sup> See Robert Henke, “Towards Reconstructing the Audiences of the *Commedia dell’Arte*,” *Études théâtrales/Essays in theatre* 15, no. 2 (1997): 208.

<sup>316</sup> Although Giunta did make clear that his aim was to secure the right to print the performer’s works; see Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* (Florence: Giunta, 1514), c. 1v. On l’Altissimo’s career, see Renier, *Strambotti e sonetti dell’Altissimo* (Turin: Società Bibliofila, 1886).

Duchess of Florence for whitening her teeth with his miraculous remedies so that they looked like “oriental pearls.”<sup>317</sup>

Despite the complaints of writers such as Tomaso Garzoni that performers like buffoons were held in higher esteem than men of letters, few reached the level of prestige where they could rely on the income from a permanent “gig.”<sup>318</sup> It seems reasonable to conclude with Saffioti that “for the great majority of piazza performers, life was not a simple journey of ease and well-being.”<sup>319</sup> Closing pleas to the audience (and the reader) that a work had been composed “per povertade” of the author, recorded in numerous pamphlets, were probably not entirely rhetorical.<sup>320</sup>

At the bottom end of the spectrum, the street performer might have little to distinguish him from the small-time hawker of various goods, or the beggar. Peddling of small cheap printed items was an activity that tended to escalate in hard times, a fall back form of commerce only one step up from begging.<sup>321</sup> It may have been that print peddling in Venice really took off in the late 1520s, when the territory was struck by terrible famine and waves of indigent refugees flooded into the city.<sup>322</sup> Early modern sources about different types of beggars include those who “stop themselves in some neighbourhood and sell the stories and orations of saints and sing them, as well as pleading for alms.”<sup>323</sup> As we will see below, many performers who became involved in print had nicknames indicating physical

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<sup>317</sup> Celio Malespini, *Ducento novelle ... Nelle quali si raccontano diversi avvenimenti così lieti, come mesti e stravaganti* (Venice: Al Segno d'Italia, 1609), 2: 300v.

<sup>318</sup> Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, 2:994-97.

<sup>319</sup> Saffioti, *I giullari in Italia*, 92. Surviving documents illuminating the working conditions of performers before the sixteenth century are discussed in Francesco Ugolini, *I cantari d'argomento classico* (Florence: Olschki, 1933), especially 10-15. A fascinating study of the Urbino court buffoon, Atanasio, who wrote detailed diaries, offers much information on the difficulties of his career and the precariousness of the financial position even of a performer in continued employment of a Duke; see Tito Saffioti, *E il signor duca ne rise di buona maniera. Vita privata di un buffone di corte nella Urbino del Cinquecento* (Milan: La Vita Felice, 1997), especially 81-92.

<sup>320</sup> See, for example, the conclusion to *La infelice rota fata per el serenissimo duca alfonso* (Ferrara, c. 1511), with the anonymous singer's note “ch'io lo composta sol per povertade”; listed in *GOR*, 1: 66, no. 80.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. Salman, “Watching the Pedlar's Movements,” 139.

<sup>322</sup> Brian Pullan, “The Famine in Venice and the New Poor Law 1527-1529,” *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società dello Stato Veneziano* 5-6 (1963-64): 141-202. Famine and disease also brought hordes of immigrant beggars to the city in 1539-40, 1545-46, 1549-50, 1559-60, 1569-70 and the early 1590s (*ibid.*, p. 187).

<sup>323</sup> Piero Camporesi, ed., *Il libro dei vagabondi. Lo Speculum cerretanorum di Teseo Pini, Il vagabondo di Rafaele Frianoro e altri testi di “furfanteria”* (Milan: Garzanti, 2007; first published 1973), 511. This is from a 1593 Roman testimony about “companies” of beggars. Although Peter Burke has doubted the veracity of this source, because of its use of common tropes from the literature of roguery, there is no reason to believe that this type of beggar did not exist, even if they did not collude in groups. Peter Burke, “Perceiving a Counter-Culture,” in *idem, The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 70.

disability, thereby invoking sympathy. One of these, a *cantimbanco* called Giovanni di Giorgio “il cieco” (the blind), in 1557 published a poem suggesting that performing and selling cheap print could at times be part of the beggar’s repertoire of tactics. At the end of a four page pamphlet that contains two other poems, Giovanni lamented

la povertà malvaggia, e ria  
 qual m’ha fatto venir un’ombra scura,  
 disforme, e brutto più che la paura ...  
 Ma come spirto ch’invisibil sia,  
 niun mi vede, niun di me più cura.  
 Su’l Rialto giorno e notte tengo il piede,  
 dove gli amici, e anchor parenti miei,  
 passano inanci, e adietro, e non mi vede  
 ... Pero che povertà mi fa invisibile.<sup>324</sup>

A particular subcategory of “performer” who might also peddle print was those who claimed to be converted Jews. In 1540, Giovanni Battista, a converted Jew from Ferrara, registered in Florence as a ballad singer and seller of stories, soap and rosaries.<sup>325</sup> We do not know if it was the same “Zuan Battista, Jew converted to Christian” who in 1560 was reprimanded by the Venetian health magistrates for “get[ting] up on a bench in public, saying that he was a Jew and came to the faith, [and] handing out from the bench various sorts of little sheets,” probably printed flyers describing his conversion. Zuan Battista was told to proselytise no longer about his conversion nor to speak good or ill of the Jews, but

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<sup>324</sup> “The cruel and vicious poverty / which has made me become a dark shadow, / disformed, and uglier than fear ... / But like an invisible spirit I am, / no one sees me, no one takes care of me any more. / On the Rialto day and night I plant myself, / where friends, and even my relatives / pass in front and behind me, and do not see me ... / Since poverty makes me invisible ...” Giovanni di Giorgio il Cieco, *Lamento di meloni, in barcelletta. Et un capitulo in lode della uva* (Venice: Matteo Pagan, 1557), c. 4v. BNCF, Palat. E.6.6.154 II n. 24. On blind hawkers of print elsewhere in Europe, see Clive Griffin, “Itinerant Booksellers, Printers, and Pedlars in Sixteenth-Century Spain and Portugal,” in Myers, Harris, and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, 50-51; and Diogo Ramada Curto, “Littératures de large circulation au Portugal (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles),” in Chartier and Lüsebrink, *Colportage et lecture populaire*, 307.

<sup>325</sup> “Johannes Baptistas olim alterius Johannibaptistae ... canta in pancha et vendi leggende e palle di sapone et corone et altro”; listed in Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti,” pt 1, p. 160, no. 93. Jews appeared frequently among the small-time sellers enrolled in the *Arte*. Other converted Jews included “Jacob olim Judeus et hodie christianus,” enrolled in 1544 and “Johann Franciscus Vectorii Romuli hebreus factus christianus,” enrolled in 1569, both sellers of stories and mercery.



was permitted to “practise the pure and simple art of charlatanry.”<sup>326</sup> Again, it might be one of these Giovanni Battistas, or another altogether, who commissioned a small pamphlet in 1552 in Florence, that probably accompanied his public recitations.<sup>327</sup> The converted Jew was a stock figure in the literature of street life in early modern Italy, but again these examples show that they had some basis in fact, as converted Jews (or those claiming to be so) used their conversion as a pitch to attract an audience, to whom they might sell other small goods or beg for charity.<sup>328</sup>

Their itinerancy and position on the fringes of society, their sale of spectacle and novelty, prompted suspicion and sometimes fear of street performers and ambulant vendors as uncouth, unprincipled, mercenary spirits.<sup>329</sup> Itinerant sellers fit uneasily into a system of economic transactions primarily still “rooted in the personal,” in which price and terms of sale were influenced by face-to-face negotiation, trust, and long-term credit.<sup>330</sup> Some felt the need to advertise their integrity. In a poem claiming to be the dying words of the *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese, the singer emphasised his own virtue by warning his fellows:

O voi che del cantar fate il mistero,  
 ... non ingannate alcun, ma dite il vero,  
 ... sia verace, leale ed intero;

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<sup>326</sup> “Zuan Battista hebreo fatto christiano ... qual monta in bancho publicamente, dicendo esser stato hebreo, et venuto alla fede, dando in bancho diverse sorte di boletini ... Il dito Zuan Battista volendo montar in bancho il possi far, ma in modo alcuno non possi ... dir esser stato hebreo fato cristian, et di più vender né dar via boletini di sorte alcuna [in margin here: né menzonarli hebrei si in bon como in mal in modo alcuno non laudando ne biasmando] ma volendo come è dito montar in bancho posi far la pura et semplice arte di zaratano”; ASV, *Sanità*, b. 730, c. 291v. The Provveditori also addressed the case of a Gasparo Bel Ochio, a charlatan (*zaratan*) who was going around Venice begging with his girlfriend Polonia, who carried a “bolle in man fengindo di esser stata indita fata Cristiana, che mai fu hebreo”; *ibid.*, c. 195v (March 1558).

<sup>327</sup> *Opera nuova da insegnar parlar hebraico e una disputa contra hebrei, approvando esser venuto il vero Christo. Composta per Giovan Battista e Orsola sua madre, Isabeta sua figliuola, hebrei fatti Christiani* (Florence: “ad instantia di Giovan Battista e Orsola sua madre, Isabeta sua figliola, hebrei fatti Christiani,” 1552), a four-leaf octavo listed in *Rava*, 75, no. 3349bis.

<sup>328</sup> See Camporesi, *Il libro dei vagabondi*, 70. The piazza of Venice, as described by Tomaso Garzoni, included “il Giudeo fatto christiano” who “grida fra tanto, e deplora l’audienza ad alta voce borbottando ‘alle goi alle goi,’ ‘badanai badanai,’ finché il circolo è unito, e poi fa la predica della sua conversion, nella qual si conchiude che in luogo d’esser diventato christiano, è fatto evidentemente un finissimo ceretano”; *Piazza universale*, 2:913.

<sup>329</sup> Very useful is Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, chaps. 2 and 3, on charlatans’ representations and self-representations. See also Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 33-59.

<sup>330</sup> Evelyn Welch, “Making Money: Pricing and Payments in Renaissance Italy,” in O’Malley and Welch, *Material Renaissance*, 80.

non dir busie o per far robba ingordo.<sup>331</sup>

The charlatan Iacopo Coppa worked on the *piazze* of Italian cities with a banner that showed a nude woman with a tongue in one hand and a knife in the other, symbolising the lie punished, thereby expressing his honesty and trustworthiness to the audience.<sup>332</sup>

However charlatans in particular had a reputation for staging all sorts of theatrical trickery to convince customers of the efficacy of their products. When the Venetian health magistrates intervened to regulate their behaviour, it was often because it was feared that they would “deceive the people” (“ingannar il popolo”) with remedies that did not do what they promised.

### *Life on the Road*

A growing body of literature in the early modern period claimed to unveil the organisations of various kinds of itinerant tricksters, including pedlars and beggars.<sup>333</sup> However, there is little evidence for close-knit social and professional connections among performers and print sellers, at least before the later sixteenth century. Gentilcore found some degree of shared professional identity, endogamy, and the creation of social and business networks among medical charlatans, but mostly his conclusions are based on evidence from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the profession was more developed and organised.<sup>334</sup> Fontaine has documented the extensive networks of pedlars operating in northern Italy in this later period, sustained by family ties and banking systems.<sup>335</sup> The situation appears much more ad hoc in the sixteenth century. Certainly, however, there are instances of the performative arts being passed from generation to generation. In Venice, the buffoon Zuan Polo performed with his son and Alberto Gratia

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<sup>331</sup> “O you who make your career as singers, / ... do not deceive anyone, but tell the truth, / ... be honest, loyal and true; / do not tell lies or be greedy for things.” *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese in Luca un giorno avanti la morte sua* [n.p.d.], c. 2v. BMV, Misc. 2208(14).

<sup>332</sup> Malespini, *Ducento novelle*, 2: 299r.

<sup>333</sup> The texts published by Camporesi in *Il libro dei vagabondi* frequently refer to *compagnie* of various kinds of vagabonds, with specific ruses for defrauding people of the money.

<sup>334</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 160-65.

<sup>335</sup> Fontaine, *History of Pedlars*. See also *eadem*, “The Organisation and Evolutions of Traders’ and Pedlars’ Networks in Europe,” in *Spinning the Commercial Web: International Trade, Merchants, and Commercial Cities, c. 1640-1939*, eds Magrit Schutte Beerbühl and Jörg Vögele (Frankfurt Am Main: Lang, 2004), 113-28.

known as Il Toscano with his daughter.<sup>336</sup> Although Ippolito Ferrarese appears never to have registered in the Florentine *Arte dei medici e speciali* like many of his fellow performers, the Giulio di Ippolito Ferrarese, a charlatan and *cantimbanco* who registered in early 1554, may have been his son.<sup>337</sup> Or perhaps Giulio was a pretender. In the poem purporting to be Ferrarese's dying words, the *cantimbanco* feared that after his death everyone would use his name—he was as famous for singing as for selling bars of soap—claiming to be his relative or apprentice.<sup>338</sup>

For many performers, there was a continual need to be on the move, in order not to wear out the appetite for new entertainment or novel products in each town. The annual calendar of fairs and festivals across Italy helped determine an itinerary of movement.<sup>339</sup> For performers native to Venice, the nature of the city as a huge marketplace and commercial nexus, the presence of the largest printing industry in Europe, and a large, relatively literate population with a taste for spectacle may have provided less imperative to travel. Later in the period, Gentilcore found that many charlatans licensed in Venice were native or resident of the city; they “did not have to visit the markets and fairs of other towns, since Venice constituted a kind of ‘permanent fair’.”<sup>340</sup>

The output of a number of itinerant publishers surveyed in the Appendix demonstrates how such figures sometimes commissioned new editions of pamphlets or poems in each city they went to. For instance, Leonardo Furlano commissioned editions of his *Opera nova la quale insegna scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi di zifere* (*A New Work That Teaches How to Write and Read Twenty-Seven Types of Codes*) in Venice (1543,

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<sup>336</sup> On Zuan Polo's son, Girolamo, see Manlio Cortelazzo, “La stampa popolare in schiavonesco,” in *Il libro nel bacino adriatico (secc. XV-XVIII)*, ed. Sante Graciotti (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 155. Garzoni in his *Piazza universale*, 2: 910, described Il Toscano who “monta su con la putta” to perform in Piazza San Marco. Several works published by Gratia are mentioned in Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, 2:28. In Urbino, the court buffoon Atanasio tried to train both his adopted and natural sons in the arts of the *giullare*; see Saffiotti, *E il signor duca ne rise*, 38-40.

<sup>337</sup> “Julius Hypolite ferrarensis ciurmator cantans in pancha” registered on the 30 January 1555, paying twelve florins, the entry fee for foreigners; see ASF, AMS, f. 12, c. 80r.

<sup>338</sup> “Adesso conosciute sien le balle / del Ferrarese dall'altrui sapone, / ogniun si vanterà sono mia spalle. / Chi si fara parente, e chi garzon, / che sarà nato in villa, in bosco, o in valle. / Ma è par che lo comporti la ragione, / che cerchi ogniun se puo per qualche via / dare fine e spacio alla sua mercantia.” *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese*, c. 2r-v. A Giulio Ferrarese was also a publisher of cheap pamphlets in mid-sixteenth-century Venice, as I mention below, p. 148.

<sup>339</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 279-83. On the “calendar” that dictated the movements of troupes of *comici dell'arte* later in the century, see Claudia Burattelli, “Il calendario e la geografia dei comici dell'Arte,” *Biblioteca teatrale* 24 (1991): 19-40.

<sup>340</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, 274.

1547), in Milan (1544), and in Brescia (1546).<sup>341</sup> Ippolito Ferrarese also commissioned multiple editions of the *Canto primo del cavalier del lion d'oro* and a collection of *Sonetti e strambotti*.<sup>342</sup> This was probably a practical way to avoid having to carry a stock of pamphlets from town to town; the traveller could rather carry a sample and have a local printer copy it. This practice also allowed the performer to adapt his works as he went along. This reflected the way in which travelling performers continually adapted their repertoires, striving to appeal to the sympathies and interests of local audiences.<sup>343</sup> In 1518, when the Florentine ballad singer l'Altissimo performed "improvised" verses with his *lira* before a great crowd near the Ducal Palace, for instance, Sanudo records that he "began by wishing to speak in praise of this land."<sup>344</sup> A taste of this technique can be found in the plaints of the dying *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese. In one, he instructed his beloved instrument, his *lira*, to pass on his regards to the city

sopra tutte l'altre a me più grata ...,  
 Venetia di cui nome in mille carte,  
 dallo alato Leon sempre guardata,  
 tenuta, e reverita in ogni parte.  
 So che'l popolo inteso la mia morte,  
 perche sempre mi amò, si dorrà forte.<sup>345</sup>

In another, similar lament, almost certainly printed for a Venetian audience, Ferrarese recalled that his chief subject matter had been to sing the deeds "of those, who with crimson mantle / rule the Empire in Adria's lovely breast."<sup>346</sup> With his "rough tongue," the *cantimbanco* reminded the Venetians that he had sought always "to honour that holy Lion

<sup>341</sup> See the Appendix, nos 6.5, 6.6, 6.13, 6.16.

<sup>342</sup> See the Appendix, nos 5.9, 5.11, 5.4, 5.5.

<sup>343</sup> See the comments of Henke, "Towards reconstructing the audiences," 208.

<sup>344</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 25, col. 391 (10 May 1518): "uno fiorentino poeta venuto in questa terra a la Sensa, chiamato lo Altissimo ... montò in cariega facendo adunar gran numero di auditori ... il qual recita versi a l'improvvisa, uno sona la lira e lui li recita. Comenzò prima voler dir in laude di questa terra ... iudicio meo fu cossa fata a man e composta a Fiorenza, perchè disse bene."

<sup>345</sup> "Above all the others, most pleasing to me / ... Venice, whose name in a thousand pages / always guarded by the winged Lion [of San Marco], / [is] upheld and revered everywhere. / I know that the people [there], once they know of my death, / since they always love me, will be greatly pained." *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese*, c. 2r. Ippolito also added in similar hymns for the city of Florence, "che tanto voluntier sempre mi udia," and for his hometown of Ferrara; *ibid*, cc. 2v, 3v. On the *lira*, see above, p. 81.

<sup>346</sup> "Ma sol de quei, che con purpureo manto / tengon l'imperio, nel bel d'Adria seno." *Lamento d'Hyppolito detto il Ferrarese che cantava in bancha* (n.p.d.), c. 2r. BMV, Misc. 2231(8). This pamphlet was printed without typographical details; however, the woodcut border on the title page had been employed in earlier Venetian pamphlets, which suggests it was printed in Venice.

[of San Marco],” and insisted that “only to praise his name so highly / did I come running through Italy to Lucca,” where he died.<sup>347</sup> Ferrarese, it would seem, mined this vein of flattery continually. The same pamphlet also contains “*Stanze* that il Ferrarese sang in praise of the Venetians,” in which he called upon the god Phoebus to give him the skill to play and sing the praises of the Venetians “who have no equals in the sphere of mortals” (“che nel cerchio mortal non hanno pari”).<sup>348</sup> We do not know how or if such works were performed for the Venetian public or indeed before its governors. However, flattering the local authorities who might determine a performer’s tenure in town, and playing to the sympathies of the home crowd evidently were shrewd tactics for performers.

Such figures occupied a tenuous space on the margins of city life, lacking the security of tight-knit local connections that settled vendors enjoyed. Beloved of the crowd one minute, they might meet the disapproval of a Venetian magistrate the next and be kicked out of town.<sup>349</sup> It is possible to speculate about how the vagaries of civic and guild regulation influenced the movement of performers and itinerant sellers of print around the Italian peninsula. It is notable, for example, that a cluster of itinerant print sellers and performers from Venice or the Veneto registered in Florence in the mid 1540s, a time when the Venetians were finally making efforts to regulate the printing and bookselling trade, including the street trade.<sup>350</sup> The fabled liberty of Venice was on the wane, and other locations may have become more attractive to travelling publishers who wished to have cheap pamphlets printed and distribute them to city audiences. Although there was no systematic regulation of street performers in sixteenth-century Venice, there were ever more frequent attempts to control their activity. I suggest in Chapter Five how such efforts at control were part of a more general move on the part of the Venetian authorities in the second half of the Cinquecento to regulate forms of public conduct that might be considered

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<sup>347</sup> “Il desir che mia stella si mi diede, / fu sempre d’honorar quel Leon santo ... / Solo lodando el suo nome cotanto, / scorrendo per l’Italia a Lucca venni ...” *Ibid.*, c. 3r.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 3v-4r. One might note also the *Opera nuova nella quale si contiene un capitolo in laude della città di Fiorenza ...*, listed in the Appendix, no. 2.4, in which the itinerant publisher Damonfido published a poem in praise of Florence alongside a *capitolo* by Ariosto and one of the *enigme* or riddles in which Damonfido specialised.

<sup>349</sup> Although Welch has noted that, despite the distrust of performers like charlatans, authorities were “surprisingly permissive” of their activity, because of their popularity with locals and visitors; see *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 59.

<sup>350</sup> These include Matteo di Padua “vendens hystorias et saponem tanque magister in et per civitatem Florentinam” (registered 23 April 1544); Michelangelo di Stefano of Padua “vendens hystorias et cantans” (7 May 1544); and Giovanni Francesco from Asolo, near Treviso, “librarius et vendi hystorias in et per civitatem Florentiae” (9 August 1544). Listed in Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti,” pt. 1, p. 163, nos 104-6. The *cantimbanco* Baldassare Faentino, who had previously been in Venice, also enrolled in Florence in December 1544, as mentioned above.

blasphemous or immoral, extending even to the activity of small-time street performers who might gather a crowd and sell a few small pamphlets.

### *Moving into Print*

We might now consider more closely what role print came to play in the careers of performers, and how their interactions with the printing industry might have worked. This is a challenging issue to document. Moving around and unlikely to amass possessions, they were among the groups most unlikely to leave wills and other indications of their belongings and connections in the cities in which they lived. Unlike in Florence, where many performers and small-time street sellers of print enrolled in the *Arte dei medici e speciali*, there was no guild in Venice which could encompass these elusive figures. They belonged to the “dark side of the urban economy that lay outside the official guild structures,” described by James Shaw.<sup>351</sup> The fragmented nature of the Venetian guild system meant that jurisdiction over particular forms of commerce was unclear and subject to continuous negotiation.<sup>352</sup> The mercer’s guild in this period attempted to extend its control over sellers of small items such as playing cards and Paternosters, and to prevent unlicensed street-selling of mercery, but records of its enrolments are not extant for the Cinquecento.<sup>353</sup> It was only after the guild of printers and booksellers became functional from the 1570s that there began, sporadically, the pursuit of outsiders who impinged, albeit in a small way, on the guild’s terrain.<sup>354</sup>

Furthermore, very few of the kinds of figures considered in this chapter applied for permission to print their works (*licenze* or *imprimaturs*), or protection from their being copied (*privilegi* or *privileges*).<sup>355</sup> Applications for *licenze* and *privilegi* have been an

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<sup>351</sup> Shaw, *Justice of Venice*, 2. Unfortunately, the records of the *Giustizia Vecchia*, that Shaw uses to illuminate elements of this economy, are mostly lost for the sixteenth century.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*, 27, 109-37.

<sup>353</sup> On the attempt of the mercers to extend their jurisdiction over items such as those mentioned, see Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 90.

<sup>354</sup> This is discussed below, pp. 172-76.

<sup>355</sup> There are some lacunae in the archival repositories of licence and privilege requests, signalled by Angela Nuovo and Christian Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell’Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 184-85. However, it would seem that the majority survive and have been identified, allowing general assertions to be made. For the records surviving from the first half of the Cinquecento, see Rinaldo Fulin, “Documenti per

important source of information for the early print trade in Venice, and yet the picture they give omits almost entirely the lower end of print production. Although admitting that publishers did not always seek imprimaturs for their works, Grendler still used the surviving applications as a source to estimate the output of Venetian Cinquecento editions.<sup>356</sup> It was theoretically obligatory to obtain a licence to print any item in Venice after 1543; however, enforcement of the laws was very rare before mid-century, and then was only intermittent. The kind of material most often sold by performers was evidently cheap and ephemeral enough to be ignored by the authorities much of the time.<sup>357</sup>

Applying for privileges and imprimaturs was a time-consuming and expensive process, and one facilitated by having friends in high places.<sup>358</sup> Only the most eminent performers sought privileges and thus left archival record of their presence in Venice. A year after Sanudo recorded l'Altissimo's flattery of the Venetian public, for example, the singer requested and received a privilege from the Venetian Senate for "some fine, no less useful than delightful vernacular works ... which, for the love which he bears for this great city and for its use, he desires to have printed here and to sell."<sup>359</sup> The Venetian buffoon Zuan Polo obtained at least two privileges to protect the publication of his works, in 1532 and 1535.<sup>360</sup> Another example is the charlatan Iacopo Coppa. With the backing of a patrician supporter, Caterina Barbaro, Coppa seems to have managed to obtain the right to print the first collection of Ariosto's *Rime*, which officially had been granted to the established publisher Federico Torresani.<sup>361</sup>

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servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto* 12 (1882): 84-212; and Paola Negrin, *Licenze e privilegi di stampa a Venezia (1527-1550) (tesi di laurea, Università degli studi di Venezia, 1990-91)*.

<sup>356</sup> Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 8-9. Grendler reached the very low figure of 15,000 editions from this estimate. On Fahy's criticism of this approach, see above, n. 8. As mentioned, Grendler left aside pamphlet works and other ephemera; if these were taken into account the percentage of works published without an imprimatur surely would be much higher.

<sup>357</sup> A similar point was made by Richard Agee, "The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 3 (1983):10-13, who proposed in relation to music books that the seeking of a privilege was not automatic or even necessarily just to protect the work from piracy, but rather a way of making a statement about its prestige and artistic value.

<sup>358</sup> See Nuovo and Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa*, 186.

<sup>359</sup> "Alcune bone non manco utile che delevol opere vulgare ... li quali, per lo amor lui porta a questa alma città et utile di quella, desidera far stampar de qui et venderle." Quoted in Fulin, "Documenti per servire," 193-94 (2 September 1519).

<sup>360</sup> ASV, CCX, Notatorio, r. 9, c. 78r (11 January 1532); ASV, CCX, Notatorio, r. 11, c. 57r (29 November 1535).

<sup>361</sup> Giuseppe Fatini, "Su la fortuna e l'autenticità delle liriche di Lodovico Ariosto," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* supp. 22-23 (1924): 148-59. On the practice of transferring privileges to third parties, see Nuovo and Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa*, 190-93.

These are figures who were too prominent to flout the rules, and who presumably wished to bring prestige and publicity to their publications by seeking a privilege for them. They had a reputation for certain works or set-pieces that they wished to prevent from being stolen by imitators. If they made only brief stays in Venice, however, other performers or travelling publishers had less incentive to ingratiate themselves with the authorities and to obey the local rules, as it was easier to escape punishment. If they did occasionally fall foul of the law in Venice, they could move on somewhere else. Thus when the itinerant publisher Paris Mantovano was banished from Venice for five years in 1551, he soon reappeared in Florence, publishing similar material. Likewise, the charlatan Latino de' Grassi was kicked out of Venice in 1551 for exaggerating the benefits of his electuary against venoms, which he sold publicly along with two printed recipes, but simply turned up several months later in Florence.<sup>362</sup> However some performers did return repeatedly to the city and evidently built up relationships with certain printers.

Unfortunately, the moment when a performer or itinerant publisher contracted with a printer to have a work printed almost always is lost to us. We do not know how each party negotiated the finer details of how the materials (chiefly paper) would be paid for, the pamphlet physically designed, how and where it would be sold, and how the profits would be shared. For most of the sixteenth century, written contracts between performers and employers must have been rare.<sup>363</sup> An exception to this is the contract that survives between Francesco Tromba da Gualdo, a poet and probably a *cantastorie* and court improviser, and the printer Bianchino del Leone, to publish Tromba's chivalric poem *La dragha d'Orlando* in Perugia in 1524. According to the contract, Tromba was to provide the paper and Leone the other expenses, and profits would be shared half-half.<sup>364</sup> Beer suggests this was a common arrangement at this time, citing also the joint-venture between the poet Cassio da Narni and the printer of his own chivalric poem *La morte del Danese*.<sup>365</sup> But these were publications of a significant size; for instance, Tromba's was a quarto book of around ninety

<sup>362</sup> ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 729, cc. 216r-217r (22 April 1551). On the first of June 1551, "Latinus maestri Gasparis di Grassis venetianus" registered as a "medicus chyruorghus" in Florence; ASF, *AMS*, f. 12, c. 61r.

<sup>363</sup> Although an exception to this is the 1484 contract between a charlatan and a singer he engaged to perform with him on his travels for a year, discussed in Mario Sensi, "Cerretani e ciarlatani nel secolo XV. Spigolature d'archivio," *Medicina nel secoli* 15 no. 1 (1978): 82-83. As Henke points out, the business practices—like the performance techniques—of *commedia dell'arte* actors occupied the "liminal" space between orality and literacy, with the use of both oral and written contracts. Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 1. Verbal agreements also seem to have been the rule between *poligrafisti* and printers, according to Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, 248.

<sup>364</sup> Marina Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria. Il Furioso e il romanzo italiano del primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987), 177. The first book of the *Dragha* was published in 1525, the second in 1527.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.



leaves. Short pamphlets such as those examined in the next chapter were much less of an undertaking, requiring far less capital investment in the form of paper or editing.

The logbook of the Ripoli convent press in Florence is still the most informative source we have to illuminate the commissioning of more modest editions and the mechanics of interactions between performers and publishers.<sup>366</sup> In its eight-year career, from 1476-84, the press set up by the Dominican confessor Fra Domenico da Pistoia and aided by the work of resident nuns as compositors, printed a range of both classical and more ephemeral vernacular texts. Although many of the works were of a religious nature, the choice of publications does not seem to have been motivated primarily by a desire to spread the word of God but instead by a “rather ‘un-Dominican’ entrepreneurial spirit,” in the words of Melissa Conway.<sup>367</sup> As well as entering partnerships with Florentine *cartolai* and other investors with spare capital for more ambitious editions, the logbook shows that the press took commissions from a number of *cerretani* and *cantimbanchi*, mostly for *fogli volanti* or small pamphlets. Many of these editions were prohibited later in the Cinquecento by the Indices of prohibited books and are now lost, but can be identified with the help of other editions of the same texts.<sup>368</sup> Obviously they were chosen for their topicality or established popularity with a large audience.

The logbook communicates the ability of street performers to shift large quantities of cheap editions procured from the press. A charlatan called Antonio, for instance, commissioned 505 copies of the *Vangelo di San Giovanni* (probably a verse work) printed with the *Orazione di San Rocco*, in July 1480, well-timed to sell them before the feast of San Rocco on 16 August.<sup>369</sup> Antonio paid a total of two *lire* for these works, which translates to a unit cost of less than one *denaro*. Even if he retailed them for a *quattrino* each (three *denari*) the pamphlets were still very cheap. Similarly, an unnamed *cerretano* commissioned 500 copies of a *foglio volante*, the *Lamento d’Otranto*, in November 1480,

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<sup>366</sup> The interactions of ambulant vendors and performers with the Ripoli press are discussed in Noakes, “Development of the Book Market,” 45-52; Rouse and Rouse, *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers*, 71-89; Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell’Italia*, 106-10; Edoardo Barbieri, “Per il *Vangelo di S. Giovanni* e qualche altra edizione di S. Jacopo a Ripoli,” *Italia medioevale et umanistica* 43 (2002): 383-400. On the press more generally, see Emilia Nesi, *Il diario della stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence: Seeber, 1903); Pietro Bologna, “La stamperia fiorentina del monastero di S. Jacopo di Ripoli e le sue edizioni,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 20 (1892): 349-78; Conway, *Diario of the Printing Press*.

<sup>367</sup> Conway, *Diario of the Printing Press*, 14.

<sup>368</sup> Barbieri, “Per il *Vangelo di S. Giovanni*,” 386-87.

<sup>369</sup> Conway, *Diario of the Printing Press*, 193.

only a few months after the Turkish fleet destroyed Otranto. He paid a total of one florin to the press, equating to a little over 3 *denari* per work.<sup>370</sup>

The commission of 550 copies of the chivalric poem, the *Sala di Malagigi*, by a Bernardino *cermatore* in October and November 1483 shows explicitly how such an arrangement might work. The logbook records that Bernardino came in to the press and collected the poems in batches of twenty-five or fifty, returning every few days for new stock, which he must have been taking out on the road. Each time he came back, he would pay a part of his debt for the wholesale cost of the pamphlets, which amounted to sixty *soldi*, or three *lire*. On several occasions, presumably when Bernardino lacked the funds to pay, he brought his mother-in-law, who paid for him.<sup>371</sup> Another charlatan publisher described as “il pigro cermatore” left a bedsheet as pledge for his debt to the press.<sup>372</sup>

Charlatans and performers who already had an established rapport with audiences and small-time buyers of other goods would have been in a unique position to know the tastes of the public. The Ripoli logbook shows how very quickly after the introduction of printing these figures diversified their activity to include the publication and sale of small printed items that, although they were cheap, were sold in large numbers over a short period of time. We do not know in this case what contribution the itinerant sellers made to selecting and shaping the texts to be printed but the prevalence of verse works suggests they derived from performance or easily could be adapted back into performance. While the value of their business was indeed minor in the larger context of the industry, there is reason to believe that such figures played a notable role in disseminating the new products of the press among the lower echelons of society, whether in a spoken or written (printed) form.

The existence of similar pamphlets commissioned by itinerant publishers and performers in Venice indicates that these kinds of transactions also were taking place there, even if archival record of them is yet to be found. As Lowry commented of the charlatan-publishers active in Venice, “no doubt they, too, pawned their bed-linen or their spoons to finance many thousands more [pamphlets] that have long since vanished into dust.”<sup>373</sup> Even in the absence of logbooks and contracts, however, we can surmise something of their

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<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>371</sup> For instance, on 22 October, Bernardino took twenty-five copies and paid nothing, but on the 26, he took another twenty-five and “portò la sua suocera e rechò mi soldi dieci di contanti”; *ibid.*, 261.

<sup>372</sup> “Ebbe il detto [cermatore] dugento delle sopradetto istorie [of Herod] per resto e a mi lasciato per pegnio uno lenzuolo”; *ibid.*, 217 (22 February 1482).

<sup>373</sup> Lowry, “Produzione del libro,” 385.

relations with the Venetian book trade. In the fifteenth century, a few performers already were collaborating with Venetian printers. The blind singer Francesco da Firenze translated the chivalric tale of *Persiano* from French into Italian for the Venetian publisher Luca di Domenico in 1493.<sup>374</sup> The *canterino* Antonio Farina put his name to a *foglio volante* oration to the archangel Raphael in Venice around 1491-92, as well as some short prophecies.<sup>375</sup> Only in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, it would seem, did it become more common for performers to indicate their involvement with the formula *ad instantia di*, perhaps an indication that some were more intent to promote their name in association with signature works.

Printed pamphlets also occasionally alert us that performers formed partnerships to help gather the contribution of capital necessary to finance even a run of smaller works. For example, the ballad singer Francesco Faentino with an unknown partner commissioned the publication of several pastoral comedies in Siena and Venice in the late 1530s.<sup>376</sup> These partners may have at times been fellow performers. Leonardo Furlano, another itinerant publisher thought to have been a performer, published a pamphlet edition of *Stanze transmutate del Ariosto* (*Ariosto's Stanze Transformed*) with a partner identified only as Il Ferrarese which could indicate the involvement of either Ippolito or Giulio Ferrarese.<sup>377</sup> Similarly, a pamphlet of 1540 entitled *Gli dilettevoli ed utili conforti a ciascuna persona che maritare si voglia* (*The Delightful and Useful Consolations for Anyone that Wishes to Marry*) commissioned by "il Bergamasco e il Peregrino" may well refer to Damonfido Pastore, nicknamed Il Peregrino, and Felice Bergamasco who both commissioned pamphlets in Venice at this time.<sup>378</sup>

We have seen too how a successful publisher, Nicolò Zoppino, formed a prolific and stable partnership for a decade with the street-singer Vincenzo di Polo. However, short-term

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<sup>374</sup> Melzi quotes the final stanzas of *Persiano figliolo di Altobello*, in which the singer advertised his work, in Melzi and Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani*, 39. However this was not a pamphlet but a quarto book of 136 leaves, bought by Ferdinand Columbus in Rome in 1512 for 46 *quattrini*; listed in Wagner and Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa*, 188, no. 331.

<sup>375</sup> The *Oratione dell'Arcangelo Raffaele* ([Venice]: Guglielmo Anima Mia, [1491-92]) is reproduced in Zorzi, *Vita nei libri*, 47, from a copy held in the BMCV. On Farina, see Alfredo Cioni, ed., *La poesia religiosa. I cantari agiografici e le rime di argomento sacro* (Florence: Sansoni antiquariato, 1963), 249-50.

<sup>376</sup> See Dennis Rhodes, "Francesco detto il Faventino," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 52 (1977): 144-45, and the titles listed in the Appendix, nos 3.2-3.4.

<sup>377</sup> *Stanze transmutate dell'Ariosto con una bellissima canzone* ([Venice]: "Per Leonardo detto il Furlano, et il Ferrarese compagni," 1545). Listed in the Appendix, no. 6.12.

<sup>378</sup> *Gli dilettevoli ed utili conforti a ciascuna persona che maritare si voglia, con la ragione e punti, et passi ch'al maritare si conviene tratti dalle satire di messer Lodovico Arioste* (Venice, 1540); listed in Giuseppe Agnelli and Giuseppe Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni Ariostee* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1933), 2:196. I have found no holdings of this.

relations of mutual expediency, as evidenced by the case of the Ripoli Press, were probably much more common. Maintaining a successful printing business was an extremely precarious matter, and printers sought investment from many sources. For printers, the kind of pamphlets commissioned by itinerant publishers and performers offered quick jobs that could bring in a small fee and keep the presses occupied between larger undertakings. Additionally, sending works out with itinerant sellers of print was another useful outlet of sale for small publications.

As performers' pamphlets frequently were issued without any or all identifying information, it is not always possible to name their printers. Luisa Rubini has suggested that the anonymity was to allow the works to be sold in other places and at a later time without seeming out-of-date.<sup>379</sup> If the works were being sold in the streets by the performer-publisher, it was not so important for the printers to indicate their address as a point of sale. Additionally, the printers perhaps wished to disavow their association with some of these small and un-esteemed works. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence in surviving printed editions to indicate that there was a circuit of printers around northern Italy who specialised in the production of cheap pamphlets designed for street sale, and who repeatedly printed works at the request of street performers.<sup>380</sup> The recurrence of the same names perhaps indicates a network of recommending or referencing between them. Either these printers actively sought out performers who came to Venice and offered to print works for them or (probably more likely) performers were apprised of the specialty of these printers when or before they arrived in town, and knew where to go to make the arrangements for publication. As noted in Chapter One, the proximity of the places in which performers and printers tended to operate in Venice in this period would have facilitated the making of such connections.<sup>381</sup>

In Venice, there were several printers who worked continually with performers, and they are among those documented in the previous chapter. Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo

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<sup>379</sup> Luisa Rubini, "Fiabe in ottava rima: il cantare fiabesco a stampa (1475-1530)," in Picone and Rubini, *Il cantare italiano fra folklore e letteratura*, 414. For the frequency of anonymous printing in Cinquecento Venice, see Dennis Rhodes, *Silent Printers: Anonymous Printing at Venice in the Sixteenth Century* (London: British Library, 1995).

<sup>380</sup> This was also the case in England and the Netherlands; see Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, trans. Gayna Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; first published in German 1981), 19; Salman, "Watching the Pedlar's Movements," 145.

<sup>381</sup> Gentilcore pointed out the "symbiotic" relationship of charlatans and printers, often promoted by proximity: "for a charlatan arriving in town and setting up his bank, it was at most a matter of crossing a street or two in order to find a bookman willing to print his book, chapbook, or handbill"; see his *Medical Charlatanism*, 349.

Pasini, for instance, printed the *Trionfo della lussuria di Maestro Pasquino* (*Maestro Pasquino's Triumph of Lust*) “ad instantia de Hippolito detto il Ferrarese” in 1538. In 1541, they produced the chivalric poem the *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro* “ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino,” who I believe to be the same *cantimbanco* known as Baldassare Faentino. A 1536 edition, again at the instance of Ippolito Ferrarese, has also been attributed to Bindoni and Pasini based on the appearance in it of a woodcut border used in other works by these printers.<sup>382</sup> Notably, the same woodcut border appears in a 1542 edition of the same *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro*, again published “ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino,” but this time without note of the printers.<sup>383</sup>

Another common point of reference for performers publishing in Venice at this time seems to have been the interconnected group of printers Giovanni Padovano, Guglielmo Fontaneto di Monferrato, and Venturino Ruffinelli. Padovano was certainly in partnership with Ruffinelli between 1534 and 1539, and collaborated with Fontaneto at least once in 1545, for the publication of an unlicensed pamphlet that saw them both fined by the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia*.<sup>384</sup> Fontaneto and Ruffinelli were certainly in partnership for at least one edition in 1543.<sup>385</sup> It seems likely that more, unrecorded, connections existed between these printers.

Long before Fontaneto got into trouble with the blasphemy magistrates, he was producing works on commission of travelling performers. A surviving edition from around 1520 of the *Opera dello Altissimo poeta fiorentina*, which may be that anticipated by the privilege l'Altissimo obtained in Venice in 1519, has been attributed to Fontaneto.<sup>386</sup> In 1532 Fontaneto printed on commission of Ippolito Ferrarese the *Opera nova del superbo re di Sarza Rodamonte*. In 1543, he produced an edition of the *Opera nova la quale insegna scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi di zifere* for Leonardo Furlano. Padovano, for his part, also had some history of printing these kinds of works. In 1538, an *Egloga pastorale di*

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<sup>382</sup> *Stanze bellissime de uno gentilhuomo qual essendo innamorato ...*, listed in the Appendix, no. 5.6. See Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, 251, for the attribution. However, one needs to be cautious in this regard due to the sharing and copying of woodcut borders by printers in Venice. See Harris, “Nicolò Garanta,” 121-23; and also Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, viii. See the Appendix for full details of these works, and below, pp. 111-12, 144-45, for further discussion of their contents.

<sup>383</sup> See the Appendix, no. 1.4.

<sup>384</sup> See below, pp. 160-61.

<sup>385</sup> *Euclide Megarense philosopho, solo introduttore delle scienze matematiche ...* (Venice: “per Venturino Ruffinelli, ad instantia e requisitione de Guilielmo de Monferra, e de Pietro di Facolo da Vinegia libraro, e de Nicolao Tartalea brisciano traduttore, nel mese di febraro 1543”); listed on *Edit 16*.

<sup>386</sup> Dennis Rhodes, “Altissimo,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 57 (1982): 234-35.

*Lylia* has been attributed to him, that was commissioned by Francesco Faentino and an unknown *compagno*.<sup>387</sup>

Ruffinelli, who after 1544 was chiefly based in Mantua, there printed an *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* on commission of Baldassare Faentino in 1552.<sup>388</sup> This was only the continuation of an involvement in the publication of a number of pamphlets on commission of performers dating back some years. In 1538, he seems to have printed a now lost second edition of the pornographic poem *La puttana errante* (*The Whore Errant*) for Ippolito Ferrarese.<sup>389</sup> Also to Ruffinelli has been ascribed the printing of an edition of the *Opera nuova d'un gentil'huomo fiorentino chiamato Tibaldo Eliseo* (*A New Work About a Florentine Gentleman Called Tibaldo Eliseo*) on commission of Francesco Faentino, ca. 1540.<sup>390</sup> In 1544, Ruffinelli printed a work by the *poligrafo* Eustachio Celebrino at the instance of “maestro Bastiano Vinitiano e Beneto cieco compagni,” the latter almost certainly the blind Venetian ballad singer Benedetto Clario Cieco.<sup>391</sup> Outside of Venice, other printers also specialised in works written or commissioned by popular performers. These included Luca Bini and Cosimo Bianchino del Leone in Perugia, Giovanni Landi in Siena (who earned the nickname “Giovanni dalle Commedie” for his printing of vernacular plays), and Giovan Battista Faelli in Bologna.<sup>392</sup>

It has been speculated that those who moved between Venice and these other printing centres, such as the publisher Zoppino and the engraver and *poligrafo* Eustachio Celebrino, might have acted as conduits for the movement of texts and images to be reused or reprinted.<sup>393</sup> It is likely that performers and other small-time itinerant publishers also played this role. As noted above, performers frequently had the same works reprinted in

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<sup>387</sup> Appendix, no. 3.3. In 1551, Padovano printed the *Opera nuova nella quale se contiene la natura d'il sonno ...* (Venice) at the expense of the charlatan Leone Tartaglini.

<sup>388</sup> Appendix, no. 1.11. On Ruffinelli, who was invited to start a press in Mantua in 1543 by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga as none was then operating there, see Luigi Pescasio, *L'arte della stampa a Mantova nei secoli XV-XVI-XVII* (Mantua: Editoriale Padus, 1971), 153-65.

<sup>389</sup> Conte Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *La vita di Pietro Aretino* (Padua: Comino, 1741), 207-8. The first edition of this work is thought to have been of 1531, although this is also lost; see the modern reprint: Lorenzo Venier, *La puttana errante* (Milan: Unicopli, 2005). I discuss this text further below, pp. 121, 145.

<sup>390</sup> Appendix, no. 3.5.

<sup>391</sup> Eustachio Celebrino, *Opera nuova chiamata Pantheon*; listed on *Edit 16*. Bastiano Veneziano is not otherwise known.

<sup>392</sup> See *DTEI*, s.v., on Bini, Bianchino, and Faelli. On Landi, see Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del '500*, 296.

<sup>393</sup> Potter, “Nicolo Zoppino and the Book-Trade Network,” 144-45, discusses various connecting figures between Venice and Perugia, including Celebrino. See also Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, 181-83, on the probable role of Celebrino in bringing the chivalric tale of the *Dragha di Orlando* from Perugia to Venice and “repackaging” it for the publishers Bindoni and Pasini.

various cities. The entrepreneurialism of itinerant performers may have played a significant role in transmitting new texts (as well as new fashions for performance) from place to place. In this way performers could continue to use their knowledge of audiences' interests, honed by live performance, to make themselves valued sources of material for printers, who were always seeking new content to entice readers.

### *Cheap Print and Self-Promotion*

I have already alluded to the benefits for more lowly performers of distributing and even publishing items of cheap print. Print provided a significant new strand in careers that were as patchworked and improvised as the performances around which they centred. Performers could parlay the interest aroused by their songs or cries into sales of printed pamphlets, sheets, or images, and perhaps draw attention to other items which they sold. Those performers who took the trouble to commission pamphlets with their names on them probably were also attempting to promote their reputation as entertainers, or sellers of other goods.

As already will be evident, many itinerant publishers and performers chose a theatrical or flamboyant nickname to attempt to fix themselves in the memory of audiences and customers. Indications of physical disability, real or feigned, were among the most recurrent nicknames for working performers, particularly the blind, as in the cases of the *cantastorie* Francesco "il Cieco di Ferrara" and Cristoforo Scanello "il Cieco da Forlì."<sup>394</sup> The nickname Zoppino, suggesting lameness, was used by a number of performers as well as by the publisher Nicolò de' Rossi.<sup>395</sup> Likewise, the Sienese comic Nicolò Campani adopted the nickname Strascino (possibly indicating a dragging walk) perhaps to highlight or parody the lameness that affected him as a result of syphilis, or to evoke the sympathy of

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<sup>394</sup> On Francesco, see Giulio Bertoni, "Il Cieco di Ferrara e altri improvvisatori alla corte d'Este," *Giornale storica della letteratura italiana* 94 (1929): 271-78; on Cristoforo, A. Pasini, *Vita e scritti di Cristoforo Scanello detto "Il Cieco da Forlì"* (Forlì: Valbonesi, 1937).

<sup>395</sup> A *cantastorie* called Zoppino was depicted performing in Piazza San Marco in two works by Teofilo Folengo, present in Venice in the later 1520s, which led Luigi Messedaglia to identify this character with the publisher; see *idem*, *Vita e costume della rinascenza in Merlin Cocai*, eds Eugenio and Myriam Billanovich (Padua: Antenore, 1973), 2: 469-70. Likewise, Garzoni mentioned a "Zottino" singing "un sonetto del mal francese, et una siciliana" in his *Piazza universale*, 2: 911.

his audience.<sup>396</sup> Other performers were known by a regional tag, such as Francesco and Baldassare Faentino (from the town of Faenza).<sup>397</sup> Baldassare also adopted the memorable nickname of Il Tonante (the Thunderer).<sup>398</sup>

Another performer-publisher who was known by a geographical tag, Ippolito Ferrarese, seems to have built up quite a renown, no doubt aided by his pamphlet publications. According to the poetic lament of the dying *cantimbanco*, he was beloved of the populations of the various cities in which he had performed repeatedly, an activity he combined with selling soap.<sup>399</sup> Ferrarese, like other entertainers, also seems to have been associated with his mastery of the *lira*, to which he bid a painful farewell in his poetic plaint, before even he addressed his family.<sup>400</sup> The survival of at least three pamphlet *lamenti* on the occasion of Ferrarese's death suggests a continuing interest in and affection for the entertainer, exploited by other performers and by printers.<sup>401</sup> Another curious character who seems to have carried a known performance persona into print was the occasional publisher who styled himself Damonfido Pastore "detto il Peregrino" and commissioned several pamphlets in Venice in the early 1540s.<sup>402</sup> In addition to the connotations of traveller or foreigner that accompanied his chosen epithet, "Il Peregrino," it

<sup>396</sup> Valenti, *Comici artigiani*, 47-48.

<sup>397</sup> Gentilcore found stage-names with a geographical component to be "by far the most common" among medical charlatans throughout the early modern period; see *Medical Charlatanism*, 295.

<sup>398</sup> Because of Baldassare's 1544 matriculation in Florence ("Baldassar olim Sebastiani Romani de Faventia cantans palum [sic] et vendens pallas saponis et hystorias") I believe he was the same occasional publisher who signed himself "Il Romano Faentino," and works under these names are listed together in the Appendix. See Bertoli, "Libri, cartolai e ambulanti," pt 1, p. 164, no. 109. Melzi rather speculated that Francesco and Il Romano Faentino could have been one and the same, but was not aware of the Florentine *Arte* evidence; see Melzi and Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi*, 188-89.

<sup>399</sup> Of the Venetians, Ferrarese's lament said: "O che bella audientia hebbi da loro; / o quanto li fu grato el suono il canto; / quanto li piacque a tutti il mio lavoro. / Io portabo fra gli altri il pregio il vanto, / facendo di savone argento et oro." *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese*, c. 2r. This renown was again mentioned in the poetic epitaph to the Ferrarese that closes the pamphlet, and insists that of his virtue and intelligence: "ribomba il suono a l'uno e l'altro polo. / Se valse in far le palle, o tanto o quanto, / ne va la fama sua pel mondo a volo, / con la dolcezza del mirabil canto, / e col odor del suo gentil lavoro, / fatto ha sì, che li Dei l'ha tolto loro"; see *ibid.*, c. 4v. A contemporary hand confirmed this fame in the margin of the one surviving copy (BMV, Misc 2208(14)), noting that "per lavarse le man con le sue balle, / l'ha tolto i Dei, e non fatto male."

<sup>400</sup> "Suave, dolce a me diletta lira, / fido soccorso alli bisogni miei ... / S'io ti potessi lira mia portare / ti vorrei meco nella sepultura." *Ibid.*, c. 1v. The nickname of the *cantimbanco* and publisher Vincenzo Citaredo, active in the 1590s, also associates him with his instrument. At least one of his works featured on the title page an image of a stringed *mandolino* and on each side the initials V.C. See Guido Vitaletti, "Vincenzo Citaredo, canterino urbinato del secolo XVI," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 85 (1925): 102.

<sup>401</sup> These are *Il pianto e gran lamento fatto per il Ferrarese, in Luca, un giorno avanti la sua morte* (n.p.d.), BL, 1071.g.22(5); and *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese in Luca un giorno avanti la morte sua; and Lamento d'Hyppolito detto il Ferrarese che cantava in banca* (both cited above).

<sup>402</sup> *DTEI*, s.v., lists only two of his works as a publisher, when in fact at least nine survive (see the Appendix).



seems likely that Damonfido cultivated some kind of “wildman” or rustic persona as a performer, as the title pages or colophons of the pamphlets he commissioned frequently carried the note that he was “born and raised in the forest of Corzona [Cortona?], among sheep and cows” (“nato et nutrito ne la foresta di Corzona, inter oves et boves”). In his poem in praise of Florence, he presented himself: “I am a shepherd, and of a shepherd I wear the mantle / You hear the wit of a rustic shepherd / so timidity affects my song.”<sup>403</sup>

The celebrated Venetian *buffoni* provide another interesting example of the new use of cheap print to commemorate performers and their performances. The buffoons acted in public spectacles attended by large numbers of ordinary Venetians, such as carnival’s *giovedì grasso* festivities, held in the city’s most public spaces. In 1504, Domenico Tagliacalze and Zuan Polo dei Liompardi performed on benches in Piazza San Marco adjacent to a charlatan who “pulled out a stone from a little boy in full public view.”<sup>404</sup> Yet the buffoons were also invited into the palaces of the patriciate and the Doge, to perform at patrician weddings and for visiting dignitaries, often alongside the patrician *compagnie della calza*. Their entertainments appealed to the city’s elite as well as the wider populace.<sup>406</sup>

Like other contemporary performers, some of the *buffoni* recognised the opportunities to promote themselves further in print, and the Venetian printers likewise spotted a chance to exploit wide-ranging public acclaim with printed products. I have already mentioned how Zuan Polo sought privileges for his printed works; in the next chapter I discuss his *Libero del Rado Stizoso*, a chivalric parody that he sold in Piazza San Marco after one of his performances. This was a longer work, sold for as much as twenty *soldi*, however other works by or about the *buffoni* were published in the simplest and cheapest forms. For example, Zuan Polo is thought to have been the author of the *Lamento di Domenego Tagliacalze*, a simple work in the *barzulletta* song form closely associated

<sup>403</sup> “Pastor son’io, e di Pastor ho’l manto; / d’un rustico Pastor senti lo’ngegno; / onde timidità muove il mio canto.” *Opera nuova nella quale si contiene un capitolo in laude della città di Fiorenza*, c. 1v.

<sup>404</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 6, col. 111 (15 December 1504): “fo su la piazza un bel spectaculo, di uno cavalier, che publice cavò una piera a uno putin; et, per far rider, Zuan Pollo e Domenego Taja Calze fè uno soler etiam im piazza, et stravestidi fè belle cosse, adeo fo bello da veder”; quoted in Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 55. Other works on the *buffoni* include Paola Ancilotto, “Un buffone a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento,” *Quaderni di teatro* 8, no. 31 (1986): 85-122; Paola Ancilotto and Luigina Berti, “Il lamento del buffone Tagliacalze,” in *Ruzzante*, eds Antonio Daniele et al. (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1988), 225-58; Raimondo Guarino, *Teatro e mutamenti. Rinascimento e spettacolo a Venezia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995), 185-232; and Daniele Vianello, *L’arte del buffone. Maschere e spettacolo tra Italia e Baviera nel XVI secolo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005).

<sup>406</sup> See Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 56.

with oral performance, packaged in a two-leaf quarto pamphlet that would have sold for very little. The *Lamento* was in the voice of Zuan Polo's former performing partner Tagliacalze who died in 1513, and likely was produced after Tagliacalze's death. In it, the late buffoon bid farewell to his fellow performers, to the Venetian Senate and some of the city's noble families, and to the Venetian populace, calling them to "weep ... all of you for pity ... / Weep for the great buffoon."<sup>407</sup> When Zuan Polo himself passed away around 1540, his fame was exploited in turn, this time with a mock *testamento* published in a four-leaf octavo that utilised Zuan Polo's trademark mock-Slavic dialect.<sup>408</sup> Members of the Venetian public who had enjoyed the performances of the buffoons could buy a cheap memento of them. Others commemorated the buffoons with portraits of them that they displayed in their houses.<sup>409</sup>

### Conclusion

Many performers and itinerant sellers of others goods turned to cheap print as a new source of earning, and they continued to do this throughout the Cinquecento. Print—sung, recited, sold—became a factor in many types of minor street entertainment; it was hard to extricate sales pitch from performance. For the more eminent performers, print also became a means to publicise their characters, compositions or set-pieces beyond the range of an immediate audience gathered to hear them. The ephemeral nature of the printed products means that only a small proportion of those produced survive, and the equally fugitive character of their producers means that few concrete traces of them can be found in

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<sup>407</sup> "Pianga il populo venetiano, / tutti quanti per pietade ... / Pianga il popul venetiano; / pianga tutti il gran bufone." *Lamento di Domenego Tagliacalze il quale è morto et trovasi dinanci a Plutone con suo bel recitare* ([Venice: ca. 1513]), c. 2r. BL, C.20.c.22 (13). On this work, see Vianello, *L'arte del buffone*, 89-97; and Ancilotto and Berti, "Il lamento del buffone Tagliacalze." Another pamphlet from around the same time imagined the ghost of Tagliacalze appearing to Zuan Polo and recounting his journey into the underworld: *La prima e seconda e terza visione de Domenego Taiacalze* ([Venice, ca. 1513]), BL, C.20.c.22(14). This was closely related to an *intermezzo* Zuan Polo is recorded to have performed in 1515. See Vianello, *L'arte del buffone*, 69-75.

<sup>408</sup> *Il testamento di Zuan Polo alla schiavonescha* ([Venice: ca. 1540]). BMV, Misc. 2231(2). Reprinted in Vianello, *L'arte del buffone*, 383-90.

<sup>409</sup> Chriscinda Henry's research into Venetian inventories has turned up several examples of *buffoni* portraits in Cinquecento households, including two that were listed explicitly as portraits of Zuan Polo. In one (ASV, *Cl*, *Miscellanea di Notai Diversi, Inventari*, b. 37, no. 61, 9 September 1545) a portrait of Zuan Polo playing the lute is described. In another (*ibid.*, b. 39, no. 6, 4 January 1559), Zuan Polo is depicted with another *buffone*, Zuan Maria. No portraits of these figures are known to survive. I am grateful to Chriscinda for these references.

archives. Nevertheless, the examples of markedly mobile and prolific performer-publishers that I have discussed here cast valuable new light on the trade in cheap print and on the printing industry as a whole. I have suggested that such figures provided a useful source of income for Venetian printers looking to keep their presses busy with small works. Alongside much more wealthy, powerful, and visible investors who provided capital for larger publications, small-time figures on the fringes of the industry contributed to the activity of the presses in issuing reams of cheaper items. Out in the streets, their sometimes exuberant sales techniques and performative abilities helped to communicate the merits of texts to a variegated urban public.

Starting to track the movement of some of these figures also illuminates another way—besides consignments of books sent between branch offices and fairs, for example—in which printed products moved around northern Italy and reached different audiences. Cheap printed pamphlets may have been produced mainly by local printers for local audiences, but figures such as those studied here helped to transmit trends in content and style between the towns they visited. The role that performers played as mediators between the publishing industry and the widening reading public was in many ways an extension of their role in urban society prior to the advent of print, as will be considered further in the following chapter, which looks more closely at the texts themselves.

## Chapter Four

### *“In the Mouths of Charlatans”: Performers’ Pamphlets*

In the previous chapter, I discussed the significant number of itinerant publishers, some of whom were also performers, who were attracted by the potential profits of cheap print. The ballad singer Ippolito Ferrarese is a particularly notable example. When Ferrarese died around 1550, he was commemorated in at least three extant pamphlets celebrating his renowned talent for singing, playing the *lira*, and selling soap.<sup>410</sup> Ferrarese was also an active publisher of at least seventeen small works in various genres printed both in Venice and other cities across northern Italy, including Brescia, Bologna, Parma, Pesaro, and Milan, over two decades prior to his death. Given his alleged popularity and the longevity of his career, evidently Ferrarese had some talent for discerning what was appreciated by audiences and the small pamphlets he commissioned should be regarded as more than mere ephemeral oddities.

What remains of his published output is poor in the material sense: a scattering of small pamphlets mostly of less than twelve leaves, scarcely illustrated, and rarely surviving in more than one copy. However, even these form a diverse collection, from the ballad singer’s first surviving publication, a pamphlet of poems about the 1530 siege of Florence, to an almanac by the astrologer Camillo de’ Leonardis, to the first edition of some of Ariosto’s vernacular lyrics, under the title *Forze d’amore*.<sup>411</sup> None of his publications are known absolutely to have been his own work as author; frequently they are anonymous, some are by famous names advertised on the title page and others turn out to have been taken from well-known texts without acknowledgement. Often the works have been adapted, cut, or versified for their new published form, and the same textual elements turn up in various combinations in one or other of Ferrarese’s pamphlets. We cannot know exactly what Ferrarese’s role was in these publications, beyond commissioning a run of them from a local printer and paying at least some of the expenses, as indicated by the formula *ad instantia di* on the title page or as a colophon. Quite frequently the works printed are of the kind known to have populated the variegated repertoires of travelling performers,

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<sup>410</sup> Cited above, n. 401. Vittorio Rossi pointed out the character of Ferrarese, and some his publications, in “Di un cantastorie ferrarese del secolo XVI,” *Rassegna emiliana* 2 (1890): 435-46.

<sup>411</sup> On these three texts, see below. A full list of Ferrarese’s known publications is included in the Appendix.

so it is likely that they reflect some aspects of Ferrarese's own performances. All of them were probably sold in the course of his public appearances, in addition, possibly, to being placed with local bookshops.

Having examined the chief producers and disseminators of cheap print active in Venice in the Cinquecento, both those settled in the city and others who passed through, this chapter focuses on some representative examples of pamphlets produced by the collaborations between these two groups. That is, it examines works commissioned, written, or sold by travelling performers or itinerant publishers, issuing from the presses of Venice. These were the texts, to echo Pietro Aretino, in the mouths (and hands) of charlatans.<sup>412</sup> These kinds of works constituted an important part of the *popolo minuto* of print of which Novati urged further study.<sup>413</sup> And yet their poor survival rates, their humble physical form, and their failure to fit into traditional categories of scholarly interest have meant that they have remained for the most part among the “outcasts of the Republic of Letters.”<sup>414</sup> Such works offer new and intriguing perspectives on northern Italian culture in the Cinquecento, and on a literary scene in which elements of tradition and innovation intermingled in various ways through the channels of oral, written, and printed media.

The works are united by a small format printed form and few pages, the lack of elaborate illustrations, and the use of the vernacular rather than Latin. All of these elements suggest a wide target audience. However, the content covers a broad range, albeit with the recurrence of certain themes and genres.<sup>415</sup> Especially in the early years of the sixteenth century, the material printed exhibits many continuities with the traditional fare offered by medieval entertainers, such as songs or *cantari* in the *ottava rima* metre relating the adventures of knights and ladies. Such texts retain the formulae deriving from oral

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<sup>412</sup> Because of the itinerant nature of these publishers, pamphlets not explicitly identified as having been printed in Venice, and some printed elsewhere, also are taken into consideration.

<sup>413</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>414</sup> Graf, “La letteratura a un soldo,” 222: “derelitti della così detta Repubblica delle lettere.”

<sup>415</sup> The output of the performer-publishers examined is notable, however, for the small number of religious-themed texts. Religious works are known to have been a hugely important part of printing production, making up, for example, 48.75 per cent of surviving Italian language incunables; see Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa*, 12. Why the performers examined here did not commission much cheap religious print—or did not put their names on it—cannot be known. Performers certainly composed and recited religious *cantari* that in this period made their way into print, but frequently anonymously. See, for example, those published in Cioni, *La poesia religiosa*. Religious pamphlets such as the *Orazione di san Rocco* and the *Vangelo di san Giovanni* were, as mentioned in the last chapter, commissioned by performers from the Ripoli press, but it is only the surviving logbook that allows us to connect the producers with the surviving texts, which are usually anonymous. As suggested below, p. 170, many performers put their names to cheap religious works in the later Counter-Reformation period, but by this point anonymous editions had been prohibited.

recitation, although increasingly intermingled with indications that they were also intended to be read silently. As time went on, ambulant publishers and performers became involved in the publication of an increasingly diverse array of texts, some of a more markedly “literary” nature. Still in the same physical form of small, modest pamphlets, the works of some eminent authors appeared in print under the aegis of these marginal and itinerant figures. If this form communicated to readers the “popular” nature of a work then pamphlets such as those examined in this chapter suggest that the term should be used with care. In fact, an array of texts usually considered as “high culture” found their way on to the market in this highly accessible physical form, albeit often adapted in some way to allow for broad diffusion.

### *Tales of Battles and Love*

The chivalric *cantare* had been a key pillar of the repertoire of the medieval *cantastorie* and with its proven popularity with an extremely broad public this genre was carried rapidly into print. Venice was the predominant Italian centre of publication for such works from the beginning of printing, even though the literary tradition had stronger roots in Tuscany.<sup>416</sup> Printers recognised the popularity of the chivalric genre with audiences and pursued its publication even before the phenomenal success of Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* (first published in 1516 and in a revised version in 1532) brought a cavalcade of imitators. Up to the early sixteenth century, chivalric publications preserved many aspects of their medieval textual circulation, in which mostly anonymous writers and editors freely re-titled and reconstituted the stories, or translated them from prose to verse. Increasingly, printers enlisted *poligrafi* (hack writers) to do the work required to feed the growing market for such works. However performers also continued to play an important role in the composition and dissemination of chivalric tales in print from the earliest days of the press throughout the sixteenth century. As Villoresi writes, performers like the herald and *cantastorie* Michelangelo di Cristofano da Volterra preceded *poligrafi* as members of “that populous

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<sup>416</sup> Amedeo Quondam, “La tipografia e il sistema dei generi. Il caso del romanzo cavalleresco,” in *Ritterepik der Renaissance. Akten des deutsch-italienischen Kolloquiums Berlin, 1987*, ed. Klaus W. Hempfer (Stuttgart: Franca Steiner, 1989), 11. On the transition from the oral/manuscript tradition and early development in print, see Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*; Paul F. Grendler, “Chivalric romances in the Italian Renaissance,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1988): 59-102; and the essays in Marco Villoresi, *La fabbrica dei cavalieri. Cantari, poemi, romanzi in prosa fra medioevo e rinascimento* (Rome: Salerno, 2005).

undergrowth of modest and often anonymous literary figures who, offering the limited skills and education that allowed them to compile, translate, shorten, or versify a text, rapidly entered into work for the world of publishing.”<sup>417</sup> The early history of the chivalric genre in print was not a case of a popular, oral genre transforming into a more elite, literary one. The genre always had been one at the “crossroads” between oral and written communication and elite and sub-elite audiences,<sup>418</sup> and its fortune through the sixteenth century was one of a complicated and multi-directional cycling of texts moving through various media, via hands, mouths, press, and pen.

The genre of the *romanzo cavalleresco* was taken up and turned on its head by the arrival of Ariosto and his phenomenally popular *Orlando furioso*. Ariosto played with the popular, oral associations of the genre yet infused it with a thoroughly literary and learned spirit.<sup>419</sup> His poem became one of the bestsellers of the sixteenth century in Italy. Scholars such as Javitch have chronicled how the *Furioso* became encased in a critical armour that established its status as a literary classic and distanced the chivalric genre from its roots in the piazza.<sup>420</sup> However, the publication history of the *Furioso* and its imitators is not one of simple progression up the “literary ladder.” Throughout the century the poem was printed in a wide variety of typographical forms, from small and cheap to large and lavish, and as such it reached an exceptionally broad reading public, “momentarily united in listening to the great voice of the humanist in the guise of *cantastorie*.”<sup>421</sup> Ariosto’s use of a supra-regional vernacular, rather than a particular dialect, further promoted the text’s accessibility and popularity. There is much contemporary testimony of the widespread diffusion of the poem outside of the elite circles in which it was first circulated, into the streets, houses, and workshops, especially in the form of oral recitation or song versions.<sup>422</sup> The poem was also

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<sup>417</sup> Villoresi, “La biblioteca del canterino: I libri di Michelangelo di Cristofano da Volterra,” in *idem*, *La fabbrica dei cavalieri*, 183.

<sup>418</sup> Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, 17.

<sup>419</sup> See Giovanni Bronzini, *Tradizione di stile aedico dai cantari al Furioso* (Florence: Olschki, 1966).

<sup>420</sup> Daniel Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic: The Canonisation of Orlando furioso* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>421</sup> Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, 210.

<sup>422</sup> Giuseppina Fumagalli, “La fortuna dell’*Orlando furioso* in Italia nel secolo XVI,” *Atti e memorie della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria* 20, no. 3 (1912): 396-400. On the musical tradition, see James Haar, “Arie per cantar stanze ariotesche,” in *L’Ariosto, la musica, i musicisti*, ed. Maria Antonella Balsano (Florence: Olschki, 1981), 31-46. Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 89-90, gives examples of *commedia dell’arte* troupes performing parts of the *Furioso*.

among those taught in Venetian vernacular schools in the sixteenth century, although it was valued as an exciting chivalric romance rather than a contemporary literary classic.<sup>423</sup>

The extensive diffusion of the poem and its very popularity were both spurred and evidenced by the flood of pamphlet texts printed from the 1530s on that presented, adapted, or parodied some part of the long poem.<sup>424</sup> Piazza performers made a notable contribution to this post-publication history of Ariosto's poem. The popularity of Ariosto made him an obvious source to plunder for material that could be recycled into a public performance or a printed pamphlet. His name had a great appeal to the public, as evidenced by its liberal use on the title pages of a horde of imitatory pamphlets, not to mention the many copycat titles that linked themselves explicitly to the stories of Orlando and Charlemagne's knights. As Fumagalli writes, in general these works had little literary merit and their short, cheap, rough published form suggests they were targeted at a socially diverse readership who merely wished to be entertained by familiar characters and stories.<sup>425</sup>

A typical example of the kind of texts produced in an attempt to cling to the coattails of the *Furioso* is the *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro*. The authorship of this work has been attributed by Fumagalli to the contemporary Trevisan notary and poet Bartolomeo Oriolo, the author of two other texts inspired by the *Furioso*.<sup>426</sup> However, the first Venetian edition seems to suggest that the *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese was its author as well as its publisher.<sup>427</sup> As we will see, performer-publishers were not scrupulous about acknowledging authors, so it is impossible to know the truth. Nevertheless, the publication of this text evidently was fashioned to target fans of Ariosto; as the title pages of the 1538 editions declare, it "follows the *Orlando furioso*." In seventy-two *ottave*, the poem relates the adventures of one of Charlemagne's knights, who earns his name by fighting a formidable lion. It then segues into an episode involving Charlemagne and some of the most popular characters of the *Furioso*: the brave warrior Marfisa and the evil pagan king

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<sup>423</sup> Paul F. Grendler, "What Zuanne Read at School: Vernacular Texts in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Schools," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13, no. 1 (1982): 51.

<sup>424</sup> Bronzini's comment that the influence of Ariosto's work on subsequent popular texts (including imitations and parodies of this sort) has yet to be adequately studied is still valid; see *Tradizione di stile aedico*, 124-25.

<sup>425</sup> Fumagalli, "La fortuna dell'*Orlando furioso*," 309-10, 410-11.

<sup>426</sup> The attribution of the *Canto primo* to Oriolo is made by Fumagalli, "La fortuna dell'*Orlando furioso*," 260, although she did not give evidence for this claim. Manlio Pastore Stocchi, *Bartolomeo Oriolo poeta trevigiano* (Padua: Cassa di Risparmio di Padova e Rovigo, 1987), does not mention Oriolo's possible authorship of the *Canto primo* but discusses his other works.

<sup>427</sup> The first Venetian edition is *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro, d'Hippolito Ferrarese, qual seguita Orlando furioso* (Venice: Venturino Ruffinelli, 1538), Appendix, no. 5.11. Ferrarese also published an edition in Brescia in the same year: *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'orro qual seguita Orlando furioso non mai più visto* (Brescia: Damiano Turlino, 1538), Appendix, no. 5.9.



Rodomonte. The story cuts off abruptly and the narrator promises to continue in another poem, a common ploy of the piazza entertainer leaving his audience wanting another performance.<sup>428</sup>

Although no continuation is known to have been published, the poem must have found some success as it was reprinted at least four times in four years. Rather than being aimed only at readers, it was probably incorporated into the repertoires of piazza performers, as the only identified editions of this text to survive were published by *cantimbanchi*: two each by Ippolito Ferrarese and by Baldassare Faentino, another *cantimbanco*-publisher. Ferrarese was the first to commission publication of the work, with two editions of 1538, one printed in Venice and one in Brescia.<sup>429</sup> The Brescian edition uses more abbreviations and has slightly more orthographical errors than the Venetian one, which could indicate that the Brescian is the earlier example and that the Venetian printers were responsible for some minor touch-ups to it.<sup>430</sup> Editions of the *Canto primo* were published “ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino” in 1541 and 1542.<sup>431</sup> All the editions were printed modestly in small octavo format, with decorative woodcut borders on the title pages that were used in other pamphlets published by performers but with no other illustrations (see Figs. 2-5). The 1538 edition from Venice employed the “Instruments” border that later was redeployed for works by the charlatan-publisher Leonardo Furlano (Fig. 6).<sup>432</sup> Both the 1541 and 1542 editions published by Faentino employ a title page woodcut border patterned with vines and heads, the same used in several other editions by Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini, as well as in the 1534 edition of *Sonetti e strambotti, non mai più posti in luce* published by Ferrarese (Fig. 7).<sup>433</sup> All the editions of the *Canto primo* make use of the same old-fashioned Roman typeface that Grendler has identified as a common feature of printed chivalric romances in the sixteenth century, and which he argued communicated that this was “a work of popular literature intended for a non-critical

<sup>428</sup> “E la risposta felli si com’io / narrar io vi prometto in l’altro mio.” *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d’oro*, c. 14v (I cite from the Venetian edition).

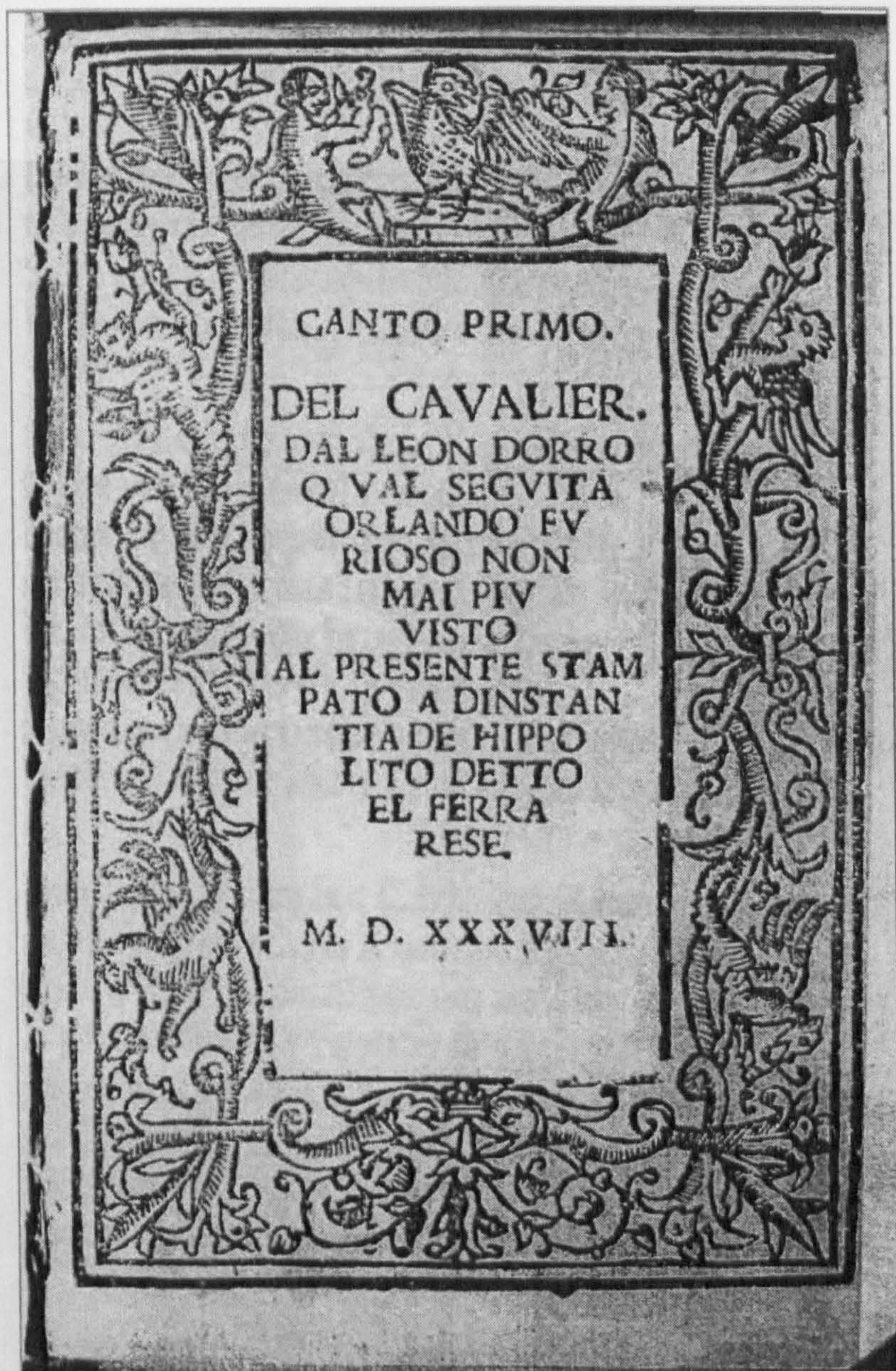
<sup>429</sup> See above, n. 426.

<sup>430</sup> The Venetian edition also occasionally doubles consonants, such as *soggiorno* for *sogiorno*, possibly reflecting the imposition of Tuscan norms by the Venetian printers, which was becoming common practice at this time. See Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*.

<sup>431</sup> The first edition was *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d’oro qual seguita Orlando furioso non mai più visto al presente* (Venice: Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini), Appendix, no. 1.3. The second (Appendix, no. 1.4) carried the same title but no indication of where it was printed, but seems to have been from Venice. The 1541 edition is again an almost exact copy of the earlier Venetian edition of 1538.

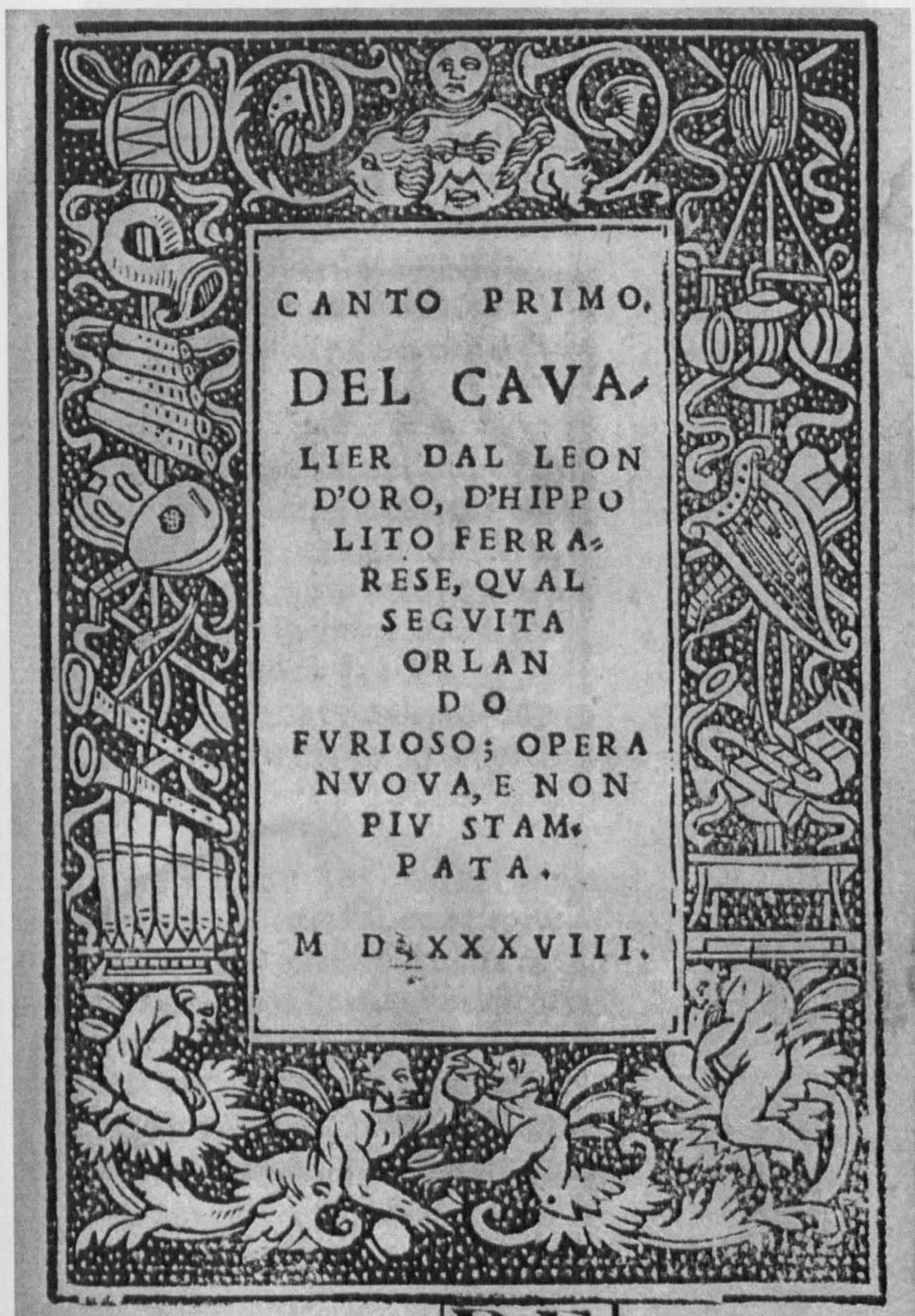
<sup>432</sup> The same border is used on *Stanze trasmutate del Ariosto con una canzone bellissima*, published by Furlano in 1545 in Venice. See Appendix, no. 6.11.

<sup>433</sup> The same border appears in Ferrarese’s 1536 pamphlet: *Stanze bellissime de uno gentilhuomo qual essendo innamorato*, attributed to Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini. Appendix, no. 5.6.

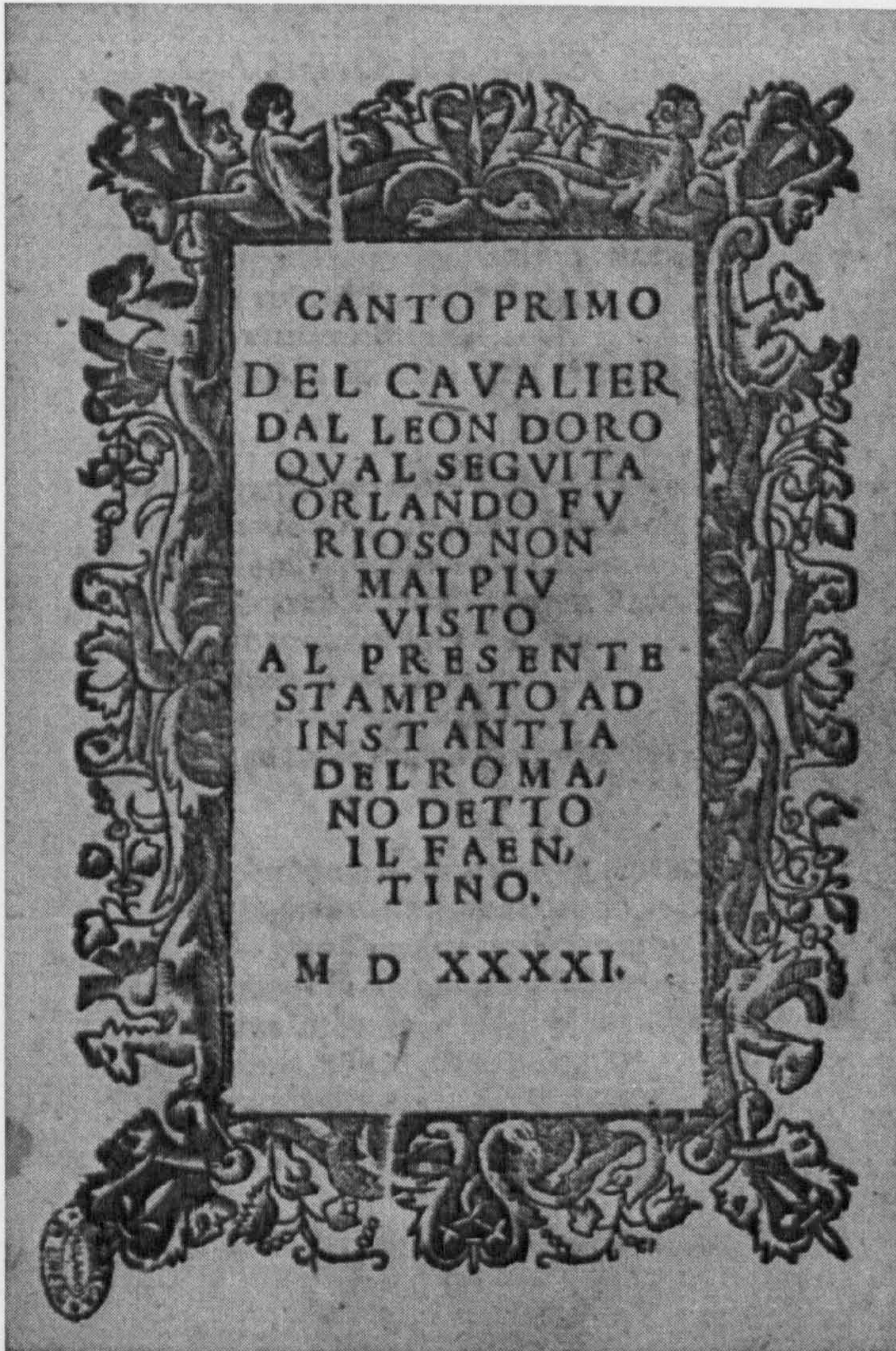


**Fig. 2.** Title page of *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'orro ...* (Brescia: Damiano Turlino "a d'instancia de Hippolito detto el Ferrarese," 1538) [BNCF copy]

*Fig. 3. Title page of Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'orro ...*  
 (Venice: Venturino Ruffinelli "per Hippolito da Ferrara," 1538)  
 [BNCF copy]

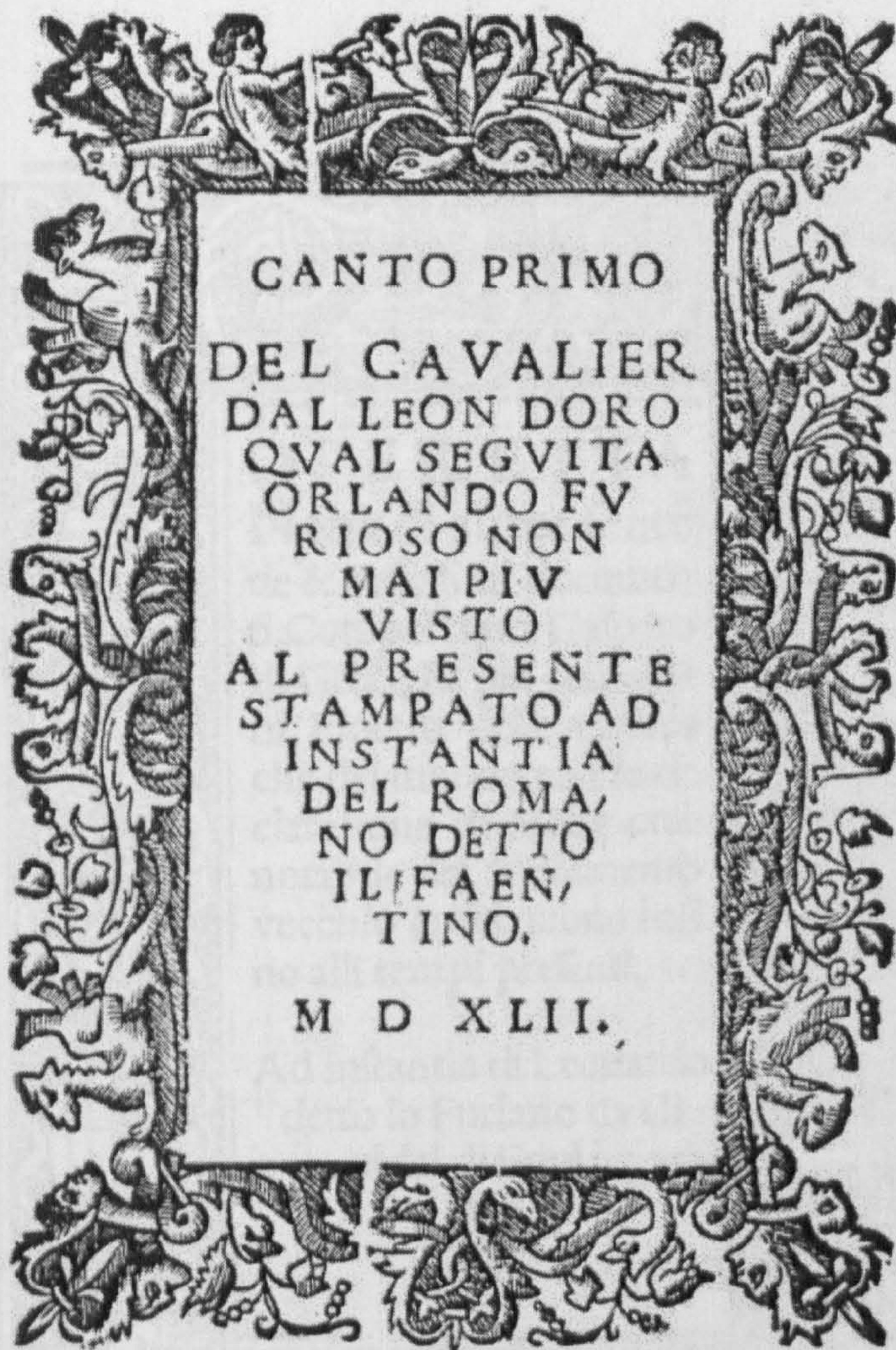


**Fig. 3.** Title page of *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro* (Venice: Venturino Ruffinelli "per Ippolito da Ferrara," 1538) [BEM copy]



**Fig. 4.** Title page of *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro ...* (Venice: Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini "ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino," 1541) [BBM copy]

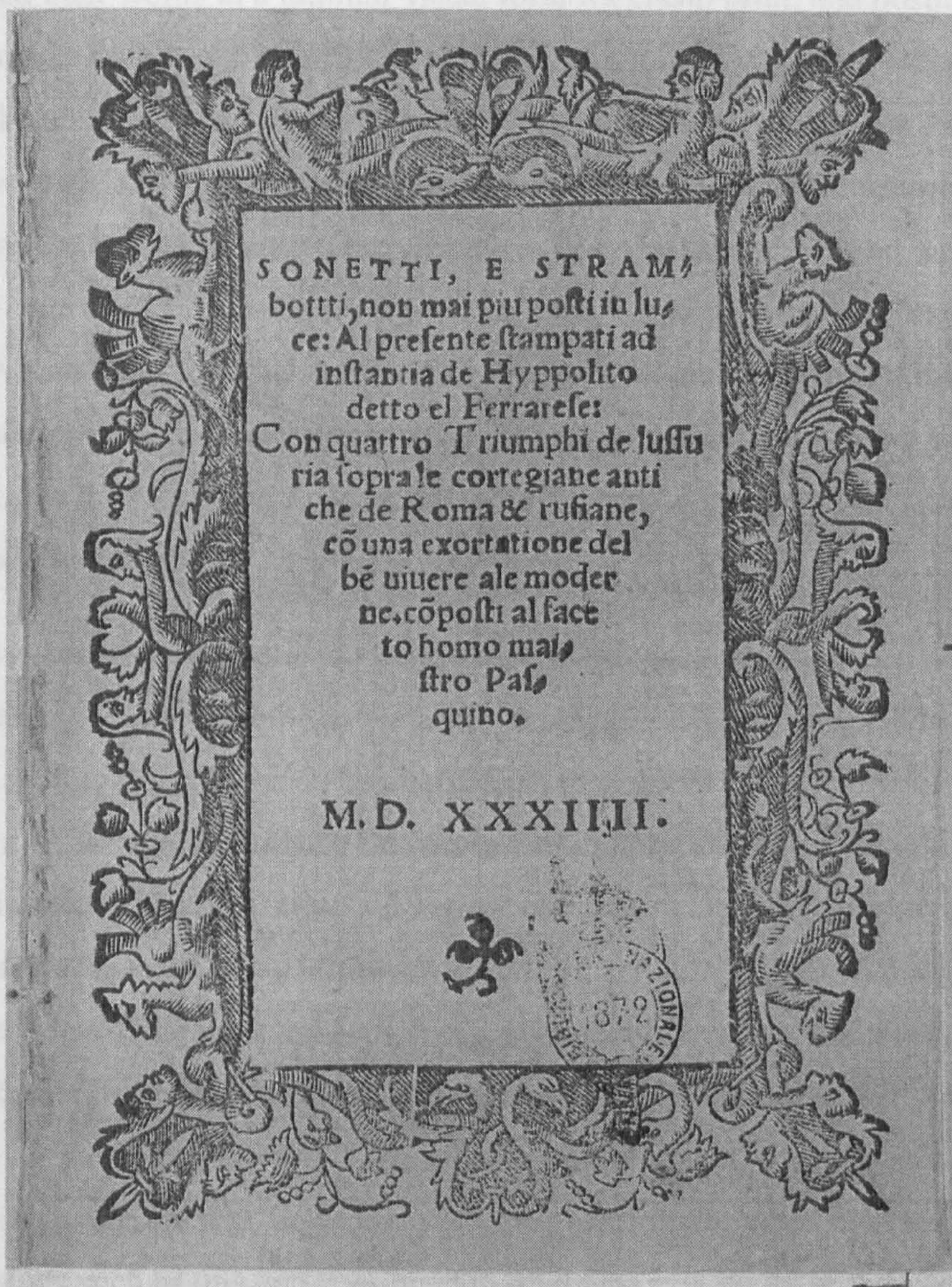
*Fig. 5.* Title page of *Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro ...* (Venice): "ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino," 1542). [Biblioteca padre Clemente Roncolato, Recanati copy]



**Fig. 5.** Title page of *Canto primo del cavalier del leon d'oro ...* ([Venice]: "ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino," 1542). [Biblioteca padre Clemente Benedettucci, Recanati copy]



**Fig. 6.** Title page of *Operetta noua di auree sententie e utilissimi documenti, composta per Gasparo di Greci* ([Venice]: "ad instantia di Leonardo detto lo Furlano da Ciuidal di Friuli," [1540s]) [BMV copy]



**Fig. 7.** Title page of *Sonetti e strambotti [sic], non mai più posti in luce ...* ([Brescia: Turlini], “ad instantia de Hyppolito detto el Ferrarese,” 1534) [BNCF copy]

audience which read for pleasure,” rather than something new and innovative.<sup>434</sup> In other words, the ballad-singer publishers and the printers were not trying to be cutting edge here. They presented their works in a familiar visual form for cheap print, and positioned it within the genre of works dominated by Ariosto, acknowledging the name of no other author as a producer of the new work. We do not know if Ferrarese composed the work himself, published it with Oriolo’s (or another author’s) permission, or copied it without licence. Notably, Ferrarese had worked with the printers used by Faentino (Bindoni and Pasini) when in Venice in the 1530s, and they may have been the point of contact between the two performers. As in other cases that are discussed here, there are suggestive connections between certain printers and performers in the Venetian context, but it is not possible precisely to know how texts were composed, who chose to print them, and how they passed from one publisher to another.

This was not the first occasion that Ferrarese had taken or composed a poem featuring popular characters from the literature of chivalry and recycled it into print, and possibly into performance. In 1532, he published a pamphlet under the title of *Opera nova del superbo re di Sarza Rodamonte*, that was in fact the first canto and first thirteen octaves of the second canto of Pietro Aretino’s *Marfisa*. The borrowing from Aretino’s text was unattributed and a few cuts and additions “of a *canterino* style” were made.<sup>435</sup> However given the open identification of the pamphlet’s publisher (Ferrarese) and printer (Guglielmo Fontaneto), Romei believed this was not a furtive plagiarism but rather an “innocent” reprint of an earlier, lost pirate publication.<sup>436</sup> Despite Aretino’s efforts to secure Papal and Imperial privileges for the text, and to arm it with a carefully targeted dedication, cheap and incorrect versions such as this one continued to do the rounds.<sup>437</sup> As in the case of the *Canto primo*, we can follow here a tale rooted in the piazza tradition of chivalric balladry as it is transformed into print at the hands of a professional writer with greater literary aspirations. But the journey does not end here. From the printed version it is picked up by a performer,

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<sup>434</sup> Grendler, “Form and Function,” 478. Grendler suggested that the Roman and Gothic types were used to convey such a message, whereas, after 1530, the italic type was used to indicate a newly-composed work.

<sup>435</sup> Danilo Romei, introduction to Pietro Aretino, *Poemi cavallereschi*, ed. Danilo Romei (Rome: Salerno, 1995), 29. The *Marfisa* is considered to have been first published in this same year, and the tortuous path from original to pirate versions such as Ferrarese’s is discussed in Romei’s introduction, 29-30. It should be noted that Aretino had been circulating versions of the poem in manuscript from at least 1527.

<sup>436</sup> Possibly one printed in Ancona, referred to in a preface to the 1532 edition of the *Marfisa*; see *ibid.*, 29. Fumagalli, “La fortuna dell’*Orlando furioso*,” 289, mentioned a 1532 edition from Orvieto (*Stanze sopra la morte di Rodomonte*) which is also a plagiarism of Aretino’s text.

<sup>437</sup> Romei, introduction to Aretino, *Poemi cavallereschi*, 15-24. On the dedication of the text first to Federico Gonzaga, and later to Alfonso d’Avalos, and the obtaining of privileges, see Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni*. There is no surviving privilege for this work in Venice.



who cuts and adapts it to suit the short publications that he peddles and, probably, the attention span of a public audience to whom he recited it. And so the story ends up in the piazza again.

Aretino also turned his hand to parodies of the *Furioso* and the genre of chivalry. For example, his *Orlandino* began with a subversion of Ariosto's opening stanza, promising to sing of "the lies about battles and love affairs, / with which the foolish world is so intoxicated."<sup>438</sup> Similarly, piazza entertainers not only repackaged and disseminated parts or continuations of the *Furioso*, they also delighted in subverting and parodying the poem and indeed the entire chivalric genre. An example of this was the Venetian buffoon Zuan Polo Liompardi's *Libero del Rado Stizoso* (*The Book of Rado Stizoso*), about the adventures of a Slav called Rado whose wife is kidnapped by Orlando and the knights of Charlemagne.<sup>439</sup> In 1533, Zuan Polo set up a platform next to the clocktower in Piazza San Marco, performed for the crowd, then sold copies of the *Rado Stizoso*, for which previously he had sought a privilege.<sup>440</sup> The work was written in the mock Slavic dialect that was Zuan Polo's stock-in-trade, a favourite with Venetian audiences.<sup>441</sup> In it, Zuan Polo adopted the character of "Ivan Paulovichio" of Ragusa, a quack doctor who said he had translated the work in question from French into an Italian that—he claimed—mixed learned Paduan inflections he had picked up studying at the University there with elegant Tuscan adopted while he was in Florence treating scabies.<sup>442</sup> Thus Zuan Polo used Ariosto's poem as a springboard for a new text that in turn poked fun at the conventions of the chivalric genre, the pretensions of learned scholars, the boasting of medical charlatans, and the attempts of Slavic migrants in

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<sup>438</sup> "Le menzogne de l'armi e de gli amori, / di che il mondo coglion s'inebria tanto"; quoted in Alessandro Luzio, "L'Orlandino di Pietro Aretino," *Giornale di filologia romanza* 3, no. 6 (1880): 73. Aretino's text in turn was subjected to various repackagings and parodies. *Ibid.*, 76-84.

<sup>439</sup> *Libero del Rado Stizoso* (Venice: Bernardo de' Vitali, 1533), BL, 1161.i.22(1). Zuan Polo followed up this work with a sequel of sorts, the *Libero de le vendette che fese i fioli de Rado Licca Micula de Stizosi* (Venice: 1533), BL, 1161.i.22(2). See Giuseppe Vidossi, "La cantata del Rado stizzoso," *Lares* 26, nos 3-4 (1960): 123-28.

<sup>440</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 58, col. 542 (10 August 1533): "havendo Zuan Polo piacevole buffon preparato un soler appresso el Relogio, vestito da poeta con zoia de lauro in testa, suo fiol et uno altro travestidi, fè un sermon a tuti e dete fuora l'opera composta per lui a stampa di Rado Stizoso." On Zuan Polo's privilege for the work, see n. 360 above.

<sup>441</sup> On the vogue for comedic dialect works growing from the 1520s and 1530s, see Manlio Cortelazzo, "Esperienze ed esperimenti plurilinguistici," in Arnaldi and Pastore Stocchi, eds, *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 183-213; and Brian Richardson, "Dialects and Standard Language in Renaissance Printing and Editing," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, Supp. 1: *Italian Dialects and Literature from the Renaissance to the Present* (1996): 7-22.

<sup>442</sup> "Col mio inzignio mi san futigado / tutto el zumo fin che vien del sera / tanto che questo storia ho stramudado / che per francixo scritta si ga iera"; "perche del fiorentin xe mio parlanza / che la san stado per medigar rugnia / e ancho in la padua ia san studiado / e un con l'atro parlo mischulado"; *Libero del Rado Stizoso*, cc. 1v-2r.

Venice to speak Italian. While the work sold for as much as twenty *soldi*, or one *lira*, and so would not have been bought and read by all, this example represents another case in which oral performance interacted with print dissemination in the public space of Venice to communicate a text to a diverse audience.<sup>443</sup>

In the same vein, Ariosto's poem was later translated into mocking Bergamask dialect, while the blind *canterino* Benedetto Clario produced a version of the *Furioso*'s first canto in Venetian in 1554, a work successful enough to be reprinted the following year.<sup>444</sup> In the category of Ariostean parody, a singular place is occupied by *La puttana errante*, mentioned in the previous chapter. This was written by the Venetian patrician Lorenzo Venier, but an early edition is recorded published by the *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese.<sup>445</sup> This *ottava rima* poem recounts the pornographic exploits of a courtesan travelling around Italy. The narrator opens promising to sing not of battles and love affairs but of the "horrendous doings" of a "thieving tart."<sup>446</sup> The existence of this now-lost edition of Ferrarese's suggests that the work may have circulated well beyond the confines of the elite, male-dominated salon culture in which it was produced.<sup>447</sup>

Certainly, parodies, translations, and continuations of Ariosto's poem and the chivalric genre continued to be produced by learned authors and *poligrafi* who worked for the presses; however, the involvement of performers and ambulant publishers in the dissemination of such works continued for some time. An itinerant publisher called Leonardo Furlano, likely to have been a performer, published a parody of the lament of the female warrior Bradamante for her lover Ruggiero in pamphlet form, while the Giulio Cesare Napolitano who registered in Florence as a seller of stories in 1570 was surely the same who commissioned an undated *tramutatione* (transformation) of the *Furioso*'s first canto in Venice around that time.<sup>448</sup> Reflecting the spirit of the Counter-Reformation period,

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<sup>443</sup> The *Rado* was a forty-six leaf quarto that in the closing stanzas Polo suggested would be sold for two *marcelli*, or twenty *soldi*, a price that would have put it out of reach of many Venetians. We cannot know whether this was an exaggerated price, although Sanudo did note that the work was "messe a soldi [...] l'una," forgetting to put in the exact price as he often did.

<sup>444</sup> *Orland furius de Misser Lodovic ferraris, novament compost in buna lingua da Berghem* (Venice: Agostino Bindoni, 1550), listed in Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni Ariostee*, 2:234. See *ibid.*, 232-33, for other versions of the *Furioso* in Bergamask. Clario's *Il primo canto de Orlando Furioso in lingua venetiana* is listed in *ibid.*, 2: 267-68. It was published in 1554 by Agostino Bindoni and again in 1555 by Matteo Pagan (held in BMV, Misc 2231(1)).

<sup>445</sup> See above, n. 389.

<sup>446</sup> "D'una frusta bordel, ladra impudica / Vengo a cantar gli orrendi portamenti"; Venier, *Puttana errante*, 37.

<sup>447</sup> For further discussion of the movement of texts outside the salon, see below.

<sup>448</sup> *Opera nuova nella quale si contiene uno lamento di Bradamante verso 'l suo Ruggiero* ([Venice], "Ad instantia di Leonardo ditt'il Furlano," n.d.), Appendix, no. 6.1. See Alessandro Giacomello, "Ad instantia di

the blind improvisatory poet Cristoforo “il cieco da Forlì” published the first canto of the *Furioso* translated into “spiritual verse” in Naples in 1593.<sup>449</sup> The celebrated *cantimbanco* of Bologna, Giulio Cesare Croce, also published a “spiritualised” version of part of the *Furioso*, as well as a great many other works that were inspired by or parodied Ariosto’s poem, for example Bradamante’s lament for Ruggiero translated into the Bolognese dialect.<sup>450</sup>

Cabani has suggested how the chivalric genre already in the Quattrocento was undergoing a progressive *letterarizzazione*, with writers fabricating “a fiction of recitation, codified in a series of formulae referring to a spectacle that by now no longer exists, purely an homage to tradition.”<sup>451</sup> While this was true to a large extent, the examination of cheap printed pamphlets in this genre produced in the sixteenth century reveals a counter trend. Chivalric poems, and especially Ariosto’s *Furioso*, were assumed by the publishing industry wholeheartedly, but this does not mean that they lost their links with oral performance and public dissemination. *Poligrafì* employed by the printers became some of the most energetic providers of new publications of chivalry—often adopting the rhetorical address of the public performer—but street entertainers remained vigorously involved in the process by which texts were generated, adapted, and recycled back to readers and listeners. Although some literary critics strove to ennoble the genre of chivalric balladry by deriding its links to the *canterino* tradition, the widespread popularity of the tales of battles and of love, imbedded in the oral as much as in the written culture of Italy, must in part be attributed to the work of street performers and their collaborations with the press.<sup>452</sup>

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Leonardo il Furlano. I libri di un editore del XVI secolo,” in *Cultura in Friuli. Omaggio a Giuseppe Marchetti* (Udine: Società Filologica Friulana, 1988), 134; and Guido Vitaletti, “Intorno alla canzonetta ‘A caso un giorno mi giudò la sorte’ ed altri documenti di letteratura popolare,” *La bibliofilia* 26, nos 6-7 (1924-25): 186-87. For Napolitano’s edition, *Opera nova nella quale se contiene la tramutatione del primo canto dell’Ariosto*, see Melzi and Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi*, 357-58. The matriculation of “Giulio ceseri di Ceseri d’Amato napoletano” in Florence is listed in Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti,” pt 2, p. 244, no. 184. Giulio also published an *Opera nova nella quale si contiene un discorso sopra alcune stantie d’Ariosto* in Naples in 1580; see *DTEI*, s.v. “Cesari, Giulio.”

<sup>449</sup> *Primo canto dell’Ariosto tradotto in rime spirituali dato in luce da Cristoforo Scanello*, discussed in Fumagalli, “La fortuna dell’*Orlando furioso*,” 447. In 1562, some of Scanello’s *Stanze sopra la morte di Rodomonte* were published in Fermo.

<sup>450</sup> *Lamento di Bradamante cavato dal Ariosto al suo canto, e tradoto in lingua bolognese* (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, n.d.), BMV, 95.C.265(7). On the various editions Croce wrote related to the *Furioso*, see Fumagalli, “La fortuna dell’*Orlando furioso*,” 425-30, 447.

<sup>451</sup> Maria Cristina Cabani, *Le forme del cantare epico-cavallaresco* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1988), 11. See also Beatrice Barbiellini Amidei, “I cantari tra oralità e scrittura,” in Picone and Rubini, eds, *Il cantare italiano*, 19-28.

<sup>452</sup> On defences of the genre that disassociated it from the *canterino* tradition, see Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, 211.

*Heralds of War*

Forming a sister genre of the chivalric romance were poems chronicling recent events of war and politics, in terms not dissimilar to those used to relate the exploits of Charlemagne and his paladins and using the *ottava rima* metre of the medieval *cantari*. The genre was not invented with print—documents record *canterini* in the streets of Venice singing songs about recent developments in the conflict between the Republic and Padua in the fourteenth-century—but it flourished in this new medium, the first examples appearing as early as the 1470s.<sup>453</sup> Especially in the tumultuous years between the invasion of Charles VIII in 1494 and the Peace of Bologna in 1530, these poems were produced in great numbers, and sometimes achieved an extraordinary immediacy in relation to the events they related. Indeed, Venice's war with the League of Cambrai may mark the first moment in which the new communicative medium of print was able to respond continuously to developments in an ongoing conflict. Printers in Venice produced pamphlets crowing the victories of the Republic (sometimes prematurely) and abusing their enemies; the Ferrarese were among those who responded with anti-Venetian pamphlets.<sup>454</sup> Commentators such as Priuli expressed concern that some of these pamphlets could prove disastrous not only to diplomatic relations but to the morale of the general public.<sup>455</sup> There is no evidence that the Venetian government sponsored such works early in the Cinquecento, as appears to have been the case in the Papal States under Julius II.<sup>456</sup> However, for a local printer or an itinerant publisher or performer in Venice there was little to be gained from printing, selling, or reciting a work that was not complimentary to the Venetians and derogatory of their enemies of the moment. Italian rulers, including the patricians of Venice, had to live among the people that they governed in a confined city space, even if these people had no say in

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<sup>453</sup> The earliest war poem documented in *GOR* is *La guerra di Genova contro Milano* (Venice: Christoph Arnold, ca. 1478-79). *GOR*, 1: 23, no. 1. See also Alessandro D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*, 2nd ed. (Leghorn: Giusti, 1906), 75-85; Marina Beer and Cristina Ivaldi, "Poemetti bellici del Rinascimento italiano: trecento testimoni per una ricerca," *Schifanoia* 1 (1986): 91-99; and Cristina Ivaldi, "Cantari e poemetti bellici in ottava rima: la parabola produttiva di un sottogenere del romanzo cavalleresco," in Hempfer, *Ritterepik der Renaissance*, 35-46. The reference to the fourteenth-century *canterini* is from Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia*, 1:415.

<sup>454</sup> For example, the pamphlet *La vera nova de Bressa* (Venice: Alessandro Bindoni, ca. 1512) celebrated the reclaiming of Brescia by the Venetians in early February 1512, but must have come out before the city was lost again to the French only weeks later; see Stermole, "Venetian Art and the War of the League of Cambrai," 158.

<sup>455</sup> See the comments of Priuli and Sanudo above, p. 29.

<sup>456</sup> Rospocher, "Propaganda e opinione pubblica." Meserve argues, with regards to printed texts produced about the fall of Negroponte to the Turks in 1470, that rulers were not yet using the press directly for propagandistic purposes; see her "News from Negroponte," 468-69.

government. Permitting performers, and now printers, to stir local patriotism in favour of the existing regime was—perhaps increasingly—considered useful to maintaining concord.<sup>457</sup>

These poems were performed orally and sold publicly, usually in the city's key public spaces. In the words of a song or poem written at the time of Venice's conflict with the League of Cambrai,

Hor tuto'l mondo di guerra ragiona  
 e di Venetia canta scrive e parla  
 per chiese e piazze sol questo tenzona<sup>458</sup>

War poems are a fascinating hybrid of news, chronicle, and entertainment. They usually featured the oral salutations of the *cantari*, and occasionally gave explicit indication of the performative context, in which the entertainer first called for the aid of Christian or pagan deities, asked for the audience's attention, then concluded his "set" by selling the related pamphlet. For example, Regolo de' Sorci's poem about the battle of Ravenna concluded with the instruction to those gathered that "whoever wants this story give me a *carlino*" ("chi vol l'istoria mi doni un carlino").<sup>459</sup> A Ferrarese pamphlet produced in 1510, closed with a similar indication from the *cantimbanco*-author:

Chi vol l'istoria la qual canto in banco,  
 ... porta soldi chi la vol avere.  
 E per che ugnun ne posi comperare,  
 sol tre quatrini vi averà costare.<sup>460</sup>

A poem by the *cantastorie* l'Altissimo about the 1512 battle of Ravenna literally wore its performative derivation on its sleeve, published as *La rotta di Ravenna cantata in San Martino di Firenze all'improvviso dall'Altissimo poeta fiorentino ... copiata dalla viva voce da varie persone, mentre cantava ... (The Rout of Ravenna sung all'improvviso at San Martino in Florence by the Florentine poet l'Altissimo ... copied live by various people*

<sup>457</sup> See Lauro Martines, *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 237-38.

<sup>458</sup> "Now all the world is talking about war, / and singing, writing, and speaking about Venice, / debating only this in the churches and the *piazze*." *Laus venetorum* (Venice, 1509). Copy in BMV Misc. 2157(1).

<sup>459</sup> *Historia de le guerre de la beatitudine de papa Iulio...* (n.p.d. [after 1515]). *GOR*, 1: 79-80, nos 107-9. The *carlino* was a roman coin worth less than one tenth of a ducat.

<sup>460</sup> "Whoever wants the story which I sing on my bench / ... bring money who wishes to have it. / And so that everybody can buy it, / it will cost you only three *quattrini*." *Gli orrendi e magnanimi fatti del duca Alfonso* ([Ferrara, 1510]), c. 2v. BMV, 1945(50). On the poem, see *GOR*, 1:62, nos 74-75, and a facsimile reproduction in 2:345-48.

*while he sung ...*).<sup>461</sup> The collection of war poems assembled in the four-volume *Guerre in ottava rima* (*GOR*) features many names of performers as authors and publishers of such texts, and many anonymously authored and published texts were without doubt composed, performed, sold, and sometimes published by them.

Usually printed in small octavo or quarto pamphlet form, the war poems must have been among the cheapest and most visible items on the market in early sixteenth-century Venice. As a recent study has emphasised, sometimes they were published with evocative and topical woodcut illustrations, employing iconography that would have been familiar and powerful to a broad Venetian audience, such as the lion of Saint Mark straddling the sea and land, representing Venetian domination of its *stato da mar* and *stato da terra*.<sup>462</sup> At other times, printers re-employed the same woodcut images of battles, kings and warriors used to illustrate chivalric tales. This suggests the genre's "amphibious state" in between the relation of current events and the narrative style of epic tales and the literature of chivalry.<sup>463</sup> Framing recent events within the narrative and iconographic structures of such fictional tales evidently was regarded as an effective way to capture the interest of the audience, and to depict real events in an easily accessible form.

The poems had many stylistic similarities with their sister genres of the chivalric and epic *cantari*. Writers and singers constantly evoked the standard tropes of the *cantari* even if only to insist on their difference from them, in their topical interest and supposed truth. So the *Guerra di Firenze* published by Ippolito Ferrarese about the fall of the Florentine Republic in 1530 after a long siege began:

Signor, non voglio la tetra d' Amphione,  
 per narrarvi i gran fatti de la Dea.  
 Io non ve voglio contar la cagione  
 ch' alli figli fu si cruda Medea,  
 né manco vo narrarvi de Didone  
 che se donò la morte per Enea.  
 Ma de Fiorenza li lamenti e pianti,

<sup>461</sup> First published in Florence, ca. 1516, with several later editions. *GOR*, 1:75-78, nos 101-5.

<sup>462</sup> See Stermole, "Venetian Art and the War of the League of Cambrai," chap. 4.

<sup>463</sup> See Quondam in his introduction to *GOR*, 1:13.

che per pieta faria spezzar diamanti.<sup>464</sup>

Much of this poem, including the opening stanzas almost verbatim, was re-packaged to relate the trials of Siena in the 1550s.<sup>465</sup> In another lament, the narrator, in the voice of the defeated Florentine warrior Piero Strozzi, likened himself to a “second Orlando”—had he not gone against the will of God.<sup>466</sup> Readers do not seem to have been troubled by the close proximity of fact and fiction, as presumably they were not when they crowded into a piazza for a *canterino*’s performance of material of both kinds. The *cantastorie* l’Altissimo, famed for his chivalric tales, turned his improvisatory talents to recent history when he performed and later had printed *La Rotta di Ravenna*.<sup>467</sup> It was not uncommon to find both types of poetic work printed in the same compilation, as in the edition published by Ippolito Ferrarese that included a poem about the travails of Italy in the 1520s alongside a chivalric poem about the Saracen king Rodomonte.<sup>468</sup> It would seem that audiences and readers of war poems were happy to have their “news” delivered in a familiar form founded on archetypal tropes and stories. Hence many of these poems were published without the name of an author, and thus a verifiable source. Certain poems retained their interest for a long time after the event they related as they continued to speak to contemporary interests and anxieties. For example, the enduring preoccupation with the threat of the Turks was expressed in works like the repeatedly reprinted *Lamento di Rodi* about the 1522 siege of Rhodes.<sup>469</sup> Notably, however, when in 1515 Ferdinand Columbus bought a copy of the afore-mentioned poem about the 1509 defeat of the Venetians by the Ferrarese, he paid half a *quattrino* for the two-leaf quarto, a drop in price from the three *quattrini* suggested by the ballad singer who performed the work. Probably “new” news was more highly valued.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> “Sir, I don’t want the *lira* of Amphion, / to tell you about the great feats of the Goddess. / I don’t wish to recount to you the reason / that Medea was so cruel to her children, / nor to tell you about Dido / who put herself to death for Aeneas. / But [rather of] the laments and complaints of Florence, / which would make diamonds shatter from pity.” “Guerra di Firenze” in the [*Lamento di Firenze*], c. 2r (Pesaro, 1531). Appendix, no. 5.6. I cite the copy in BMV, Misc. 2405(6), missing title page.

<sup>465</sup> *Lamento della magnifica città di Siena* (n.p.d.). Reproduced in *GOR*, 3: 361-76.

<sup>466</sup> “Io haria nome del secondo Orlando, / se non havesse ingiustamente offeso / quel Signor si benign e venerando.” *Lamento che fa Piero Strozzi sopra della rotta che ebbe in le Chiane d’Arezzo* (Bologna: Paris Mantovano, [ca. 1554-55]), c. 2r. Appendix, no. 7.10.

<sup>467</sup> See above, p. 124.

<sup>468</sup> *Opera nova del superbo Rodamonte re de Sarza*, containing the “Opera nova, che tratta de li tre sacchi fatti in Italia.”

<sup>469</sup> The numerous reprinted versions of the *Lamento di Rodi* throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are listed in Antonio Medin and Ludovico Frati, eds, *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Reprint of the 1887-94 ed. (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1969), 3:199-211. See also Meserve, “News from Negroponte.”

<sup>470</sup> Wagner and Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa*, 34, no. 30. The poem is cited in n. 459, above.

The *Tre sacchi fatti in Italia* (*The Three Sacks That Took Place in Italy*) that appeared in a pamphlet published by Ippolito Ferrarese, relating events in Italy between the taking of Genoa in 1522 and the sack of Rome in 1527, is representative of many of these traits. The work's narrator begins by asking help for his singing from the pagan gods, but finds that the tale he has to tell is so "horrendous [and] adverse" that they do not wish to hear it. Finally he asks the goddess of war, Bellona, to "quickly lend your fury ..., / that before you gave to the barbaric armies, / to this *lira* of mine that can hardly play, / to my rough style, accent, and songs," so that he can "tell of the ruin and shame of Italy."<sup>471</sup> The singer then addresses *poverella Italia*—"afflicted and shaken / once the garden, chief and queen of the world"—and later the cities of Genoa, Pavia, and Rome, fallen from their former glories because of the attacks by foreign armies in the preceding years.<sup>472</sup>

The language of the song is relatively simple and the cultural references (for example, to Romulus and other founders of Rome) were from the common stock employed by piazza performers.<sup>473</sup> The aim of the poem is less to provide information about the events than to evoke the pity and horror of the audience for the generic outrages inflicted by the invaders, personified as the "ungodly barbarian" from the north who "strikes, wounds, slaughters, quarters, kills, / and the more ill he does, the more he laughs."<sup>474</sup> Attempting to tell the distressing tale, the singer's "hand trembles" and his "voice fails," so pained is he by what he has to tell.<sup>475</sup> In this case, the listener or reader only would have needed to be aware of the broad outline of events; beyond this, he or she could be expected to be moved by a

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<sup>471</sup> "Presta quel tuo furor presto Bellona, / che gia prestasti ale barbariche arme, / a questa lira mia ch'apena suona, / al rozo stil, ala loquel, ai carmi, / che havendo a dir el danno e la vergogna / de Italia." "Opera nova, che tratta de li tre sacchi," c. 11v. Invocations to pagan gods do not seem to have been particularly unusual even in the repertoires of medieval *cantastorie*, for example the anonymous author of the *Cantare dei cantari* who appealed to Apollo; see Pio Rajna, "Il *Cantare dei cantari* e il *Serventese del maestro di tutte l'arti*," in *Scritti di filologia e linguistica italiana e romanza*, ed. Guido Lucchini (Rome: Salerno, 1998), 1:574. For their greater frequency in later medieval texts, however, see Cabani, *La forme del cantare epico-cavallaresco*, 37.

<sup>472</sup> "Poverella Italia afflitta e mesta, / del mondo già giardin, capo e regina." "Opera nova, che tratta de li tre sacchi," c. 12r.

<sup>473</sup> References to Romulus et al. appear on cc. 12v-13r. According to Villoresi, the average audience member of a piazza performer and the reader of cheap texts like these were "affascinati indistintamente dalle vicende di santi martiri e antichi condottieri, scaltri mercanti, vedove generose e preti incontinent, e naturalmente dale audaci imprese di guerra e d'amore di Orlando e Rinaldo, Lancillotto e Tristano." "La biblioteca del canterino," 192.

<sup>474</sup> "El barbar empio ... percuote, fere, stratia, squarta, occide / e quanto fa più mal, tanto più ride." "Opera nova, che tratta de li tre sacchi," c. 13v.

<sup>475</sup> "La man mi trema e mancami la voce, / tanto quel ch'io vo dir m'incresse e cuoce." *Ibid.*, c. 12v. This echoes the poem published by Ferrarese on the siege of Florence, in which the narrator claims: "La man me tremma e manchame la voce, / non posso esprimer quel ch'avea nel petto. / L'aspro dolor infin al cor me coce / e son a tanta compassion constretto. / Non son come solea pronta e veloce, / che popol de Fiorenza poveretto / soccorso chiama in così grave assedio, / e alla salute sua non ha rimedio." "Guerra di Firenze," c. 5v. This poem also contains similar comments on the violence of the Imperial troops, pillaging and raping virtuous women.



familiar tale of violence and political calamity. With its frequent references to playing the *lira* and its subject of interest to a broad Italian audience, the song was probably a part of the repertoire of the travelling singer Ferrarese who had the pamphlet printed up in Venice. Similarly, the modest material presentation of the 1532 edition—a small octavo of sixteen leaves—presented the poem in a form that would have been cheap, and visually familiar to buyers of other similar pamphlets.<sup>476</sup>

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, although by now the genre was declining, war poems still featured in the published output of an itinerant publisher and street seller like Paris Mantovano il Fortunato. Around the time he was banished from Venice for distributing an unlicensed pamphlet, Mantovano commissioned an octavo pamphlet containing a poetic account of the conquest of the Tunisian city of Mehedia by the Spanish fleet under Andrea Doria in 1550.<sup>477</sup> Despite the fact that Mantovano's text claimed to be "novemente stampata in rima," it shared many lines in common with another, longer account by a little known author, Archangelo da Lonigo.<sup>478</sup> The poem published by Mantovano contains some stanzas that appear in Lonigo's or are very similar; other parts are cut and new verses invented. The derivative nature of Mantovano's poem is suggested by the careless inaccuracy in his version of some of the similar stanzas, which renders it almost nonsensical at times.<sup>479</sup> Several years later, Mantovano published another work relating contemporary events, a lament in the voice of the military man Piero Strozzi about his defeat in the fight for Sienese independence in 1554.<sup>480</sup> Again we cannot say if Mantovano wrote or borrowed this work, as it reappeared in other undated pamphlets without attribution to an author.<sup>481</sup> The genre of the poetic *lamento* was another staple of the medieval *canterino*, a powerful device that allowed him to dramatise the regret of the powerful as

<sup>476</sup> As a point of comparison, Ferdinand Columbus bought a twelve-leaf octavo in Rome in 1530 for two *quattrini*, or two thirds of a *soldo*; listed in Wagner and Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa*, 432, no. 821.

<sup>477</sup> The *La felicissima vittoria avuta dal S. Principe d'Oria* ([Venice, ca. 1551]), Appendix, no. 7.2.

<sup>478</sup> *La gloriosa vittoria et presa d'Affrica* (Bologna: Bartolomeo Bonardo, [ca. 1551]), BTM, Inc. C 258(15). Both pamphlets are undated, but presumed to have come out soon after the events described.

<sup>479</sup> For example the second stanza of Lonigo's poem starts: "Qui non si canterà lascivi amori, / né fabulosi eroi, né finte imprese, / ma cridi straggi pieni d'alti horri / fatti dal Doria a l'Affrican paese"; *La gloriosa vittoria*, c. Iv. This is rendered in the first stanza of *La felicissima vittoria* as: "Non fabulosi heroi non finti amor, / quivi si canteran, né vane imprese. / Ma cruda strade, piena a altri horri, / fatta dal d'Oria a l'African paese," c. 1r; italics mine.

<sup>480</sup> *Lamento che fa Piero Strozzi*. This pamphlet also includes a *barzelletta* in the voice of Siena lamenting its fate and a short comic dialogue between the characters Pasquino and Marforio likening the politics of the event to the card game *primiera*.

<sup>481</sup> *La rotta che hebbe il signor Piero Strozzi* (Florence: all'Insegna della Stella, n.d.). Listed in *GOR*, 1:133, no. 218) contains several poems about the event as well as the *lamento* and *Barzelletta della città di Siena* published by Mantovano. The BMV holds another pamphlet with the same title as Mantovano's (Rari 805.19), also an octavo of four leaves and differing only in some of the orthography.

they suffered at the hands of fate or as a result of their own hubris, or evoke the pitiful state of a city reduced to ruin by war.<sup>482</sup> Thus “Piero Strozzi” in the poem published by Mantovano lamented the comeuppance accorded to those like himself who “seek and desire to have too much,” bringing great ruin upon themselves and death to others.<sup>483</sup>

Scholars of war poems have noted that the further the genre developed in print, the more indications there were that these were works written to be read, or at least read *and* heard.<sup>484</sup> For example, the frequently reprinted *Lamento di Rodi* promised: “If lofty feats and unheard of news / *Reader*, you seek to *hear*, now may you *hear* / Some things that would astonish Saturn and Jove” (italics mine).<sup>485</sup> Paris Mantovano’s *Felicissima vittoria* asked for a “grateful audience for my rough song” from its “excellent and distinguished readers.”<sup>486</sup> Certainly, the genre was moving ever further from its performative roots. As war poems proved their remarkable popularity in print, various figures very quickly entered into the effort to feed the hungry market for such works. However, printers and *poligrafisti* who became involved in the production of war poems were in many ways continuing on the techniques of borrowing, cutting and reworking material that had been the hallmark of the “*canterino*’s cloning industry” for such works.<sup>487</sup> For example, the printer and possibly performer Paolo Danza published a pamphlet *La nova de Bressa ... (The news of Brescia)* around 1516 under his own name, which was in fact little more than a re-elaboration of an earlier poem, *La vera nova de Bressa de punto in punto com’è andata ... (The Real News of Brescia, Point By Point as It Happened)* printed by Alessandro Bindoni ca. 1512.<sup>488</sup> Later it was Danza who assembled the “monster poem” the *Guerre horrende d’Italia*, that incorporated other shorter works including Ferrarese’s *Guerra di Firenze*.<sup>489</sup>

<sup>482</sup> See Medin’s introduction to Medin and Frati, *Lamenti storici*, vol. 4, and Martines, *Strong Words*, 244-48.

<sup>483</sup> “Spesse volte fortuna ingiuriosa / suole negar la vittoria a colui / che cerca e brama haver troppa gran cosa. / Son stato coraggioso e sempre fui / e hora ho conosciuto il mio destino / con mio gran danno e con morte d’altrui.” *Lamento che fa Piero Strozzi*, c. 1v.

<sup>484</sup> See Cristina Ivaldi, “Cinque cantari su Ludovico il Moro: scrittura e trasmissione di un sottogenere cavallaresco,” *Schifanoia* 6 (1988): 41; and Beer and Ivaldi, “Poemetti bellici del Rinascimento italiano,” 93-95.

<sup>485</sup> “Se eccelsi fatti et inaudite nuove, / lettor, cerchi d’udir, or odi alquanto / cose da far stupir.” *Lamento di Rodi*, quoted in Medin and Frati, *Lamenti storici*, 3:213.

<sup>486</sup> “Porgete dunque al rozzo cantar mio / grata audientia almi letor preclari.” *La felicissima vittoria*, c. 1r.

<sup>487</sup> “L’industria della clonazione canterina,” in the words of Ivaldi, “Cinque cantari su Ludovico il Moro,” 29.

<sup>488</sup> *La nova de Bressa con una barzelletta in laude del re de Franza e de San Marco...* says it was written by a “danza di danza,” and is thus attributed to the authorship of Paolo Danza in *GOR*, 1:94, no. 139. Held in BL, C.20.c.22(55). The Bindoni pamphlet is cited above, n. 258.

<sup>489</sup> This was first published in 1534 by Danza under the title *Guerre horrende de Italia. Tutte le guerre de Italia comenzando dala venuta di re Carlo del mille quatrocento novantaquattro fin al giorno presente*; listed in *GOR*, 1:141-42, no. 230; reproduced in 3: 937-1071. I have consulted the copy in BL, G.11108. Stanzas 6-18 of Ferrarese’s poem appear as the last part of the twentieth canto of the later poem. The same canto also incorporated the entire poem by Eustachio Celebrino on the sack of Rome. The *Guerre horrende* had been

As in the chivalric genre, many writers who are not known to have been actual performers borrowed the oral formulae of the *canterini* in their war poems. This may have been merely a fictional device designed to evoke the oral poets of the past, however it is thought that at least some actually wrote material for performers.<sup>490</sup> Some prolific early *poligrafi* occupied a “grey area” between the culture of the performers and the circles of elite men of letters, attracted by the popular performative style of the *cantastorie* and the possibility to produce works that were easy to sell, but also concerned to distance themselves from the lowly associations of mercenary ballad-mongering. For example, some time after 1528 the *poligrafo* Giovan Battista Dragoncino published his *Lamento del reame di Napoli* (*The Lament of the Realm of Naples*), relating to the battle of Capo d’Orso, which the title page proclaimed had been “composed *all’improvviso*” and which did feature the classic formulae of the *cantastorie*. Dragoncino showed here that he was adept at literary recycling, as the titular poem was a *barzelletta* first composed in 1503 and adapted to suit the new events.<sup>491</sup> By this point, Dragoncino had already written several short works in a burlesque vein that could be sold cheaply in large numbers. However, he also attempted to make his name with more serious literary works.<sup>492</sup> In a 1526 dedication to a short collection of ponderous verse, Dragoncino claimed that, having come to Venice with its flourishing printing industry, he had decided to have copies of this work printed “not to lay them out for sale on the piazza on some bench or another, as I have done with many of my other little works in the past” but to give them as a gift to his literature-loving friends.<sup>493</sup> Notably, when

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published in shorter form by both Danza and the Pasini/Bindoni partnership in 1522 and 1524 respectively, without these additions. The extended version was reprinted by Bindoni and Pasini a few months after Danza’s of 1534. On the idea of a “monster” text, produced from narrative passages from various other poems, see Villoresi, “Il mercato delle meraviglie: strategie seriali, rititolazioni e riduzioni dei testi cavallereschi a stampa fra Quattro e Cinquecento,” in *idem*, *La fabbrica dei cavalieri*, 156.

<sup>490</sup> Leonardo Olschki thinks that the clergyman Giuliano Dati, for example, wrote works like his *cantare* about the discovery of America (published in 1493) for performance and sale by *cantastorie*. “I ‘Cantari dell’India’ di Giuliano Dati,” *La bibliofilia* 40, nos 8-9 (1938): 291-92. Niccoli, *Prophecy and People*, pp. 14-15, 17, suggests the same was true of *poligrafi* like Eustachio Celebrino and Giovan Battista Verini.

<sup>491</sup> *El lamento del reame di Napoli ... composto a l’improvviso dal Dragoncino da Fano* (n.p.d. [but after 1528]). BMV, Misc. 1945(23). Listed in *GOR*, 1:120, no. 194 and reproduced in 3:11-14. Describing this work, Medin, *Lamenti storici*, 4:2, refers to Dragoncino as a “well-known *cantastorie*.” However, it seems more likely that he was solely or principally a writer.

<sup>492</sup> For an overview of his output, see *DBI*, 41:659-61. 262 copies of Dragoncino’s *Innamoramento di Guidon Selvaggio* (a fourteen-leaf quarto) and 894 copies of his *Marphisa bizzarra* (a sixty-leaf quarto), were held in the publisher and bookseller Niccolò Gorgonzola’s stock in Milan in 1537; see Ganda, *Niccolò Gorgonzola*, 130, 132.

<sup>493</sup> “Non per esponderle venali sulle piazze in questo et in quell’altro panco, come di più altre mie operette (quali elle si siano) ho fatto ne passati tempi. Ma solo, essendo cosa vostra particolare, per tutte in dono mandarlevi.” Dragoncino, *Lugubris est titulus, lacrimosaque carmina* (Venice: Matteo dei Vitali, 1526), c. 4r. BMV Misc. 2147(7); cited in Alessandro Giacomello, “Per una storia del libro di larga diffusione nel Friuli del Cinquecento: appunti e note bibliografiche,” in *Società e cultura del Cinquecento nel Friuli occidentale*, ed. Andrea Del Col (Pordenone: Edizioni della Provincia di Pordenone, 1984), 360.

Pietro Aretino wrote to Dragoncino in 1537 to thank him for the gift of a sonnet, Aretino lamented the poverty of poets that meant he could not reward Dragoncino with more than words. Aretino made a tongue-in-cheek reference to writers having to “send out their names to be sold around all the fairs, and hearing [one’s work] being sung on a bench.”<sup>494</sup> It seems that Dragoncino, like Aretino, allowed this to happen, even as he tried to make his name in the literary circles of Venice.

Another who sometimes adopted the style of the performer in war poems and other works was the prolific writer, editor, and engraver Eustachio Celebrino, also sometimes referred to as a *cantastorie*.<sup>495</sup> In 1528, Celebrino first published a long poem on the sack of Rome that achieved great success, being reprinted numerous times in various cities.<sup>496</sup> The poem drew upon but also subtly diverged from the *canterino* tradition, its length and more sophisticated language suggesting rather more literary ambition than the average specimen. An “author’s apology” prefaced to the work defended its veracity; Celebrino claimed that, although he had not witnessed the sack himself, he had versified the account given to him by an army Captain who had been present.<sup>497</sup> Although he begins with an invocation to Mars to aid his poetic abilities, the narrator then pleads quiet from an audience, not in a piazza but in a presumably more refined indoor gathering or *ridotto*.<sup>498</sup> Yet other works Celebrino wrote explicitly adopted the address of the wandering *canterino*. The poetic morality tale of the callow youth *Fenitio*, which Celebrino adapted from popular folklore, he concluded by saying that he had been wandering the world for twenty years and had been left without a *quattrino* to his name, “sing[ing] to the sound of my *lira* on a bench.”<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> “È una bella cosa il mandare a vendere il nome per tutte le fiere, con l’udirsi cantare in banca.” Aretino, *Lettere*, 1:342.

<sup>495</sup> Camporesi, “Cultura popolare e cultura d’élite,” 148, referred to Celebrino as a “cantastorie udinese.” Celebrino and Dragoncino worked for the same printers in Venice, including Bindoni and Pasini.

<sup>496</sup> *GOR*, 1:107-15, nos 165-82; two editions are reproduced in 2: 797-844. The first few editions carried the title *La presa di Roma*, later editions were called *Il successo de tutti gli fatti che fece il Duca di Borbone* and mostly did not indicate the authorship of Celebrino. Celebrino commissioned at least one of the editions himself, printed in Cesena “ad instantia de l’auttore” (*GOR*, 1:108, no. 166). On the poem, redrafted in 1528-29, see Donatella Diamanti, “*La presa di Roma* di Eustachio Celebrino da Udine,” *Italianistica* 19 no. 2 (1990): 331-49. Celebrino may also have been author of the undated news poem *La presa de Pisa* authored by an E.C.F. (Eustachio Celebrino Friulano?), listed in *GOR*, 1: 48-49, no. 48.

<sup>497</sup> “Colui che prima scrisse questa impresa è capitano, e praticò ne l’armi e in Roma fu e vide a pien la cosa.” Facsimile reproduction of the 1528 Siense edition of *La presa di Roma* in *GOR*, 2:799.

<sup>498</sup> “Et voi che ad ascoltar qui atorno seti / venuti, in questo ameno e bel ridotto, / pregovi state tutti attenti e queti.” *Ibid.*

<sup>499</sup> *Fenitio esempio d’uno giovane ricchissimo* (Venice: Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini, 1533), c. 16r: “Venti anni sono, e più ch’io cerco il mondo, / per piani, monti, e per ogni confino. / Fortuna m’ha più fiato posto al fondo, / e fatto rimaner senza un quattrino. / Pur per virtù son qui lieto, e giocondo, / credete che non mente il mio latino, / e per mostrar che per virtù son francho, / la canto a son de lira sopra il bancho.” The second stanza of the poem also includes a plea to his stringed instrument: “squillante, e fabuloso legno /... del cui suono ha ciascun tanto diletto. / Soccorso porgi al mio fragil ingegno, / mentre possato a me stai sopra il

Like the chivalric works, the war poem pamphlets demonstrate many complicated and multi-directional exchanges between the oral, the written, and the printed in this period. Although there was a general movement from a primarily oral tradition of text to a primarily written one, elements of oral performance were both preserved in and invented for the poems, alongside new indications of address to readers. While printers and *poligrafi* became involved in churning out the war poems, *cantimbanchi* continued to participate in the production and publication of these works for some time, and probably also adapted printed texts back into their oral performance repertoires. Long after the press made it possible to disseminate cheap pamphlets to take home and read, the tribulations of the great and powerful, invasions and battles conducted in far-off places, continued to be recounted orally as well.

### *Prognostication and Prophecy*

Prognostications and prophecies also recur in the corpus of works known to have been sold or published by street sellers or performers, and these too demonstrate elements of continuity with the medieval oral tradition, as well as new permutations in print. Wandering preachers of apocalypse, prophets, and astrologers had long jostled for space in the piazza with minstrels and ballad singers.<sup>500</sup> However, as Ottavia Niccoli has shown, prophetic poems and prognostications became particularly popular from the later fifteenth century and for the first third of the sixteenth, a period of calamity and upheaval in Italy. They were disseminated to a large and eager audience by intersecting and overlapping paths—oral, written, and printed. They were often published in small formats that geared them towards sale by hawkers and performers who may have declaimed the contents.<sup>501</sup> Here too, the popularity of the genres and the widespread familiarity with their tropes and clichés encouraged a parallel tradition of parody, flourishing from the early Cinquecento and sometimes penned by the same people and performed in the same spaces as the serious versions. These parodies ranged along the scale of literary sophistication, from Pietro Aretino's annual *giudizi* to the humorous *Pronostico* printed and performed in Venice by a

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petto," c. 2r. A copy of this is held in BMV, Misc. 2333(3). On the adaptation of *Fenitio* from folklore, see Rubini, "Fiabe in ottava rima," 428-29.

<sup>500</sup> Niccoli, *Prophecy and People*, 92-98. See also Delcorno, "Professionisti della parola."

<sup>501</sup> Niccoli, *Prophecy and People*, 12-19.

*cantimbanco* called Maestro Pegaso Neptunio in 1524.<sup>502</sup> The ambulant publisher Paris Mantovano published both serious prognostications and several editions of an *avviso*-style letter that played upon the prophetic genre, claiming to relate the omens that had appeared to the Sultan in Constantinople warning him about his imminent destruction by the Christians.<sup>503</sup>

The prognosticatory genre in particular had close links with learned culture and the authors of pamphlets included professors of astrology from the universities as well as piazza charlatans and performers.<sup>504</sup> A representative example is the *Lunario*, or almanac, commissioned by the *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese in Venice in December 1532, the work of a doctor and astronomer from Pesaro, Camillo de' Leonardis.<sup>505</sup> This was a small twelve-leaf pamphlet offering practical lists of the phases of the moon and the dates of festivals and eclipses. It was simply laid out with little text, and the short preamble (presumably by de' Leonardis) suggested that it was designed to be understood by the learned and unlearned ("da indotti come da dotti ... se intenda," c. 1v). Ferrarese had been in Pesaro a year earlier, so may have been the channel by which the work arrived in Venice.<sup>506</sup> However, Leonardis's works, both Latin and vernacular, had been published in Venice for some years; indeed, the printer Guglielmo Fontaneto, with whom Ferrarese certainly collaborated in 1532, had printed a *Lunario* by Leonardis a year earlier.<sup>507</sup> We do not know the respective roles of the singer, the printer, and the author in updating this text so that it could be advertised as applicable from the following year of 1533.<sup>508</sup> Prophecies and prognostications were often written in an open and imprecise way that allowed them to be endlessly reused or reinterpreted. This was one of the main targets of their parodists and critics.<sup>509</sup> Yet almanacs

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<sup>502</sup> Ibid., 157-59. The work, cited by Niccoli, is *Pronostico, over diluvio consolatorio per lo eximio dottore maestro Pegaso Neptunio* ([Venice, ca. 1524]); listed on *Edit 16*. On Aretino's *giudizi*, which channelled gossip about the high and mighty into the mock-prognostication form, see Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni*. Elide Casali sees the genre of the parodic prognostication as not so much in opposition to "real" prognostications as complementary to them; see *Le spie del cielo. Oroscopi, lunari e almanacchi nell'Italia moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), 237-45. See also Piero Camporesi, *La maschera di Bertoldo. Le metamorfosi del villano mostruoso e sapiente. Aspetti e forme del Carnevale ai tempi di Giulio Cesare Croce*, new ed. (Milan: Garzanti, 1993), chap. 3.

<sup>503</sup> *Copia de una lettera venuta da Costantinopoli dove narra li gran prodigi e spaventeuoli segni apparsi in Costantinopoli* (two editions from Venice, one undated, one from 1551). Appendix, nos 7.3, 7.6. For the serious prognostications published by Mantovano, see the Appendix, nos 7.5, 7.8, 7.11, 7.12.

<sup>504</sup> Casali, *Le spie del cielo*, 19-20.

<sup>505</sup> *Lunario novo perpetuo al modo de Italia*. BL, 1395.a.29. Appendix, no. 5.3.

<sup>506</sup> Ferrarese had commissioned the [*Lamento di Firenze*] in Pesaro in July 1531, as noted, n. 463.

<sup>507</sup> *Sander*, 2:678, no. 3942, however no copies are located. For other publications of de' Leonardis, see *Sander*, 2:677-79, nos 3935-44.

<sup>508</sup> Ferrarese's edition is very similar to earlier works by de' Leonardis, for example, to the *Lunario al modo de Italia* published by Zoppino in 1525 (copy in BMV, Misc. 2411(1)), which contains the same preface.

<sup>509</sup> Casali, *Le spie del cielo*, 218. Niccoli, *Prophecy and People*, 175-76.

in particular would remain among the best-selling examples of popular literature in Europe for many centuries, and no doubt this example made a valuable addition to Ferrarese's array of printed goods to sell. A copy of Leonardis's *Lunario* (although from which year is not known) was one of the few texts in the possession of the Friulian miller Menocchio, when he was investigated by the Inquisition in 1599.<sup>510</sup>

Prophecies in print, like some of the texts surveyed already, frequently demonstrate rich interminglings of the oral and the written, characteristic of a textual tradition with strong oral elements establishing itself in print, and one in which there was much exchange between learned and unlearned traditions. Indications of oral performance appeared alongside evidence that the work was expected to be read. An example of this is a work that describes both the omens that had preceded a particular flood, and the events of the flood itself, thus a mixture of prophecy and news. A quarto pamphlet of four pages, the *Diluvio di Roma (The Flood of Rome)* was published in Venice in 1530 at the instance of Giovanni Maria Lirico. Lirico, his nickname suggesting musical or poetic composition, published several other works in Venice in the 1520s and 30s, very much linked to popular performance, which I discuss below.<sup>511</sup> His *Diluvio* begins with an address to the

spirti gentili, che in sonoro carme,  
 cose bramate udir altiere e nove,  
 attentamente ognun prego ascoltarne  
 ... un caso strano non d'amor o d'arme,  
 ma che ogni duro core a pianger move.  
 Chi serà di pietà si nudo in tutto,  
 che possa ritenere il viso asciutto?

Voi sentirete in doloroso idioma  
 che la mia lira in pianto si riversa

<sup>510</sup> Ginzburg, *Cheese and the Worms*, 29. On the continued popularity of almanacs, see Braida, *Le guide del tempo*.

<sup>511</sup> *Diluvio di Roma che fu a di sette di ottobre lanno del mille cinquecento e trenta*. BL, 1073.i.40. Appendix, no. 4.4. This was not the same work as the *Diluvio di Roma* by Giuliano Dati about the flood of 1485, published ca. 1496. Listed in *Sander*, 1:415, nos 2350-51.

di quella afflitta e sconsolata Roma.<sup>512</sup>

As in the war poems, recent events are presented in the guise of an exciting story, guaranteed to induce horror and pity in its listeners. However, the introductory verses are followed by a prose account of the flood, whether by Lirico or another is not unspecified. So great was the calamity of the flood, he writes, that “whoever would wish to describe the whole thing fully would need to compose a long poem”; there is so much material to cover “that to enclose it in a small volume would not be possible.”<sup>513</sup> It is probable that this awkward segue from verse to prose reflects texts by different authors spliced together by the performer-publisher or the printer to confect a pamphlet that could be presented as novel. The use of the verse introduction simply may be an example of the “fictional orality” that was carried over into so many sixteenth-century works in genres that had been associated traditionally with oral performance.<sup>514</sup> However the involvement of the ambulant publisher Lirico, who almost certainly carried his works around with him and used some kind of recital to aid their sale, indicates that such indicators of orality may not have been entirely rhetorical.

In another example, although one not related to the prognosticatory genre, Paris Mantovano’s *Copia de una littera venuta novamente dalla città de Milano* (*Copy of a Letter Newly Arrived from the City of Milan*) presented a version of the traditional verse *contrasto* between the brunette and the blonde with a prose letter of introduction in the style of a servant updating his lord with news, an *avviso*. The “servant” claimed to be writing to his master from Milan that, since nothing notable had happened to report on of late, “so I am disposed to narrate you here in these few verses” a case that had been publicised recently about two woman who had done battle for the love of the same man.<sup>515</sup> Here, a new spin was given to an old text that, once a staple of medieval minstrels, now was presented as a work to read.

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<sup>512</sup> “Noble spirits who in sonorous songs / desire to hear about things proud and new. / I beg each of you to listen to me attentively / ... a strange tale not of love or war, / but one that moves every hard heart to tears. / Who could be so completely deprived of pity / that they maintain a dry eye? // You will hear in the sad language / that pours out of my lamenting *lira* / of that afflicted and disconsolate Rome.” *Diluvio di Roma*, c. 1v.

<sup>513</sup> “Chi volesse tutta appieno descrivere seria bisogno di ordire un longo poema ... tanto ampia sofferisce la materia che chiudere in picciolo volume non sarà possibile.” *Ibid.*, c. 2r.

<sup>514</sup> See above, p. 122.

<sup>515</sup> “Hormai passato sono quattro mesi senza negotio alcuno né punto scrivervi ... onde mi son disposto narrarvi qui in questi pochi versi il caso come è successo.” *Copia de una littera* (Milan: [ca. 1551]), c. 1r. BMV, Misc. 0423(26). On this *contrasto*, which Ferrari describes as “fattura di tutti o di nessuno,” see Severino Ferrari, “Il *contrasto* della Bianca e della Bruna,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 6 (1885): 352-98.



*Secrets and Lies*

Despite the many indicators of oral performance included in the kind of works discussed thus far, it is rare that we can explicitly link a printed work to an occasion of its performance in one form or another. Beyond the fragmentary evidence for hawking, singing and reciting printed pamphlets in the streets of Venice and other cities by the early sixteenth century, at base we have little but the fact that known performers did commission and sell printed works, justifying the hypothesis that frequently they used their skills to advertise those works to the best of their abilities. Yet one area where the connections between printed pamphlets and street performances are clearer is in the publications of medical charlatans, which they posted up or handed out free to advertise their trade, or sold alongside their remedies. Gentilcore's work recently has stressed how much use travelling charlatans made of local presses, although the extremely ephemeral kinds of work that they commissioned—such as handbills and printed recipes—survive only in very small numbers.<sup>516</sup> The majority of surviving examples date from the later Cinquecento onwards, however there is evidence of these trends beginning earlier in the century. These examples of cheap (or free) print reached a very wide range of people, to judge by the concerns of the medical authorities about the charlatans' deception of the gullible masses. The records of the Venetian health magistrates contain increasingly frequent references to charlatans who sold or gave away printed recipes (*ricette*) of the remedies they peddled, such as the charlatan Latino de' Grassi who was punished in 1551 for exaggerating the benefits of his electuary against venoms, which he sold along with its printed recipe.<sup>517</sup> The authorities expressed particular alarm that Latino's false advertising would bring "great harm to the poor" and others who bought his wares.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, esp. chap. 10. See also William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature. Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Alessandro Giacomello, "Il balsamo filosofico di Domenico Fedele. Fogli volanti, libri di segreti, ricette," *Quaderni dell'Associazione della Carnia Amici dei Musei e dell'Arte* 3 (1996): 23-43.

<sup>517</sup> ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 729, cc. 216r-217r (22 April 1551). See above, p. 95, on Latino's banishment from Venice.

<sup>518</sup> "Onde considerate ... il danno grande che potria seguir a poveri et altri nelle proprie loro persone che havesse et havessino comprato de ditto ellectuario si per dar rimedio al veneno, come alle altre sorte malatie nominiate nella sua riceta." Ibid., c. 216v. At least one example of Latino's publications survives: a pamphlet in the Wellcome, EPB 2913/A, entitled *Opera nuova non più posta in luce, universale e salutifera a tutti li corpi humani ... Composta per me maestro Latino de Grassi venitiano*, dated to ca. 1550. This contains a long remedy for venomous bites as well as several standard cosmetic recipes such as for whitening teeth.

The charlatan Iacopo Coppa, as well as publishing pamphlet editions of contemporary poetry which are discussed below, also had printed up recipes of his famous electuary, written in the vernacular “for the greater ease of the people.”<sup>519</sup> Coppa was an accomplished showman who performed in a flamboyant doctor’s costume on a stage elaborately decked out with his licences to practice from various authorities. As well as ministering to famous clients such as the Duchess of Florence, he treated the poor for “amor di Dio.”<sup>520</sup> His recipe, which does not survive but which was transcribed by the health magistrates, gives the ingredients of the remedy which it promises will “comfort the brain ... gladden the heart, and, taken as specified, bring easy digestion, dispel sadness and melancholy, purify the blood, strengthen the limbs, aid women in all of those discomforts and sicknesses that come from the womb.”<sup>521</sup> Coppa later received a licence to print his recipe “relating to the sickness of worms, with secrets,” as did the herbalist Leone Tartaglino who obtained a privilege from the Senate to protect the printed edition of his “excellent and perfect secret and method, of a powder which is a most notable remedy for worms of whatever type that come into human bodies, and to keep bodies healthy.”<sup>522</sup>

Other charlatans had printed up handbills or posters advertising their presence in town, like the one for Tomaso Cazola “medico et astrologo” that is preserved in a file of the Venetian Sant’Uffizio. Cazola was questioned by the conspirators for suspicion of keeping prohibited books, and in his testimony noted that he had had his advertisements printed in Venice and “put up in public in various places at Rialto and San Marco and other places.”<sup>523</sup> Cazola added that under his own poster there had been affixed other advertisements for healers and for an astrologer. Cazola’s poster claimed that he would advise paying customers (or, like Coppa, counsel the poor for “amor di dio”) on such matters as whether a marriage would take place, a voyage would be fruitful or a baby be born male or female. In

<sup>519</sup> “Presento la ricetta mia in vulgar per più facilità ai populi.” ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 730, c. 287r (17 August 1560).

<sup>520</sup> See Malespini, *Ducento novelle*, 2:300v-301r.

<sup>521</sup> “Conforta il cervello, ... ralegra il cuore, et procura la facile digestion tolto ut supra, scacia la tristeza, et melanconia, purifica lo sangue, fortifica li membri, aiuta le donne in tute quelli incomodi, et infermità, che procedeno dalla matrice”; ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 730, cc. 287r-v. See also the transcription of the printed recipe for a “maraviglioso el divino rimedio contra li morsi di venenosi animali” of a Maphio Bertoloti of Brescia. *Ibid.*, cc. 2r-3v (1 July 1563).

<sup>522</sup> “Optimo et perfetto secreto, et modo di una polvere la quale è notabilissimo rimedio delli vermiche vengano nelli corpi humani di qualunque sorte, et per mantener sani li corpi.” Two approvals of Tartaglino’s one page “carta del modo di far la polvere da vermi” for publication can be found in ASV, *Reformatori*, Licenzi di stampa, b. 284, unnumbered sheets dated 20 July 1564. And see ASV, *Sanità*, Notatorio, b. 730, cc. 378r-v, for the reference to his Senate privilege. The approval for publication of the “Ricette in materia del mal di vermi cum li secreti di maestro Giacomo Coppa modenensis” is found in ASV, *Reformatori*, Licenzi di stampa, b. 284, unnumbered sheet dated 26 May 1564.

<sup>523</sup> ASV, *SU*, b. 50 (1583-84).

this case, the healer operated not on the Piazza but in the house of Nicolò the painter on the Ponte de' Meloni (probably the bridge that still stands in the *sestiere* of San Polo).

Other travellers who came to Venice commissioned longer pamphlets of “secrets,” although they too were probably linked to the public advertisement of remedies. One such example is the four-page octavo pamphlet *Opera nuova nella quale troverai molti bellissimi secreti* (*A New Work in Which You Will Find Many Wonderful Secrets*) commissioned by the ballad singer and soap seller Baldassare Faentino in 1546.<sup>524</sup> This has been cited as a classic example of the small “books of secrets” that began to be printed in increasing numbers in the sixteenth century, “destined for the commonest sort of readers and for the pedlar’s pack.”<sup>525</sup> It offered simple recipes to make hair grow or fall out, get rid of freckles, make the hair blond “so that it seems like golden thread,” and even “to make a cock sing when it is half roasted” (which the recipe concludes will be “a fun thing to laugh about” (“bella festa da ridere,” c. 2v)). The hyperbolic promises and overheated rhetoric of these pamphlets made them too the subject of a long tradition of popular parody. The fourteenth-century jester Nicolò Povero performed a parody of medical secrets, the direct ancestor of works like *Le mirabilissime virtù di Maestro Venturino Bergamasco* (*The Most Miraculous Virtues of Maestro Venturino Bergamasco*), a burlesque charlatan’s spiel in the mock Bergamask dialect so popular in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>526</sup>

Charlatans’ works had a common rhetoric of opening up to all useful knowledge that previously had been the preserve of the learned elite. This was the rhetoric parodied in Franco’s dialogue in which his street-seller Sannio advertised his “wonderful, new, useful, and admirable invention” which can instil in anyone the key tenets of knowledge in a matter of days, “the true way to learn any mystery, and the path to ascend to any level. And all

<sup>524</sup> *Opera nuova nella quale troverai molti bellissimi secreti* ([Florence], 1546). Appendix, no. 1.8.

<sup>525</sup> Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 128. This edition appears to have been a slightly adapted version of a pamphlet held in the Wellcome (*Opera nuova nella quale troverai molti bellissimi secreti*) and published “a instantia di maestro Giovanni da Lucca” ca. 1540, as listed in the Appendix to Eamon’s work: “Secreti italiani: Italian booklets of secrets, ca. 1520-1643.” Notably, a portrait, seemingly of Faentino, that appears in his edition *Opera nova non più posta in luce nella quale troverai molti bellissimi sonetti* (discussed below) was reused around 1580 on the title page of a book of secrets printed in Bologna (reprinted in Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 247).

<sup>526</sup> *Le mirabilissime virtù di Maestro Venturino Bergamasco, protomedico, e dotto in ogni scientia, cosa piacevolissima e ridiculosa* (Venice: Matteo Pagan, [1550s]). BL, 1071.c.65(14). This tradition continued with works such as Giulio Cesare Croce’s *Il vero e pretioso tesor di sanità* (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, 1640). BMV, 95.c.265(9). On Povero and the tradition of medical parody from the middle ages through to the nineteenth century, see Ezio Levi, “Le paneruzzole di Niccolò Povero. Contributo alla storia della poesia giullaresca nel medio evo italiano,” *Studi medievali* 3 (1908): 81-108.

taught for ten *scudi*.”<sup>527</sup> Small pamphlets promising to unveil the secrets of reading, writing, and basic accounting also promoted themselves in this way, and were another common recourse for those looking for quick profit from print. Schutte and others have drawn attention to the interesting figure of Giovan Antonio Tagliente, an erstwhile teacher of handwriting in the Venetian chancery who exploited his repute in a series of popular manuals. Tagliente, like many teachers, looked for opportunities on the road, enrolling in Florence as a *libraio* and *cartolaio* in the Mercato Vecchio in 1525.<sup>528</sup> Other ambulant writers, publishers, and performers produced manuals for learning literacy and other basic skills, ploughing the same profitable furrow as Tagliente. A prime example is Giovan Battista Verini, an itinerant teacher and bookseller who wrote several writing manuals in the style of Tagliente as well as love poems and a devotional manual.<sup>529</sup>

The works such writers produced drew on the models of the chief schoolbooks for basic instruction such as the *Salterio* and the *Babuino*, which were also printed in huge numbers in these years.<sup>530</sup> For instance, Leonardo Furlano’s *Opera nuova ... ne laquale potrai da te medesimo imparare di scrivere sette sorte di lettere, ed abaco* (*A New Work in Which You Will Be Able to Learn By Yourself to Write Seven Sorts of Letters, and Counting*) commenced with a printed alphabet as typically appeared in the *Babuino* and very simple instructions for preparing and holding a pen.<sup>531</sup> Such a text appears to have been pitched at artisans and small-time merchants with basic literacy skills, who could read but perhaps not write competently. It offered useful information such as the conversion of currency between Venice and other cities and a table of tariffs “of great benefit to those who are good account-keepers as also to artisans, or to others who have no understanding of accounting.”<sup>532</sup> In this

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<sup>527</sup> “Invenzione, bella, nuova, utile, et admirabile ... Questo, il vero modo d’apprendere ogni mistiero, e la strada d’ascendere ad ogni grado. E tutto s’insegna per diece scudi.” Franco, *Dialogo del venditore di libri*, 26-28. On this rhetoric, see also Carlo Ginzburg and Marco Ferrari, “The Dovecote Has Opened Its Eyes,” in *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, eds Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 11-19.

<sup>528</sup> The matriculation of “Johann Antonius Nicholai de Taglienti de Vinetia librarius et cartolarius in foro veteri civitatis Florentiae” is listed in Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti,” pt 1, p. 149, no. 58. On Tagliente’s manuals, see Schutte, “Teaching Adults to Read”; and Lucchi, “La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino,” 613. *Edit 16* lists fifty-two editions of Tagliente’s various works, reprinted throughout the sixteenth century.

<sup>529</sup> See Lucchi, “La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino,” 614.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.* See also Lucchi, “Nuove ricerche sul Babuino”; and Giacomello, “Ad instantia di Leonardo il Furlano.”

<sup>531</sup> “Quando scriver vorrai bisogna prima la persona e li membri diligentemente con gratia accommodar, tenendo la penna infra el police e l’indice digito sopra la carta.” *Opera nuova posta in luce ne laquale potrai da te medesimo imparare di scrivere sette sorte di lettere, ed abaco* ([Venice]: for Leonardo Furlano, ca. 1547), c. 2r. Appendix, no. 6.14.

<sup>532</sup> “Laqual sarà de summo frutto sì a quelli che sono boni ragionati come etiam alli artesani, over altri che non anno alcun principio di far ragione.” *Ibid.*, c. 9r.

short pamphlet, Furlano also included a short section on basic pharmacy in order to “instruct those who do not know, to comprehend how to buy and how to recognise” the qualities of various spices and herbs.<sup>533</sup> Another work of Furlano’s, a pamphlet instructing how to read and write in code that he had reprinted several times, combined this information with some basic tenets of Christian living. The intended readership seems to have been of a relatively low educational level, including the illiterate who might be exposed to the work via reading out loud in the home or workshop. For example, on saying prayers, the work instructs that “who knows how to read should say the Office of the Madonna every day, and also say the seven psalms with the following orations and the litanies. That is, who has the opportunity to be able to do it should do it, and more or less according to the quality and condition of the person, but who does not know how to read should say the rosary of the Madonna, and the rosary of Christ, and three Paternosters, and three Ave Marias, and five Paternosters.”<sup>534</sup>

These examples suggest ways in which cheap print was filtering into the lives of Venetians who would have had little contact with the written word before the advent of the press. If they could not buy and read these works themselves, they nonetheless may have been exposed to them being peddled in the streets, verbally advertised by vendors, and read out loud by a friend or family member. Hyperbolic claims about the revelation of secret knowledge may have been employed as effective sales technique, however the rhetoric was not completely empty. Simple instruction in skills such as medicine, writing and accounting was being disseminated to a broad public by means of cheap print. A number of contemporary writers recorded an impression of an unprecedented proliferation not only of books, but of readers. For instance, a character in Anton Francesco Doni’s *Dialogue on Printing* complained that “many people of low extraction who, once upon a time and to the greater advantage of the world, would have devoted their efforts to mechanical crafts in keeping with their abilities, are now lured by how easy it is to study and have begun to take up reading.” “In this way,” he added, “the dignity and good reputation of literature have

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<sup>533</sup> “Ragionevol cosa è il dovere amaestrar quelli che son sanno, a saper comprare con lo saper cognoscere la bontà de le sopradette mercantie.” Ibid., c. 10v.

<sup>534</sup> “Chi sa leggere debbe dire l’ufficio della Madonna ogni di, e anchora dire li sette salmi con le orationi seguente, e le letanie, cioè chi ha la comodità di poterlo fare lo debbe fare, e più e manco secondo la qualità e condition della persona, ma chi non sa leggere debbe dire la corona della Madonna, e la corona di Christo, e i tre pater nostri, e tre ave marie, e i cinque pater nostri.” *Opera nova laquale insegna scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi di zifere* (Brescia: Damiano Turlino for Leonardo Furlano, 1546), c. 11v. Appendix, no. 6.13.

been belittled and the rewards too have dwindled, given the ease and paltry effort required to be a man of learning nowadays.”<sup>535</sup>

### *Literature in Street and Salon*

It has already been suggested that itinerant publishers and performers commissioned pamphlets that drew material from a wide range of sources. Far from exclusively exploiting the oral tradition, they also published and sold texts emanating from elite literary circles, even if those texts in turn were often of a *popolaresco* nature, a term that has been used to describe works that borrowed popular styles or language but were aimed at an elite audience and written by educated authors.<sup>536</sup> One telling example is some verse of the Milanese court poet Gaspare Visconti (1461–99). Visconti first published a collection of his verses (entitled *Rithimi*) in 1493 in Milan, with a dedication letter in which he noted that he had added brief expositions to some of his sonnets not for the edification of the noble dedicatee, but “only so that if it happens that some of the listeners of Sidriano, seller of little containers and paper cones in the piazza, by chance read [the work], that it might not be considered too obscure.”<sup>537</sup> This edition contained Visconti’s *Transito di Carnevale* (*The Passing of Carnival*), a work playing on the popular trope of the passing of advice on the deathbed, in this case of the figure of Carnival as he prepares to “pass away” before Lent.<sup>538</sup> Nothing is known about the circumstances under which Visconti’s work was sold (or performed) in Milan in the 1490s; however in Bologna in 1538 the ballad singer Ferrarese had it reprinted in a ten-leaf octavo, not bothering to credit Visconti as the author. The title page of Ferrarese’s pamphlet said only that the work was “delettevole da intendere” and “non mai

<sup>535</sup> Doni, *Discussion about Printing*, 29. Doni, like other Venetian *poligrafi*, was ambivalent about the effects of the development of printing; the dialogue form allowed him to air different views on the matter.

<sup>536</sup> See Camporesi, “Cultura popolare e cultura d’élite,” 98.

<sup>537</sup> “Solo per che se gli accadesse che alcuno de li auditori del Sidriano venditore de bussoli e de scartozzi in piazza a caso ne legiesse, non sia indicato troppo oscuro.” *Rithimi del magnifico Messere Gaspar Vesconte* (Milan: [Antonio Zarotto], 1493), c. 2r. BL, 10724; quoted in Cannata, *Il canzoniere a stampa*, 97. Visconti described coming across Sidriano performing in the piazza in Milan in another of his poems; see Mario Chiesa and Simona Gatti, eds, *Il parnaso e la zucca. Testi e studi folenghiani* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’orso 1995), 128–29.

<sup>538</sup> The *Transito* is found at cc. 65r–72r of the *Rithimi* edition, which is a quarto of seventy-two leaves. The *Transito* was published on its own in Milan by Zarotto in February 1493 (hence a carnival-time publication) as a presumably much cheaper quarto of eight leaves. A copy is in BL, IA.26072.

più visto ne stampato.”<sup>539</sup> The works of the learned poet Visconti, who had borrowed the popular staples of the battle between Carnival and Lent and the burlesque *testamento* for the delight of his courtly listeners, were recycled back to a broader audience by means of the ballad-singing publisher and pamphlet pedlar. Usually, it is only possible to reconstruct some parts of the complicated trajectory of such works, but nevertheless it is evident that very frequently they circulated well beyond the social group from which they emanated. Categories such as *popolaresco* start to look less useful when it becomes clear that texts that would be defined as such were circulated in cheap pamphlet form by itinerant publishers such as *cantimbanchi*.

Other works by the itinerant publisher Giovan Maria Lirico exemplify this. Aside from his *Diluvio di Roma*, Lirico was also responsible for publishing poetic satires of courtesans, a genre that became very popular in the first few decades of the sixteenth century particularly with the spread of syphilis.<sup>540</sup> Examples of such poetry were often written to be performed by buffoons or *cantimbanchi*. The *Lamento della cortigiana ferrarese* (*The Lament of the Ferrarese Courtesan*) published by Lirico is thought to have been composed by the Venetian artist and entertainer Maestro Andrea, a favourite of the Papal court who performed the work in 1524 in Rome during carnival. Andrea was said to have dressed up as a prostitute when he performed the work, and on one occasion constructed and burned the effigies of Roman courtesans in a public spectacle.<sup>541</sup> In the voice of a courtesan, this poem laments her rise and fall from wealthy and desired to destitute and syphilitic, and was framed as a warning to other *cortegiane* to reform their ways before it was too late.

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<sup>539</sup> *Transito de carnevale padre nostro, delettevole da intendere in stanze elegantissime* (Bologna: Ippolito Ferrarese, 1538). Ferrarese's version is two stanzas shorter and the language is slightly more "Tuscanised" but it is otherwise unchanged. Appendix, no. 5.13.

<sup>540</sup> Lirico published at least three editions in this genre, containing various related (and repeated) components: *Purgatorio delle cortigiane* in Bologna in 1529; *El vanto della cortigiana ferarese ...* in Venice in 1532; and another edition of this printed in Venice in 1538. See the Appendix, nos 4.3, 4.6, 4.8. For examinations of these and other satires of courtesans in printed pamphlets and images, see Hilde Kurz, "Italian Models of Hogarth's Picture Stories," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15, nos 3-4 (1952): 138-44; and Tessa Storey, *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2008), chap. 1.

<sup>541</sup> The *Lamento* was published by Lirico in both of his pamphlets entitled *El vanto della cortigiana ferarese*, cited in the previous note. On the authorship of the *Lamento*, see Giovanni Aquilecchia, "Per l'attribuzione e il testo del *Lamento d'una cortigiana ferrarese*," in *Tra latino e volgare. Per Carlo Dionisotti* (Padua: Antenore, 1974), 3-4. For the 1525 performance, see Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 25-26. The nature of Maestro Andrea's performance is suggested by the title of the 1546 edition of the poem reprinted in Vito Pandolfi, ed., *La Commedia dell'Arte. Storia e testo* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1957), 1:130-34: *Lamento della Ferrarese Cortigiana composto per maestro Andrea Pittore venitiano, et da lui recitato in Roma nelle feste del carnevale, in habito di dona in una carretta che così si condusse detta cortigiana ferrarese*, although as Storey notes, another edition describes him as "vestito di povero con le crocchie et uno campanello in mano."

As Tessa Storey points out, although such poems may originally have been written by relatively educated men who moved in elite circles, such as Maestro Andrea, they were printed in cheap editions and disseminated widely, even to prostitutes themselves.<sup>542</sup> Their publication by itinerant publishers and likely performers such as Lirico points to further dissemination via oral recitations. The blind singer Giovanni di Giorgio, who wrote of begging on the Rialto Bridge, penned a plaint in the voice of a deceased courtesan that became a warning of the evils of prostitutes and prostitution. The late Lucrezia summoned other courtesans to come and hear her song, adding:

Prego ogni donna non si faccia schiva;  
 ogni vecchio, o gargion, non si disdegna  
 a legger quest'istoria santa e diva.  
 A dappoi letta a porger qui si degna  
 offèrta a questo cieco che in la stampa  
 questa compose ...  
 Questo bon cieco in la virtute avampa,  
 pover qual Giobbe, di famiglia padre.<sup>543</sup>

These complex exchanges between salon and street, between oral and literate culture, are also a feature of the genre of pasquinades in the sixteenth century—libellous poems in the voice of the Roman statue Pasquino. Pasquino emerged in the early Cinquecento as the writer/speaker of literary and Latin texts emanating from the Papal court, and focused on the concerns of Roman politics. The pasquinades were stuck to the limbless torso of the statue in the Parione quarter of Rome, copied and passed around by hand and quickly transferred into print. As the sixteenth century progressed, Pasquino's fame spread and he was employed more frequently as the mouthpiece for almost any idea that was somewhat transgressive, now often expressed in the vernacular.<sup>544</sup> Much of this was due to Pietro Aretino, who became the primary proponent of Pasquino from the 1520s and brought

<sup>542</sup> Storey, *Carnal Commerce*, 27.

<sup>543</sup> "I pray every woman not to avoid; / every old man, every youth not to disdain / to read this holy and divine work / ... After you have read it to place here some worthy / offering to this blind man that for the press / composed this .... / This good blind man who shines with virtue, / this poor Job, father of a family." *Il pianto e'l lamento che fa il famoso censor mastro Pasquino, per la morte de la Signora Lucretia milanese ditta Romana ... Composta per Giovanni di Georgi cieco venetiano* (Venice: 1550), cc. 4r-v. Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, 69.7.C.19(3). On Giovanni's poem about begging on the Rialto, see above, n. 324.

<sup>544</sup> Giovanni Aquilecchia, preface to *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, eds Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo, and Angelo Romano (Rome: Salerno, 1983), 1:xi. On the development of the Pasquino figure, see Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale*.



the fashion for pasquinades with him when he moved to Venice in 1527.<sup>545</sup> Aretino in the prologue to his play *La Cortigiana* invented a genealogy for Pasquino as the bastard son of Apollo, a charlatan and *cantimbanco*, as his depiction with a *lira* indicated.<sup>546</sup> Thus the singing charlatan may have been linked in the public consciousness with the Roman statue who voiced the irreverent and satirical thoughts of the people. Certainly, itinerant performers and publishers chose to employ Pasquino as an appealing character on which to base works.

The character of Maestro Andrea, the possible author of the *Lamento della cortigiana ferrarese*, appears in another poem that weds anti-courtesan invective to the pasquinade, and that was published by the now-familiar figure of Ippolito Ferrarese in Venice: the *Trionfo della lussuria di Maestro Pasquino*. The work, composed of four *capitoli*, was printed by Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini “ad instantia de Hippolito detto il Ferrarese” on the 27 January 1538, a carnival-time publication which points to the possibility that it was simultaneously performed.<sup>547</sup> However, it must have been an earlier composition, as a 1534 publication by Ferrarese also claimed on the titlepage to include it, although in fact it does not appear in the surviving pamphlet.<sup>548</sup> In this poem, Pasquino observes a parade of clergy and their concubines, accompanied by a ballad singer by the name of Zoppino. While ridiculing the extravagant vices of the clergy, the poem concludes ultimately as another warning to “wretched and blind courtesans” to “not put your hopes in your luxuries” but to listen to Pasquino and “you will flee that eternal punishment / and heaven will be moved to take pity on you.”<sup>549</sup>

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<sup>545</sup> Alessandro Luzio, “Pietro Aretino e Pasquino,” *Nuova antologia* 28, no. 16 (1890): 679-708; and Paolo Procaccioli, “‘Tu es Pasquillus in aeterno.’ Aretino non romano e la maschera di Pasquino,” in Damianaki, Procaccioli, and Romano, *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate*, 67-96.

<sup>546</sup> Aretino, *La Cortigiana*, 36.

<sup>547</sup> See the Appendix, no. 5.8. The work is reprinted in Antonio Marzo, ed., *Pasquino e dintorni. Testi pasquineschi del Cinquecento* (Roma: Salerno, 1990), 101-21. Maestro Andrea was suggested as a possible author of the *Trionfo* by Abdelkader Salza, “I lamenti di Pasquino,” in *Scritti vari di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier* (Turin: Bocca, 1912), 798, although no specific proof was given.

<sup>548</sup> *Sonetti e strambotti [sic], non mai più posti in luce ... Con quattro triumphi de lussuria sopra le cortegiane antiche de Roma* ([Brescia: Turlini], 1534). Appendix, no. 5.4. As a pencil notation inside the cover of the only known surviving copy (BNCF, Palat. E.6.6.153 II n. 18) rightly says “i trionfi indicati nel frontispizio mancano.”

<sup>549</sup> “Oh misere e cecate cortigiane, / non ponente speranze in vostre pompe”; “Se al dir di Pasquin vostro crederete, / signora mia, certificar vi posso / che quella eternal pena fugirete / e ’l ciel a gran pietà di voi sia mosso.” *Trionfo della lussuria di Maestro Pasquino*, reprinted in Marzo, *Pasquino e dintorni*, 119, 121. Parodies of Petrarch were another popular component of sixteenth-century pamphlets; see for example one combined with a parodic translation of Ariosto, the *Lamento d’Olimpia con capitolo del Petrarca in lingua bergamasca con alcune stantie tedesche*, printed without a date in a four-page pamphlet and listed in Ulisse

The *Trionfo della lussuria* is also an obvious burlesque of Petrarch's vernacular *Trionfi*, similar to that included in the *Puttana errante* by the Venetian patrician Lorenzo Venier, in which the titular courtesan is given a triumph through Rome with an entourage of low-lives and a crown of pricks (*corona di cazzi*).<sup>550</sup> This was not the only suggestive link between these two poems, the *Puttana errante* and the *Trionfo della lussuria*. As mentioned, a now-lost edition of the *Puttana errante* was also published by Ippolito Ferrarese. As in the *Trionfo della lussuria*, the character of Pasquino appears in the *Puttana errante*, voicing the prefatory verses. While the poem by the patrician Venier might be labelled as *popolaresco*, mixing the literature of street life with the mock epic tone of the chivalric *cantari* for the amusement of Venier's literary friends, the methods of its dissemination suggest more complicated and surprising trajectories. The traffic between street and salon was not one way. At least on this one occasion, the performer Ferrarese in turn helped to disseminate the work in the form of a cheap pamphlet, potentially sold and recited for an audience much broader than that of a Venetian literary salon. Many of the works produced in literary circles like that to which Venier belonged circulated only in manuscript and were never printed, whether because of their extreme scurrility or their authors' wish to remain detached from the mercenary associations of printing. Manuscript publication also could promote a sense of belonging to a select in-group, "of close communication between the like-minded," in the words of Brian Richardson.<sup>551</sup> When some of the works made their way into print in a cheap and accessible way, with or without the permission of the author, we can assume that a broader readership was intended for the work, beyond the sphere of those who might have obtained it in manuscript.

The spreading fame of the Pasquino character beyond the bounds of elite literary and political circles is further evidenced throughout the century. In 1547, for instance, the itinerant publisher Paris Mantovano commissioned the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Compositioni nuove del faceto homo Maestro Pasquino di Parione* (*New Compositions of the Witty Maestro Pasquino of Parione*) which joked on the title page that "whoever reads it will not fall asleep; whoever gives me money I will give it to them" ("chi la leggerà non

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Guidi, *Annali delle edizioni e delle versioni dell'Orlando furioso e d'altri lavori al poema relativi* (Bologna: Tipografia in Via Poggiale n. 715, 1861), 171.

<sup>550</sup> Venier, *La puttana errante*, 84-90. On the *Puttana errante* and the *Trionfi*, see Courtney Quaintance, "Gentlemen's Club: Collective Identity in a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Salon" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2008), 148-49.

<sup>551</sup> Brian Richardson, "Print or Pen? Modes of Written Publication in Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Italian Studies* 59 (2004): 43. On the "flourishing manuscript culture" of the circle to which Venier belonged, see Quaintance, "Gentlemen's Club," chap. 2.

dormirà; chi denari me darà gli la darò”).<sup>552</sup> This poem was on the popular subject of the vices of various professions and was very similar to the *Malitie che usa ciascheduna arte* published by Paolo Danza, although without the stanzas maligning printers and booksellers.<sup>553</sup> By now Pasquino could be used to express ideas unrelated to the original Roman context of anti-clerical or anti-courtesan libel, but of interest to a broad urban audience in any Italian city. Paris, who even if he was not explicitly a performer, certainly travelled from town to town publishing and bookselling, elected to recycle familiar material under the rubric of the famous Pasquino, which automatically added the spice of the satirical and irreverent. Around 1555, Mantovano returned to the same character with a pamphlet poem in which Pasquino engaged in bombastic one-upmanship with his counterpart in Venice, the hunchbacked statue of the Gobbo at Rialto.<sup>554</sup> In this amusing epistolary *contrasto*, the Roman statue boasts that his poems make Kings and Emperors tremble, while Gobbo responds by deriding Pasquino as the “great buffoon of the Roman people,” sitting out in the open where he is shat on by birds and dressed only in scraps of paper. Aside from the competition between Rome and Venice, the political element was not at the forefront of this work, concerned more with an entertaining and carnivalesque exchange of abuse and self-aggrandisement, reminiscent of the *vanti* and *contrastisti* of the medieval street performers and the *comici dell’arte*.<sup>555</sup>

Another category of work is even more challenging to any preconceptions about the uncomplicated connection of street performers to the culture of the masses. These are the many publications produced by ballad singers and charlatans that channelled the prose and poetry of contemporary writers of significant literary status into pamphlet form. More frequently than has been acknowledged, one finds seemingly humble characters as publishers of works by esteemed writers of the age, sometimes even of the first editions of these works. The resulting pamphlets are mostly poor items, marred by error, and frequently mix in the work of other (often anonymous) authors to pad out the contribution of a famous

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<sup>552</sup> *Compositioni nuove del faceto homo Maestro Pasquino di Parione* ([Rome]: Paris Mantovano, 1547). Appendix, no. 7.1. Reprinted in Marzo, *Pasquino e dintorni*, 181-89.

<sup>553</sup> On Danza’s work, see above, p. 60.

<sup>554</sup> *Copia di una crudelissima e gran disfada, mandata da maestro Pasquino gentilhuomo romano* ([Rome]: Paris Mantovano and “compagno,” ca. 1554). Appendix, no. 7.9. Another edition of this poem, with no indication of Mantovano’s involvement (*Una piacevole lettera del mordace Pasquino Romano al Gobbo di Rialto con la pronta risposta del Gobbo a Pasquino* ([Venice, ca. 1555])) is reprinted in Marzo, *Pasquino e dintorni*, 191-203.

<sup>555</sup> On *contrastisti* and *vanti*, see Rajna, “Il Cantare dei cantari”; and Alessandro D’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* (Rome: Bardi, 1966), 1:547-60.

name that could be advertised on the title page.<sup>556</sup> They confirm that in this period the concept of authorship was still in flux. The author was emerging as the authoritative cultural figure that we recognise but in most cases was yet to be viewed as the sacrosanct creator of meaning and of inviolable intellectual property. Performer-publishers evidently recognised the power of a renowned author to catch a reader's interest, however they were not necessarily scrupulous about the quality of the editions that they sold under these auspices. The physical form of such pamphlets is also notable. Almost without exception, they adopt the same material incarnation as works that we now categorise more unproblematically as "popular." They employ the same woodcut title pages and illustrations, and the same small format and few number of pages. It is difficult to conclude that they were intended for a vastly different audience to the chivalric ballads or news poems discussed thus far. If such a form communicated the popular nature of a book—as Grendler argues—these editions of elite poets and writers communicated the same thing, presumably to a broad audience.

The dissemination of Ariosto's works is again indicative of these trends. Aside from their imitations and parodies of the *Furioso*, piazza performers were very active disseminators of Ariosto's other vernacular works in print.<sup>557</sup> After Ariosto's death in 1533, a new stream of his works hit the market, contrary to the wishes of the author himself and probably without permission from his heirs. Once again, the ballad singer Ferrarese was at the vanguard, publishing the first edition of some of Ariosto's lyric poems under the title *Forze d'amore* in 1537.<sup>558</sup> The charlatan Iacopo Coppa followed with editions of Ariosto's *Rime* and his *Herbolato*, the latter an intriguing vernacular monologue in the voice of a medical charlatan.<sup>559</sup> Coppa was a remarkably ambitious and entrepreneurial figure who composed some of his own works. He had the backing of a Venetian patrician woman,

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<sup>556</sup> Many writers claimed they published their works in print only because they feared the incorrect versions that would find their way into print if they did not oversee an authorised version themselves; see Richardson, "Print or Pen?" 41-42.

<sup>557</sup> This was acknowledged by Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, 2:30; and explored somewhat by Fatini, "Su la fortuna e l'autenticità," esp. 137-60.

<sup>558</sup> *Forze d'amore. Opera nova nella quale si contiene sei capitoli di messer Ludouico Ariosto* ([Brescia: Turlini] for Ippolito Ferrarese, 1537). Appendix, no. 5.7. Fatini, "Su la fortuna e l'autenticità," 142, records an edition of the work published in Venice by Bindoni and Pasini in 1537, without indication of the involvement of Ferrarese.

<sup>559</sup> *Herbolato di M. Lodovico Ariosto, nel quale figura Mastro Antonio faentino, che parla della nobiltà dell'huomo, et dell'arte della medicina* (Venice: Giovan Antonio Nicolini and brothers for Iacopo Coppa, 1545). BL, 1071.g.4. On this work, see Giuseppe Fatini, "L'Erbolato di Ludovico Ariosto," *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana* 18 (1910): 216-38; and Giulio Ferroni, "Nota sull'Erbolato." *La rassegna della letteratura italiana* 79 nos 1-2 (1975): 202-14. The first edition of the *Rime* produced by Coppa was printed in Venice in 1546. Coppa published another edition, slightly revised, in 1547, with simultaneous emissions supposedly printed in Venice and in Florence; however, Alberto Casadei believes both were printed in Venice. "Sulle prime edizioni a stampa delle *Rime* ariotesche," *La bibliofilia* 94, no. 2 (1992): 192-93.

Caterina Barbaro, and must have had permission to print the *Rime* from the printer Andrea Torresani, who held a printing privilege for them from 1545.<sup>560</sup> His editions of the *Rime* were elegantly printed by the Nicolini brothers, relatively long (fifty-five to sixty leaves each), and have been rated more highly for their accuracy than some of the other charlatans' pamphlets.

More typical of the general standard are the pamphlet editions containing some of Ariosto's poetry like those published by the charlatans Alberto di Gratia "il Toscano" and Bernardino Padovano "il Maraviglia." These were roughly and carelessly edited and printed, relying on the fame of the author's name for an easy sale.<sup>561</sup> Although keen to employ his name, charlatan-publishers were not particularly respectful of Ariosto as author and followed the same patterns already suggested of collecting and recomposing works in pamphlet form, often without attribution. Giulio Ferrarese published a *capitolo* of his famous compatriot along with some *ottave* taken from a Milanese poet without acknowledgement and an anonymous and ribald *canzone del melon* that appears in numerous other sixteenth-century editions.<sup>562</sup> In 1545, the itinerant publisher Leonardo Furlano, thought also to have been a charlatan, combined some *stanze* by Ariosto with an anonymous pastoral song and a sonnet.<sup>563</sup> This small octavo pamphlet of four pages was decorated only by the "Instruments" woodcut border on the title page, which, as mentioned above, also appears on the pamphlet of advice for virtuous living also published by Furlano (Fig. 6), and on a 1538 chivalric poem printed in Venice for Ippolito Ferrarese (Fig. 3). Such publications confirm that, although Ariosto's name was an attractive selling-point, he had

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<sup>560</sup> Casadei, "Sulle prime edizioni a stampa," 187-88. Coppa dedicated several of his publications to Barbaro and she in turn wrote the dedication letter for the 1546 *Rime*. In 1542 and 1545, Coppa had published a book of his own Latin epigrams in Naples. In 1545 in Venice he published the *Rime di molti eccellentissimi autori*, including one of his own poems, his *Ragionamento fatto in Roma dai principali cortigiani* and his *Rime toscane ed epigrammi latini in morte di Cleopatra Aretina*.

<sup>561</sup> Fatini, "Su la fortuna e l'autenticità," 144-48. The works are *Rime diverse di molti eccell[entissimi] auttori* (Venice: "ad instantia di Alberto di Gratia detto il Thoscano," [after 1550]) and *Opera venuta nuovamente in luce ne la quale si contiene doe epistole, una amorosa e l'altra insanguinosa, et doi capitoli de M. Lodovico Ariosto* ("ad instantia de Bernardino Padovano detto il Maraviglia," 1546). Fatini wrote that such publishers "poco si curavano della riproduzione fedele del testo, smaniosi soltanto di smerciare i loro libercoli, in compagnia magari di qualche mirabolante specifico" (p. 148).

<sup>562</sup> *Copia di un capitolo nuovo del divin S.S. Messer Lodovico Ariosto, con alcune bellissime ottave, in lode delle bellezze d'una donna, ed una canzone del melon* ([n.p.d.]); listed in Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni Ariostee*, 2:39-40. For the attribution of the *ottave* see Joseph G. Fucilla, "On an Apocryphal Poem in Ariosto's 'Lirica,'" *Modern Philology* (1933): 127-34. Giulio Ferrarese also published the first canto of the *Furioso* set to the popular song type of the herculana, *Il primo canto del Furioso ridotto nell'aria di santo Herculano* ("ad istanza di Giulio Ferrarese," [after 1533]). Listed on *Edit 16*.

<sup>563</sup> *Stanze transmutate del Ariosto con una canzone bellissima pastorale, et uno sonetto in laude de la beltà de le donne, e secondo i costumi di paesi* ([Venice]: for Leonardo Furlano, 1545). Listed in Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni Ariostee*, 2:199-200. Furlano published another edition of this pamphlet in the same year, with a partner identified as "il Ferrarese," on which see above, note 376.

not yet achieved the canonical status where customers would be disturbed to see his work mixed in with other anonymous poems, and presented in an identical style to other cheap works by less esteemed authors.

On the whole, performer-publishers displayed a remarkably cavalier attitude to filling out the pages of the pamphlets they sold, plucking works of both famous and obscure contemporary writers and mixing traditional and contemporary texts in a small and humble printed form. There is very little information available about how they obtained the works of these authors, or whether they incorporated the works in any way into their performances. Sometimes, works by the famous author advertised on the title page were not even included inside the pamphlet, as in an edition commissioned by the ballad singer Baldassare Faentino that falsely claimed to include some sonnets by the celebrated poet Vittoria Colonna.<sup>564</sup> This was not the only small pamphlet to include (or claim to include) works by Colonna, despite her famous reticence about publication; some of her letters were put out by the itinerant pamphlet publisher Giovan Antonio Dento nicknamed Il Cremaschino in Venice in 1544.<sup>565</sup>

The works of other celebrated authors similarly were mined for material then published without attribution, as in the story taken from Boccaccio's *Cento novelle*, adapted into *ottava rima* and published without his name by the ballad singer Francesco Faentino.<sup>566</sup> In a dedication to a Signora Cleopatra Romana, the performer said he was publishing this versification in the hope that the example of the two "ancient" lovers in the story would soften her hard heart. Faentino's edition made few changes to the story, aside from toning down a controversial invective against friars, displaying a caution appropriate to the increasingly sensitive climate of the times. The transfer into the traditional performance metre of *ottava rima* indicates that it may well have been sung publicly. Similarly, the story of two star-crossed lovers that is the earliest known source for the tale of Romeo and Juliet,

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<sup>564</sup> *Opera nova non più posta in luce nella quale troverai molti bellissimi sonetti ... Aggiuntovi certi sonetti spirituali della divina Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara* ([Venice]: Baldassar Faentino), thought to have been printed around the time of Colonna's death in 1547. Appendix, no. 1.9. Alan Bullock mentions another edition of this work dated 1537, once held in the BEM and now lost; see Vittoria Colonna, *Rime*, ed. Alan Bullock (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1982), 281; and the Appendix, no. 1.2.

<sup>565</sup> *Litere della divina Vetoria Colona ala duchessa de Amalfi sopra la vita contemplativa di Santa Caterina et sopra de la activa di Santa Madalena non più vista in luce* (Venice: Alessandro Viani for "Antonio detto el Cremaschino," 1544). See *Edit 16* for this and other publications of Cremaschino. On Colonna's disinclination to have her spiritual poetry published, see Bullock's comment in Colonna, *Rime*, 225. Colonna did allow the "publication" of her works in manuscript, although not in print; see Richardson, "Print or Pen?" 42.

<sup>566</sup> *Opera nuova d'un gentil'huomo fiorentino chiamato Tibaldo Eliseo, innamorato d'una donna chiamata Armelina* (Venice: [Venturino Ruffinelli] for Francesco Faentino, [ca. 1540]). Appendix, no. 3.5. This is taken from the seventh story of the third day of Boccaccio's work, and is mentioned along with other poetic versions of Boccaccio's stories in Paola Rada, "Cantari tratti dal *Decameron*: Modalità di riscrittura della novella di Paganino e Ricciardo (II.10)," in Picone and Rubini, *Il cantare italiano*, 342.

by the fifteenth-century author Masuccio Salernitano, was plucked from Salernitano's *Novellino* and published simply as an *Historia dilettevole di duoi amanti* (*A Delightful Story of Two Lovers*) by the performer Fortunato in a pamphlet of eight pages.<sup>567</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The pamphlets surveyed in this chapter testify to the unique role of travelling performers and publishers in the complicated communication circuits of the sixteenth century. As well as being communicators of texts via recitation or song, these figures were participants in creating and adapting texts to feed the growing market for cheap print, in creative collaboration with printers and *poligrafi*. Although they were only ephemeral figures on the printing and bookselling scene in Venice, they contributed a great deal to it. The material they published may not have been valuable financially or particularly original in a literary sense, but it is an important testimony of cultural currents that offers much to the historian of the period.

Above all, performers acted as agents in the movement of texts, whether physically taking them from the printshop to the piazza, or from town to town, or by helping the transfer of texts from oral to printed forms, from prose to verse, from a longer book to a short pamphlet. As we have seen, many of the texts printed turn out to have been borrowed, adapted, or brazenly plagiarised from others, without acknowledgement of the fact. Fragments of text such as poems, songs, or short dialogues reappeared in different combinations in various pamphlets commissioned by the same person. Many of the pamphlets reflect the patchwork of a piazza performer's ever-evolving repertoire more than the modern notion of a book as the work of one or more clearly identified authors. In this sense, the work of itinerant publishers and performers from the early and middle years of the Cinquecento reflects a vibrant and anarchic period in Venetian publishing, when the literary floodgates were opened in the efforts to produce more and more works for the market, and

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<sup>567</sup> *Historia dilettevole di duoi amanti ... hora dal Fortunato posti in luce* (n.p.d.). BL, G 9879. This edition is attributed to the printer Giovanni Padovano in Venice, ca. 1540, by Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, 130, which if correct would make it likely that Fortunato refers to Paris Mantovano who was active in Venice around this time. Novati, however, thought this pamphlet dated to the 1560s-70s, the work of a performer called Fortunato who was active at this time and published *commedia dell'arte* style works, who may or may not have been Mantovano; see "La raccolta di stampe popolari italiane della biblioteca di Francesco Reina," in Novati, *Scritti sull'editoria popolare*, 230.

as yet there was little surveillance of content or monitoring of intellectual property rights. Itinerant publishers, ambulant sellers, and performers continued to play a role in the dissemination of cheap print for some time to come, however possibly never again with such freedom of action and movement. As the next chapter will explore further, they were pushed more to the margins of the industry as the mechanisms of church and state control tightened in the era of the Counter Reformation.

While their publications demonstrate many elements of continuity with the traditional sphere of the public performer, this chapter has also suggested that itinerant publishers moved into new areas of production in the Cinquecento that are more difficult to categorise. The marked variety of the pamphlets commissioned by travelling publishers—from war poems to devotional tracts to anti-courtesan satires in the case of Ippolito Ferrarese;<sup>568</sup> from extracts of Ariosto and Petrarch to moralising aphorisms to instruction books in code-writing in the case of Leonardo Furlano<sup>569</sup>—testifies to the diverse interests of the broad market to which they catered. This was what has been called in Italian *letteratura di consumo*, designed for maximum sales.<sup>570</sup> With few exceptions, those who performed in the streets and sold print and other goods for a living could not afford to dabble in publishing or selling print purely for intellectual or educational motives. What they commissioned had to sell, or at least help to draw in an audience that would buy other goods or donate a few coins.

And yet the pamphlets cannot be defined as “popular” in the narrow sense of exclusively drawing on and catering to some supposedly monolithic culture of the masses. They contain a remarkable intermingling of themes, tropes, genres, and styles both “high” and “low”; indeed, they confirm the impossibility of drawing a neat dividing line between popular and learned culture in this period. Anticipating some of the strategies of the producers of the later *bibliothèque bleue* in France, publishers in Cinquecento Venice took material from a very large cultural palette in their efforts to fill the pages of pamphlets small and cheap enough to be sold in the streets to a wide array of people. As Genevieve Bollème

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<sup>568</sup> On the war and anti-courtesan poems, see above. Ferrarese also published a handbook of rules for religious life: *All'illustre Signora Vittoria dignissima Marchesa di Pescara. Opera santissima ed utile a qualunque fidel christiano de trenta documenti di frate Cherubino da Spoliti heremita. Donato per il detto a Hyppolito detto Ferrarese e stampata novamente ad instantia sua* (Brescia: Antonio Turlino for Ippolito Ferrarese, 1538).

Appendix, no. 5.10.

<sup>569</sup> On Furlano's *Stanze transmutate dell'Ariosto* and his code-writing manual, see above. He also published at least two editions of a poetic compilation of *Centoni del Petrarca* by Giulio Bidelli (Appendix, nos 6.3, 6.8).

<sup>570</sup> See for example, Beer and Ivaldi, “Poemetti bellici del Rinascimento,” 91.



wrote of the *bibliothèque bleue*, this is literature that “becomes popular” by virtue of being published in an affordable form and sold in an accessible way, rather than being popular from the beginning.<sup>571</sup> Focusing on this material leads one towards the conclusion that it is more useful to try to trace the movement of different texts, themes, or tropes through various media and diverse social spheres than to attempt to designate them as produced by or destined for one exclusive group.

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<sup>571</sup> Geneviève Bollème, “Letteratura popolare e commercio ambulante del libro nel XVIII secolo,” in Petrucci, *Libri, editori e pubblico*, 216. See also Roger Chartier, “The *Bibliothèque bleue* and Popular Reading,” in *idem*, *Cultural Uses of Print*, 240-64.

## Chapter Five

### *Lowering the Floodgates: The Regulation of Cheap Print in the Later Sixteenth Century*

In January 1549, the Council of Ten again was preoccupied with the problem of printing. While all the other trades in the city were organised into guilds, the printers and booksellers were not, and the Ten lamented that “every one [of them] operates in their own way, with extreme disorder and confusion.” Specifically, the Ten noted that the Venetian magistrates investigating heresy repeatedly had been frustrated in their investigations into the publication of “scandalous and heretical” books, as there was no one in charge to give an account of the activity of the printers and booksellers.<sup>572</sup> At a moment when the Venetian authorities were finally aligning with Rome in the drive to clamp down on the dissemination of heretical ideas, this was a situation that no longer could be tolerated. It was important to know exactly who was publishing and selling print in the city of Venice, so that more easily the authorities could maintain control over what they were printing and selling, and punish those who transgressed the proliferating number of rules pertaining to the art. On a more pragmatic note, gathering together and identifying those involved in printing and bookselling also made it easier to collect taxes from them.<sup>573</sup> The Ten thus called for the creation of what was to be the city’s last trade guild, that of printers and booksellers.<sup>574</sup>

The variety of concerns, temporal and religious, that are expressed in the Ten’s decree, offer a key to understanding the Venetian government’s attitude to the printing trade in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Venice stood at a pivotal point between the Catholic south and the Protestant north and had strong commercial ties with northern Europe that it was loathe to upset for reasons of religion. At the same time, the government was intent to foster an image of itself as a well-ordered and pious Catholic state—the

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<sup>572</sup> “Una delle principal arte di questa città et delle più importante per molti rispetti è quella della stamperia; la qual nondimeno essendo quasi tute l’altre ben ordinate, et con le soe fraggie, et matricola, sola si ritrova senza ordine alcuno, di modo che essendo occorso più fiate alli tre deputati sopra li heretici di esser informati dalli authori et stampatori d’alcuni libri scandalosi et heretici per le cose pertinente al loro officio, non si ha ritrovato chi li habbi saputo render conto; et medesimamente occorendo di giorno in giorno molti inconvenienti circa le stampe, che hano bisogno de emendatione, con difficoltà per l’istessa cagione si può venir in cognitione della verità, non vi essendo alcuno che rappresenti la ditta arte, nè chi risponda per quella, onde avviene, che tutti fano à modo loro, con estremo disordine e confusione.” ASV, CX, Parti comuni, f. 47, fasc. 66 (from the preamble to the law decreeing the establishment of the guild of printers and booksellers, 18 January 1549).

<sup>573</sup> Mattozzi, “Mondo del libro,” 744.

<sup>574</sup> The guild also encompassed book binders (*ligadori*). Although the minute book of the *Arte* only begins in 1571, the bookmen gathered and acted together as a body for some time before this, as discussed below.

“serene” Republic. Control over the printing and bookselling trade was an issue complicated by these competing motives, an area in which economic interests clashed with concerns about political, religious and civic order. As such, the Venetian governors proceeded in fits and starts in this matter, and were half-hearted in their enforcement of measures that could impinge on the success of one of the city’s most flourishing industries.

Nevertheless, there was a progressive extension of surveillance and control over the printing and bookselling trade in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century. Both state and church authorities contributed to this, wishing to curb the circulation of books that they found objectionable for religious, moral, or political reasons.<sup>575</sup> Chief causes of concern to the authorities in their struggle to root out heresy, aside from the works of northern heresiarchs such as Luther, were vernacular bibles and Italian literature that promoted reformist ideas, such as the *Beneficio di Cristo*, published anonymously but written by Benedetto Fontanini and revised by Marcantonio Flaminio. Such works had been published freely and sold in large quantities in Venice in the first half of the Cinquecento.<sup>576</sup> However, the exclusive focus on such works risks obscuring other targets of censorial repression. The publication and dissemination of ephemeral items of cheap print, despite their relatively minor commercial significance in the larger context, were not exempt from this extension of control.<sup>577</sup> Both state and church authorities showed periodic concern,

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<sup>575</sup> Key works outlining the operation of book censorship in sixteenth-century Venice remain Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*; and Andrea Del Col, “Il controllo della stampa a Venezia e i processi di Antonio Brucioli,” *Critica storica* 17, no. 3 (1980): 457-510. On the broader Italian context, see Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell’Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006).

<sup>576</sup> Silvano Cavazza, “Libri in volgare e propaganda eterodossa: Venezia 1543–47,” in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano*, 9-28. Hebrew works were also a frequent target, and large numbers were burnt in a public bonfire in 1548 and on later occasions; see Michele Jacoviello, “Proteste di editori e librai veneziani contro l’introduzione della censura sulla stampa a Venezia (1543-1555),” *Archivio storico italiano* 151, no. 1 (1993), 40-44.

<sup>577</sup> Infelise, *I libri proibiti*, 49. Nevertheless, Infelise’s overview of “Censura e lettura popolare” is only a brief section of his work (pp. 49-55). There has been no systematic exploration of this issue, however for general comments see Ugo Rozzo, “I fogli volanti a stampa e censura libraria nel secolo XVI,” in *Dal torchio alle fiamme. Inquisizione e censura: nuovi contributi dalla più antica biblioteca provinciale d’Italia (Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi, Salerno 2004). Censura e libri espurgati. Le cinquecentine della Biblioteca Provinciale di Salerno*, eds Vittoria Bonani, Giuseppe Gianluca Cicco, and Anna Maria Vitale (Salerno: Biblioteca provinciale di Salerno, 2005), 65-66; *idem*, “La letteratura italiana all’indice,” in Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli Indici del Cinquecento*, 11-71, an expanded version of his “Italian literature on the Index,” published in Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 194-222. See also Lorenzo Baldacchini, “Il libro popolare italiano d’argomento religioso durante la Controriforma,” in *Le Livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIII colloque international d’études humanistes de Tours*, eds Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin, and François Dupuigrenet Desrousilles (Tours: Promodis, 1988), 434-45. Some focused work on the censorship of cheap printed orations in Modena by Maria Pia Fantini offers many valuable insights into the broader picture. See especially “La circolazione clandestina dell’orazione di Santa Marta: un episodio modenese,” in *Donna, disciplina, creanza cristiana dal XV al XVII secolo. Studi e testi a stampa*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1996), 45-65; *eadem*, “Saggio per un catalogo

which led to short bursts of prosecuting activity resulting in fines, banishments, ritual punishment, or confiscation of the illicit works. This chapter moves ahead to consider how the problem of cheap print and its public sale was conceptualised and controlled both from an economic and from a political point of view from the key decade of the 1540s into the latter half of the sixteenth century. I suggest that the dissemination of cheap print was hemmed in from various angles as the Cinquecento progressed, although never regulated completely.

The ambivalence of the authorities partly stemmed from the fact that ephemeral works often were considered materially and intellectually as not “proper books,” their content frequently occupying a “grey area” between licit and illicit.<sup>578</sup> As I have demonstrated so far, cheap print in Cinquecento Venice also occupied other grey areas, which means it is necessary to look at a variety of sources in order to assess its repression. The dissemination of cheap print took place not just in shops but in the street, and those involved in its production and dissemination often occupied a space on the margins of the print trade, blurring with other professions. As such, this dissemination also was affected by the increasing regulation of city space, and of figures such as vagabonds and performers, that the Venetian authorities enacted in the course of the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, it is suggested here that the freedom to produce and sell cheap printed items that prevailed earlier in the century was diminished not only by the actions of civic and religious authorities. Once it was operating, the guild, led by established members of the trade, collaborated in making participation in the Venetian trade more difficult. Guildsmen—many of whom, as we have seen, themselves had been new entrants to the trade and new arrivals to Venice earlier in the Cinquecento—worked to draw a clearer distinction between themselves and outsiders, or those who were not settled in the city, trained in Venetian print and bookshops or descended from previous masters. Street sellers and itinerant publishers such as those examined in the previous chapters often fell into this

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bibliografico dai processi dell’Inquisizione: orazioni, scongiuri, libri di segreti (Modena 1571-1608),” *Annali dell’Istituto Storico Italo-germanico in Trento* 25 (1999): 587-68; and *eadem*, “Citati in giudizio: orazioni, scongiuri, libri di segreti,” in Messerli and Chartier, *Lesen und Schreiben in Europa*, 265-81.

<sup>578</sup> On these “testi la cui tipologia materiale e culturale non li faceva considerare dei veri libri” that belonged to a “zona grigia” in the eyes of the censors, see Maria Pia Fantini, “Censura romana e orazioni: modi, tempi, formule (1571-1620),” in *L’inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto (Tavola rotonda nell’ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca, Roma, 24-25 giugno 1999)* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2000), 235, 238.

latter group, and they were no longer as free to collaborate with accredited masters in the trade, or to sell printed goods in an ad hoc and “unprofessional” way.

### *Actions of the State and the Church*

Up until the 1540s, attempts to exert control over the Venetian press had been sporadic and somewhat desultory.<sup>579</sup> While Venice led in the development of the *privilegio* for printing, the forerunner of copyright, this was a mechanism above all designed to protect the financial investment of publishers and printers and thereby to promote the economic well-being of the industry. The artistic rights of authors were a secondary concern and, likewise, systematic efforts to supervise the messages that printed texts delivered only came later.<sup>580</sup> However, the power of even the most ephemeral products of the press to disseminate troubling ideas and opinions was recognised more and more. We have seen that as early as 1509 the diarist Girolamo Priuli perceived the possibly negative effect on public opinion of the circulation of jingoistic pamphlets about events in the League of Cambrai war and rued that the Venetian government was taking no action against them. However, the Council of Ten did step in soon after when one of these pamphlets was deemed offensive to the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>581</sup> In 1527, a work on vernacular proverbs containing some anti-clerical comments provoked the complaints of the Franciscan community at San Francesco della Vigna and led to the Council of Ten introducing a system of imprimaturs or *licenze* to prevent the publication of “immoral works, and [works] of an ill nature,” although it was not yet mandatory to apply for one.<sup>582</sup>

Events in northern Europe, however, were demonstrating how quickly heterodox religious ideas could spread with the aid of the press, especially with the printing of images and of cheap pamphlets in the vernacular.<sup>583</sup> By the 1540s, the Venetians, always protective

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<sup>579</sup> On early initiatives to control the press, see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 71-76; and Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, chaps. 1 and 2. Texts of the major laws are reprinted in Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, appendix 1.

<sup>580</sup> Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, 53.

<sup>581</sup> See above, p. 29.

<sup>582</sup> “Se vede qualche volta ussir in stampa opere dishoneste, et de mala natura.” ASV, CX, Parti Comuni, f. 4, fasc. 162 (29 January 1527). The work that provoked the law was Alvise Cinzio de’ Fabrizi’s *Della origine delli volgari proverbii* (Venice: Bernardino and Matteo de’ Vitali, 1526).

<sup>583</sup> See, for example, Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*.

of the Republic's independence and proud of its reputation for intellectual freedom, finally had to acknowledge the Papacy's concerns that the city had become a nexus for heterodox opinion.<sup>584</sup> Just as heated discussion about matters of faith by people of all classes was taking place publicly in the streets, squares, and workshops of the city, and preachers were using the pulpit to engage candidly with ideas of religious reform, the diffusion of suspicious books had been occurring relatively openly, and often in the most public spaces of the city.<sup>585</sup> In January 1543, the papal nuncio Minganelli complained to the Signoria about the free circulation of heretical printed books in Venice, "things most unworthy of a well-governed Republic such as this one."<sup>586</sup> On February 12, the Council of Ten responded with the law that made a pre-publication imprimatur obligatory for all works printed, in the effort to stop the circulation of works "against the honour of the Lord God and of the Christian faith, setting a very bad example and [causing] universal scandal."<sup>587</sup>

The Venetian magistracy against blasphemy, the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, were to deal with infractions of this law, signalling that printing was considered an issue of concern to civic order and public morality. The creation of the Esecutori in 1537 reflected the Venetian authorities' increasingly urgent anxiety about the pernicious effects of sin on their state, and particularly of blasphemy, which was conceptualised broadly to encompass a range of activities that were seen to threaten the morals and decorum of the Venetian populace. As Derosas writes, the new campaign against blasphemy was motivated by the experience of a period "profoundly marked by war, famine, epidemic, [as a result of which] the collective no less than the individual felt the anxious need to earn the favour of God and

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<sup>584</sup> Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 76-78. On the relationship with Rome in this period, see also Antonio Santosuosso, "The Moderate Inquisitor. Giovanni Della Casa's Venetian Nunciature, 1544-1549," *Studi veneziani* 2 (1978): 119-210; N.S. Davidson, "Rome and the Venetian Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39, no. 1 (1988): 16-36; Andrea Del Col, "Organizzazione, composizione e giurisdizione dei tribunali dell'Inquisizione romana nella repubblica di Venezia (1500-1550)," *Critica storica* 25, no. 2 (1988): 244-94; and *idem*, "L'inquisizione romana e il potere politico nella repubblica di Venezia (1540-1560)," *Critica storica* 28, no. 2 (1991): 189-250.

<sup>585</sup> On the diffuse discussion of reformist ideas in "le piazze, le strade, le botteghe, i lavatoi pubblici," see Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Inquisizione come repressione o come mediazione? Una proposta di periodizzazione," *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea* 35 (1983): 58. See also Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies*, 89-95.

<sup>586</sup> "De la religione et del capo [ie. the Pope] andavano atorno cose molte indegne di una republica bene instituta come questa." Letter of Minganelli quoted in Benedetto Nicolini, "Il frate osservante Bonaventura de Centi e il nunzio Fabio Minganelli. Episodio di vita religiosa veneziana," in *idem*, *Aspetti della vita religiosa, politica e letteraria del Cinquecento* (Bologna: Tamari, 1963), 68. On Minganelli's complaints, see also Cavazza, "Libri in volgare e propaganda eterodossa," 10-11.

<sup>587</sup> See p. 10, n. 1 above.

to eliminate those sins that provoked His revenge, which an ancient and diffuse belief thought caused by any sort of disgrace or scourge.”<sup>588</sup>

While there is little evidence that the 1543 law was enforced strictly for some time, by the end of the 1540s determination was hardening to actively suppress heretical practice, discussion and writings. In the space of two years, the Venetian governors established a new lay magistracy on heresy, the Tre savi all’eresia, that would sit in on trials held by the Inquisition, the Sant’Uffizio (April 1547); they added a prohibition against the importation of heterodox books (May 1547); they decreed that all illicit books should be handed in and then held large public bonfires of them at Piazza San Marco and Rialto (July 1548); and they ordered the publication of a list of prohibited books (January 1549).<sup>589</sup> As mentioned, the formation of a guild of printers and booksellers also was decreed at the start of 1549, to facilitate control of the trade.

The first Venetian Index of prohibited books of 1549, although it was not enforced, demonstrates that the major concern of the moment was for the circulation of works by the chief reformist thinkers.<sup>590</sup> Although such works were certainly sold in large numbers and disseminated even more widely by means of borrowing and reading aloud, they would not have been cheap.<sup>591</sup> The Council of Ten, on the other hand, had tried to control the bottom end of the print market in its law of 1543, which did not fail to single out street sellers who peddled “prognostications, stories, songs, letters and other similar things on the Rialto Bridge, and in other places of this city.” Prior to this, there does not seem to have been much concern to monitor the growing numbers of such items that were appearing on the streets. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, a 1537 Senate law that lamented the poor quality of Venetian editions in comparison to those from elsewhere, and required the city’s printers to use good paper on which the ink would not bleed, explicitly exempted

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<sup>588</sup> Renzo Derosas, “Moralità e giustizia a Venezia nel ‘500-‘600: gli esecutori contro la bestemmia,” in *Stato, società e giustizia nella repubblica veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Rome: Jouvence, 1980), 438. A similar mood had been provoked in Venice by the crisis of the League of Cambrai, as discussed in Felix Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 274-92.

<sup>589</sup> Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 80-86. The 1549 Venetian Index of prohibited books, drawn up by the nuncio who followed Minganelli, Giovanni Della Casa, was not enforced due to disagreement among the Venetian rulers on the matter.

<sup>590</sup> The Index is reprinted in J.M. De Bujanda with the assistance of René Davignon and Ela Stanek, *Index de Venise, 1549. Venise et Milan, 1554*, vol. 3 of De Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits* (Sherbrooke, Québec: Centre d’études de la Renaissance, Editions de l’Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Droz, 1987), 383-93.

<sup>591</sup> The list did prohibit all works printed without notification of the author, printer, or place of publication, which would have outlawed many of the cheap pamphlets described in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, Bishop Pietro Paolo Vergerio in fact criticised this Index specifically for not including diffuse popular works such as chivalric poems; see Rozzo, “Italian literature on the Index,” 195.

“small things that are sold up to the sum of ten *soldi* each.”<sup>592</sup> Assessed purely as material items, these *cose minute* were not worth the effort to police.

Nevertheless, cheap print was no longer allowed to elude censorship altogether. A new concern was evident for even the most ephemeral products of the press, if they crossed accepted boundaries. Evidence for this comes from a range of sources. The surviving records of the Esecutori contro la bestemmia show a number of cases where the magistracy punished printers and sellers of cheap works that earlier in the century probably would have been left to operate freely. The Esecutori not only were sensitive to material that offended religious or political sensibilities; bawdy or explicit sexual matter also caused increasing concern. Indeed, it has been said that it was the publication of obscene works such as Lorenzo Venier’s *Il trent’uno della Zaffetta* and the *Puttana errante* that led to the establishment of the Esecutori in 1537.<sup>593</sup> As we have seen, the *Puttana errante* appears to have been published by the *cantimbanco* Ippolito Ferrarese in that same year; we cannot know if Ferrarese also performed the work in some way, or sold it publicly as part of his performances. This kind of material could perhaps be winked at when it circulated in manuscript around elite circles of educated patrician men, but its appearance in the more public realm of print was much more problematic.<sup>594</sup>

Crucially, the suppression of blasphemy was also conceived to extend to enforcing the decorous use of public space. With time, the Esecutori were given the task of policing the repression of various popular entertainments such as singing and dancing in the streets, and gambling and drinking at *osterie*.<sup>595</sup> Public offenses of blasphemy were considered the most heinous, and much effort was expended to enforce a clearer division between sacred and profane space.<sup>596</sup> Later in the century, the Esecutori were also charged with regulating the presence in the city of itinerants and vagabonds, a matter of growing concern to the Venetians in the Cinquecento. Factors such as war and famine pushed many more people onto the roads at this time, and Venice was not the only state that responded with new laws

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<sup>592</sup> Cited above, n. 44.

<sup>593</sup> This was the contention of Giuliano Pesenti, “Libri censurati a Venezia nei secoli XVI-XVII,” *La bibliofilia* 58, no. 1 (1956): 15-16, although he gave no direct evidence for this connection. The law establishing the magistracy is in ASV, CX, Parti comuni, f. 22, fasc. 114 (20 December 1537).

<sup>594</sup> On changing attitudes to pornography in this period, see Paula Findlen, “Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy,” in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), 49-108.

<sup>595</sup> Derosas, “Moralità e giustizia a Venezia,” 446-53. See also Gaetano Cozzi, “Religione, moralità e giustizia a Venezia: vicende della magistratura degli Esecutori contro la bestemmia (secoli XVI-XVII),” *Ateneo veneto* 29 (1991): 7-96.

<sup>596</sup> Derosas, “Moralità e giustizia a Venezia,” 447-48, 459.



that sought to restrict or stop the flow of such people into the city, and to create a sharper distinction between locals and foreigners.<sup>597</sup>

The street sale of cheap print, especially by itinerant performers, thus incorporated several elements that by the 1540s were viewed with growing distrust by the governing bodies of Venice, and particularly by the Esecutori contro la bestemmia. Travelling performers were immediately suspicious because they were usually foreigners without fixed residence in the city, and because they associated with other travellers in suspect places of gathering such as *osterie*. In the 1540s, the Esecutori banished one *cantimbanco* called Giacomo Modonin from Venice for having blasphemed, while another, Antheo “who usually works as a ballad singer and does tricks,” was summoned to testify regarding blasphemous curses overheard while playing cards in a lodging house.<sup>598</sup> The foreignness and experience of travel that marked out the itinerant performer as an appealing source of news and novelty were the very things that made him increasingly suspicious to the governors of Venetian society at this time.

Several cases involving poor street vendors of print and travelling performers who published or sold cheap pamphlets appear in the records of the Esecutori and reflect a new intolerance for what were previously common phenomena. In August 1545, for example, the magistrates rounded up and punished those responsible for a still-unidentified dishonest work entitled *The God Priapus* (“un opera inhonesta titulata *Il dio Priapo*”).<sup>599</sup> The work was ordered to be burnt, so the survival of no copies is not surprising. This work could have been some part of the *Priapea* poems of Nicolò Franco, first published in 1541 and later prohibited.<sup>600</sup> Probably a pamphlet, the work seized by the magistrates had been printed and published by two relatively well-known members of the Venetian printing industry, Giovanni Padovano and Guglielmo Fontaneto di Monferrato, who we have encountered

<sup>597</sup> See Pullan, “Famine in Venice”; and *idem*, “Poveri, mendicanti, e vagabondi (secoli XIV-XVII),” in *Storia d’Italia. Annali*, vol. 1: *Dal feudalismo al capitalismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), esp. 1008-20.

<sup>598</sup> “Giacomo Modonin solito cantar in banco.” ASV, ECB, b. 61, Raspe, c. 4v (26 September 1548). “Antheo solito cantar in banco, et far bagatelle.” ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, cc. 64v-65r (September 1546). On the regulation of street performers throughout the century, see above, pp. 49-50.

<sup>599</sup> ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, c. 49r (12 August 1545). It should be noted that no denunciations or trials from the Esecutori contro la Bestemmia survive from the sixteenth century, only some of the *terminazioni* (the deliberations of the magistrates) and *raspe* (records of sentences); see Derosas, “Moralità e giustizia a Venezia,” 454.

<sup>600</sup> On the *Priapea* see Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice. Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 84-89; and also Roberto L. Bruni, “Le tre edizioni cinquecentesche delle *Rime contro l’Aretino e la Priapea* di Nicolò Franco,” in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche: ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo* (Florence: Olschki, 1997), 123-43. Bruni thinks that an edition of the *Priapea* was published by Venturino Ruffinelli, around 1546 in Mantua (p. 133). Ruffinelli, as noted above, p. 100, was once a partner of Giovanni Padovano, printer of *Il dio Priapo*.

already. Yet while Fontaneto had published the work (“haver fatto stampar”) and Padovano had executed the actual printing (“haver stampato”), the Esecutori also fined a certain Francesco Faentino “canta in banco” three ducats for selling this and other unlicensed works from his *banco*.<sup>601</sup> Sale of the pamphlet presumably occurred in the context of performance, with the *cantimbanco* mounted on his trestle before an audience. How he advertised or even performed this work, we can only guess.

Although this case has been mentioned by several scholars briefly, previously no one seems to have noted that this Francesco was almost certainly the same Francesco Maron “detto il Faentino,” a performer who was an active publisher of pamphlets in Siena and Venice in the 1530s and 1540s.<sup>602</sup> Faentino is thought to have collaborated with both Padovano and Venturino Ruffinelli, one-time partner of Padovano, prior to 1545.<sup>603</sup> On this occasion, however, the contents of the mysterious pamphlet spurred the Venetian powers to punitive action. Although the three ducat fine applied to Francesco was much milder than the twenty-five ducat penalty or lashing and six-month imprisonment that was suggested for this offence by the 1543 law, this was unlikely to be a negligible amount for an itinerant singer, being equivalent to the cost of half a year’s worth of a person’s food staple, bread, in mid-Cinquecento Venice.<sup>604</sup>

Without the offending pamphlet and a record of the publishing arrangement, it is impossible to know what Francesco was selling in this case, and exactly what his interest was in the affair. As he is not mentioned as having published the work, we can surmise that he made some agreement with Fontaneto and Padovano to sell it on the Venetian streets, although how contact was made between the parties cannot be known. I have found no pamphlet under Faentino’s name published after 1545, so his run-in with the authorities in Venice may have encouraged the ballad singer to move away from the print business, or to keep a lower profile. Fontaneto and Padovano, on the contrary, had stronger links in the

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<sup>601</sup> “Esso Vielmo [Fontaneto] haver fatto stampar, esso Zuan haver stampato, et dicto Faencino haver in banco venduto una opera inhonesta titulata *Il dio priapo*, et altre senza licentia ... Il sopradetto Vielmo, come quello che le ha facto stampar, sia condemnato a pagar ducati cinque, Zuan Padoan stampador ducati tre, et il predetto Francesco Faencino ducati tre, et sia relaxato de preson.” ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, c. 49r. There is no indication that Monferrato and Padovano were imprisoned.

<sup>602</sup> The trial is mentioned briefly in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 80; and Pesenti, “Libri censurati a Venezia,” 17, but with no discussion of Faentino’s identity. Fenlon, *Ceremonial City*, 249, notes that Faentino was a ballad singer but does not explore the case further.

<sup>603</sup> See above, pp. 100-1.

<sup>604</sup> Pavanini, “Abitazioni popolari e borghesi,” 72, estimates a person’s annual bread needs as six ducats.

city, and were able to keep operating after this incident.<sup>605</sup> Indeed, two of the city's most powerful publishers stood as *piezo*, or pledge, for them: Melchiore Sessa putting up the fine money for Fontaneto and Tomaso Giunta for Padovano.<sup>606</sup>

In a similar case a few years later, the Esecutori pursued another objectionable pamphlet printed without a licence. Again this occasion saw the collaboration of some relatively established printers with an itinerant publisher and street-seller. In this case of November 1551, the pamphlet had been published by two members of the Bindoni family of printers, Bernardino and his son Giovan Antonio.<sup>607</sup> This was not the only occasion that Bernardino was to fall under the suspicion of the authorities for his involvement in illicit printing. In 1544 he had been fined ten ducats for his part in printing the *Paradossi* of Ortensio Lando and the year before that had printed the first known edition of the *Beneficio di Christo* which was to become one of the most notorious heterodox texts.<sup>608</sup> In 1551, the Esecutori expressed their outrage that the Bindoni

had been moved to such iniquity and wickedness by the diabolic spirit that they have faked a letter so that it appears to come from Ravenna ... imputing against every truth two Observant friars from Ravenna who ... killed a merchant and took his money and these friars were quartered in Ravenna, which letter is completely false and alien from every truth.<sup>609</sup>

Again this work has not been identified although it must have been a pamphlet in the guise of a printed letter recounting this sensational event, the likes of which were produced in plenty in the period.

The Bindoni were not convicted alone. Although they had a shop in the Frezzaria, the magistrates noted only that they had had the work sold on the Rialto Bridge and in the

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<sup>605</sup> Fontaneto's last recorded publication is dated 1550. Padovano was printing until around 1553 and a number of works were issued after this date by "the heirs of Giovanni Padovano."

<sup>606</sup> The Esecutori recorded that "Marchio Sessa librer alla Gata se constituisse piezo de Maestro Vielmo stampador et si obliga ad ogni requisitione deli excellentissimi signori executori sopra la biastema," and the same of Giunta for Padovano; see ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, cc. 48v-49r (30 July 1545). As mentioned above, n. 207, Fontaneto had appointed Sessa a *commissario* in his will in 1542.

<sup>607</sup> ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, cc. 123r-v and Raspe, b. 61, cc. 33r-v.

<sup>608</sup> Conor Fahy, "Le edizioni veneziane dei *Paradossi* di Ortensio Lando," in *idem*, *Saggi di bibliografia testuale* (Padua: Antenore, 1988), 169-211. Surviving records of the *Paradossi* case are in ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 1, cc. 41v-42r (2 August 1544).

<sup>609</sup> "Esser stati di tanta iniquità e sceleragine mossi da spirito diabolico che hanno fenta una lettera che par sia venuta da Ravena ... imputando contra ogni verità doi frati zoccolanti da Ravena che habbino ... amazato un marcadante e toltoli li danari, e loro frati siano stati squartati in Ravena, la qual lettera è in tutto falsissima e aliena da ogni verità." ASV, ECB, Raspe, b. 61, c. 33r. Pesenti tracked down a similar murder case of 1541 which may have been the source for this story; see his "Libri censurati a Venezia," 18.

**Piazza.**<sup>610</sup> It was a certain “Paris Mantoan” who was punished for “having sold the said letters on the *piazze*, and also for having had printed other works of *mala qualità* counter to the law of the most illustrious Council of Ten.”<sup>611</sup> As in the case of Faentino, no scholar appears to have made the identification of this defendant of an early printing-related blasphemy trial in Venice with the itinerant publisher and probable performer Paris Mantovano. For this was certainly the same Paris Mantoano “detto il Fortunato” who commissioned the publication of a number of popular works from the 1540s to the 1560s, already discussed in the previous chapters. Indeed, Mantovano published several mock-letters around 1551, such as one that purported to relate a series of omens that had appeared to the Turkish Sultan, warning him to convert to Christianity (*Copia de una lettera venuta da Costantinopoli ...*).<sup>612</sup>

Bernardino Bindoni, who had already skipped town, was banished from Venetian dominions for ten years. He was soon operating in Padua, where he may have been involved in printing inflammatory pamphlets about the imprisonment of the heretical monk Fra Baldo Lupetino, which had been confiscated from ambulant vendors on the Rialto Bridge.<sup>613</sup> He later returned to printing in Venice. After he and Mantovano were subjected to a ritual shaming between the columns of Piazza San Marco, Giovan Antonio was banished for five years, but later returned to Venice and published several works in the 1560s and 1570s. Mantovano was exiled for two years but is not known to have published another pamphlet in Venice after this time, working instead in Milan, Rome, Florence, and Bologna.<sup>614</sup> Once again, it appears that the partners who were embedded in the Venetian printing industry by means of personal and business connections were the ones able to continue operating, while the itinerant publisher was deterred from working in the city again after this incident.

Aside from the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, the Sant’Uffizio of course were another body concerned with regulating public morals and ensuring orthodoxy. As such, the Venetian branch of the Sant’Uffizio was involved in monitoring the dissemination of cheap

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<sup>610</sup> See above, p. 36, on the location of Bernardino’s shop.

<sup>611</sup> “Per haver venduto ditte lettere sopra le piazze, ac etiam per haver fatto stampar altre opere de mala qualità contra le parte d’il illustrissimo Consilio di X.” ASV, ECB, Raspe, b. 61, c. 33v.

<sup>612</sup> See Appendix, nos 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, and my discussion of the letter genre above, p. 135.

<sup>613</sup> See Cavazza, “Libri in volgare e propaganda eterodossa,” 23. The Sant’Uffizio interrogated several Venetian printers to try and identify the producer of the pamphlet from its typeface. One of the printers suspected was Bernardino, although no clear resolution of the question seems to have been reached. See ASV, SU, b. 10, fasc. 15, documents numbered X and XIII. A copy of the offending six-leaf quarto pamphlet, *Articoli proposti à Fra Baldo, preggione in San Marco, con la risposta de esso frate*, is held in this file.

<sup>614</sup> See the Appendix.

print in Venice after the 1540s.<sup>615</sup> Recent research has suggested how the Inquisition's campaign against literature in the vernacular in the sixteenth century progressed "from initial skirmishes ... to a true and proper war."<sup>616</sup> Cheap pamphlets in the vernacular of the kind surveyed in the previous chapter by no means were excluded from this process. Penalties were not usually very severe, but a number of printers of cheap material were given warnings or small fines by the Sant'Uffizio in the first decades after its establishment in Venice, that must have served as some incentive to obey the rules in future. In 1558 the printer Domenico de' Franceschi was pulled before the Venetian Holy Office for printing a work described only as an *Istoria nuova piacevole* (*A Pleasant New Story*) without a licence. He had not sought a licence, he said, since the work was "a thing of little importance, just something to laugh about," and it had previously been printed by Agostino Bindoni and Matteo Pagan. Franceschi was just a *poveretto*, he claimed, wanting to earn a little money. Nevertheless he was made to hand in the remaining copies.<sup>617</sup> A month later, Pagan himself was brought in and fined three ducats for printing without a licence some "stories and other works printed against the form of the laws" ("istorie et altre opere stampati contra la forma de le leze").<sup>618</sup> These unspecified titles indicate the kinds of small pamphlets of secular songs and poems in the vernacular that were the staple of presses like those of Pagan and Franceschi around the middle of the century. Although such works had long been printed without licences, this could no longer be tolerated.

In the second half of the century, there was an increasingly widespread preoccupation with the "pernicious" effects of secular literature and devotional material in the vernacular. The Pauline Index of prohibited books, promulgated under Pope Paul IV in

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<sup>615</sup> The jurisdiction of the various magistracies operating in Venice with regard to such matters was not always clear. In theory, the secular tribunal of the Esecutori was subordinate to the Sant'Uffizio, which was active in Venice from 1540 after lying dormant for some time; however, the Esecutori were given more power and responsibilities later in the century; see Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, 68, and below. On the distribution of power between the ecclesiastical and lay judges, see the works cited in n. 583 above.

<sup>616</sup> Gigliola Fragnito, "'Li libri non zo'rrobba da cristiano': la letteratura italiana e l'Indice di Clemente VIII (1596)," *Schifanoia* 19 (1999): 123.

<sup>617</sup> "Non ho habuti licentia da alguno ma vedendo esser cosa de poco importanza anzi cose da rider mi per guadagnar et cavarne qualche bezo perche son poveretto le ho fatto stampir." ASV, SU, b. 14, fasc. 1 (9 July 1558). Simpson suggests that this work was a new edition of the *Istoria nova piacevole da ridere, la qual tratta parte delle malitie delle donne* ... previously printed by Bindoni and Pagan, which included a cautionary poem about a man castrated by his wife after he is unfaithful to her; see Yifat Fellner Simpson, "Unmasking the Revels: Medium and Message in the Popular Music Culture of Sixteenth-Century Venice" (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2004), 95.

<sup>618</sup> ASV, SU, b. 14, fasc. 1 (20 August 1558). Del Col mentions the cases of Pagan and Franceschi as examples that might seem insignificant now but that "dovettero invece suonare allora come chiaro e inequivocabile avvertimento ai librai: il Sant'Uffizio era deciso a non permettere la stampa di opere proibite o sospette, dato che mostrava la sua piena capacità di oculata e tempestiva censura anche per piccole cose"; see Del Col, "Il controllo della stampa a Venezia," 482.

1559, was the first to include significant numbers of vernacular authors, banning the entire works of Aretino, Rabelais, and others.<sup>619</sup> The 1564 Tridentine Index added a general rule against works “which discuss, describe or teach lascivious or obscene things in an open manner.”<sup>620</sup> As Ugo Rozzo has written, the censors were slowly realising that these kinds of works could be even more damaging than serious theology, as “these were the books that everyone read,” more simple and accessible conveyers of heterodox views than complicated doctrinal works.<sup>621</sup>

Although cheap printed works do not feature strongly on the major Indices of prohibited books promulgated in the sixteenth century, some scholars recently have turned up other Inquisitorial documentation proving that those involved in the process of censorship across Italy were troubled ever more by the widespread circulation of cheap vernacular print of various kinds and grappled with the problem of regulating it. However, this regulation was always hampered by the fluidity of such texts. As discussed in the previous chapter, they were constantly being reworked and reprinted under different titles and different authors (or anonymously), and could be printed quickly and cheaply and out onto the streets in large quantities with little delay.<sup>622</sup> Initially censors attempted to address cheap works via blanket prohibitions such as those included in a new list of prohibited material of 1574, which condemned entire popular genres such as “immoral and lascivious songs of any kind” (“canzone dishoneste e lascive cioè in canto di nessuna sorte”), “immoral plays of any sort” (“comédie dishoneste di nessuna sorte”), love letters (“lettere amorose”), and works of sacred scripture in verse, in Latin or vernacular (“opere in versi così latini, come volgare di sacra scrittura”).<sup>623</sup> Other lists prohibited “all stories that do not benefit faith nor good behaviour” (“historie tutte che non apportano giovamento né alla fede, né a buoni costumi”).<sup>624</sup> Towards the end of the century, the censors became more and

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<sup>619</sup> Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 116.

<sup>620</sup> “Qui res lascivas, seu obscoenas ex professo tractant, narrant aut docent.” J.M. De Bujanda, *Index de Rome, 1557, 1559, 1564. Les Premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente*, vol. 7 of De Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits*, 151.

<sup>621</sup> Rozzo, “Italian Literature on the Index,” 205.

<sup>622</sup> As Fantini writes, “la coscienza di queste inettitudini censorie può chiarire il silenzio degli indici universali nei confronti di questa produzione testuale”; see her “Censura romana e orazioni,” 234.

<sup>623</sup> *Aviso alli librari, che non faccino venire l'infrascritti libri, e ritrovandosene havere, che non li vendino senza licenza*, emanating from Rome, reprinted in J.M. De Bujanda, Ugo Rozzo et al., *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596. Avec étude des Index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, vol. 9 of De Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits*, 746-47. On this list, see Fragnito, *La bibbia al rogo*, 140-41.

<sup>624</sup> Rozzo, “I fogli volanti a stampa,” 63-64. This injunction first appeared on the 1580 Index from Parma. Fantini, “Saggio per un catalogo bibliografico,” 601-2, also mentions another list of “cose proibite da vendere et da stampare,” probably sent to Rome in the early 1570s and now preserved in the archive in Milan, that

more preoccupied with the prohibition of devotional orations and stories that fell outside the newly redrawn boundaries of orthodoxy. Such works were often printed as single-sheet *fogli volanti*, but were also closely tied into practices of manuscript and oral communication and recitation, and were deeply embedded in popular culture. They were frequently printed and distributed by charlatans, alongside the secular material they performed and peddled. In order to target works like these, blanket prohibitions such as those mentioned above progressively gave way to more precise articulations of condemned titles, so that readers could not claim ignorance of the rules and inquisitors knew exactly what to pursue.<sup>625</sup>

The growing appearance of cheap literature on the target lists of ecclesiastical censors did not, however, translate into a great deal of prosecution by religious or lay authorities in Venice. To judge from the complaints of these authorities, cheap print continued to be published with little regard for the rules requiring licences, and often without the now-obligatory indications of where a work had been printed, and who the printer and author were. In 1565 the blasphemy magistrates reiterated the part of the 1543 law relating to unlicensed printing and selling of small works on the Rialto and throughout the city and added a penalty for those who printed works in Venice but made them seem as if they were printed elsewhere.<sup>626</sup> The following year, the Council of Ten again registered alarm about those “printing and selling books and stories in this city without licences” (“quelli, che senza licentia stampano, e vendono libri, e historie in questa città”), or with a false notification of licence. The Ten ordered that all those who obtained a licence should present it, before they commenced printing, to the office of the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, so that the latter could more easily identify those who infringed the rules.<sup>627</sup> Nevertheless, two years later, the Esecutori complained again that many printers and booksellers in the city were publishing “books, stories, *frottole*, songs, letters, and prognostications without the required licences and freely selling them or else having them

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includes many titles of “orationi, historie, legende, frottole, commedie, lamenti, proverbi.” She suggests this list was a synthesis of works found being distributed by ambulant sellers.

<sup>625</sup> Fantini, “Saggio per un catalogo bibliografico.” In the process, the Inquisitors left records of great use to modern bibliographers in helping to identify numerous editions of such ephemeral works that are now for the most part lost (*ibid.*, 603).

<sup>626</sup> “Se alcuno stampasse, over facesse stampar alcuna opera in questa città, e facesse parer, che fusse stampata altrove, sia condannato à star anno uno in pregon, e pagar ducati cento, e in bando perpetuo di questa città, e del destretto.” Proclamation of 10 October 1565, included in a printed collection of laws relating to printing in ASV, *Riformatori*, b. 364. In 1596, the Esecutori contro la bestemmia instructed the Prior of the printing guild to remind the guild members at least twice a year that it was prohibited to print unlicensed works, and specifically to “vender senza licenza historie, et cose simili per le piazza, che sono o apparono stampate fuori di questa città”; see ASV, *ECB*, Notatorio, b. 57, b. 278v (19 March 1596).

<sup>627</sup> ASV, *CX*, Parti comuni, r. 74, c. 136 (17 September 1566).

sold by boys [*puti*] and others on the Rialto Bridge and in other places.”<sup>628</sup> To combat this, the Esecutori elected a former printer, Alvisio Zio, to diligently “inquire and investigate such infringements,” seizing the offending works and denouncing the offenders so they could be punished.<sup>629</sup> This move appears to have garnered some results, which demonstrate that the street trade in print continued to operate in similar ways to earlier in the century. Within the year, the magistrates had fined the printer of an unidentified story about vagabonds (“alcune istorie cioè quella di vagabondi”) and a Stefano Mantovano, a charlatan or ballad singer, who was selling these works from his *banco*.<sup>630</sup> The following month a certain “Benetto francese who sells stories around the place” was picked up with some “immoral pictures” (“alcune figure dishoneste”) that had been printed alongside some equally immoral sonnets by the engraver Domenico Zenoi. These works, probably based on the infamous *I Modi* of Giulio Romano with Aretino’s accompanying sonnets, were also discovered on sale in a bookshop in San Lio, and with two other ambulant sellers.<sup>631</sup> Despite the efforts of the authorities, at this point some of the most scandalous works of the earlier part of the century were still available in print in Venice.<sup>632</sup>

In the same years, the records of the Sant’Uffizio preserve some attempts by this body to monitor the street trade and prohibit the dissemination of even the smallest items if they infringed the laws. Increasingly, the Sant’Uffizio tried to ensure that prohibitions were communicated to street sellers as well as to masters with shops, as in the 1567 list of booksellers discussed in Chapter One, which did not fail to list at least a dozen who operated outdoor stalls.<sup>633</sup> In 1567, the Inquisitors called in a poorly-dressed (“malvestito”) old bookseller called Giacomo da Trino who said that he was “a poor man and that he had taken up the job of finding books and buying them in various shops in order to earn a little

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<sup>628</sup> Cited above, n. 121.

<sup>629</sup> “Con ogni debita diligentia et modestio el debba inquirer et indagar delle contrafation prefate et tuor li libri istorie, canzon, frotte, lettere, o pronostichi ch’el troverà ..., denontando li nomi delli contrafacenti acciò possiamo [dar]gli quel castigo et pena che dalle legi è patuite.” ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 2, c. 38v (2 March 1568).

<sup>630</sup> Ibid., c. 40v (2 August 1568).

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., c. 41v (9 September 1568). Zenoi had received licenses and privileges, including for printed images of pious figures, in 1566, although with the stipulation that he show his prints occasionally to the Esecutori contra la bestemmia, so they could check there were no obscenities; see Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, 251.

<sup>632</sup> A few years earlier, indeed, the Esecutori had fined the printer of the *Tariffa delle puttane*, the scandalous register of Venetian whores that detailed their services and their prices, and reprimanded a certain “Cesare de to el Vernoti [?] qual anda vendendo tal opera”; see ASV, ECB, Notatorio, b. 56, vol. 2, c. 24v (23 July 1566).

<sup>633</sup> Cited above, n. 113. See also the intimation to several street sellers of another prohibition of 1573, this one instructing not to print or sell Boccaccio’s *Cento novella*, in ASV, SU, b. 156.



money.”<sup>634</sup> Giacomo was found in possession of some prohibited books and also admitted that some foreigners had come to his *banchetto* at Rialto and asked him if he could source them a copy of the prohibited book of magic the *Clavicula salamonis*, which he did. However, the Inquisitors, considerate of Giacomo’s “old age” and “good reputation in matters of religion” let him be released.<sup>635</sup> Similarly, in 1574 an old bookseller called Bartolomeo da Sabbio (on the Riviera del Salò), who sold mostly second-hand books from a chest at Rialto, was questioned about having sold prohibited vernacular books such as the *Rime* of Francesco Berni and the *Facezie* of Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>636</sup> He had previously worked as a *garzone* in several printing shops, yet Bartolomeo claimed not to be able to read the Index of prohibited books (although he owned a copy) nor to be capable of writing down the books he sold. Bartolomeo was prohibited from buying and selling books in future, although the Holy Office later took pity on his family, his “poverty and inability to exercise another trade” (“consideratis ... paupertate, et inhabilitate ad alia exercenda”) and gave him licence to continue to buy and sell books as long as he frequently consulted the Index of prohibitions.<sup>637</sup>

While these examples concern primarily second-hand books, the Sant’Uffizio, in tandem with the Esecutori contro la bestemmia, also occasionally pursued street sellers of small printed and pamphlets and *fogli volanti*. In 1575, the lame street vendor Battista Furlano, who posted himself at the gate of the Palazzo Ducale in Piazza San Marco, was picked up selling *fogli volanti* orations that promised to save buyers from the plague which was ravaging the city at that time.<sup>638</sup> The printer Pietro de’ Farri admitted that he had given the sheets to Battista, and to another street vendor, Iseppo Manteli who operated on the Rialto Bridge. Battista had then passed some on to another vendor called Paolo Lauto so that he might sell them for one *bezzo*, or half a *soldo*, each.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> “Lui disse che ... era poveretto, et che anche lui pigliava il carico di trovar libri et comprame in diverse botteghe per guadagnar qualche soldo.” ASV, *SU*, b. 22, fasc. 25, c. 1r (22 May 1567). Giacomo, listed on the 1567 Sant’Uffizio list, also bound books.

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 3v-4r.

<sup>636</sup> ASV, *SU*, b. 37, fasc. 3 (October–November 1574). The case is mentioned by Sandal, *Il mestier de le stamperie*, 47. This is probably the same “Bortolomio del quondam Bernardin de Salò vende libri a San Marco soto li portegi” listed in the 1567 Sant’Uffizio list of booksellers and in the same location in 1573.

<sup>637</sup> ASV, *SU*, b. 37, fasc. 3, cc. 3r-v. The Inquisitors also ordered Bartolomeo to stand at Rialto for an hour wearing a sign declaring his crime: “Per haver venduto libri prohibiti” (c. 3r).

<sup>638</sup> This must be the same “Batista furlan quondam Tomaso Zanier a il banco in Piazza di San Marco” listed in the 1567 Sant’Uffizio list of booksellers. Copies of the orations are preserved with the trial records in ASV, *SU*, b. 39, fasc. 7.

<sup>639</sup> “Io l’ho dato [the quinternion of orations] ad uno che ha nome Paulo fu fio de Pietro Lauto acciò el le vendesse a un bezzo l’una.” *Ibid.*, c. 1r.

It is difficult to gauge the real impact of the new prohibitions on cheap print and the repressive actions of the authorities on the careers of printers, publishers, and vendors who specialised in this sort of material. At a stroke, prohibitions such as those against *canzone dishoneste* theoretically banned many of the works that were the province of street performers and vendors earlier in the century. This was in addition to the proscription of specific authors or works that performers had once chosen to publish. For example, the pamphlet published by Il Fortunato (possibly Paris Mantovano) that “borrowed” a story from the Quattrocento author Masuccio Salernitano would have been prohibited after the 1559 Index that banned Salernitano’s *Novelle*.<sup>640</sup> The Erasmian pamphlet that Damonfido Pastore “detto il Pellegrino” published in Venice in 1542 would certainly not have been permitted a few years later.<sup>641</sup> Pasquinades like those published by Ippolito Ferrarese were repressed after the Council of Trent—unsurprisingly, given their satirical depictions of the corruption of the Roman Church.<sup>642</sup> The chivalric poems which so many entertainers wrote, performed, or published also became increasingly suspect in the later sixteenth century and were ordered no longer to be used in vernacular language teaching, as they had been up until then. Even Ariosto’s beloved *Orlando furioso* came near to prohibition.<sup>643</sup> Some of the most risqué works that had been published in Venice in the earlier sixteenth century, sometimes in cheap pamphlet editions commissioned by travelling performers, became much more difficult to find. At the end of the century they continued to circulate, but clandestinely, and often in manuscript.<sup>644</sup> Cozzi has argued that the difficulty and cost of obtaining certain works by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in Venice helped to make “culture an elite phenomenon, it eliminated any sort of circulation of ideas, and consequently it

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<sup>640</sup> On the prohibition of the *Novelle* in the 1559 Index, see Nicola Longo, “Prolegomeni per una storia della letteratura italiana censurata,” *Rassegna della letteratura italiana* 78 no. 3 (1974): 408. The pamphlet containing Salernitano’s story is titled *Historia dilettevole di duoi amanti*, discussed above, n. 566. Notably, this pamphlet does not identify the author of the story.

<sup>641</sup> The work is the *Dialogo erasmico di due donne maritate*, listed in Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1465-1550: A Finding List* (Geneva: Droz, 1983), 168; see my Appendix, no. 2.8. All of Erasmus’s works were banned by the 1559 Index although some of them had been prohibited earlier. Original works and translations of Erasmus were among the key targets of the Inquisition; see Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia, 1520-1580* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1987).

<sup>642</sup> Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale*, 129-31, 164. On Ferrarese’s pasquinades, see above, pp. 144-45.

<sup>643</sup> Fragnito, *Proibito capire*, 159-60.

<sup>644</sup> For example, see Paolo Ulvioni, “Stampa e censura a Venezia nel Seicento,” *Archivio veneto* 104, no. 139 (1972): 81, on the commissioning of illicit manuscript copies of the *Puttana errante* in 1630. In 1579, Stefano Bindoni, son of Agostino, was punished by the Esecutori and the Sant’Uffizio for having a manuscript copy made of Aretino’s *Ragionamenti* (see above, n. 269).

reduced any possibility of mutual comprehension between the elite and the mass of those who did not or could not read prohibited books.”<sup>645</sup>

Cheap print continued to be produced in abundance but it seems that its printers and publishers took fewer risks with regard to its content. Much more was published in a religious vein. This made unpleasant encounters with the censors less likely, and catered to a genuine popular demand for religious works that that may have only intensified in the post-Tridentine period.<sup>646</sup> From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, we find many cheap religious pamphlets written or published by performers; however they usually bear the mark of censorial approval on the title page: “con licenza dei superiori,” with the licence of the authorities. According to Francesco Novati, this new formula is a signal that a time of “unlimited liberty of thought and word” for popular culture “is well and truly finished; that the gag of ecclesiastical censorship is descending inexorably to suffocate the impertinences of the *canterini*, as it had the audacities of the theologians and philosophers.”<sup>647</sup> Performers who published works had to be more careful to toe the line, or risk having their pamphlets end up on the lists of suspicious works compiled by the Inquisitors, as happened to Vincenzo Citaredo, a *cantimbanco* from Urbino who sang bitterly about social injustice and inequality.<sup>648</sup> In contrast to Citaredo, Caravale notes the greater prudence of the famous *cantimbanco* Giulio Cesare Croce, based in Bologna, in tailoring his works just enough not to offend the authorities.<sup>649</sup> Performers always had had to be able to adapt their repertoires to changing tastes, and to please the powers that be as well as the people, and they continued to find avenues for their talents in the production and sale of cheap print.

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<sup>645</sup> Gaetano Cozzi, “Books and Society,” *Journal of Modern History* 51, no. 1 (1979): 95. Cozzi was responding to Grendler’s argument that the impact of Counter-Reformation reforms on Venetian culture was not crippling since scholars still had fairly easy access to clandestine books from the later Cinquecento, outlined in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, chap. 10.

<sup>646</sup> Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell’editoria religiosa*, 69-80. See also Baldacchini, “Il libro popolare italiano d’argomento religioso”; and Edoardo Barbieri, “Tradition and Change in the Spiritual Literature of the Cinquecento,” in Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 111-33.

<sup>647</sup> Novati, “La storia e la stampa,” 101. See Baldacchini, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari religiose*, for examples, such as *Il digiuno di Christo, nel deserto con la tentatione del demonio. In ottava rima. Composto per Giovan Domenico Nizoli, cieco bolognese* (Venice and Treviso: Angelo Reghettini, 1610), a four-leaf octavo printed “Con licenza de’ Superiori” (p. 82).

<sup>648</sup> Citaredo’s name appears on a 1590 preparatory list for the new Index of prohibited books; see Caravale, “Censura e pauperismo,” 41-45. Citaredo’s printed works include *Speranza de’ poveri. Opera nova di Vincenzo Citaredo da Urbino* (Urbino: Bartholomeo Ragusij, 1588), a *cantare* with the refrain ‘Solo in Dio dovem sperare’ that laments the plight of the poor and the greed of the wealthy, reprinted in Vitaletti, “Vincenzo Citaredo, canterino,” 106-9.

<sup>649</sup> Caravale, “Censura e pauperismo,” 61-64. See also Piero Camporesi, *Il palazzo e il cantimbanco* (Milan: Garzanti, 1994), 12, 30-33.

The Venice-based printers who had once collaborated with itinerant publishers such as *cantimbanchi* to produce cheap works were also encouraged to change direction.<sup>650</sup> Many of the key popular printers from the earlier period had died or ceased work around the 1540s; those who carried on the tradition, like Matteo Pagan and Domenico de' Franceschi, ran into some trouble with the authorities, as we have seen. Several members of the Bindoni family were warned or fined by Esecutori contro la bestemmia and the Sant'Uffizio, and later generations of the family who stayed in the industry all but abandoned the kinds of cheap print that had been central to the editorial programs of their ancestors.<sup>651</sup>

### *The Actions of the Guild*

The freedom to participate in the publishing and selling of print in Venice was also curtailed with the development of the guild of printers and booksellers. This impinged particularly on the dissemination of cheap print and street selling in several ways. As Chapter Two demonstrated, the print industry in Cinquecento Venice was underpinned by a tight-knit web of familial and business relationships even before the masters of the trade were organised into a guild. In the face of the many obstacles imposed by the new censorship laws, evidently there was some sense of group solidarity, which would have been underpinned by the ties of kinship, neighbourhood, and friendship examined earlier. Even before the Council of Ten ordered the establishment of the guild in January 1549, a core group had gathered to protest the order (of July 1548) for them to hand in any heretical works that they held.<sup>652</sup> Again, in January 1559, the printers and booksellers gathered in the *bottega* of one of the guild Priors, Tomaso Giunta, to discuss the Index and agree to disobey the orders of the authorities to booksellers to submit lists of their prohibited stock.<sup>653</sup> One of the other Priors, Melchiorre Sessa, reportedly told the bookseller Zacharia Zenaro that he was a “traitor” for suggesting the bookmen obey the Sant'Uffizio's instructions that the

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<sup>650</sup> So far, scholarship has focused on the direction of the most prestigious Venetian printers in the new cultural climate, with little consideration of printers who specialised in cheap material. For example, see Quondam, “*Mercanzia d'onore*,” on the Venetian printer Giolito's turn away from literature towards predominantly spiritual works in the latter Cinquecento.

<sup>651</sup> See above, pp. 74-75.

<sup>652</sup> Jacoviello, “*Proteste di editori e librai*,” 34-35. As Dondi notes in “*Printers and Guilds*,” 230, the guild's *mariegola* refer back to dates from 1517 on, so the printers and booksellers probably congregated in some form from this date.

<sup>653</sup> This episode is mentioned in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 118-19.

other booksellers had vowed to resist.<sup>654</sup> As Sessa was an important patron figure in the community of printers and booksellers, there would have been strong incentive for the less powerful and wealthy to follow his lead. Vincenzo Valgrisi explained that he had submitted his list late in order “not to cut myself off from the other booksellers” (“per non desmembrarmi da li altri librari”), but that “for this obedience they do not speak to me.”<sup>655</sup>

Although the leading printers and booksellers who dominated the guild strongly opposed some of the dictates regarding their freedom to print and sell certain works, they were more willing to accede to the desire of the Venetian government on the matter of participation in the trade. One of the Council of Ten’s aims in ordering the creation of the guild had been to counter the growing reputation of Venetian printed editions for poor quality, by exerting control over who could practice the trades of printing and bookselling. Many of the men who were elected to positions of power within the *Arte* came from families that only had come to Venice, and sometimes only to the trade of printing and bookselling, in the early Cinquecento. Yet they were now content to make entry into the trade more difficult, effectively closing the gates behind them. No doubt the masters were seeking to augment their own status and to distance themselves from some of the lowly figures who took a chance in the trade, while monopolising the profits. In 1572, the Prior, Francesco Rampazetto, consequently voiced the guild’s concern about the many who, “stupidly believing that the art of printing requires little intelligence, dare to enter into the practice of it with little knowledge, and less experience.”<sup>656</sup> Henceforth, no one was to work in Venice as a printer or bookseller if they were not matriculated in the guild, for which they had to have served at least five years as a registered apprentice (*garzone*) and three years as a journeyman (*lavorante*) in a print or bookshop in the city, and then been judged worthy of entrance by senior members of the trade, with a matriculation fee of five ducats. Foreigners had to pay ten ducats, and serve the same period of time, while the children or heirs of masters were exempted from any payment.<sup>657</sup>

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<sup>654</sup> “Marchio Sessa qual mi disse che io era sta traditor de l’arte per haver obedito.” ASV, *SU*, b. 14, fasc. labelled “Constituto contra Vincentium Valgrisum librarium 1559 9 Agosto,” c. 3r.

<sup>655</sup> “Per questa obedientia non mi parlano.” *Ibid.*, cc. 1v-2r.

<sup>656</sup> “Quanti suscitano di continuo in essa arte, in quali grossamente credendo che l’essercito della stamparia sia cosa de poca intelligentia, si fanno lecito entrar al maneggio di essa per poca cognitione, et manco esperienza che ne habbiano.” BMCV, *Matricola dell’Arte dei stampatori e librari di Venezia*, c. 18v (27 April 1572). Rampazetto added that the same applied to bookselling.

<sup>657</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 18v-19r.

The acts of the guild surviving from the last two decades of the century and beyond show attempts to prevent the intrusion of unlicensed outsiders into the trade, the repeated rejection of the kind of “multi-tasking” individuals that have been considered in previous chapters. Street sellers were not banned per se, if they demonstrated experience in the industry and a fixed location of sale, such as Nicolò Furlan who held a stall at San Basso, in Corte del Balloner, and was admitted to the guild in April 1578.<sup>658</sup> In contrast, the guild leaders rejected Pasqualin Savioni, “cornet player and musician in the churches, and for feast days, a new beginner in our trade,” who was told that “since this our art of printing is of great importance, he, being of a very different profession, should not practice it.”<sup>659</sup> The charlatan Domenico di Francesco of Florence pleaded that the guild should leave him in peace as he only sold a small amount of printed merchandise, but he was ordered to hand in his works within three days, or expect further action.<sup>660</sup>

The illiterate and untrained were also refused entry to the guild. Biagio at the *bottega* of the Three Hats was called for examination but told to desist from practicing the art after he admitted he did not know how to read.<sup>661</sup> In 1578, the masters reviewed the case of Rimondo di Zuan of Bergamo. Rimondo applied for admittance to the guild on the basis of having married the widow of the aforementioned street seller Bartolomeo da Sabbio and taken over his business, and needing to support the widow and her children. However, Rimondo was a former dyer (*tintor*) with little experience in the trade, and his application was rejected.<sup>662</sup> In trying to exclude outsiders from their business, the Venetian masters were only doing what was attempted by printers and booksellers in other Italian cities.<sup>663</sup>

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<sup>658</sup> The admission of “Nicolò Furlan ... sta a San Basso, in corte del balloner, banchetto,” can be found in ASV, ALS, Atti, b. 163, r. 1, cc. 5r-v (20 April 1578).

<sup>659</sup> “Pasqualin Savioni, sonador di cornetto, et musico per le chiese, et feste, di nuovo principiante nell’arte nostra ... gli fu risposto, che per esser questa nostra arte di stampador di grande importanza, non deuea egli, d’altra professione lontana, esercitarla.” Ibid., c. 7r (25 April 1578).

<sup>660</sup> “Domenico di ser Francesco fiorentino, cerettano” claimed that “io vendo poco, e per ciò le signori vostri mi ponno [possono] lasciar star.” Ibid., c. 10r (4 June 1578). See also the examination of “Gabriel di Anzoli maestro da scola” who is told to desist from selling books “con banchetti nella Piazza di San Marco” and refused entry to the *Arte*; ibid., r. 2, c. 28v (27 September 1601).

<sup>661</sup> Ibid., r. 1, c. 35r (21 September 1583). In the seventeenth century, even more stringent exams were introduced for entrants to prevent the illiterate and untrained from matriculating; see Mattozzi, “Mondo del libro,” 756.

<sup>662</sup> See ASV, ALS, Atti, b. 163, r. 1, cc. 10r-v (4 June 1478), application of “Rimondo de Zuan bergamasco, vende libri con un banchetto sotto li portici a Rialto.” The fate of this bookselling operation is somewhat unclear. In 1591, an “Oratio di maestro Bortolameo da Sabio” was accepted into the guild, presumably as a legitimate heir to Bartolomeo, while Rimondo seems also to have stayed in the trade, as in 1599 he was given permission, as a poor bookseller, to sell on *feste*; see ibid., c. 19r; r. 2, c. 15r.

<sup>663</sup> On measures against foreigners who tried to sell books and against street sellers in Rome after the establishment of a booksellers’ guild there in 1600, see Palazzolo, “Banchi, botteghe, muricciuoli,” 8-10. In Bologna, printers and booksellers had joined forces very early in the sixteenth century to try and limit the

The actions of the Venetians at this time probably were prompted by the sharp decline of their trade in the years after the 1575-77 plague, and thus the wish to preserve the diminishing profits for themselves.<sup>664</sup>

However, this matter evidently continued to vex the guild, such were the difficulties of trying to control the many small-time sellers who might dabble in print at some point. In 1586, the guild again sought to ban all those non-members of the *Arte* who “print, and sell, or have books printed, or sold, from printing shops, workshops, stores, and stalls, in large or small quantities.” These unlicensed outsiders “usurp the bread from our hands, since it is primarily we who bear the burdens [ie. taxes] of our trade.” To strengthen their argument, the masters insisted that the books that incurred the disapproval of the Inquisition or the blasphemy magistrates were “nearly always ... printed and sold by people outside of our guild, and not matriculated, who do not know or understand our profession.”<sup>665</sup> In fact, this was not true; there is ample evidence that some of the city’s most prominent bookmen were involved in the clandestine trade.<sup>666</sup> By laying the blame on outsiders, the masters sought to portray themselves to the government as abiding by, and even helping to enforce, the laws.

Notably, the *Provveditori di Comun* who oversaw the Venetian guilds were not prepared to enforce the ban completely, later affirming this act of 1586 with the condition

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activity of outsiders who came to the city for brief periods and cut in on their trade; see Giorgio Cencetti, “Alcuni documenti sul commercio libraio bolognese al principio del secolo XVI,” *L’Archiginnasio* 30, no. 14 (1935): 355-62. A similar effort was made the *cartolai* of Ferrara in the 1470s; see Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra XV e XVI secolo. La bottega di Domenico Sivieri* (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 15-16. In Milan, the corporation of printers and booksellers established in 1589 similarly worked to restrict access to the trade by foreigners; see Kevin M. Stevens, “Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in Counter-Reformation Milan: A Documentary Study” (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 44-45.

<sup>664</sup> The negative effects of the plague on the printing industry are discussed in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 226.

<sup>665</sup> “Stampano, et vendeno, seu fanno stampar, et vender libri in stamparie, botteghe, magazeni, et banchetti, in grosso, et à minuto ... Né è conveniente ch’altri ne usurpi il nostro pane dalle mani, essendo massime noi quelli, che portamo le gravezze dell’arte nostra ... Molte volte occorre, che dalla Santa Inquisitione, dalli illustrissimi Signori capi, dal clarissimo Officio della Biastema, o da qualche altro magistrato vien domandato alli capi dell’arta nostra d’alcuna cosa stampata, o libro venduto, né da essi nostri capi si sa che cosa responderseli, essendono quasi sempre libri stampate et venduti da gente fuor dell’arte nostra, et non matricolati, liquali non intendono, né sanno il nostro mestiero.” ASV, *ALS*, Atti, b. 163, r. 1, c. 74r (4 September 1586). The Roman *arte* of booksellers made similar claims about ambulant booksellers in the seventeenth century; see Palazzolo, “Banchi, botteghe, muricciuoli,” 10. Salman, “Peddling in the Past,” 12, notes that Dutch pedlars were often the “first victims of censorship,” before established booksellers.

<sup>666</sup> For an overview of the main cases involving bookmen in Venice, see Carlo De Frede, “Tipografi, editori, librai italiani del Cinquecento coinvolti in processi di eresia,” *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 23, no. 1 (1969): 21-53. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 105-15, surveys the clandestine distribution of prohibited books both by bookmen and others.

that ambulant sellers of cheap print were exempt.<sup>667</sup> Presumably, such vendors were considered to be of too little importance and too poor to be forced to fulfil the necessary requirements and pay the enrolment fee in the guild. Despite the punishment of several ambulant sellers in the same period by the Esecutori contro la bestemmia for distributing objectionable or unlicensed material, the Provveditori evidently considered them not worth policing. The guild, however, continued to occasionally pursue such figures, as in 1596, when they forbid Marco Classera to sell stories, or print in his house, and Giacomo Bandiera to sell printed psalms and tariffs (*tariffe*).<sup>668</sup> Certainly, there were always competing motives at play within the guild on the matter of outsiders participating in the trade. Non-masters who wished to co-operate in publishing, printing, or selling, remained useful sources of capital and labour, or outlets for sale. Repeatedly in the last decades of the Cinquecento and the early decades of the Seicento, the guild called for the need to gather a fine of six *grossi per balla* (a bale of ten reams, each containing 500 printed sheets) printed by or for a *non matricolato*. While it is clear that these outsiders were collaborating with masters to have works printed, the frequent repetition of the rule suggests that the guild had trouble enforcing it.<sup>669</sup>

Nevertheless, the slow decline of the Venetian printing industry in the last quarter of the sixteenth century contributed to a widening division between the matriculated masters in control of shops and of the guild, and the small-time street sellers or stall-holders who found themselves increasingly marginalised.<sup>670</sup> In 1598, the guild attempted to prohibit the activity of vendors of books on holy days, as they cut in on the business of guildsmen who were not supposed to operate during *feste*. The guild complained that vendors “that have not matriculated in this *Arte*” could thereby “enjoy the fruits belonging to it, without sharing in its burdens and expenses, besides that they are permitted against human and divine laws to sell prohibited books, and other things that are quite against God, and to the shame of this

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<sup>667</sup> “La sopradetta parte fu confirmata per li clarissimi Signori Provveditori di Comun, con questa conditione: che quelli che vendono istorie per la città non siano compresi nella sopra detta parte.” ASV, ALS, Atti, b. 163, r. 1, c. 75v (15 March 1588).

<sup>668</sup> Ibid., c. 120v (15 September 1596).

<sup>669</sup> The first reference I have found to this fine is in *ibid.*, c. 16r (31 May 1580); however, it was mentioned again on 12 July 1597 (*ibid.*, c. 126r). On 1 September 1608, the guild admitted they had not “sino ad ora potuto farsi esacione alcuna [of the fine] per non aver autta noticia di quelli che anno fato et fano stampare,” despite having the backing of the Senate to collect the fine. The guild officials called for the law to be intimated to the printers once again (*ibid.*, r. 2, c. 70r). The law was affirmed again several times in the following years. The *grosso* was a silver coin worth about one *lira*; see Aldo Cairola, *Le monete del rinascimento* (Rome: Editalia, 1973), 241.

<sup>670</sup> Mattozzi, “Mondo del libro,” 749–53. This process continued into the seventeenth century, according to Paolo Ulvioni, “Stampatori e librai a Venezia nel Seicento,” *Archivio veneto* 108 (1977): 93–124.



*Arte.*”<sup>671</sup> There were so many poor bookmen, however, that the masters later relented to their pleas and permitted them to apply for licences to sell on these days. This took place under strict regulations regarding the number allowed and the places where they could operate, permitting two sellers with stalls at Rialto and two at San Marco, with a particular instruction that no one was to display their wares down the Merceria.<sup>672</sup> As we have seen, Rialto and San Marco were the recognised places for the street sale of print from the early Cinquecento. While this activity continued to occupy these central spaces in the early Seicento, it would seem that it did so under ever greater restrictions regarding who could participate in it and when, and what could be sold to the Venetian public on such occasions.

### *Conclusion*

By the end of the sixteenth century, the print trade was no longer “open to any mortal man,” just as Erasmus had wished.<sup>673</sup> It was becoming increasingly difficult to advance in the trade of printing and bookselling unless one had experience, capital, and connections. The motley crew who had arrived in the industry earlier in the century from other places and other professions were transforming into a solid city guild. They were jealous of their privileges, suspicious of outsiders, and closely monitored by the authorities. And yet, the guild never succeeded in curbing the activity of outsiders altogether, undoubtedly because they could be useful to the masters. Street vendors remained a valuable outlet for printers with works to sell, especially those who might transgress the boundaries of morality or orthodoxy. The ephemerality of the works and the marginal status of the sellers probably made it easier for them to evade the eyes of the authorities. Printers and publishers with their own shops could not flee the city easily if they ran into trouble, but they could dissociate themselves from the usually poor and sometimes itinerant street sellers who might move on to another town if they were pushed out of Venice. The symbiotic relationship between established printers and booksellers and ambulant vendors only expanded in the seventeenth century. However the extensive networks of print pedlars that

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<sup>671</sup> “Fa lecito a quelli, che non sono di essa Arte matricolati, goder li frutti di essa, senza concorrer alli gravami, et spese di esse, oltra ché si fanno lecito contra le leggi divine, et humane vender libri prohibiti, et altro, che non stà bene contra Dio, et vergogna di essa Arte.” ASV, *ALS*, Atti, b. 163, r. 2, cc. 2r-v (16 July 1598).

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 8r (5 November 1598).

<sup>673</sup> See p. 56, above.

began to reach ever further out into the countryside at this time were under the central control of large family firms such as the Remondini, who had a large shop on the Merceria in Venice.<sup>674</sup>

It is more difficult to assess the impact of Counter-Reformation era censorship on what was published and sold in the form of cheap printed matter. The efforts of bodies like the Esecutori contro la bestemmia and the Venetian Sant'Uffizio in this regard were sporadic and never particularly severe. Although street selling of print carried on, and probably grew, there is less evidence from later in the Cinquecento for collaborations of the kind discussed in the previous chapter, between entrepreneurial performer-publishers and local members of the printing trade. Furthermore, while their enforcement was not always carried out, the prohibitions against many staple genres and texts of cheap literature must have had some impact in making printers and publishers think twice about what they chose to issue.

Increasingly, the authorities were recognising that the cheapest and most diffuse items could be dangerous if not policed properly, as they reached large numbers of people. In particular, cheap and readily available works were troubling because they could reach those who—in the official view—lacked the necessary educational apparatus or direction to help them distinguish true from false, blasphemous from pious. In this regard, greater surveillance of the trade in cheap print was one facet of a growing intrusion on the part of lay and ecclesiastical authorities into the everyday cultural practices, entertainments, and education of non-elites that has been seen as a hallmark of the Counter-Reformation period.<sup>675</sup>

The literary culture of Italy, and particularly of Venice, undoubtedly was reshaped by the actions of state and church authorities during the Counter-Reformation era. In an influential essay, Dionisotti suggested that Italian literary society, after a period of openness to diverse voices earlier in the Cinquecento, became increasingly closed after the Council of Trent, again excluding the likes of female writers, and lowly-born writers like Aretino.<sup>676</sup> Scholars of education and literacy have likewise argued for a devastating long-range impact on the literacy and culture of the Italian people of the prohibitions of vernacular scripture

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<sup>674</sup> Infelise, *Remondini di Bassano*, 114-17.

<sup>675</sup> See Camporesi, "Cultura popolare e cultura d'élite," especially 86. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 207-43, influentially argued that both the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements amounted to a "reform of popular culture."

<sup>676</sup> Carlo Dionisotti, "La letteratura italiana nell'età del Concilio di Trento," in *idem*, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Torino: Einaudi 1967), 237-40, 253.

and literature.<sup>677</sup> The possibilities for freedom of expression and of consumption of culture were diminished on all sides. The “middlemen” between writers and readers—printers, booksellers, part-time pedlars, performers—were the natural targets of the censors trying to stop the flow of texts that were no longer considered appropriate or to channel them in more acceptable directions.

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<sup>677</sup> Fragnito, *Proibito capire*. See also Lucchi, “La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino,” 616.

## Conclusion

Taken on its own, any one of the cheap printed pamphlets examined in this thesis may not seem to amount to much. Flimsy and humbly-presented, the texts they contain are often uninspiring and pedestrian, or else filched from elsewhere without reference to the original. Such works typically rate low on our scales of literary merit, of artistic achievement, of editorial accuracy. And yet, examined together, in the light of their original material, social, economic, and literary contexts, these humble specimens furnish valuable insights into Venetian and Italian culture in the sixteenth century. These works need to be seen as pieces of a jigsaw, surviving representatives of a much larger stream of cheap print that began to flow from the printing presses from the moment they were established. That flow reached into many aspects of urban life in Venice and into many spaces in the city.

A minimalist picture of these works and their modes of dissemination is that they reflect a colourful and interesting epiphenomenon, a footnote to the history of Venetian culture and city life. Yet I have tried to show that they signify more than that; that they embody an important facet of printing history that often is not recognised fully because of the nature of documentary records and of collecting practices. Study of works such as those considered here, and of the people that produced and disseminated them, can tell us much about the consequences of the spread of a new communication technology, printing with movable type, and about the character of innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurialism on a small scale. This is not to say that they are more important or more reflective of social tastes than the larger, more expensive, and more celebrated products of the Venetian press in the sixteenth century. Yet they constitute an important facet of the larger picture, illuminating more familiar aspects of that picture in compelling ways.

I have suggested that small items of cheap print could be significant to many people. For a printer battling to keep his business afloat in the cut-throat world of Venetian publishing, small jobs producing pamphlets or fliers brought rapid and useful profits. For a travelling entertainer or a pedlar of varied goods, cheap printed works commissioned or sold helped sustain survival. For a Venetian of modest means and little or no ability to read, these

items provided a place of encounter with print culture, of—in the formulation of Chartier—“acculturation” to the printed word.<sup>678</sup>

The reason that Venice in the fifteenth century and for most of the sixteenth century provided such fertile ground for the new technology of printing is a degree of openness which permitted the movement of people as well as of printed texts, spoken words, and ideas. The same fluidity and flexibility characterised the dissemination of cheap print. This climate allowed immigrant printers to set up shop in the city and to experiment with ways to profit from the new business of printing. It permitted more temporary visitors such as travelling performers to enter the city and to participate in the trade before moving on. As I have suggested, the interaction between these two types—between the more fixed and the more mobile—contributed much vigour to the Venetian printing trade, particularly earlier in the Cinquecento. Itinerant publishers and performers not only brought to Venice new texts and ideas picked up on their travels, but in turn helped to disseminate those texts both via oral performance and in cheap printed form. The flexibility of professional arrangements allowed for the continuous injection of new blood and fresh ideas.

Aside from for their high degree of mobility, I have focused on itinerant publishers, performers, and other ambulant salesmen also because they particularly were responsible for the public nature of much print dissemination in the period. Alongside printers and booksellers with shops, the benches and baskets of these more transient figures provided different, more accessible places to encounter the printed word. By means of verbal advertisement and performance, pedlars and performers opened another avenue of communication alongside but intimately associated with the written or printed text. Thus people were exposed to print notwithstanding obstacles of literacy and cost.

As such, seemingly marginal, now almost invisible actors in the production and dissemination of cheap print played a small but pivotal role in bringing the products of the press to readers, buyers, listeners, and browsers. As mediators between printers and public, itinerant publishers contributed to the publication of a wide array of works, and stimulated the dynamism and vibrancy of Venetian culture that was so marked in the sixteenth century. They helped the movement of stories, characters, and themes back and forth between cultural forms and spaces that were reserved to the top tier of society into forms and spaces in which the more humble members of society might engage with them as well. While

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<sup>678</sup> See above, p. 54.

esteemed writers such as Pietro Aretino took much inspiration from the literature and songs of the streets, lowly charlatans and ballad singers took texts that first circulated in restricted salons and in costly books and, by cutting and adapting them to cheaper printed forms, allowed them to diffuse much more widely.

If so much movement between different cultural spheres and between different media now seems surprising, it is because this period of exceptional vitality and movement did not last, like other, similar moments throughout history. The earlier sixteenth century in particular now seems a time of unfulfilled potential and missed opportunities as well as of great developments. Contemporary commentators especially up to the middle of Cinquecento recorded their impressions of a bewildering flood of print issuing from the presses, of whole social groups being opened up to reading for the first time, of the barriers between the learned and unlearned breaking down. Many were as troubled by this as they were exhilarated. As such voices were reaching a crescendo, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the religious and civic authorities, alarmed at the potential threats posed by this situation, began to implement various repressive actions. A series of laws restricted who could print and sell texts and what those texts could contain. The openness of Venice was diminished in a number of ways in the latter part of the Cinquecento, by civic authorities as well as by the Church. This imposition of stricter regulation was not monolithic and mono-directional, as shown, for example, by efforts made after the plague of 1630-31 to open up the trade once more to foreigners in an attempt to replenish its numbers and vitality.<sup>679</sup> For a long time to come, the desire to regulate the moral and cultural life of Venetians and to maintain a serene and ordered state was complicated by competing motives to preserve greater economic and cultural freedom in Venice, and to resist the domination of the Roman Church. As such the waning importance of Venice as a centre of culture and communication was a matter of “ebb and flow,” rather than a trajectory of steady decline from the sixteenth century to the dissolution of the Republic in 1797.<sup>680</sup>

Nevertheless, scholars who have observed the longer term effects on literacy and on the culture of the masses deriving from the development of printing argue that the great possibilities for the lower classes for mass education and cultural creativity that seemed imminent early in the Cinquecento were not fully realised, stunted by the regulatory

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<sup>679</sup> See Ulvioni, “Stampatori e librai a Venezia nel Seicento,” 98-99. Later ups and downs in the trade are explored in *idem*, “Stampa e censura a Venezia nel Seicento”; and Mario Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel '700* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1989).

<sup>680</sup> Burke, “Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information,” 406.

intervention of state and church.<sup>681</sup> More and more divisions were erected between the culture of the lower classes and that of their social superiors, and the kind of interpenetration and interchange explored in this thesis became more rare. The print accessible to those lower down the social scale by virtue of its cheapness was restricted to certain channels. Cheap print culture, although with some notable exceptions, tended to stagnate, deprived of the vitality of earlier times.<sup>682</sup> Texts first printed in the early sixteenth century (at least those that survived the censors' interventions) continued to be reprinted, with remarkably little change, for centuries. Many of the same comic stories, epic *cantari*, and playful *contrastì* published in Venice in the early sixteenth century continued to be sold and performed on Italian streets in the nineteenth and even in the earlier twentieth century.<sup>683</sup>

However, culture is never static. Periods of great exchange and freedom give way to times when hierarchies between different types of culture and between the people that create and consume them become more rigid and defined. Small and seemingly unimportant figures can be emblematic of these changes. As is being demonstrated yet again in our own times, the introduction of new technologies of communication catalyse these transformations, spurred on or counteracted by various political, religious, social, or economic factors. The invention of the printing press proved an energetic catalyst for these kinds of social and cultural shifts to occur in early modern Europe. They occurred very early on and perhaps most dramatically of all in Venice.

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<sup>681</sup> See the works cited in n. 676 above.

<sup>682</sup> An eminent exception is the ballad singer and prolific producer of pamphlets Giulio Cesare Croce, active in Bologna in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although recent studies of Croce have highlighted how he fashioned his works prudently rather than risk open contravention of the censorship laws, he nonetheless was an extraordinarily creative producer and disseminator of genuinely popular work, as well as a constant parodist of the conventions of both literary and unlearned cultures. See in particular Camporesi, *La maschera di Bertoldo*; *idem, Il palazzo e il cantimbanco*; Deanna Shemek, "Books at Banquet: Commodities, Canon and Culture in Giulio Cesare Croce's *Convito universale*," *Annali d'italianistica* 16 (1998): 85-101; and the essays in Elide Casali and Bruno Capaci, eds, *La festa del mondo rovesciato: Giulio Cesare Croce e il carnevalesco* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).

<sup>683</sup> See for example Dennis Rhodes, "Due raccolte di opuscoli di letteratura popolare italiana nella British Library," *L'Archiginnasio* 94-95 (1999-2000): 67-141, which catalogues cheap printed pamphlets mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many of which first appeared in print in early Cinquecento Venice. See also Giovanni Giannini, *Le arti e le tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, 2 vols. (Udine: Istituto delle Edizioni Accademiche, 1938), a bibliography of nineteenth-century Italian printed texts, many of which date back to the sixteenth century; Beatrice Premoli, *Spettacolo d'attori e cantastorie. Edizioni viterbesi del Seicento tra letteratura e tradizione popolare nella biblioteca della fondazione* (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 1996); and on the performance of very old chivalric tales by ballad singers in nineteenth-century Naples, Rajna, "I 'Rinaldi' o i cantastorie di Napoli."

## Appendix

### Publications of Some Itinerant Publishers and Performers Active in Sixteenth-Century Venice

**Note:** This list of publications has been compiled from a survey of major catalogues of sixteenth-century texts and the holdings of a number of libraries. Due to the ephemeral nature of the works and their producers, such works are sometimes catalogued in inconsistent ways and can be difficult to find. New ones are coming to light as collaborative databases such as *Edit 16* expand, and this can be considered only a provisional list. For the titles, I use the same conventions as adopted in the footnotes of this thesis. Wherever possible, I give the format and number of leaves of the work to give an indication of its dimensions. When one or two copies are known I give their locations, followed by the shelfmark of the copy I have consulted, where possible. In the Sources column, I give references to the main catalogues or other secondary sources that list the work. As many of the pamphlets are printed without all typographical information, I have inserted suggestions by other scholars of place, date, author, or printer in square brackets. Frequently cited libraries and secondary texts are abbreviated according to the conventions listed on the abbreviations page.



1. *Baldassare Faentino*<sup>682</sup>

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
1.1		Francesco Maria Molza	<i>Stanze del Molza alla illustre Signora Donna Giulia Gonzaga ne le quali la esorta à lasciarsi ritrare.</i>		"ad instantia de Baldassar Faentino"		8	8°	BNCF (Palat. E.6.6.154 III n.3)	
1.2	1537		<i>Opera nova non più posta in luce nella quale troverai molti bellissimi sonetti di diversi eccellentissimi ingegni con alcune stanze dottissime e dilettevoli. Aggiuntovi certi sonetti spirituali della divina Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara non più visti d'alcuni.</i>		"ad instantia di Baldassar Faentino detto il Tonante"				Not known	Colonna, <i>Rime</i> , ed. Bullock, 281. <sup>683</sup>

<sup>682</sup> As outlined above, n. 398, I believe Baldassare Faentino to be the same figure as Romano Faentino, due to their activity in the same years publishing the same kinds of texts, and the matriculation of a "Baldassar olim sebastiani Romani de Faventia" in Florence in 1544. Variation in the use of name and nickname was not uncommon among such figures, whether because they themselves chose to highlight different aspects of their persona at one time or another, or because printers haphazardly adopted different forms. It is of course possible that we are dealing with two distinct individuals, in which case it seems likely that one wished to associate himself with the other by using a similar name. A further complication is added by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled *Edera di m. Bartholomeo Carli de Piccolomini nobil senese. Opera molto dilettevole e di nuovo venuta in luce* ([Siena], "Ad instantia del Romagnolo. 1543,"). Identification between Il Romagnolo and Baldassare/Romano Faentino is strengthened by the existence of another edition of this text under the name of Romano Faentino, no. 1.7 below. See also *Regola utile e necessaria a ciascuna persona che cerchi di vivere come fedele e buon christiano. Nuovamente stampata e corretta. Composta per il signor Bartolomeo Caroli nobile senese* (Venice: Bernardino Bindoni "a instantia del Romagnolo da Faenza," [after 1533]), undated pamphlet listed by *Edit 16*. Also possibly published by Baldassare is *Stanze bellissime della S. Veronica da Gambarà, con un capitolo in laude delle Gotte a Messer Benedetto Bontempi ...* (Perugia: Luca Bini "ad instantia del Faentino," 1537). No known copy survives, however this edition is listed in the notes to another edition of the same work from the same year, printed in Genoa for Antonio Bellono; see *Sander*, 3:1347, Addenda no. 198.

<sup>683</sup> According to Bullock, none of the sonnets in this work are known to be by Colonna, and the copy of this work once held in the BEM is now lost.

1.3	1541	[Bartolomeo Oriolo?] <sup>684</sup>	<i>Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro qual seguita Orlando furioso non mai più visto al presente.</i>	Venice	“ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino”	Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini	16	8°	BBM (RARICAST. 039)	<i>Edit 16; Rava 1864*</i>
1.4	1542	[Bartolomeo Oriolo?] <sup>685</sup>	<i>Canto primo del cavalier del leon d'oro qual seguita Orlando furioso non mai più visto al presente.</i>	[Venice] <sup>686</sup>	“ad instantia del Romano detto il Faentino”		12	8°	Biblioteca padre Clemente Benedettucci, Recanati	<i>Edit 16</i>
1.5	[ca. 1544]		<i>Tutte lettere scritte al signore Pyrro Colonna in l'assedio de Charignano. Non mai più stampate.</i>		“ad instantia de Romano detto il Faentino”		12	8°	Biblioteca Reale and Biblioteca di Storia e cultura del Piemonte G. Grosso, Turin	<i>Edit 16, which suggests date.</i>
1.6	[ca. 1545]	Piero Francesco di Faenza	<i>Commedia nuova composta per Piero Francesco da Faenza molto dilettevole e ridiculosa.</i>	Florence	“ad instantia de Baldasar Faentino”		8	8°	BL (1071.k.10 (4)), and others.	<i>Edit 16; STC, which suggests date.</i>
1.7	1545	Bartolomeo Carli de Piccolomini	<i>Edera di Bartholomeo Carli de Piccolomini</i>	Genoa	“ad instantia di Romano detto il Faentino”		16	8°	Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana, Faenza	<i>Edit 16</i>

<sup>684</sup> Attribution of this work to Oriolo was made by Fumagalli, “La fortuna dell’*Orlando furioso*,” 260, discussed in Chapter Four, above.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid.

<sup>686</sup> This work contains the same woodcut border on the frontispiece as in Ferrarese’s *Stanze bellissime* (listed below, no. 5.6), a work which Rhodes attributed to Venice, Bindoni and Pasini.

1.8	1546		<i>Opera nuova nella quale troverai molti bellissimi secreti, nuovamente venuti in luce. Liquali sono di grande utilidade e di piacere.</i>	[Florence]	“ad instantia de Baldassarre Faentino detto il Tonante”		[4] <sup>687</sup>	8°	BL (1071.f.47)	STC, which suggests place of printing.
1.9	[ca. 1546-48]		<i>Opera nova non più posta in luce nella quale troverai molti bellissimi sonetti di diversi eccellentissimi ingegni con alcune stanze dottissime e dilettevoli. Aggiuntovi certi sonetti spirituali della divina Vittoria Colonna marchesana di Pescara non più visti d'alcuni</i> <sup>688</sup>		“nuovamente stampata ad instantia di Baldassar Faentino detto il Tonante”		8	8°	BL (RB.23.a.20770)	This is not in the STC but is listed on BL online catalogue, which suggests date.
1.10	1549		<i>Opera nuova nella quale troverai molti bellissimi secreti. Nuovamente venuti in luce. I quali sono di grande utilidade, e di piacer.</i>	[Florence]	“ad instantia de Baldassarre Faentino detto il Tonante”		4	8°	Biblioteca del Centro di documentazione francescana, Assisi	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests place of printing.
1.11	1552	Juan de Flores	<i>Historia di Aurelio et Isabella, nella quale si disputa chi più dia occasione di peccare, l'huomo alla donna, o la donna a l'huomo. Di lingua spagnola in italiana tradotta da m. Lellio Aletiphilo.</i>	Mantua	“ad instantia de Baldassar Faencino detto il Thonante”	Venturino Ruffinelli	40	8°	Biblioteca comunale Ariostea, Ferrara	<i>Edit 16</i>

<sup>687</sup> The last leaf is missing in the BL copy consulted, hence it is only three leaves. .

<sup>688</sup> This appears to be another edition of the pamphlet dated 1537 listed above no. 1.2, which actually contains none of Colonna's sonnets.

2. *Damonfido Pastore*<sup>689</sup>

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
2.1			<i>Sonetti fatti da indovinare, composti da valentissimi autori molto artificiosi.</i>	Bologna	“ad instantia di Damonfido Pastore detto il Peregrino nato e nutrito nella foresta di corzone inter oves e boves.”	Giovan Battista Faelli	8	8°	BMV (Misc. 2419(9)); Biblioteca comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna.	Rava 7011bis
2.2			<i>Enigme volgari fatte da diversi autori</i>		“ad instantia di Damon fido pastore detto el peregrino”		8	8°	BMV (Misc. 2419(10))	
2.3			<i>Sonetti molti artificiosi, composti da diversi autori</i>	Bologna	“ad instantia di Damon fido pastore”		8	8°	BMV (Misc. 2419(8))	

<sup>689</sup> Another possible publication by Damonfido is: *Gli dilettevoli ed utili conforti a ciascuna persona che maritare si voglia, con la ragione e punti, et passi ch' al maritare si conviene tratti dalle satire di messer Lodovico Arioste ... Venice: “ad instantia del Peregrino e del Bergamesco [sic] compani,” 1540.* This is an octavo edition listed in Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni Ariostee*, 2:196. I have not located any copies.

2.4		Damonfido Pastore; Ariosto	<i>Opera nuova nella quale si contiene un capitolo in laude della città di Fiorenza composto per Demofido Pastore. Item un'altro capitolo, con una enigma di Messer Lodovico Ariosto, non più visto e di nuovo stampato.</i>	Florence	“ad instantia di Damonfido Pastore detto il Peregrino, nato sopra la foresta di Corzona inter oves e boves”		4	8°	BNCF (Palat. E.6.6.119)	
2.5	[ca. 1520- 30]	Damonfido Pastore	<i>Giardino spirituale molto fruttuoso, e utilissimo per ogni fidele Cristiano ...</i>	Florence	“ad instantia di Damon fido”		8	8°	Not known	Sander 1:403, no. 2297 bis, who suggests date. <sup>690</sup>
2.6	[ca. 1540]		<i>Artificiosi, et dilettevoli sonetti da indovinare da diversi eccellenti autori composti</i>	Venice	“ad instantia di Damonfido pastore detto il Peregrino”		8	8°	BTM (L 172/1)	<i>Edit 16</i>
2.7	1541	Giovanni Rucellai	<i>Le api di M. Giovanni Rucellai gentil'huomo fiorentino, le quali compose in Roma, de l'anno 1524 essendo quivi castellano di Castel sant'Angelo.</i>	Venice	“ad istantia di Demofido Pastore detto il Peregrino”	Giovan Antonio Nicolini da Sabio	20	8°	BMV (Misc. 1910.15), and others	<i>Edit 16</i> <sup>691</sup>
2.8	1542	[Erasmus?]	<i>Dialogo erasmico di due donne maritate ... tradotta per Andronico Colloidio</i>	Venice	“ad instantia di Damonfido pastore detto il Peregrino”				Folger Library, Washington	<i>STA</i> <sup>692</sup>

<sup>690</sup> Also listed in Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 155.

<sup>691</sup> Also listed in Sandal, *Il mestier de le stamperie*, 207. The Nicolini had printed an edition of this in 1539 with no mention of Damonfido; see *ibid.*, 202.

<sup>692</sup> Also listed in Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books*, 168.

2.9	[ca. 1542-44]		<i>Sonetti dilettevoli, artificiosi, e da ridere, di diversi auttori in enigme, con le sue dichiarazioni.</i>	Rome	“ad instantia di Damon Fido pastore detto il Peregrino nato e nodrito sopra la foresta di Corzona inter oves e boves e pecora e campi”	“nella contrada del Pellegrino” [Baldassare and Girolama Cartolari]	8°	Not known	Sander 3:1211, no. 7010 <sup>693</sup>
2.10	[ca. 1542-44] <sup>694</sup>		<i>Sonetto dilettevoli, artificiosi, e da ridere, di diversi auttori in enigme. Con le sue dichiarazioni, nuovamente stampati</i>	Rome	“a instantia di Damon Fido pastore detto il Peregrino, nato e nodrito sopra la foresta di Corzona inter oves e boves e pecora e campi”	“nella contrada del Pellegrino” [Baldassare and Girolama Cartolari]	16°	Not known	Vitaletti thinks this might have been a plagiarised copy of a work by the Siense writer Il Resoluto. <sup>695</sup>

<sup>693</sup> Sander dates this to ca. 1525, however Francesco Barberi, “Annali della tipografia romana di Baldassarre jr e Girolama Cartolari (1540-1559),” *La bibliofilia* 53, no. 1 (1951): 117-18, suggests rather March 1542 to September 1544 based on the Cartolari’s address given in the colophon.

<sup>694</sup> See n. 693 above.

<sup>695</sup> Guido Vitaletti, “Intorno alla canzonetta,” 182-83. Listed also in Barberi, “Annali della tipografia romana,” 118-19.

2.11	[ca. 1540-49]		<i>Enigme dilettevole, artificiose, et da ridere, di diversi autori, con le sue dichiarazioni.</i>	Rome	“ad instantia di Damone fido pastore detto il Peregrino, nato e nodrito sopra la foresta di Corzona inter oves e boves”	[Baldassare and Girolama Cartolari]	8°	Not known	Barberi suggests this may have been printed by the Cartolari, active in Rome 1540-59. <sup>696</sup>
2.12	[ca. 1560]	Cardinal Egidio Canisio	<i>Stanze divinissime del reverendissimo Cardinale Egidio, nella quale esorta tutto il sesso femineo a fugire i fallaci pensieri d'amore lascivii, dishonesti, eseguire la verace via della castità con efficaci esempi antichi e moderni e perfetti documenti. Opera molto utilissima per tutte quelle donne e huomini che amano e hanno cura dello honor loro.</i>	Florence	“ad instantia de Damonfido pastore detto el Peregrino”		8°	BL (11427.b.25)	STC, which suggests date.

<sup>696</sup> Barberi, “Annali della tipografia romana,” 118-19.

3. Francesco Maron detto il Faentino<sup>697</sup>

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
3.1			<i>Opere nuova de doi bellissimi mascherate, et con alcune altre stantie amoroze. La prima mascherata sie el cavalier errante. La seconda sie pastorale, poi stantie.</i>		"ad iustantia [sic] di Francesco detto il Faentino"		4	8°	BTM (L 3156/6)	
3.2	1538	Pierantonio Legacci	<i>Cicero. Egloga pastorale.</i>	Siena	"ad istanza di Francesco detto il faventino, e compagno"	"appresso a San Viglio" [Francesco Nardi]		8°	Not known	<i>Edit 16; Sander 2:670, no. 3889bis.</i> <sup>698</sup>
3.3	1538	[Fileno Gallo] <sup>699</sup>	<i>Egloga pastorale di Lylia, nella quale si contiene un sententioso parlare. e notabili essempli, et una canzona a ballo che commincia: Ogni cosa vince amore.</i>	[Venice]	"ad instantia di Francesco detto Faentino e Compagno"	[Giovanni Padovano]	8	8°	BMV (Rari 810(5))	<i>Sander, 3:1344, Addenda no. 155, attributes this to Padovano, who certainly printed an edition of the same work in 1540.</i>

<sup>697</sup> Valenti also suggests Faentino was one of the unnamed *compagni* who published four works in Siena in the 1540s with the local publisher Francesco Bindi, but I have not included them here as Faentino's involvement in these instances cannot be proved to my knowledge; see Valenti *Comici artigiani*, 300, 327, 417-18, 459.

<sup>698</sup> See also *ibid.*, 275; and Rhodes, "Francesco detto il Faentino," 145.

<sup>699</sup> On the authorship of this work, see Marzia Pieri, *La scena boschereccia nel rinascimento italiano* (Padua: Liviana, 1983), 90.



3.4	[after 1538]	Pierantonio Legacci	<i>Egloga pastorale di Cicro composta per Pierantonio Legacci. Interlocutori Venustio, Cicro, Filena, e Florinda</i>		“ad istantia di Francesco detto el Faventin e compagno”		8	8°	BMV (Rari 810(10))	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests date. <sup>700</sup>
3.5	[ca. 1540]		<i>Opera nuova d'un gentil'huomo Florentino chiamato Tibaldo Eliseo innamorato d'una donna chiamata Armelina, liquali per diversi accidenti furono posti ambidoi a diversi pericoli etiam de la propria vita. Et finalmente ritrovansi insieme con grandissima allegrezza. Cosa bellissima e non più stampata.</i> <sup>701</sup>	Venice	“Ad instantia de Francesco Maron detto el Faventino”	[Venturino Ruffinelli ]	16	8°	BL (C.62.a.13), and others	<i>STC supp.</i> , which suggests date and printer. <sup>702</sup>
3.6	1541		<i>Comedia pastorale et villanesca</i>	Siena	“ad istantia di Francesco detto el Faentino”	Calisto di Simeone Nardi	8	8°	BMV (Rari 804(10))	<i>Edit 16</i>

<sup>700</sup> See also Valenti, *Comici artigiani*, 274-75.

<sup>701</sup> As discussed in Chapter Four, above, this a versification into *ottava rima* of the seventh story of the third day of the Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

<sup>702</sup> See also Dennis Rhodes, “Some Rare Florentine and Venetian Printers and Booksellers, 16th Century,” *La bibliofilia* 95 no. 1 (1993): 43, for the suggestion of Ruffinelli as printer.

3.7	1542		<i>Una morte finta d'amore, nella quale si veggono sette nobili donne romane piangendolo come morto, rubbar le quali una, e quale un'altra cosa, dove giungendo due ninphe per sepolirlo credendolo estinto, esso in quello svegliatosi espone la cagione del suo abbagliamento esser stato le bellezze di dette donne, dove elle li restituiscono l'armi toltele, salvo una che si ritiene li strali.</i>	[Venice] <sup>703</sup>	“ad instantia di Francesco Maron detto Il Faentin”		12	4°	BMV (Misc. 2213(23))	Edit 16
3.8	1543		<i>Una morte finta d'amore</i>	[Venice]	“ad instantia di Fransegsco [sic] Maron detto il Faentin”	[Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini]	12	8°	BTM	Edit 16. Rhodes suggested printer and place. <sup>704</sup>

<sup>703</sup> Attribution to Venice made in *ibid.*

<sup>704</sup> *Ibid.*

4. Giovanni Maria Lirico Veneziano

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
4.1	27 Aug. 1529		<i>Capitolo che fa l'amante ala sua diva poi che fu partito da sua effigie</i>	Bologna	"ad instantia di Ioan Maria Lirico Venetiano"		4	8°	BL (1070.k.3)	STC
4.2	27 Aug. 1529		<i>Sconziuro amoroso in constringer e provocar dove e quando a lui piace la sua inanmorata</i>	Bologna	"ad instantia di Joan Maria Lirico Venetiano"		4	8°	BL (1071.c.32 (3))	STC
4.3	31 Aug. 1529		<i>Purgatorio delle cortigiane</i>	Bologna	"ad instantia di Joan Maria Lirico Venetiano"		4	8°	BNCF (Palat. E.6.6.153 II n. 8)	Edit 16
4.4	10 Dec. 1530		<i>Diluvio di Roma che fu a di sette di ottobre l'anno del mille cinquecento e trenta col numero delle case rovinate, delle robbe perdute, animali morti, huomini e donne affogate, con ordinata disretione di parte in parte ecc.</i>	Venice	"ad instantia de Zoanmaria Lirico Venetiano"		4	4°	BL (1073.i.40)	STC

4.5	20 Nov. 1531	Catullo Cieco Muraneso	<i>Comedia di messer Lattantio vecchio, e di una sua innamorata madonna Isabella insieme con un bullo di madonna Isabella ilqual ha nome Gieci. Composta per Catullo Cieco Muranese, detto il Maritino.</i> <sup>705</sup>	Venice	“ad instantia di maestro Giovanmaria Lyrico Venetiano”	8	8°	BNCF (Palat. D.4.6.23(3))	<i>Edit 16</i>
4.6	1532		<i>El vanto della cortigiana ferarese, qual narra la bellezza sua. Con el lamento ...</i>	Venice	“ad instantia di Zuan Maria Lirico venetiano”	8		Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Yd reserve 1461)	Cited in Aquilecchia, “Per l’attribuzione e il testo,” 13.
4.7	1532		<i>Recettario novo probatissimo a molte infermità, e etiamdio di molte gentilezze utile a chi le vora provare. Cosa nova non più stampata.</i>	Venice	“ad instantia di Zuan Maria Lirico Venetiano”	8	8°	BL (1038.d.35 (12))	<i>STC</i>
4.8	July 1538		<i>El vanto de la cortegiana ferrarese, con el lamento per esser veduta in la caretta, e il lamento de la morte, con il suo purgatorio.</i>	Venice	“ad instantia di Zuan Maria Lirico Venetiano”	8	8°	BMV (Misc. 2231(10))	<i>Edit 16</i>

<sup>705</sup> Contains also *Comedia de una masara de monache ...*, cc. 5r-7v.

5. Ippolito Ferrarese<sup>706</sup>

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's details	Printer	No. of leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
5.1	26 July 1531	[Bernardino Zoppo, Ippolito Ferrarese]	[ <i>Lamento di Firenze</i> ] <sup>707</sup>	Pesaro	"ad instantia de Hippolito Ferrarese"		[10] <sup>708</sup>	8°	BMV (Misc. 2405(6))	<i>Edit 16</i> ; Sander 3:1352, Addenda no. 274; GOR, 1:124-25. <sup>709</sup>
5.2	1532	[Pietro Aretino] <sup>710</sup>	<i>Opera nova del superbo Rodamonte re de Sarza che dapoi la morte sua volse signorizare l'inferno. Cosa bellissima novamente stampata.</i> <sup>711</sup>	Venice	"Ad instantia de Hippolito detto il Ferrarese"	Guglielmo Fontaneto	16	4°	BLCR (132 D 2 (3))	<i>Edit 16</i>

<sup>706</sup> Another possible publication of Ferrarese's is: *La guerra di Firenze e quando si rese, con gli patti e conventioni con la santità di nostro signor e maestà cesarea. Redotta in rima per Hippolito detto il Ferrarese* (Bologna: Giovan Battista Faelli, 1530). Listed in *Edit 16* and GOR, 1:124, however no known copies of this survive. Also *Stanze trasmutate del Ariosto con una canzone bellissima pastorale* ..., listed below no. 6.12, is attributed to Ferrarese as co-publisher by *Edit 16*, but this cannot be known for sure. I note also the three pamphlets that seem to have been published on the occasion of Ferrarese's death, probably by another performer: *Il pianto e gran lamento fatto per il Ferrarese, in Luca, un giorno avanti la sua morte* ... (n.p.d.), copy in BL (1071.g.22(5)); *Il pianto e lamento fatto per Hippolito Ferrarese in Luca un giorno avanti la morte sua* ... (n.p.d.), copy in BMV (Misc. 2208.014); and *Lamento d'Hippolito detto il Ferrarese che cantava in banca* (n.p.d.), copy in BMV (Misc. 2231.8).

<sup>707</sup> Exact title not known, as the only known exemplar, listed here, lacks the title page.

<sup>708</sup> Without the title page, this copy has only nine leaves.

<sup>709</sup> GOR lists this under the authorship of Bernardino Zoppo and Ippolito Ferrarese as it a composite work including Zoppo's *Lamento di Firenze* (published in Bologna in 1530) and the *Guerra di Firenze* cited in n. 706, above.

<sup>710</sup> The titular poem in this pamphlet is taken from Aretino's *Marfisa* with some modifications, as discussed in Chapter Four. It is reprinted in Aretino, *Poemi cavallereschi*, 287-313.

<sup>711</sup> The titular poem is followed by the anonymous "Opera nova che tratta de li tre sacchi fatti in Italia ..." *Edit 16* lists this as a separate work but the BLCR appears to hold only this composite pamphlet containing the two works.

5.3	11 Dec. 1532	Camillo de' Leonardis	<i>Lunario novo perpetuo al modo de Italia. Composto per lo excellentissimo dottore maestro Camillo de Leonardis.</i>	Venice	“ad instantia de Hipolito detto el ferrarese”		12	12°	BL (1395.a.29)	STC; Edit 16
5.4	1534		<i>Sonetti e strambotti [sic], non mai più posti in luce. Al presente stampati ad instantia de Hyppolito detto el Ferrarese. Con quattro triumphi de lussuria sopra le cortegiane antiche de Roma e rufiane, con una exortatione del benvivere ale moderne, composti al faceto homo maistro Pasquino.</i> <sup>712</sup>	[Brescia]	“ad instantia de Hyppolito detto el Ferrarese”	[Turlini]	4	8°	BNCF (Palat. E.6.6.153 II n. 18)	<i>Edit 16</i> suggests Rome as place of printing, but Sandal suggests rather Brescia and the Turlini press. <sup>713</sup>
5.5	Nov. 1534		<i>Sonetti e strambotti</i>	Milan		[Vincenzo da Meda]			Not known	<i>Edit 16</i> . Sandal suggested printer. <sup>714</sup>
5.6	1536		<i>Stanze bellissime de uno gentilhuomo qual essendo innamorato, acorazossi con la sua diva e se dispose odiarla, e quello che ge ne seguito con esempio mirabile a li innamorati. Con alcuni capitoli, e sonetti mirabilissimi non mai più venuti in luce.</i>	[Venice]	“Ad instantia de Hyppolito Ferrarese”	[Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini]	8	8°	BL (VOYN.18)	STC; <i>Edit 16</i> , but with no mention of Ferrarese. Rhodes suggested place of printing and printer. <sup>715</sup>

<sup>712</sup> This does not contain the *Triumphs de lussuria* mentioned in the title.

<sup>713</sup> Sandal, *La stampa a Brescia*, 95

<sup>714</sup> Sandal, *L'arte della stampa a Milano*, 48.

<sup>715</sup> Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, 251.

5.7	1537	Ludovico Ariosto	<i>Forze d'amore. Opera nova nella quale si contiene sei capitoli di messer Ludouico Ariosto, sopra diversi soggetti non più venuti in luce, intitulata le forze d'amore. Con altri capitoli, sonetti, strambotti, madrigali, barzelette d'altri auttori sopra varii e diversi propositi.</i>	[Brescia]	"Ad instantia di Hyppolito Ferrarese"	[Turini]	24	8°	BMV (Misc. 1900(1)), and others	<i>Edit 16</i> . Sandal suggests printer and place. <sup>716</sup>
5.8	27 Jan. 1538		<i>Trionfo della lussuria di Maestro Pasquino.</i>	Venice	"ad instantia de Hippolito detto il Ferrarese"	Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini			Not known	Reprinted in Marzo, <i>Pasquino e dintorni</i> , 101-21. <sup>717</sup>
5.9	1538	[Bartolomeo Oriolo?] <sup>718</sup>	<i>Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'orro qual seguita Orlando furioso, non mai più visto al presente. Stampato ad instantia de Hippolito detto el Ferrarese.</i>	Brescia	"ad instantia de Hippolito detto el Ferrarese"	Damiano Turlino	14	8°	BNCF (Palat. D. 4.7.77(1)); Yale University Library	<i>Edit 16</i>
5.10	1538	Fra Cherubino da Spoleto	<i>Opera santissima e vile a qualunque fidel christiano de trenta documenti di frate Cherubino da Spoliti heremita. Donata per il detto a Hyppolito detto Ferrarese, e stampata novamente ad instantia sua.</i> <sup>719</sup>	Brescia	"ad instantia di Hippolito detto Ferrarese"	Damiano Turlino	24	8°	Biblioteca Universitaria, Padua (112.b.147/2)	<i>Edit 16</i> ; Bongi, <i>Annali di Gabriel Giolito</i> , 2:192

<sup>716</sup> Sandal, *La stampa a Brescia*, 106.

<sup>717</sup> Marzo's reprint was taken from an anastatic reprint, n. 8 in the *Bibliotheca Grasoccia* series, of a copy now lost.

<sup>718</sup> See above, n. 684.

<sup>719</sup> Includes dedication to Vittoria Colonna seemingly from Fra Cherubino. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, 2:30, wrote that he had seen, published by Ferrarese, "un opuscolo contenente poesie di Vittoria Colonna; ma non ne ricordiamo il titolo."

5.11	1538	[Bartolomeo Oriolo?] <sup>720</sup>	<i>Canto primo del cavalier dal leon d'oro, d'Ippolito Ferrarese, qual seguita Orlando furioso. Opera nuova e non più stampata.</i>	Venice	“per Ippolito da Ferrara”	Venturino Ruffinelli	16	8°	BEM (alfa.Y.7.30/5)	Ediz 16
5.12	1538	Lorenzo Venier	<i>La puttana errante</i>	Venice	“ad istanza d'Ippolito Ferrarese”	Venturino Ruffinelli		8°	Not known	Mazzuchelli, <i>La vita di Pietro Aretino</i> , 207-8. <sup>721</sup>
5.13	1538	[Gaspare Visconti]	<i>Transito de carnevale padre nostro delettevole da intendere in stanze elegantissime. Como se buttò nel letto amalado, el testamento che lui fece, e parlamenti con diversi innamorati e buoni compagni che manzono volontieri de giotto. Non mai più visto ne stampato.</i>	Bologna	“ad instantia de Hyppolito detto el Ferrarese”		10	8°	HABW (A: 168.8 Poet. (4))	HPD <sup>722</sup>
5.14	1538	[Diomede Guidalotti]	<i>Potentia d'amore. Opera nova mai più vista de uno elegantissimo poeta el quale non vuole nome in laude de la sua cara Emilia, intitulata Potentia d'amore, nella quale si contiene sonetti, strambotti, capitoli, canzoni, barzellette.</i>	Bologna	“Ad instantia de Hyppolito detto il Ferrarese”		24	8°	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (Ed. Rare. 671(5)), and others	Ediz 16; STA

<sup>720</sup> See above, n. 684.

<sup>721</sup> Also cited in Bongi, *Annali del Gabriel Giolito*, 2:30.

<sup>722</sup> Segarizzi, *Bibliografia delle stampe poplare*, 52-53, notes an edition *Transito del tanto lascivo e desiato carnevale* ... published in Florence in 1612.



5.15	June 1539	Gregorio Riccardi	<i>Varii pensier amorosi de Gregorio di Ricardi veronese, intitolato Pretiosa Margarita, dove si conteno sonetti, capitoli, egloghe, dialoghi, pistole, strambotti, e barzelette, dall' autor proprio diligentemente corretto.</i>	Perugia [Venice?]	“A istanza d’Hippolito detto II Ferrarese”	[Pietro Nicolini?] <sup>723</sup>	48	8°	BL (11426.a.76), and others	<i>Edit 16; STC; STA</i>
5.16	1540	Francesco Maria Molza	<i>Capitolo in lode del verno, et uno altro capitolo in lode de la torta, de m. Francesco Molza. Opera dignissima e non più vista al presente. Stampata ad instantia de Hyppolito detto Ferrarese.</i>	Parma	“ad instantia de Hyppolito detto Ferrarese”	Francesco da Prato	16	8°	Biblioteca comunale Augusta, Perugia	<i>Edit 16</i>
5.17	1540		<i>Lume di marte occorente al arte militare amplissimo con bellissimi exempli occorsi in Italia e for de Italia da illustri signori colonelli e dignissimi capitanei al secul nostro prpbati [sic] per il quale questo certissimo sia vero exemplo e vera norma a gli speculanti militanti eo maxime da quello che in fatto si trovano tal arte dignissima esercitare.</i>	Parma	“ad instantia de Hyppolito detto el Ferrarese”	Antonio Viotto	12	8°	BL (C.32.a.3 (5))	<i>STC; Edit 16; Sander 2:700, no. 4061.</i>

<sup>723</sup> Neil Harris suggests this was actually printed by Nicolini in Venice. Review of *Marche e fregi di tipografi ed editori a Perugia fra '500 e '600* by Francesca Romana Cassano, 1995, and *Lineamenti di storia dell'editoria umbra: Il Quattrocento ed il Cinquecento* by Andrea Capaccioni, 1996, *The Library* 20, no. 2 (1998): 154.

6. *Leonardo il Furlano*

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
6.1			<i>Opera nuova nella quale si contiene uno lamento di Bradamante verso 'l suo Ruggero. Con alcuni bellissimi sonetti, capitoli, e pastorelle amorose, e più con alcuni madrigali in dispreggio di donne.</i>	[Venice]	"Ad instantia di Leonardo ditt' il Furlano"		8	8°	Not known	<i>Rava 1242 bis</i> , which suggests place of printing.
6.2		Pietro Aretino	<i>Opera nova ne la quale si contiene alcune stanze e più un capitolo di M. Pietro Aretino</i>					8°	Not known	Cited in Bonghi, <i>Annali di Gabriel Giolito</i> , 2:31.
6.3	[ca. 1540s]	Giulio Bidelli	<i>Centoni del Petrarca di M. Giulio Bidelli senese. Alla illustrissima et eccellentissima Margarita de Austria Duchessa di Camerino</i> <sup>724</sup>	[Venice]	"Ad instantia di Leonardo detto il Furlano"		8	8°	Biblioteca civica Vincenzo Joppi, Udine	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests date and place of printing.
6.4	[ca. 1540s]	Gasparo di Greci	<i>Operetta nova di auree sententie e utilissimi documenti, composta per Gasparo di Greci, et più con alcuni fioretti delle croniche del mondo, con la declaratione di molte cose notabile del testamento vecchio e del nuovo</i>	[Venice]	"ad instantia di Leonardo detto lo Furlano da Civaldi di		4	8°	BMV (Misc. 2231(3))	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests date and place of printing.

<sup>724</sup> Notably, editions of this same work were published by other performer-publishers in the 1550s: two editions by Alberto di Gratia and one by Giovanni Iacopo Saccho "detto il Ciecho di Mozanicha" (all listed in *Edit 16*).

6.5	1543			<i>insino alli tempi presenti.</i>								
				<i>Opera nova la quale insegna scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi di zifere, e per homini eccellenti desiosi di virtù, e contiensi in essa sette capitoli molto maestrevoli e saluiferi ad ogni fidel christiano. Stampata nuovamente ...</i>	Venice		"ad instantia de Lonardo detto il Furlano"	Guglielmo Fontaneto	20	8°	Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Udine	<i>Edit 16</i>
6.6	1544			<i>Opera nova la quale insegna scrivere e leggere in ventisette modi di zifere ...</i>	Milan			Giovan Antonio da Borgo	14	8°	Not known	Giacomello, "Ad instantia di Leonardo il Furlano," 134.
6.7	1544			<i>Copia del concilio generale fatto il primo giorno di magio dalla dea Venere e dal figliuol Cupido con tutto il choro delli dei ne la isola Cittarea mandata al loco sacro delle sante muse all'academia sesta de spiriti gentili</i>	[Venice]		"Per Lonardo ditto il Furlano"		8	8°	BL (C.38.b.28)	<i>STC</i> , which suggests place of printing.
6.8	1544	Giulio Bidelli		<i>Centoni del Petrarcha di m. Giulio Bidelli senese. Alla illustrissima et eccellentissima Margarita d'Austria duchessa di Camerino</i>	[Venice]		"Ad instantia di Lonardo detto il Furlano"		12	8°	BMV (Misc 2419(6))	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests place of printing

6.9	[ca. 1545-50]	[Ovid]	<i>Oartione [sic] d' Aiace contra Ulisse in lingua toscana, tradotta da Messer Francesco Coppetta Perugino, con l'altra Oratione d'Ulisse, contra Aiace. Al illustrissimo Signore Braccio Baglione. Et più con alcuni bellissimi sonetti, e altre stantie amorose.</i> <sup>725</sup>	[Venice]	“Ad instantia di Leonardo ditto il Furlano da Civalda de Friuli”		12	8°	BL (1071.f.48)	STC, which suggests a date ca. 1550. Giacomello suggests date and Venice as place of printing. <sup>726</sup>
6.10	1545		<i>La declaratione della origine delle più nobile città di tutta la Italia.</i>	[Venice]	“ad instantia de Leonardo ditto il Furlano”		8	8°	HABW (A: 527.77 Quod. (12)), and others	<i>Edit 16</i>
6.11	1545		<i>Stanze trasmutate del Ariosto con una canzone bellissima. Et uno sonetto in laude de la belta de le donne, e secondo i costumi di paesi.</i>	[Venice]	“Ad instantia de Leonardo ditto il Furlano”	[Bartolomeo l'Imperatore]	4	8°	BL (239.c.41 (2))	<i>Edit 16; STC</i> , which suggests place of printing and printer. <sup>727</sup>

<sup>725</sup> The titular work is a translation of a dialogue from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into *ottava rima*. It is followed by two poems found in Furlano's *Copia del concilio* which may thus also be by Coppetta. The pamphlet also contains a “Sonetto dell' Ariosto” and “Sonetto d' il Furlano in laude di favore di Madonna Giulia.”

<sup>726</sup> Giacomello, “Ad instantia di Leonardo il Furlano,” 134.

<sup>727</sup> See also Melzi and Tosi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi*, 184.

6.12	1545		<i>Stanze transmutate dell'Ariosto con una bellissima canzone et altre cose pastorale, e con una copia del concilio generale fatto el primo giorno di maggio della dea Venere, e dal figliuol Cupido, con tutto il choro delli dei, ne l'isola Citarea mandata al loco sacro delle sante muse all'academia sesta de spiriti gentili.</i>	[Venice]	"Per Leonardo detto il Furlano, et il Ferrarese compagni"		12	8°	Not known	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests Ippolito Ferrarese as co-publisher.
6.13	1546		<i>Opera nova laquale insegna scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi di zifere, e per homini eccellenti desiosi di virtù, e contiensi in essa sette capitoli molto maestrevoli e salutiferi ad ogni fidel christiano. Stampata nouamente. Con privilegio.</i>	Brescia	"ad instantia de Leonardo detto el Forlano"	Damiano Turlino	12	8°	BMV (Misc. 2369.1)	

6.14	[ca. 1547]		<i>Opera nuovo [sic] posta in luce ne laquale potrai da te medesimo imparare di scrivere sette sorte di lettere, e abaco, con ogni ragione che si contiene in quelle facilissimamente dichiarate, e a meter le partite a libro con una tariffa nella quale troverai la natura di più sorte di monete, e pesi sottili e grossi di Vinegia, ed etiam come li detti pesi di Vinegia sotti e grossi rispondino in molte città del mondo. Et oltra ciò insegna conoscere la bontà de tutta l'arte di speciarìa.</i>	[Venice]	“Stampata di nuovo ad instantia di Leonardo detto il Furlano da Cividale de Friuli”		12	8°	BMCV (Op. Cicogna 11.16(3))	Cited by Giacomello, who suggests place of printing. <sup>728</sup> Date comes from within text.
6.15	1547		<i>Opera nuova, la quale insegna a scrivere, a leggere, et contiene in essa sette capitoli molto maestrevoli, e saluiferi ad ogni fedel christiano ...</i>	Milan					Not known	<i>Edit 16</i>
6.16	1547		<i>Opera nova laquale insegna a scrivere e leggere in vintisette modi de zifere per homini excelehti disiosi di virtù ...</i> <i>Stampata novamente</i>	[Venice]	“Per Leonardo detto el Forlano da Civalde Friuli.”	Agostino Bindoni	12	8°	Not known	<i>Rava 2850 bis</i>
6.17	[ca. 1550]	Anton Francesco Doni	<i>Del Doni fiorentino, stanze d'amore alla villanesca piacevoli e ridiculose.</i>	Bologna	“ad instantia di Leonardo detto il Furlano”		8	8°	BNCF (Magl. 4.7.55)	<i>Edit 16</i> , which suggests date.

<sup>728</sup> Giacomello, “Ad instantia di Leonardo il Furlano,” 135.

7. Paris Mantovano<sup>729</sup>

No.	Year	Author/s	Title	Place of Pubn.	Publisher's Details	Printer	No. of Leaves	Format	Surviving Copies	Sources
7.1	1547		<i>Compositioni nuove del faceto homo Maestro Pasquino di Parione, tradotte di latino in volgare da Maforio suo carissimo compagno antico. Cosa nuova non più vista</i>	[Rome]	"a instantia di Paris Mantoano"		4	8°	University of Pennsylvania Library (IC5.A100, 547c)	<i>Rava</i> 5458 ter. Reprinted in Marzo, <i>Pasquino e dintorni</i> . 181-89. which suggests place of printing.
7.2	[ca. 1551]		<i>La felicissima vittoria auta dal S. Principe d'Oria a la presa de la citta d'Affrica e della citta de Monesterio e dele Gerbi con la rota de Draguto rais, donde che nara tutti li homini famosi che sie ritrouati ad essa impresa tu intenderai tutti li huomini che sono morti e feriti e pregoni a di 13 setembrio 1550 fino a ora presente. <sup>730</sup> Novamente stampata in rima.</i>	[Venice]	"ad instantia di Paris Mantovano Fortunato"		2	4°	BTM (Inc. C 258/11)	<i>Editi</i> 16, which suggests place of printing. <i>GOR</i> , 1:207-8, full text reprinted 4:729-32.

<sup>729</sup> Another possible publication of Mantovano's is *Historia dilettevole di duoi amanti ... hora dal Fortunato posti in luce* (n.p.d), on which see the discussion in n. 566, above.

<sup>730</sup> This work shares most of the same text with *La gloriosa vittoria et presa d'Affrica ...* "Composta per Archangelo da Lonigo" and also held at the BTM.

7.3	[ca. 1551]	Domenico Fiorentino	<i>Copia de una lettera venuta da Costantinopoli dove narra li gran prodigi e spaventevoli segni apparsi in Costantinopoli ... Con alcune horribil visioni apparsi al gran turco ...</i>	Venice	“ad instantia de Paris Mantoano detto Fortunato”		4	8°	BEM	<i>Edit 16</i>
7.4	[ca. 1551]		<i>Copia de una littera venuta novamente dalla città de Milano, dove narra di due valorissime donzelle lequale si sono ridutte a combattere in stecado per cagione di Venere. Una a elletto il campo, e l'altra le arme, le arme son state arme da cavallo, mazza ferata, lancia, e stoco, e altre armature, come conviensi a combattere, con li padrini de l'una e l'altra parte, con le sue livree, e il nome de la vincente, e de la perdente.</i>	Milan	“ad instantia de Paris Mantoano detto il Fortunato”		2	4°	BMV (Misc. 0423(026))	<i>Edit 16</i> . Suggested date comes from prefatory letter.
7.5	[ca. 1551]	Nonio Marcello Saia	<i>Pronostico dello eccellente astrologo M. Nonio Marcello Saia dalla rocha gloriosa, AIB. e S. Papa Iulio III. sopra la espositione dell'anno M. D. LII.</i>	[Rome]	“Ad instantia de Paris Mantovano detto Fortunato.”		2	4°	BMV (Misc. 1631.013)	Suggestion of place and date of printing come from the colophon: “Terminato in Roma adi 28. di Settembre, 1551”



7.6	1551	Domenico Fiorentino	<i>Copia de una lettera, venuta da Costantinopoli, dove narra gli gran prodigi, e spaventevoli segni, apparsi in Costantinopoli, e per il paese convicino. Con alcune horribil visioni, apparsi al gran turcho, cioè saette, venti, e tempesta, tuoni, e la interpretatione, e espositione di quelli prodigi dalli più sapienti astrologi, e indovini del suo impero, et apparition di comete.</i>	Venice	“ad instantia de Paris Mantouano detto Fortunato”		4	8°	BMV (Misc. 1486.007)	<i>Edit 16</i>
7.7	10 Jan. 1551		<i>L'ordine della festa con la felice entrata et il gran trionfo fatto per la venuta de grani, fatti venir per terra di luoghi assai lontani dal magnifico signo[r] Leonardo Boccaccio, commissario generale di nostro signor papa Giulio III et della santa abbondantia de l'alma citta di Roma prefetto dignissimo.</i>	Rome	“ad instantia de Paris Mantouano dito el Fortunato”	Girolama Cartolari	2	4°	Parma	<i>Edit 16</i>
7.8	[ca. 1554]	Panfilo Riccio	<i>Pronostico del eccellente filosofo e astrologo M. Pandolpho Riccio Luchese sopra la dispositione de l'anno MDLV. Diligentemente revisto, e calculato.</i>	Mantua [but really Florence?]	“ad instantia de Paris Mantouano detto il Fortunato”	[Lorenzo Torrentino]			BNCF (Misc.1039.5), but copy missing	Bertoli, “Librai, cartolai e ambulanti immatricolati,” pt. 1, p. 133. <sup>731</sup>

<sup>731</sup> According to Bertoli, this was definitely printed in Florence by Torrentino, and the reference to Mantua is false.

7.9	[ca. 1554]		<p><i>Copia di una crudelissima e gran disfada, mandata da maestro Pasquino gentilhuomo romano, segurta de tutti quelli, che vanno habbitar di novo in Roma, contra el Gobbo de Rialto servitore della illustrissima Signoria.</i></p> <p><i>Come in essa disfida si contiene gli cartelli, e risposte. Mandate dal'uno a l'altro, e uno a elleto il campo, e l'altro le arme, il campo in sul pian de Viterbo e le arme si è uno capello di paglia, e spada e cappa, e del resto nudo salve una tovaglia, che copre le vergogne. E li padrini son questi: primo il gran vilan di Campodoglio, e l'altro è Bartolamio Coglione da San Zoane Polo. E vogliono combattere alli 25 del presente mese. Cosa nova non più vista.</i></p>	[Rome]	<p>“ad instantia de Paris Mantovano detto il Fortunato, con il suo compagno”</p>	4	8°	BTM (L 187)	<p><i>Edit 16</i>, which suggests place of printing and lists this as [1564] but the end of one of the letters included is dated 1554.</p>
7.10	[1554-55]		<p><i>Lamento che fa Piero Strozzi sopra della rotta che ebbe in le Chiane d'Arezzo dal S. Marchese di Marignano generale di sua eccellentia.</i></p> <p><i>Con una barzelletta che fa Siena, chiamando tutte le potentie d'Italia a pianger seco. Con un gioco di primiera sopra la guerra che occorre al presente.</i></p>	Bologna	<p>“Ad istantia di Paris Mantovano detto il Fortunato”</p>	4	8°	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (Riccardiana N.A.U. 471)	<p>Relates Strozzi's defeat in the fight for Siense independence in 1554, suggesting a publication date of 1554-55.</p>

7.11	1564	Panfilo Riccio	<i>Tesoro di scienze nominato Corona pretiosa, utile a chi desidera di saper il corso di sua vita, tanto passato, quanto futuro. Con una breve, ma bellissima fisionomia dell' huomo, tutto in terza rima. Insieme anco i giorni buoni della luna, dove si puo saper a qual tempo sara buono, e utile far ogni qual si voglia facenda.</i>	[Rome]	"Ad instantia di Paris detto Fortunato, Roma"	Antonio Blado	4	16	4°	National Library of Medicine, Washington	Editi 16
7.12	1564	Panfilo Riccio	<i>Il vero giudicio per anni vinti cominciando l'anno 1564. Continuando di anno in anno per sino al'anno 1583. Il qual narra cose maravigliose, e degne di gran consideratione, estratto fedelmente da molte profetie per M. Panfilo Riccio fiorentino cavalier dell'ordine di S. Stefano, e con somma diligentia revisito e posto in luce ad instantia di Paris Mantovano detto il Fortunato.</i>	Rome	"ad instantia di Paris Mantouano detto il Fortunato."	Antonio Blado	4	16	4°	BLCR (172.k.16 (7))	Editi 16



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Avogaria di Comun

Notatorio

Cancelleria Inferiore

Miscellanea di notai diversi, inventari

Capi del Consiglio dei dieci

Notatorio

Consiglio dei dieci

Parte Comuni

Dieci savi sopra la Decime

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